

**Online Appendix**  
***Exceptions to the Rule***  
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*Additional Citations:*

Due to an error by the author, the following citations were omitted for the committee membership data used in chapters 4 and 5; the author regrets the error:

Garrison Nelson, *Committees in the U.S. Congress, 1947-1992, Senate*, 2017.

Charles Stewart III and Jonathan Woon. *Congressional Committee Assignments, 103rd to 114th Congresses, 1993--2017: Senate*, 2017.

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**Appendix Table AA1.1: Information on Relevance of Adopted Majoritarian Exceptions**

<b>Year Created</b>	<b>Bill and Public Law Number</b>	<b>Majoritarian Exception</b>	<b>Year First Relevant</b>	<b>Circumstances</b>	<b>Source</b>
1971	Federal Pay Comparability Act of 1970 (91-656)	Disapprove of president's revisions to Federal Employee Pay Council recommendations	1971	Recommendations submitted to Congress	Congressional Budget Office. "Background Paper No. 4: Federal Pay: Its Budgetary Implications." Washington, D.C.: 10 March 1976.
1969	To extend the period within which the President may transmit to the Congress plans for reorganization (91-5)	Disapprove of executive branch reorganization plans	1969	First reorganization plan submitted under the act	"Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1969," Federal Register 34 (March 13, 1968): 15783.
1971	To extend the period within which the President may transmit to the Congress plans for reorganization (92-179)	Disapprove of executive branch reorganization plans	1973	First reorganization plan submitted under the act	"Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1969," Federal Register 34 (March 13, 1968): 15783.
1974	Trade Act of 1974 (93-618)	Approve trade agreements and non-tariff barriers	1979	Trade implementing bill introduced	Cooper, William H. "Trade Promotion Authority (TPA) and the Role of Congress in Trade Policy." Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2014.

1974	Trade Act of 1974 (93-618)	Disapprove president's extension of Most-Favored-Nation trade status	1975	Resolution introduced	H. Con. Res. 252, 94th Congress; introduced April 24, 1975.
1974	Trade Act of 1974 (93-618)	Disapprove president's decision not to remedy injurious effect of imports	1976	Resolution introduced	S. Con. Res. 213, 94th Congress; introduced October 1, 1976.
1974	Trade Act of 1974 (93-618)	Disapprove president's proposal to waive prohibition on trade with country that restricts emigration by its citizens	1975	Resolution introduced	S. Res. 219, 94th Congress; introduced July 24, 1975.
1974	Trade Act of 1974 (93-618)	Disapprove of president's remedy of unfair trade practices, including countervailing duties and export subsidies	1987	Resolution adopted by Senate	S. Res. 164, 100th Congress; introduced March 10, 1987.
1974	Employee Retirement Income Security Act (93-406)	Disapprove of certain federal contractor regulations	1977	Legislation included a requirement that regulations be issued within three years	U.S. Government Accounting Office. "Pension Losses of Contractor Employees at Federal Installations Can Be Reduced." HRD-81-102. Washington, D.C., 1981.

1974	Employee Retirement Income Security Act (93-406)	Disapprove of new multiemployer pension schedules	1977	Resolution of disapproval introduced	H. Con. Res. 369, 95th Congress; introduced October 5, 1977.
1974	Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974 (93-344)	Approve congressional budget resolution	1975	Resolution introduced	H. Con. Res. 218, 94th Congress; introduced April 14, 1975.
1974	Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974 (93-344)	Approve presidential rescission requests	1975	Congressional action on funds rescinded by president	U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. Committee on the Budget. Hearings Before the Task Force on Budget Process. 96th Cong, 1st sess., December 1979, 232.
1974	Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974 (93-344)	Disapprove of presidential impoundment/deferral request	1975	Congressional action on funds impounded by president	U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. Committee on the Budget. Hearings Before the Task Force on Budget Process. 96th Cong, 1st sess., December 1979, 232.
1974	Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974 (93-344)	Approve of resolution waiving requirement that budget is adopted before new budget resolution is considered	1975	Resolution adopted by Senate	S. Res. 322, 94th Congress; introduced December 12, 1975.
1974	Congressional Budget and Impoundment	Approve reconciliation bills	1975	Reconciliation bill introduced	Keith, Robert, and Heniff, Bill. "The Budget Reconciliation Process: House and Senate Procedures." Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2005.

	Control Act of 1974 (93-344)				
1973	District of Columbia Self-Government and Governmental Reorganization Act (93-198)	Approving of bills passed by Washington D.C. City Council	1975	First legislation passed by D.C. council under home rule charter	Schrag, Philip G., "The Future of District of Columbia Home Rule," <i>Catholic University Law Review</i> 39 (1990): 311-371.
1973	War Powers Resolution (93-148)	Approve of removal of armed forces engaged outside United States	1975	First action taken by the president covered by the rule	Grimmett, Richard F. "The War Powers Resolution: After Thirty-Six Years." Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2010.
1976	Alaska Natural Gas Transportation Act (94-586)	Approve president's proposed natural gas transportation system for Alaska	1977	First action taken by the president covered by the rule	"Alaska Natural Gas Pipeline Project History," Office of the Federal Coordinator for Alaska Natural Gas Transportation Projects, October 2013.
1976	National Emergencies Act (94-412)	Terminate national emergency initiated by the president	1980	First requested extension of national emergency following rule creation	Executive Order 12170 of November 14, 1979, Blocking Iranian Government Property; first requested extension transmitted 12 November 1980 (see 45 FR 75159).
1976	Energy Conservation and Production Act, 1976 (94-385)	Approve sanctions involving federal assistance and the energy conservation performance standards for federal buildings	1979	Deadline for performance standards included in bill	Public Law 94-385, §304-306

1976	International Security Assistance and Arms Export Control Act (94-329)	Disapprove technical assistance/manufacturing agreements	1977	First proposed agreement following creation of rule identified	Bennett, Joseph Douglas. <i>Letter from the Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations, transmitting notice of a proposed manufacturing licensing agreement for the production of certain military equipment in Thailand (Transmittal No. MC-37-77), to the Committee on International Relations.</i> 143 Congressional Record H50.
1976	International Security Assistance and Arms Export Control Act (94-329)	Approve resolution ending arms sales because of human rights abuses	1977	House Committee on International Relations hearing on implementation of the provision	U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. Committee on International Relations. Foreign Assistance Legislation for Fiscal Year 1978 (Part 1). 95th Cong., 1st sess., 1977.; see also Cohen, Stephen B., "Conditioning U.S. Security Assistance on Human Rights Practices," <i>American Journal of International Law</i> 76.2 (April 1982): 246-279, esp. p. 254.
1976	International Security Assistance and Arms Export Control Act (94-329)	Approve resolution ending military assistance because of discrimination		No resolution introduced	
1976	International Security Assistance and Arms Export Control Act (94-329)	Approve resolution terminating assistance to countries transferring nuclear material to other countries	1979	First situation in which country (Pakistan) is found in violation of prohibition	Hathaway, Robert M., "Confrontation and Retreat: The U.S. Congress and the South Asian Nuclear Tests," <i>Arms Control Today</i> January/February 2000.
1976	International Security Assistance and	Disapprove of sale of defense articles or	1976	Resolution introduced	S. Con. Res. 150, 94th Congress; September 7, 1976.

	Arms Export Control Act (94-329)	services and major defense equipment			
1976	Fishery Conservation and Management Act (94-265)	Disapprove of international fishery agreement negotiated by president	1977	Resolution introduced	H. J. Res. 240, 95th Congress; introduced February 7, 1977.
1976	Railroad Revitalization and Regulatory Reform Act (94-210)	Disapprove of certain decisions regarding debentures/preferred stock in Amtrak and Conrail	1978	Purchase of debentures and stock for Conrail authorized as part of larger legislation	S. 2788, 95th Congress; see "Memo from Senator H. John Heinz," 2 August 1978 < <a href="http://digitalcollections.library.cmu.edu/awweb/awarchive?type=file&amp;item=562320">http://digitalcollections.library.cmu.edu/awweb/awarchive?type=file&amp;item=562320</a> > for discussion.
1975	Energy Policy and Conservation Act (94-163)	Approve of president's energy conservation and gasoline rationing contingency plan	1976	Deadline for plan included in bill	Public Law 94-163, §201(a)
1975	Energy Policy and Conservation Act (94-163)	Disapprove of Strategic Petroleum Reserve Plan	1976	Deadline for plan included in bill	Public Law 94-163, §154
1975	Energy Policy and Conservation Act (94-163)	Disapprove of implementation of president's energy conservation and gasoline rationing contingency plan	1976	Deadline for plan included in bill	Public Law 94-163, §201(a)



1975	Energy Policy and Conservation Act (94-163)	Disapprove of presidential amendments to regulations regarding oil prices	1976	First action taken by the president covered by the rule	Chubb, John H., <i>Interest Groups and the Bureaucracy: The Politics of Energy</i> (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1983), 154.
1975	Energy Policy and Conservation Act (94-163)	Disapprove of revisions to average fuel economy standards	1985	Timeline for action included in bill	Public Law 94-163, §502(a)(4)
1975	Energy Policy and Conservation Act (94-163)	Disapprove plan to grant federal government exclusive rights to purchase foreign oil	1976	First evidence of presidential consideration of using authority	Zarb, Frank G. "Memorandum for the President: U.S. Government Oil Purchase Agreement," 13 January 1976 < <a href="https://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/library/document/0047/phw19760117-03.pdf">https://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/library/document/0047/phw19760117-03.pdf</a> >.
1975	To implement the United States proposal for the early warning system in Sinai (94-110)	Approve of removal of personnel from Sinai	1976	Sinai Support Mission established	U.S. Government Accounting Office. "An Evaluation of the U.S. Early Warning System in the Sinai." ID-77-11. Washington, D.C., 1977.
1975	To amend title 39 (94-82)	Disapprove of president's revisions to Federal Employee Pay Council recommendations for members of Congress	1975	First pay raise recommendation made	"Congress Votes Top-Level Pay Raise," <i>CQ Almanac 1975</i> , 31st edition. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1976, 703-708.
1975	Social Security Act Amendments (94-88)	Disapprove of certain standards	1977	Resolution introduced	S. Res. 416, 95th Congress; introduced March 14, 1978.

		under the Social Security Act			
1978	Natural Gas Policy Act (95-621)	Approve of price controls for natural gas	1985	Effective date included in bill	Public Law 95-621, §122
1978	Natural Gas Policy Act (95-621)	Disapprove of price controls for natural gas	1985	Effective date included in bill	Public Law 95-621, §122
1978	Natural Gas Policy Act (95-621)	Disapprove of proposed rules on incremental pricing for natural gas	1980	Deadline for rules included in bill	Public Law 95-621, §202
1978	Power Plant and Industrial Fuel Use Act (95-620)	Disapprove of president's emergency prohibition on use of natural gas or petroleum during severe energy supply interruption	1979	First applicable energy situation during which president could declare prohibition	U.S. President. Proclamation. 10 July 1979. Proclamation 4667 – National Energy Supply Shortage. < <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=31675">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=31675</a> >
1978	Public Utility Regulatory Policies Act (95-617)	Approve waiver of energy laws to facilitate construction of Long Beach-Midland project	1979	Project abandoned before waiver was necessary	U.S. Government Accounting Office. “The Review Process for Priority Energy Products Should be Expedited.” EMD-90-6. Washington, D.C., 1979.
1978	Ethics in Government Act of 1978 (95-521)	Approve pursuit of case by	1979	First resolution introduced	S. Res. 270, 96th Congress, 1st session; introduced October 30, 1979.

		Congressional Legal Counsel			
1978	Civil Service Reform Act (95-454)	Disapprove of continuation of the Senior Executive Service	1983	Effective date included in bill	Public Law 95-454, §415(b)
1978	Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act Amendments (95-372)	Disapprove bidding system for oil and gas leases proposed by Secretary of Energy	1981	First action by the Secretary of the Energy covered by the rule	<i>Watt v. Energy Action Education Foundation</i> 454 U.S. 151 (1981).
1978	Nuclear Nonproliferation Act of 1978 (95-242)	Disapprove of cooperation agreements proposed by president	1978	Resolution introduced	H. Con. Res. 195, 96th Congress; introduced October 15, 1979.
1978	Nuclear Nonproliferation Act of 1978 (95-242)	Disapprove of export of nuclear technology to non-nuclear state not meeting IAEA safeguards	1980	First indication that provision was involved in a export license determination	Office of Legal Counsel. "Memorandum Opinion for the Counsel to the President: The President's Authority to Order Export of Special Nuclear Material Under the Atomic Energy Act of 1954." Washington, D.C., 1980.
1978	Nuclear Nonproliferation Act of 1978 (95-242)	Disapprove of proposals for storage and reprocessing of foreign spent nuclear fuel	1978	First approval under the Act	Kramer, Donna S. "Nuclear Energy: Approval of Spent Fuel Reprocessing Transfers." Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 1979.

1978	Nuclear Nonproliferation Act of 1978 (95-242)	Disapprove of presidential decision on export licenses	1978	Resolution introduced	H. Con. Res 599, 95th Congress; introduced May 1, 1978.
1978	Department of Energy Act - Civilian Applications (95-238)	Disapprove of executive branch plan for storing spent nuclear fuel	1978	First action taken by executive branch covered by the rule	U.S. Government Accounting Office. "Federal Facilities for Storing Spent Nuclear Fuel—Are They Needed?" EMD-79-82. Washington, D.C., 1979.
1977	Reorganization Act (95-17)	Disapprove reorganization plan for the executive branch	1978	Plan submitted by president to Congress	"Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1978, Message from the President, February 23, 1978," 95th Congress, 2nd Session. <a href="https://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/history/35th/thelaw/reorganization.html">https://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/history/35th/thelaw/reorganization.html</a>
1977	International Security Assistance Act (95-92)	Approve limits on economic and military assistance to countries selling nuclear technology to other countries	1979	First situation in which country (Pakistan) is found in violation of prohibition	Rudolph, Lloyd I., and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph. <i>Making U.S. Foreign Policy Toward South Asia: Regional Imperatives and the Imperial Presidency</i> . Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2008.
1977	Making appropriations for public works for water and power development and energy research (95-96)	Disapprove of president's decision to produce enhanced radioactive weapons	1978	Restriction was effective for one year only	"Public Works, ERDA: Key Issues Arose." <i>CQ Almanac 1977</i> , 33rd edition. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1977, 247-51.
1980	International Security and Development	Disapprove of military assistance to Angola	1981	Announcement by Reagan administration	Copson, Raymond W., <i>The Congressional Black Caucus and Foreign Policy</i> (Hauppauge, NY: Nova Publishers, 2003), 25.

	Cooperation Act of 1980 (96-533)			that it would seek repeal of the rule	
1980	International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1980 (96-533)	Disapprove sales of military design or construction services	1981	Resolution introduced	S. Con. Res. 37, 97th Congress, 1st Session; introduced October 1, 1981.
1980	International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1980 (96-533)	Disapprove of third party transfers of defense articles and services or major defense equipment	1981	First request submitted to Congress	<i>Letter from the Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations, transmitting notice of the State Department's intention to consent to a request by the Government of France for permission to transfer certain U.S.-origin military equipment to Singapore, pursuant to section 3 of the Arms Export Control Act, to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, 127 Congressional Record 122.</i>
1980	International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1980 (96-533)	Disapprove of export licenses for commercial sale of defense articles and services	1981	First request submitted to Congress	<i>Atwood, John. Letter from the Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations, transmitting notice of the proposed issuance of a license for the export of certain defense equipment sold commercially to Sweden (Transmittal No. MC-28-80). 127 Congressional Record 122.</i>
1980	Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (96-487)	Approve application for transportation/utility systems in Alaska's National Wilderness Preservation System	1985	Approval sought as part of broader Alaska legislation	H.R. 1902, 99th Congress, 1st Session; see also U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. Subcommittee on Public Lands and the Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation of the Committee on the Interior and Insular Affairs. 99th Cong., 1st sess., May 23, 1985.
1980	Alaska National Interest Lands	Approve presidential recommendation to permit mineral exploration,		No resolution has been introduced	

	Conservation Act (96-487)	development, and extraction in Alaska in time of national need			
1980	Multiemployer Pension Plan Amendments Act of 1980 (96-364)	Approve PBGC recommendations on premium increases necessary to support current pension guarantees	1985	Deadline for recommendations included in bill	Public Law 96-364, Section 4022A
1980	Energy Security Act (96-294)	Approve Department of Energy authorization bill containing energy targets	1981	Legislation introduced	S. 1021, 97th Congress, 1st Session; introduced May 15, 1981.
1979	Energy Security Act (96-294)	Disapprove of presidential decision to suspend sanctions against Zimbabwe	1979	Sanctions lifted, rendering provision moot	“Sanctions Against Rhodesia.” <i>CQ Almanac 1979</i> , 35th edition. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1980, 156-59.
1980	Energy Security Act (96-294)	Approve president's decision to suspend SPR requirements	1990	First emergency requiring president to suspend requirement	Bamberger, Robert. “Strategic Petroleum Reserve.” Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2005.
1980	Energy Security Act (96-294)	Disapprove synthetic fuel action proposed by president	1981	Resolution introduced	S. Res. 229, 97th Congress, 1st Session; introduced October 9, 1981.
1980	Energy Security Act (96-294)	Approve comprehensive		Corporation disbanded before	Bayrer, Ralph. <i>The Saga of the U.S. Synthetic Fuels Corporation: A Cautionary Tale</i> (Washington, D.C.: New Academia Publishing, 2011).

		synthetic fuel strategy		undertaking any actions	
1980	Energy Security Act (96-294)	Disapprove synthetic fuel action proposed by Synthetic Fuels Corporation		Corporation disbanded before undertaking any actions	Bayrer, Ralph. <i>The Saga of the U.S. Synthetic Fuels Corporation: A Cautionary Tale</i> (Washington, D.C.: New Academia Publishing, 2011).
1980	Federal Trade Commission Improvements Act of 1980 (96-252)	Disapprove regulations promulgated by the FTC	1981	Resolution introduced	H. Con. Res. 178, 97th Congress, 1st Session; introduced December 16, 1981.
1980	A bill to extend the reorganization authority of the president (96-230)	Disapprove of executive branch reorganization plans	1980	Amendments to previous plan submitted	Hogue, Henry B. "Presidential Reorganization Authority: History, Recent Initiatives, and Options for Congress." Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2012.
1979	Department of Interior Appropriations Act, Fiscal Year 1980 (96-126)	Disapprove change in ratio of entitlements for imported refined petroleum products		No resolution introduced by expiration of provision	
1979	Emergency Energy Conservation Act (96-102)	Disapprove of president's fuel rationing plan	1980	Resolution introduced	H. J. Res 571, 96th Congress, 1st Session; introduced June 13, 1980.
1979	Trade Agreements Act of 1979 (96-39)	Approve trade agreements and non-tariff barriers	1980	Trade implementing bill introduced	H.R. 7942, 96th Congress, 2nd Session; introduced August 18, 1980.

1982	Further Continuing Appropriations Act, 1983 (97-377)	Approve expenditures for MX missiles	1983	Resolution introduced	S. Con. Res. 26, 98th Congress, 1st Session; introduced April 20, 1983.
1982	Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1982 (97-245)	Approve selection of nuclear waste storage site	2002	Resolution introduced	H. J. Res. 87, 107th Congress, 2nd Session; introduced April 11, 2002.
1982	Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1982 (97-245)	Disapprove changes to nuclear waste fee schedule		No changes have been made to fee schedule since initial legislation	“News Release: NEI Hails Nuclear Waste Fund Fee Decision,” Nuclear Energy Institute. November 19 2013. < <a href="http://www.nei.org/News-Media/Media-Room/News-Releases/NEI-Hails-Nuclear-Waste-Fund-Fee-Decision">http://www.nei.org/News-Media/Media-Room/News-Releases/NEI-Hails-Nuclear-Waste-Fund-Fee-Decision</a> >.
1982	Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1982 (97-245)	Approve selection of interim storage site for nuclear waste		Legislative authority expired before selection was made.	“Office of Civilian Radioactive Waste Management; Nuclear Waste Acceptance Issues,” 60 <i>Federal Register</i> 85 (May 3, 1995): 21793-21798.
1981	Czechoslovakian Claims Settlement Act of 1981 (97-127)	Approve extension of implementation period for agreement with Czechoslovakia	1982	If extension was required, would have been sought within 60 days of law's enactment	<i>Czechoslovakian Claims Settlement Act of 1981</i> . Public Law 97-127.
1981	International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1981 (97-113)	Disapprove of assistance to state that gives nuclear weapon to non-nuclear weapon state	1982	Legislation specified timeline for waiver authority to which rule applied (1982-1987)	McGoldrick, Fred. “Nuclear Trade Controls: Minding the Gaps.” Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2013, 42.



1981	International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1981 (97-113)	Disapprove of immediate transfer of defense articles to NATO and other allies	1982	First proposed sale to NATO country	Ahmann, James. <i>Letter from the Acting Director, Defense Security Assistance Agency, transmitting notice of the Air Force's intention to offer to sell certain defense articles and services to the Federal Republic of Germany (Transmittal 82-36)</i> . 128 Congressional Record 1821.
1981	International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1981 (97-113)	Disapprove of defense leases	1982	First action taken by the president covered by the rule	<i>Letter from the Acting Deputy Director, Defense Security Assistance Agency, transmitting notice of the proposed lease of certain defense equipment to Korea (Transmittal No. 1-82), pursuant to section 62(a) of the Arms Export Control Act</i> . 128 Congressional Record 87.
1981	Department of Defense Authorization Act, 1982 (97-86)	Disapprove of basing mode for MX missiles	1982	Legislation introduced	H.R. 7355, Amendment, 97th Congress, 2nd Session; introduced 7 December 1982.
1981	Department of Defense Authorization Act, 1982 (97-86)	Disapprove of president's decision on long-range combat aircraft	1982	No resolution introduced by deadline included with rule creation	Mitchell, Douglas D. "Issue Brief Number IBB81107: Bomber Options for Replacing B-52S." Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 1982.
1984	Reorganization Act Amendments of 1984 (98-614)	Approve reorganization plan		No plan submitted before authority expired	Hogue, Henry B. "Presidential Reorganization Authority: History, Recent Initiatives, and Options for Congress." Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2012.
1984	Omnibus Tariff and Trade Act of 1984 (98-573)	Approve bilateral trade agreements and non-tariff barriers	1985	Trade implementing bill introduced	H.R. 2268, 99th Congress, 1st Session; introduced April 29, 1985.

1984	Omnibus Tariff and Trade Act of 1984 (98-573)	Disapprove President's decision not to remedy injurious effect of imports	1984	First presidential action subject to the requirement	Reagan, Ronald. Letter to the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate on the Denial of Import Relief for the Steel Industry. Letter. Washington, D.C.: The U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, 1984. Ronald Reagan Presidential Library & Museum. <a href="https://reaganlibrary.archives.gov/archives/speeches/1984/91884f.htm">https://reaganlibrary.archives.gov/archives/speeches/1984/91884f.htm</a> .
1984	Department of Defense Authorization Act, 1985 (98-525)	Approve of president's decision to acquire additional MX missiles	1985	Resolution introduced	S. J. Res. 71, 99th Congress, 1st Session; introduced March 5, 1985.
1984	Continuing Appropriations, FY 1985 (98-473)	Approve funds for Nicaragua	1985	Resolution introduced	H. J. Res. 239, 99th Congress, 1st Session; introduced April 15, 1985.
1984	Continuing Appropriations, FY 1985 (98-473)	Approve spending on MX missiles	1985	Resolution introduced	S. J. Res. 71, 99th Congress, 1st Session; introduced March 5, 1985.
1983	Department of State Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1984 and 1985 (98-164)	Approve of removal of armed forces engaged outside United States	1987	First action taken by the president covered by the rule	Grimmett, Richard F. "The War Powers Resolution: After Thirty-Six Years." Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2010.
1986	Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (99-603)	Approve termination of immigration-related employer sanctions program if evidence of nationality-related discrimination	1987	First GAO report that could have triggered termination of program	U.S. General Accounting Office. Immigration Reform: Status of Implementing Employer Sanctions After One Year. GGD-88-14. Washington, D.C., 1987.

1986	Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 (99-570)	Disapprove presidential waiver of required cuts in aid to major drug producing countries	1988	Resolution introduced	H. J. Res. 493, 100th Congress, 2nd Session; introduced March 15, 1988.
1986	A joint resolution making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1987, and for other purposes (99-500)	Disapprove of aid to Nicaragua	1987	Resolution introduced	H. J. Res. 174, 100th Congress, 1st Session; introduced March 10, 1987.
1986	Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 (99-440)	Approve additional sanctions against South Africa	1987	First report from president that could have triggered additional sanctions	Copson, Raymond W. "South Africa: President's Report on Progress Toward Ending Apartheid." Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 1987.
1986	Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 (99-440)	Approve agreement reached with other industrialized countries to impose sanctions against South Africa	1987	First report from State Department regarding possible agreement that would have been covered by provision	Copson, Raymond, and Affelder, Jeanne S. "South Africa: International Sanctions." Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 1987.
1986	Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 (99-440)	Disapprove of president's decision to suspend sanctions against South Africa	1991	Presidential certification that all criteria allowing	U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. Subcommittee on Economic Policy and Trade and Africa, Committee on Foreign Affairs. <i>The</i>

				suspension of sanctions had been met	<i>Termination of Economic Sanctions Against South Africa</i> , 102 <sup>nd</sup> Cong., 1 <sup>st</sup> sess., 1991, 15-16.
1986	To amend the Arms Export Control Act (99-247)	Disapprove of commercially licensed arms sales	1986	First identified request submitted to Congress	Fox, J. Edward. <i>A Letter from the Assistant Secretary of State for Legislative and Intergovernmental Affairs, Department of State, transmitting notice of a proposed license for the export of major defense equipment sold commercially under a contract in the amount of \$14 million or more</i> . 133 Congressional Record 23645.
1986	To amend the Arms Export Control Act (99-247)	Disapprove of defense leases	1986	First identified request submitted to Congress	<i>Letter from the Acting Director, Defense Security Assistance Agency, transmitting a copy of the Department of Navy's proposed lease of defense articles to Greece (Transmittal No. 24-86)</i> . 132 Congressional Record 6927.
1986	To amend the Arms Export Control Act (99-247)	Disapprove of sale of defense articles and services	1986	First notification submitted to Congress	<i>Advanced Notification—Proposed Arms Sale</i> . 132 Congressional Record 8546.
1986	To amend the Arms Export Control Act (99-247)	Disapprove of sale of design and construction services	1987	First identified request submitted to Congress	<i>Formal Notification: Proposed Arms Sale</i> . 133 Congressional Record 21776.
1986	To amend the Arms Export Control Act (99-247)	Disapprove of third party transfers of defense articles and services or major defense equipment	1986	First identified request submitted to Congress	Ball, William Lockhart. <i>A Letter from the Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Legislative and Intergovernmental Affairs, transmitting notification of the Department's intention to consent to transfers from the Government of the Netherlands to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany and the NATO Maintenance and Supply Organization</i>

					<i>[NAMSO] of certain major defense articles and defense services. 132 Congressional Record 2348.</i>
1986	Compact of Free Association Act of 1985 (99-239)	Disapprove of presidential agreements with Federated States of Micronesia and Marshall Islands	2003	Resolution introduced	H. J. Res. 63, 108th Congress, 1st Session; introduced September 15, 2003.
1985	Further Continuing Appropriations Act, 1986 (99-190)	Disapprove of arms sales to Jordan	1986	First action taken by the president covered by the rule	Middleton, Drew, "Jordanians Irked by Delay in U.S. Arms Sale," <i>New York Times</i> , February 23, 1986.
1985	Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 (99-177)	Suspending deficit reduction provisions in the event of low growth	1991	Resolution introduced	S. J. Res. 44, 102nd Congress, 1st Session; introduced January 24, 1991.
1985	Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 (99-177)	Approve sequester if process invalidated by courts	1986	Procedures invalidated by courts	<i>Bowsher v. Synar</i> 478 U.S. 714 (1986).
1985	Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 (99-177)	Permit special reconciliation bill in the event of a sequester		Provision never invoked	Keith, Robert. "The Budget Reconciliation Process: House and Senate Procedure." Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2005.

1985	International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985 (99-83)	Approve additional aid to Central American peace process	1986	Provision expired with conclusion of 99th Congress	<i>International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985</i> . Public Law 99-83.
1985	International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985 (99-83)	Approve aid to Nicaraguan democratic resistance	1986	Resolution introduced	S. J. Res. 283, 99th Congress, 2nd Session; introduced February 27, 1986.
1985	Export Administration Amendments Act of 1985 (99-64)	Approve agricultural export controls	1986	First action taken by the president covered by the rule	Cooke, John F., "The United States' 1986 Emergency Economic Sanctions Against Libya--Have They Worked?" <i>Maryland Journal of International Law</i> 14 (1990): 195-232.
1985	Export Administration Amendments Act of 1985 (99-64)	Approve nuclear cooperation agreements	1985	First action taken by the president covered by the rule	Reagan, Ronald. <i>Statement by President Reagan on Signing the Export Administration Amendments Act of 1985, September 18, 1984</i> . Letter. From Reagan Library Archives. < <a href="https://reaganlibrary.archives.gov/archives/speeches/1984/91884f.htm">https://reaganlibrary.archives.gov/archives/speeches/1984/91884f.htm</a> >
1985	Energy Policy and Conservation Amendments Act of 1985 (99-58)	Disapprove of antitrust exemption for oil companies granted by president	1987	First action taken by the president covered by the rule	U.S. Government Accountability Office. "International Energy Agency: Plan to Provide Legal Defenses to Participating Oil Companies." GAO/NSIAD-88-89BR. Washington, D.C., 1988.
1988	Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988 (100-690)	Disapprove presidential proposal for aid to drug producing country	1989	Resolution introduced	S. J. Res. 82, 101st Congress, 1st Session; introduced March 21, 1989.
1988	Commercial Space Launch	Approve compensation plan		Requires commercial space	

	Amendments Act of 1988 (100-657)	for claims related to commercial space launches		accident to be relevant	
1988	Defense Authorization Amendments and Base Closure and Realignment Act (100-526)	Disapprove base closing recommendations	1989	Resolution introduced	H. J. Res, 165, 101st Congress, 1st Session; introduced March 3, 1989.
1988	Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1989 (100-463)	Approve additional aid to Nicaraguan resistance	1990	First action taken by the president covered by the rule	“Chamorro Win Ensures Aid to Nicaragua,” <i>CQ Almanac 1990, 46th ed.</i> Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1991: 770-774.
1988	Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988 (100-418)	Approve president's proposal for address import relief	1988	First investigation completed by International Trade Commission	U.S. President. Proclamation. 21 December 1988. Proclamation 5925--To Modify the Import Relief on Western Red Cedar Shakes and Shingles.
1988	Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988 (100-418)	Disapprove of presidential determination regarding fee imposed on imports to fund TAA	1989	Report on progress of implementation required in bill	Public Law 100-418, §1428(a)(2)
1988	Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness	Disapprove of extension of fast track authority	1991	Extension disapproval resolution introduced	Smith, Carolyn. “Trade Promotion Authority and Fast-Track Negotiating Authority for Trade Agreements: Major Votes.” Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2011.

	Act of 1988 (100-418)	beyond period authorized			
1988	Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988 (100-418)	Revoke fast track authority if president does not consult with Congress	1993	Trade implementing bill introduced	Cooper, William H., "Trade Promotion Authority (TPA) and the Role of Congress in Trade Policy." Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2014.
1988	Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988 (100-418)	Approve trade agreements	1993	Trade implementing bill introduced	Smith, Carolyn. "Trade Promotion Authority and Fast-Track Negotiating Authority for Trade Agreements: Major Votes." Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2011.
1988	Price-Anderson Amendments Act of 1988 (100-408)	Approve compensation plan following nuclear accident		Requires nuclear accident to be relevant	
1987	Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1988 and 1989 (100-204)	Disapprove of certain payments to UN	1988	Resolution introduced	S. J. Res. 380, 110th Congress, 2nd Session; introduced September 15, 1988.
1987	Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Reaffirmation Act of 1987 (100-119)	Approve sequester if process invalidated by courts		Not challenged in court	
1987	Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control	Approve alternative sequester proposal	1987	First sequester put in place under law	Keith, Robert. "Budget Sequesters: A Brief Review." Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2004.



	Reaffirmation Act of 1987 (100-119)	generated by Congress			
1987	Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Reaffirmation Act of 1987 (100-119)	Approve alternative sequester proposal for Department of Defense generated by president	1987	First proposal submitted by the president	“Proposed Alternative Sequestration Reductions, Department of Defense, FY88, Message from the President,” House Committee on Appropriations, 24 November 1987.
1990	Chief Financial Officers Act of 1990 (101-576)	Approve recommendation from president on which agencies are required to submit financial reports	1992	Deadline for implementation included in bill	Public Law 101-576, §303(a)(1)(a)
1990	National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1991 (101-510)	Disapprove base closing recommendations	1991	Resolution introduced	H. J. Res. 308, 102nd Congress, 1st Session; introduced July 19, 1991.
1990	Energy Policy and Conservation Act Amendments of 1990 (101-383)	Approve contract for storage of petroleum products not owned by United States		Federal government has not pursued storage of non-owned petroleum in the SPR as part of security stock	Pirog, Robert. “Private Crude Oil Stocks and the Strategic Petroleum Reserve Debate.” Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2003.
1992	Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations	Disapprove president's decision to suspend loan guarantee to Israel program	2003	First action taken by the president covered by the rule	Mark, Clyde R. “Israeli-United States Relations.” Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2004.

	Act, 1993 (102-391)				
1991	Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991 (102-240)	Disapprove of certain actions by the Metropolitan Washington Airports Authority	1994	First action by MWAAC covered by rule	<i>Hechinger vs. Metropolitan Washington Airports Authority</i> 39 F.3d 97 (308 U.S.App.D.C. 283).
1991	Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993 (102-138)	Disapprove of presidential decision to rescind a prohibition on exporting arms to terrorist countries	2004	First action taken by the president covered by the rule	“Department of State; Rescission of Determination Regarding Iraq,” 69 <i>Federal Register</i> 202 (October 20, 2004): 61702.
1991	To disapprove the request of the President for extension of the fast track procedures under the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988 and the Trade Act of 1974 (S Res 78, 102nd Congress)	Approve trade agreements (resolution to disapprove president's request for extension under the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988)	1991	Resolution of disapproval failed	S J Res 78, 102nd Congress; introduced March 13, 1991.
1992	International Narcotics Control Act of 1992 (102-583)	Disapproving presidential waiver of prohibition on assistance to	1993	First action taken by the president covered by the rule	Clinton, William. <i>Letter from President Clinton to Congressional Leaders on Certification of Major Narcotics Producing and Transit Countries</i> . 5

		countries with substantial narcotics production			February 1993. < <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=46822">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=46822</a> >.
1994	Uruguay Round Agreements Act (103-465)	Approve subsidies agreement	1999	Legislation included a deadline of December 31, 1999	“2003 Trade Policy Agenda and 2002 Annual Report on the Trade Agreements Program,” Office of the United States Trade Representative, 2003. < <a href="https://ustr.gov/archive/Document_Library/Reports_Publications/2003/2003_Trade_Policy_Agenda/Section_Index.html">https://ustr.gov/archive/Document_Library/Reports_Publications/2003/2003_Trade_Policy_Agenda/Section_Index.html</a> >.
1994	Uruguay Round Agreements Act (103-465)	Disapproval of US participation in the World Trade Organization	2000	Resolution introduced	H.J. Res. 90, 106th Congress, 2nd Session; introduced March 6, 2000.
1994	To revise, codify, and enact without substantive change certain general and permanent laws, related to transportation (103-272)	Approve compensation plan for claim exceeding liability requirements		Requires commercial space accident to be relevant	
1994	To revise, codify, and enact without substantive change certain general and permanent laws related to transportation (103-272)	Disapprove of changes to fuel economy standards		Law changed before revision of fuel economy standards attempted	McConnell, Virginia. “The New CAFE Standards: Are They Enough on Their Own?” Washington, D.C.: Resources for the Future, 2013, 5-6.

1994	Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1994 and 1995 (103-236)	Approve of waiver of sanctions against nuclear weapons states transferring material to non-nuclear weapons states	1996	First situation in which countries (China and Pakistan) are in potential violation of provision	“China's Nuclear Exports and Assistance to Pakistan,” Center for Non-Proliferation Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies, 1999.
1994	Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1994 and 1995 (103-236)	Disapprove of president's decision to provide aid to certain countries enriching nuclear material	1999	First action taken by the president covered by the rule	<i>Presidential Determination No. 2000-04: Memorandum on India and Pakistan.</i> 27 October 1999.
1993	To provide authority for the President to enter into trade agreements to conclude the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations (103-49)	Approve trade agreements (temporary extension of power delegated as part of Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988)	1994	Trade implementing bill introduced	Smith, Carolyn. “Trade Promotion Authority and Fast-Track Negotiating Authority for Trade Agreements: Major Votes.” Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2011.
1996	Omnibus Consolidated Appropriations Act, 1997 (104-208)	Disapprove Secretary of Treasury's loan to foreign entity		Provision expired before an eligible loan was made	Henning, C. Randall. <i>The Exchange Stabilization Fund: Slush Money or War Chest?</i> Washington, D.C.: Peterson Institute for International Economics, 1999, 70.
1996	Omnibus Consolidated	Approve presidential determination that	1997	Resolution introduced	H. J. Res. 36, 105th Congress, 1st Session; introduced February 4, 1997.

	Appropriations Act, 1997 (104-208)	limits on population planning program are onerous			
1996	Line Item Veto Act (104-130)	Disapprove of proposed budgetary cancellation (“line item veto”)	1997	Resolution introduced	S. 1144, 105th Congress, 1st Session; introduced September 3, 1997.
1996	Contract with America Advancement Act of 1996 (104-121)	Disapprove of proposed regulation	1996	Provision expired before an eligible loan was made	S. J. Res. 60, 104th Congress, 2nd Session; introduced September 17, 1996.
1996	Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (LIBERTAD) Act of 1996 (104-114)	Disapprove of president's decision to suspend Cuban embargo		President has not sought suspension of embargo	
1995	Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriations Act (104-52)	Disapprove Secretary of Treasury's loan to foreign entity		Provision expired before an eligible loan was made	Henning, C. Randall. <i>The Exchange Stabilization Fund: Slush Money or War Chest?</i> Washington, D.C.: Peterson Institute for International Economics, 1999, 70.
1997	Amtrak Reform and Accountability Act of 1997 (105-304)	Disapprove of recommendations to liquidate Amtrak from Amtrak Reform Council	2000	First report that could have triggered resolution	“Brief History of the Amtrak Reform Council,” 2002 < <a href="http://govinfo.library.unt.edu/arc/#history">http://govinfo.library.unt.edu/arc/#history</a> >.
2000	Making appropriations for military	Approve presidential request for	2000	No resolution introduced by	Serafino, Nina M. “Colombia: Plan Colombia Legislation and Assistance (FY2000-FY2001).”

	construction, family housing, and base realignment and closure for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2001 (106-246)	additional funds for Plan Colombia		deadline included with rule creation	Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2001.
1999	Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2000 (106-113)	Disapprove presidential request for waiver of UN reimbursement requirement		President has not sought waiver	
2002	Trade Act of 2002 (107-210)	Disapprove extension of “fast track” trade authority beyond period authorized	2005	Resolution introduced	S. Res. 100, 109th Congress, 1st Session; introduced April 6, 2005.
2002	Trade Act of 2002 (107-210)	Disapprove of use of “fast track” if no consultation between president and Congress	2003	First action taken by the president covered by the rule	Smith, Carolyn. “Trade Promotion Authority and Fast-Track Negotiating Authority for Trade Agreements: Major Votes.” Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2011.
2002	Trade Act of 2002 (107-210)	Approve trade agreements	2003	First action taken by the president covered by the rule	Smith, Carolyn. “Trade Promotion Authority and Fast-Track Negotiating Authority for Trade Agreements: Major Votes.” Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2011.

2001	National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2002 (107-107)	Disapprove of base closing commission recommendations	2005	First action taken covered by the rule	Mason, R. Chuck. "Base Realignment and Closure (BRAC): Transfer and Disposal of Military Property." Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2013.
2001	Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (USA Patriot Act) Act of 2001. Public Law 107-56, U.S. Statutes at Large 115 (2001): 208.	Approve the repeal of provisions on international money laundering	2005	Legislation includes requirement for review under rule after four years	Public Law 107-56 §303
2004	Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004 (108-458)	Approval of proposed minimum identification standards	2005	Legislation included six-month deadline for promulgation of regulations subject to rule	Public Law 108-458 §7220
2003	Burmese Freedom and Democracy Act of 2003 (108-61)	Approve renewal of sanctions against Burma	2004	Resolution introduced	H. J. Res. 97, 108th Congress, 2nd Session; introduced June 3, 2004.

2006	Henry J. Hyde United States and India Nuclear Cooperation Promotion Act of 2006 (109-401)	Approve presidential waiver of agreement with India from certain provisions of the Atomic Energy Act	2008	First action taken by the president covered by the rule	Kerr, Paul K. "U.S. Nuclear Cooperation with India: Issues for Congress." Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2012.
2008	Emergency Economic Stabilization Act of 2008 (110-343)	Disapprove proposal to exceed cap on funds to be lent under TARP	2009	Resolution introduced	S. J. Res. 5, 111th Congress, 1st Session; introduced January 13, 2009.
2010	Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act (111-203)	Approve emergency plan to ensure bank solvency		Requires bank crisis to be relevant	
2010	Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (111-148)	Approve legislation implementing IPAB recommendations		Requires Medicare growth rate to reach certain level before rule is triggered	
2011	Budget Control Act of 2011 (112-25)	Disapprove installment increases to debt ceiling	2012	Resolution introduced	S. J. Res. 34, 112th Congress, 2nd Session; introduced January 23, 2012.
2011	Budget Control Act of 2011 (112-25)	Approve recommendations of Joint Committee on Deficit Reduction	2011	No resolution introduced by deadline included with rule creation	Steinhauer, Jennifer, Helene Cooper, and Robert Pear. "Panel Fails to Reach Deal on Plan for Deficit Reduction." <i>New York Times</i> , November 22, 2011.



2011	Budget Control Act of 2011 (112-25)	Approve balanced budget amendment to the Constitution	2011	Vote on resolution	S. J. Res. 10, 112th Congress, 1st Session; December 14, 2011.
2013	Continuing Appropriations Act, 2014 (113-46)	Disapprove of presidential decision to suspend the debt limit	2013	Resolution introduced	H. J. Res. 99, 113th Congress, 1st Session; introduced October 28, 2013.

**Appendix Table AA2.2: Issue Areas, Based on Policy Agendas Project and Egan (2013)**

<b>Issue Area</b>	<b>Policy Agendas Codes</b>
Economy	subtopics 100, 104, 108, 110
Civil Rights, Minority Issues, and Civil Liberties	2, all subtopics
Health	3, all subtopics
Agriculture	4, all subtopics
Jobs/Unemployment	subtopic 103; 5, all subtopics
Education	6, all subtopics
Environment	7, all subtopics
Energy	8, all subtopics
Immigration	9, all subtopics
Transportation	10, all subtopics
Law and Crime	12, all subtopics
Poverty and Social Welfare	13, all subtopics except 1303
Housing and Community Development	14, all subtopics
Banking, Finance, and Domestic Commerce	15, all subtopics
Defense and Veterans Issues	16, all subtopics except 1615
Space, Science, Technology, and Communications	17, all subtopics
Foreign Trade	18, all subtopics
International Affairs and Foreign Aid	19, all subtopics except 1927
Government Operations	20, all subtopics
Public Lands and Water Management	21, all subtopics
Social Security	subtopic 1303
Domestic Security	subtopics 1615, 1927
Taxes	subtopic 107
Deficit/Debt	subtopic 105
Inflation	subtopic 101

Mapping of Policy Agendas Project issues to Egan's owned issues is adapted slightly from Curry (2015)

**Appendix Table AA2.3: Observations with Recoded Policy Areas**

<b>Congress</b>	<b>Bill</b>	<b>Original PAP Topic</b>	<b>New Topic</b>	<b>Specific Exception (if applicable)</b>	<b>Reason for Re-Classification</b>
93	HR 10710	12	18		Involves trade
93	HR 125	25	20		Involves rescissions (classified under 2011)
93	HR 13834	4	8		Involves energy
93	HR 17115	2	19		Involves international agreements
93	HR 7130	20	25	Approve budget resolution	Involves budget process (classified under 105)
93	HR 7130	20	25	Approve reconciliation bills	Involves budget process (classified under 105)
93	HR 886	25	20		Involves rescissions (classified under 2011)
93	S 3555	1	24		Involves taxes
94	HR 10373	3	1		Involves general economic growth
94	HR 10498	10	7		Involves Clean Air Act
94	HR 11794	18	20		Involves rulemaking (classified under 2002)
94	HR 12048	4	20		Involves rulemaking (classified under 2002)
94	HR 13680	2	16		Involves arms sales
94	HR 14795	25	20		Involves congressional operations (classified under 2011)
94	HR 5489	20	19		Involves foreign policy
94	HR 5826	20	19		Involves international agreements
94	S 2626	20	3		Involves health
95	HR 11006	12	20		Involves rulemaking (classified under 2002)
95	HR 11369	13	1		Involves general economic goals
95	HR 12703	16	8		Involves energy production (Alaska pipeline)
95	HR 347	20	19		Involves international agreements
95	HR 4018	18	8		Involves energy
95	HR 5146	18	8		Involves energy
95	HR 7553	21	16		Involves weapons production
95	S 1244	25	20		Involves sunset legislation (classified under 2002)
95	S 2265	4	7		Involves conservation

<b>Congress</b>	<b>Bill</b>	<b>Original PAP Topic</b>	<b>New Topic</b>	<b>Specific Exception (if applicable)</b>	<b>Reason for Re-Classification</b>
95	S 2561	26	24		Involves taxes
95	S 626	21	20		Involves executive branch operations
96	HR 1106	25	20		Involves sunset legislation (classified under 2002)
96	HR 260	20	19		Involves foreign policy
96	HR 3238	1	25		Involves budget process (classified under 105)
96	HR 4930	21	8		Involves fuel production
96	HR 5113	10	19		Involves international agreements
96	HR 6942	19	16		Involves arms sales
96	HR 7621	20	9		Involves refugees
96	S 1871	15	8		Involves oil production
96	S 2	25	20		Involves sunset legislation (classified under 2002)
96	S 2714	19	16		Involves arms sales
96	S 2980	7	8		Involves nuclear power (classified under 801)
96	S 932	16	8		Involves energy
97	HR 3037	1	18		Involves import relief (classified under 1807)
97	HR 3567	18	4		Involves agricultural trade (classified under 401)
97	HR 4643	14	20		Involves organization of federal programs
97	S 1196	20	16		Involves arms sales
98	HR 2846	16	8		Involves Outer Continental Shelf leases
98	HR 2915	19	16		Involves use of force
98	HR 3113	10	18		Involves trade
98	HR 5482	19	16		Involves arms sales
98	S 1347	19	16		Involves arms sales
98	S 144	18	24		Involves taxes
98	S 1906	20	16		Involves use of force
98	S 700	20	24		Involves taxes
99	HR 1301	10	19		Involves international agreements
99	HR 2	25	20		Involves sunset legislation (classified under 2002)

<b>Congress</b>	<b>Bill</b>	<b>Original PAP Topic</b>	<b>New Topic</b>	<b>Specific Exception (if applicable)</b>	<b>Reason for Re-Classification</b>
99	HR 4322	20	18		Involves trade
99	HR 519	20	16		involves use of force
99	S 1544	5	18		Involves trade
99	S 883	18	4	Approve agricultural export controls imposed by president	Involves agricultural trade (classified under 401)
99	S 883	18	16	Approve nuclear cooperation agreements	Involves nuclear policy (classified under 1605)
100	HR 2733	20	25		Involves sequestration (coded as deficit reduction under 105)
100	HR 898	20	16		Involves arms sales
100	S 1546	10	19		Involves foreign policy
101	HR 1309	20	16		Involves use of force
101	HR 2034	25	20		Involves rescissions (classified under 2011)
101	HR 4956	10	8		Involves fuel economy
101	HR 5835	20	1		Involves sequestration (coded as deficit reduction under 105)
102	HR 1415	20	16		Involves arms sales
102	HR 1537	10	8	Disapprove of changes to fuel economy standards	Involves fuel economy
102	HR 4062	25	20		Involves sunset legislation (classified under 2002)
103	HR 1758	10	8	Approve compensation plan for claim exceeding liability requirements	Involves fuel economy
103	HR 2374	15	3		Involves health
103	HR 3099	16	20		Involves federal workforce
103	HR 3649	20	15		Involves industrial regulation
103	HR 3721	20	8		Involves Department of Energy

<b>Congress</b>	<b>Bill</b>	<b>Original PAP Topic</b>	<b>New Topic</b>	<b>Specific Exception (if applicable)</b>	<b>Reason for Re-Classification</b>
103	HR 4663	18	16	Disapprove of presidential assistance to countries transferring nuclear equipment	Involves nuclear policy (classified under 1605)
103	S 740	25	24		Involves taxes
104	HR 2020	20	19		Involves foreign policy
104	HR 2586	25	20		Involves waste, fraud, and abuse (classified under 2002)
104	HR 3125	22	3		Involves Medicare
104	HR 3351	20	15		Involves corporate issues
104	HR 361	18	4		Involves agricultural trade (classified under 401)
104	HR 3610	16	19		Involves foreign policy
104	S 14	25	24		Involves taxes
104	S 1452	25	24		Involves taxes
104	S 1508	20	25		Involves budget process (classified under 105)
104	S 202	25	20		Involves waste, fraud, and abuse (classified under 2002)
105	HR 1235	15	25		Purpose of the bill is deficit reduction (classified under 105)
105	HR 1942	18	4		Involves agricultural trade (classified under 401)
105	HR 4620	26	20		Involves agency organization (classified under 2002)
105	S 1972	13	22		Involves Social Security (classified under 1303)
105	S 2220	20	24		Involves taxes
105	S 2387	20	16		Involves use of force
105	S 903	20	19		Involves UN
106	HR 3194	20	19		Involves UN
106	HR 3221	24	15		Involves corporate issues
106	HR 3442	25	24		Involves taxes

<b>Congress</b>	<b>Bill</b>	<b>Original PAP Topic</b>	<b>New Topic</b>	<b>Specific Exception (if applicable)</b>	<b>Reason for Re-Classification</b>
106	S 359	1	25		Involves entitlement reform (considered as deficit reduction)
107	HR 1473	20	16		Involves defense spending
107	HR 2939	24	15		Involves corporate issues
107	HR 4046	20	16		Involves military rules
107	S 1567	18	24		Involves taxes
107	S 3150	20	18		Involves trade
108	HR 2153	25	15		Involves corporate issues
108	HR 4177	1	18		Involves WTO
108	S 790	8	16		Involves arms sales
109	HR 2339	20	22		Involves Social Security (classified under 1303)
109	HR 41	1	24		Involves taxes
109	HR 4254	15	25		Purpose of the bill is deficit reduction (classified under 105)
109	HR 5682	8	16		Involves nuclear policy (classified under 1605)
109	HR 5847	12	16		Involves arms sales
109	S 1843	20	15		Involves disaster relief (coded under 1523)
109	S 2443	25	20		Involves line item veto (classified under 2011)
109	S 3491	24	25		Involves entitlement reform (considered as deficit reduction)
109	S 3507	13	25		Involves entitlement reform (considered as deficit reduction)
109	S 600	19	16		Involves arms sales
110	HR 1300	6	8		Involves energy
110	HR 2084	25	20		Involves waste, fraud, and abuse (classified under 2002)
110	HR 2206	4	16		Involves use of force

<b>Congress</b>	<b>Bill</b>	<b>Original PAP Topic</b>	<b>New Topic</b>	<b>Specific Exception (if applicable)</b>	<b>Reason for Re-Classification</b>
110	HR 473	24	25		Involves entitlement reform (considered as deficit reduction)
110	HR 515	15	25		Purpose of the bill is deficit reduction (classified under 105)
110	HR 6110	3	25		Involves sequestration (coded as deficit reduction under 105)
110	HR 787	19	16		Involves use of force
110	HR 905	20	15		Involves corporate issues
110	S 15	25	24		Involves taxes
110	S 665	8	10		Involves transportation
111	HR 2207	20	19		Involves foreign policy
111	HR 5954	24	25		Involves budget process (classified under 105)
111	S 1056	24	25		Involves entitlement reform (considered as deficit reduction)
111	S 1200	8	20		Involves rescissions (classified under 2011)
111	S 1240	20	25		Involves sequestration (coded as deficit reduction under 105)
111	S 1254	1	18		Involves foreign currency markets
111	S 1723	20	15		Involves TARP
111	S 2853	20	25		Purpose of the bill is deficit reduction (classified under 105)
111	S 640	20	24		Involves taxes
112	HR 1125	24	25		Purpose of the bill is deficit reduction (classified under 105)
112	HR 4301	8	20		Involves rulemaking (classified under 2002)
112	HR 6644	19	16		Involves arms sales
112	S 1679	20	25		Involves budget process (classified under 105)
112	S 3176	20	16		Involves use of force



<b>Congress</b>	<b>Bill</b>	<b>Original PAP Topic</b>	<b>New Topic</b>	<b>Specific Exception (if applicable)</b>	<b>Reason for Re-Classification</b>
112	S 365	6	25		Purpose of the bill is deficit reduction (classified under 105)
112	S 3714	15	25		Involves sequestration (coded as deficit reduction under 105)
112	S 1522	20	5		Involves job creation
112	S 439	25	3		Involves long term care
113	HR 1793	19	16		Involves arms sales
113	HR 2518	20	25		Involves entitlement reform (considered as deficit reduction)
113	HR 2775	20	25		Involves debt limit (classified under 105)
113	S 1939	8	16		Involves use of force
113	S 3019	20	16		Involves use of force

**Appendix Table AA3.1: Survey Items Used to Calculate Most Important Problem Measure**

Issue Area	Responses
<b>Economy</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Economy (generally)</li> <li>• “Fairness” Issue, Government Policies favoring the rich</li> <li>• Economic Policy</li> <li>• High Cost of Living/ High Prices/ Inflation</li> <li>• Taxes</li> <li>• Price Freeze</li> <li>• High Interest Rates</li> <li>• Lack of Money</li> <li>• Overpopulation</li> <li>• Recession</li> <li>• When grouped with other factors: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Jobs for Vietnam Veterans, Social Security, Unemployment</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<b>Civil Rights, Minority Issues, and Civil Liberties</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Abortion</li> <li>• Socialism</li> <li>• Big Government/Government Control</li> <li>• States’ Rights</li> <li>• Busing</li> <li>• General Unrest/ Public Demonstrations</li> <li>• Campus Unrest/ Youth Protest/ Hippies</li> <li>• Civil Rights</li> <li>• Race Relations</li> <li>• Communism</li> <li>• Ethical/Moral Issues</li> <li>• Religious Issues</li> <li>• Gay marriage/rights</li> <li>• Women’s Rights</li> </ul>
<b>Health</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• AIDS</li> <li>• Alcoholism</li> <li>• Cancer</li> <li>• Medicare/Elderly Medical Care</li> <li>• Health Insurance/ Health Care Costs</li> <li>• Drug Addiction/Problems</li> <li>• Ebola</li> <li>• Health care/Hospitals (generally)</li> <li>• Medical Care (Inadequate/Poor quality)</li> <li>• Medicaid</li> </ul>
<b>Agriculture</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Food Exports</li> <li>• Food costs</li> <li>• Food Shortages</li> <li>• Plight/ Problems of farmers</li> </ul>
<b>Jobs/ Unemployment</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unions</li> <li>• Strikes</li> <li>• Technology/Automation (associated with job loss)</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Employment opportunities for Youth</li> <li>• Unemployment</li> <li>• Wages</li> <li>• When grouped with other factors: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Recession/Depression</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<b>Education</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Education (generally)</li> <li>• Access to education</li> <li>• Education quality</li> <li>• Cost of Education</li> <li>• School Prayer</li> <li>• School Shootings/Violence</li> <li>• When grouped with other factors: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Busing</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<b>Environment</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Air Pollution</li> <li>• Water Pollution</li> <li>• Natural resource conservation</li> <li>• Ecology (generally)</li> <li>• Environment (generally)</li> <li>• Litter/Garbage</li> <li>• Pollution (generally)</li> </ul>
<b>Energy</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Energy (generally)</li> <li>• Energy/ Fuel shortages</li> <li>• Energy/Oil Crisis</li> <li>• Energy Policy</li> <li>• Fuel/Oil Prices</li> <li>• Nuclear Power</li> <li>• Nuclear Plant accidents</li> <li>• When grouped with other factors: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Natural Resource conservation</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<b>Immigration</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• (Illegal) Aliens/Immigrants</li> <li>• Licenses for the undocumented</li> <li>• Refugees (too many)</li> <li>• Foreigners</li> </ul>
<b>Transportation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mass transportation (lack of or poor quality)</li> </ul>
<b>Law and Crime</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Availability of guns/ Gun Control (too strong or not enough)</li> <li>• Family breakdown/ decline</li> <li>• Child Abuse</li> <li>• Children's Behavior/ The way children are raised</li> <li>• Crime (generally)</li> <li>• Juvenile Delinquency/ Problems with teens</li> <li>• Violence</li> <li>• Law Enforcement/ Law and Order</li> <li>• Family (generally)</li> <li>• Guns (generally)</li> <li>• Generation Gap</li> <li>• Lack of Communication between people</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Judicial System and Criminal Justice</li> <li>• The Courts/ Supreme Court</li> <li>• Taking away parental rights</li> <li>• Riots (general)</li> <li>• Teen Pregnancy</li> <li>• When grouped with other factors: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Drugs/ Alcoholism</li> <li>○ Ethics/Moral/Religious Decline</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<b>Poverty and Social Welfare</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Care for the elderly (generally)</li> <li>• Children's Needs (generally)</li> <li>• Social Programs/ Welfare (cuts or too much spending)</li> <li>• Gap between rich and poor</li> <li>• Hunger/Starvation</li> <li>• Poverty (generally)</li> <li>• Homelessness</li> <li>• Problems of the elderly</li> <li>• Reagan's budget cuts for social programs</li> <li>• When grouped with other factors: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Water shortages</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<b>Housing and Community Development</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Housing costs</li> <li>• Slums</li> <li>• Urban Renewal</li> <li>• Housing (general)</li> <li>• Cities dying</li> </ul>
<b>Banking, Finance, and Domestic Commerce</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Corporate Issues (generally)</li> <li>• Natural disaster relief/funding/response</li> </ul>
<b>Defense and Veterans Issues</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nuclear war/Nuclear arms</li> <li>• Afghanistan War</li> <li>• Russian invasion</li> <li>• Arms talks (breakdown)</li> <li>• Excess Military/Defense Spending</li> <li>• Fear of war</li> <li>• War in Iraq</li> <li>• World peace</li> <li>• Lack of Military/Defense</li> <li>• Military/ Defense (generally)</li> <li>• Loss of freedom due to war</li> <li>• Middle East situation</li> <li>• Nuclear war (China, Russia)</li> <li>• Atom bomb</li> <li>• Southeast Asia Situation (Vietnam, China)</li> <li>• Spying/Espionage</li> <li>• The Mideast/ War in Lebanon</li> <li>• Vietnam War</li> <li>• War (generally)</li> </ul>

<b>Space, Science, Technology, and Communications</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Computer/Technology advancement</li> <li>• Media/ Television</li> <li>• Space Program</li> <li>• Too much spending on space program</li> <li>• Space shuttle disaster</li> <li>• The media</li> <li>• Y2K</li> </ul>
<b>Foreign Trade</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Foreign competition</li> <li>• Trade (generally)</li> <li>• Trade deficit</li> <li>• Loss of jobs/sales due to imports</li> </ul>
<b>International Affairs and Foreign Aid</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Specific countries/geographies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Berlin</li> <li>○ Bosnia</li> <li>○ Cambodia</li> <li>○ China</li> <li>○ Haiti</li> <li>○ Indo China</li> <li>○ Iran</li> <li>○ Iran/Contra affair</li> <li>○ Iraq and Kuwait</li> <li>○ Korea</li> <li>○ Kosovo</li> <li>○ Laos</li> <li>○ North Korea</li> <li>○ Panama Canal</li> <li>○ Persian Gulf crisis</li> <li>○ Russia</li> <li>○ Serbia</li> <li>○ Somalia</li> <li>○ Southeast Asia (generally)</li> <li>○ Soviet Union</li> <li>○ Syria</li> <li>○ Vietnam</li> <li>○ Yugoslavia</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Central American situation</li> <li>• Foreign aid (Generally)</li> <li>• Foreign affairs/ Foreign Policy (general)</li> <li>• Middle east situation</li> <li>• International Issues (Generally)</li> <li>• Prestige abroad</li> <li>• Saddam Hussein</li> <li>• Milosevic</li> <li>• ISIS</li> <li>• America First</li> <li>• When grouped with other factors: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Russian communist infiltration</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<b>Government Operations</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Abuse of Power</li> <li>• Apathy</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• CIA/FBI/Surveillance by the government</li> <li>• Clinton/Lewinsky controversy/ Impeachment</li> <li>• Corruption in government/ politics (generally)</li> <li>• Watergate</li> <li>• Dissatisfaction with government (generally)</li> <li>• Government leadership</li> <li>• Congress</li> <li>• Politicians</li> <li>• Unresponsive government</li> <li>• Lack of trust in government</li> <li>• Election Reform</li> <li>• Presidential Candidate choices</li> <li>• Government shutdown</li> <li>• Bill Clinton</li> <li>• George w. Bush</li> <li>• Barack Obama</li> <li>• Richard Nixon</li> <li>• Ronald Regan</li> <li>• Unifying the country</li> </ul>
<b>Public Lands and Water Management</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Water shortages</li> </ul>
<b>Social Security</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social Security (problems with)</li> </ul>
<b>Domestic Security</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Defense (with national security)</li> <li>• Defense spending (with national security)</li> <li>• National Security</li> <li>• Future security</li> <li>• Terrorism (generally)</li> <li>• Hostage Terrorism</li> </ul>
<b>Taxes</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Taxation (Too high)</li> <li>• Tax system Reform</li> <li>• Taxes (generally)</li> </ul>
<b>Deficit/ Debt</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Budget deficit</li> <li>• Excess government spending</li> <li>• Federal debt</li> <li>• Regan budget cuts</li> <li>• The budget (Generally)</li> </ul>
<b>Inflation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• High interest rates/cost of borrowing</li> <li>• Cost of Living</li> <li>• Inflation</li> <li>• Food prices</li> </ul>
<b>Uncategorized</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dishonesty/Lack of Integrity</li> <li>• Domestic</li> <li>• Lack of respect</li> <li>• Polarization</li> <li>• Republicans</li> </ul>
<b>Non-response categories</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All</li> <li>• Don't Know</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• None</li><li>• Miscellaneous</li><li>• No Opinion</li><li>• Other</li><li>• Refused</li></ul>
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**Appendix Table AA3.2: Survey Items Used to Calculate Policy-Specific Mood**

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
Economy	Under Macroeconomics: Price Control and Stabilization; Industrial Policy; General Domestic Macroeconomic Issues	SETWAGE	Here are some things the government might do for the economy. Circle one number for each action to show whether you are in favor of it or against it. Control of wages by legislation
		AIDINDUS	On the whole, do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to provide industry with the help it needs to grow? Definitely should be, probably should be, probably should not be, definitely should not be.
		HLPHITEC	Here are some things the government might do for the economy. Circle the number for each action to show whether you are in favor or if or against it: 1. Strongly in favor of, 2. In favor of, 3. Neither in favor nor against, 4. Against, 5. Strongly against. Support for industry to develop new products and technology
		SAVEJOBS	Here are some things the government might do for the economy. Circle one number for each action to show whether you are in favor of it or against it. Support declining industries to protect jobs.
		ENVCHOICE	With which one of these statements about the environment and the economy do you most agree? Protection of the environment should be given priority, even at the risk of curbing economic growth. Or, Economic growth should be given priority, even if the environment suffers to some extent.



Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		LESSREG	Here are some things the government might do for the economy. Circle one number for each action to show whether you are in favor of it or against it. Less government regulation of business.
		MAKEJOBS	Here are some things the government might do for the economy. Circle one number for each action to show whether you are in favor of it or against it. Government financing of projects to create new jobs.
		MJOBS	The government ought to see to it that every person who wants to work has a job. Agree or disagree?
		MJOBSSF2	In general, some people feel that the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Others think that the government should just let each person get ahead on his own. Have you been interested enough in this to favor one side over the other?
		MJOBSSF3	Some people feel that the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Others think that the government should just let each person get ahead on his own. What do you think?
Civil Rights, Minority Issues, and Civil Liberties	All items, Civil Rights/Liberties, Minority Issues	ABANY	Please tell me whether or not you think it should be possible for a pregnant woman to obtain a legal abortion if...the woman wants it for any reason?
		ABDEFECT	Please tell me whether or not you think it should be possible for a pregnant woman to obtain a legal abortion if... here is a strong chance of serious defect in the baby?

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		ABDIF	The following is a list of some programs and proposals that are being discussed in this country today. For each one, please tell me whether you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose it...Changing the laws to make it more difficult for a woman to get an abortion
		ABHARRIS	In 1973, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that states laws which made it illegal for a woman to have an abortion up to three months of pregnancy were unconstitutional, and that the decision on whether a woman should have an abortion up to three months of pregnancy should be left to the woman and her doctor to decide. In general, do you favor or oppose this part of the U.S. Supreme Court decision making abortions up to three months of pregnancy legal?
		ABHLTH	Please tell me whether or not you think it should be possible for a pregnant woman to obtain a legal abortion...if the woman's own health is seriously endangered by the pregnancy?
		ABNOMORE	Please tell me whether or not you think it should be possible for a pregnant woman to obtain a legal abortion...if she is married and does not want any more children?
		ABNOTWED	Please tell me whether or not you think it should be possible for a pregnant woman to obtain a legal abortion if...she is not married and does not want to marry the man?
		ABNYTLIF	Which of these comes closest to your view? 1. Abortion should be generally available to those who want it, or 2. Abortion should be available but under stricter limits than it is now, or 3. Abortion should be against the law except in cases of rape or incest

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		ABORTG	Do you think abortions should be legal under any circumstances, legal only under certain circumstances, or illegal in all circumstances?
		ABORTG4	Do you think abortion should be legal under any circumstances, legal only under certain circumstances, or illegal in all circumstances? If certain circumstances: Do you think abortion should be legal in most circumstances or only in a few circumstances?
		ABORTG5	Would you like to see abortion laws in this country made more strict, less strict, or remain as they are?
		ABORTM1	Which abortion options preferred? never, life and health, difficulty caring, never forbid
		ABORTM2	I am going to read you a short list of opinions. Please tell me which one of the opinions best agrees with your view? You can just tell me the number of the opinion you choose. 1. By law, abortion should never be permitted. 2. The law should permit abortion only in cases of rape, incest, or the woman's life is in danger. 3. The law should permit abortion for reasons other than rape, incest, or danger to the woman's life, but only after the need for the abortion has been clearly established. 4. By law, a woman should always be able to obtain as a matter of personal choice.

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		ABORTM3	There has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. Which one of the opinions on this page best agrees with your view? You can just tell me the number of the opinion you choose. 1. By law, abortion should never be permitted. 2. The law should permit abortion only in cases of rape, incest, or the woman's life is in danger. 3. The law should permit abortion for reasons other than rape, incest, or danger to the woman's life, but only after the need for the abortion has been clearly established. 4. By law, a woman should always be able to obtain as a matter of personal choice.
		ABORTNBC	Which of the following best represents your views about abortion? The choice on abortion should be left up to the woman and her doctor. Abortion should be legal only in cases in which pregnancy results from rape or incest or when the life of the woman is at risk. Or, abortion should be illegal in all circumstances.
		ABORTNYT	Which of these comes closer to your view? 1. Abortion should be generally available to those who want it. 2. Abortion should be available but under stricter limits than it is now. 3. Abortion should not be permitted.
		AbortNYT	Which of these comes closer to your view? 1. Abortion should be generally available to those who want it. 2. Abortion should be available but under stricter limits than it is now. 3. Abortion should not be permitted.

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		AbortNYT4	Which one of the following four statements comes closest to your views on abortion: 1. Abortion should be generally available to those who want to choose it. 2. Abortion should be available, but under stricter limits than it is now. 3. Abortion should be against the law except in cases of rape, incest, and to save the woman's life. 4. Abortion should not be permitted at all.
		BIRTHCON	In some places in the united states it is not legal to supply birth control information. how do you feel about this—do you think birth control information should be available to anyone who wants it, or not?
		CBSABORT	What is your personal feeling about abortion? It should be permitted in all cases. It should be permitted, but subject to greater restrictions than it is now. It should be permitted only in cases such as rape, incest and to save the woman's life. It should only be permitted to save the woman's life.
		CHOICE	On the issue of abortion, would you say that you are more pro-choice or more pro-life?
		PATRTACT	Some people say the Patriot Act is a necessary tool that helps the government find terrorists, while others say it goes too far and is a threat to civil liberties. Which comes closer to your view—is the Patriot Act a necessary tool that helps the government find terrorists or does it go too far and pose a threat to civil liberties?

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		ROEGOOD	More than 35 years ago, the Supreme Court's decision in Roe versus Wade established a constitutional right for women to obtain legal abortions in this country. In general, do you think the Court's decision was a good thing or a bad thing?
		RPPRIVAT	There are many problems facing our nation today. But at certain times some things are more important than others, and need more attention from our Federal Government than others. I'd like to know for each of the things on this list whether you think it is something the government should be making a major effort on now, or something the government should be making some effort on now, or something not needing any particular government effort now. Seeking ways to protect the privacy of individuals in our society
		BANBOOK2	Now I'm going to read you some more pairs of statements. As I read each pair, tell me whether the first statement or the second statement comes closer to your own views—even if neither is exactly right. The pair is...books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries and public school libraries should be allowed to carry any books they want.
		BANBOOKS	Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries.
		PRAYER	The United States Supreme Court has ruled that no state or local government may require the reading of the Lord's Prayer or Bible verses in public schools. What are your views on this—do you approve or disapprove of the court ruling?

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		PRAYGAL	Do you favor or oppose a proposed Amendment to the U.S. Constitution that would allow voluntary prayer in the public schools?
		PRAYPSRA	I'm going to read you some proposals concerning social issues that were discussed during this year's presidential and congressional campaigns. As I read each one, tell me if you generally favor it or oppose it. Do you favor or oppose...passing a constitutional amendment to allow voluntary prayer in public schools?
		CIVUNION	Would you support or oppose a law that would allow same-sex couples to form civil unions, giving them many of the legal rights of married couples?
		EQCHANCE	I am going to read several statements. Please tell me if you agree or disagree. One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give everyone an equal chance.
		EQUALIZE	On the whole, do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to...Reduce income differences between the rich and poor.
		EQUALOPP	I am going to read several statements. Please tell me if you agree or disagree. Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed.

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		EQWLTH	Some people think that the government in Washington ought to reduce the income differences between the rich and the poor, perhaps by raising the taxes of wealthy families or by giving income assistance to the poor. Others think that the government should not concern itself with reducing this income difference between the rich and the poor. Here is a card with a scale from 1 to 7. Think of a score of 1 as meaning that the government ought to reduce the income differences between rich and poor, and a score of 7 meaning that the government should not concern itself with reducing income differences. What score between 1 and 7 comes closest to the way you feel?
		GAYAMEND	Would you favor or oppose a constitutional amendment that would define marriage as being between a man and a woman, thus barring marriages between gay or lesbian couples?
		GAYJOBS	Do you favor or oppose laws to protect homosexuals against job discrimination?
		GAYMAR	Should same-sex couples be ALLOWED to marry, or do you think they should NOT BE ALLOWED to marry?
		GAYMARNY	Which comes closest to your view? Gay couples should be allowed to legally marry, or gay couples should be allowed to form civil unions but not legally marry, or there should be no legal recognition of a gay couple's relationship?
		GAYWED	Do you think marriages between homosexuals should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?



Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		GAYWEDABC	Do you think it should be legal or illegal for homosexual couples to get married (If legal/Illegal, ask:) (Is that strongly or somewhat?)
		GAYWEDFOX	Do you believe gays and lesbians should be allowed to get legally married, allowed a legal partnership similar to but not called marriage, or should there be no legal recognition given to gay and lesbian relationships?
		GAYWEDPSR	Do you favor or oppose allowing gay and lesbian couples to marry legally?
		MARHOMO	Homosexuals should have right to marry. Agree or disagree?
		MARRIAGE	Would you support or oppose amending the United States Constitution to ban same-sex marriage?
		MOREQUAL	If people were treated more equally in this country we would have many fewer problems. Agree or disagree?
		MTOOFAST	Civil rights too fast. Agree or disagree?
		NOPROB	I am going to read several statements. One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give everyone an equal chance. Agree or disagree?
		NOWORRY	This country would be better off if we worried less about how equal people are. Agree or disagree?
		PSGAYUN	Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians couples to enter into legal agreements with each other that would give them many of the same rights as married couples?
		TORTURE	Do you think the use of torture against suspected terrorists in order to gain important information can often be justified, sometimes be justified, rarely be justified, or never be justified?

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		AA	Some people say that because of past discrimination, blacks should be given preference in hiring and promotion. Others say that such preference in hiring and promotion of blacks is wrong because it gives blacks advantages they haven't earned. What about your opinion – are you FOR or AGAINST preferential hiring and promotion of blacks?
		AABLWOM	Do you generally favor or oppose affirmative action programs for women and minorities?
		AACOMP	Some people think that if a company has a history of discriminating against blacks when making hiring decisions, then they should be required to have an affirmative action program that gives blacks preference in hiring. What do you think? Should companies that have discriminated against blacks have to have an affirmative action program?
		AANBCWSJ	Statement A: Affirmative action programs are still needed to counteract the effects of discrimination against minorities, and are a good idea as long as there are no rigid quotas. OR, Statement B: Affirmative action programs have gone too far in favoring minorities, and should be ended because they unfairly discriminate against whites.
		ACCOM	As you may know, Congress passed a bill that says that black people should have the right to go to any hotel or restaurant they can afford, just like anybody else. Some people feel that this is something the government in Washington should support. Others not. What do you think?

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		ADMITAK	Would You Favor Or Oppose Having Alaska Admitted As A State In The Union?
		ADMITHA	Would You Favor Or Oppose Having Hawaii Admitted As A 49th State In The Union?
		AFFRMACT	Some people say that because of past discrimination, blacks should be given preference in hiring and promotion. Others say that such preference in hiring and promotion of blacks is wrong because it discriminates against whites. What about your opinion—are you for or against preferential hiring and promotion of blacks?
		AIDMIN	I would like to get your opinion on several areas of important government activities. As I read each one, please tell me if you would like to see the government do more, less or do about the same amount as they have been on...Helping minority groups.
		BUSING	In general, do you favor or oppose the busing of negro/black and white school children from one district to another?
		DESEG	Are you in favor of desegregation, strict segregation, or something in between?
		GTOOFAST	Do you think the [current President] administration is pushing racial integration too fast, or not fast enough?
		HELPBLK	Some think Blacks/Negroes have been discriminated against for so long that government has a special obligation to improve their living standards. Others believe that government should not be giving special treatment. Where would you place yourself on this scale?
		INBETWEE	Are you in favor of desegregation, strict segregation, or something in between?

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		MAID	Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every possible effort to improve the social and economic position of Negroes and other minority groups. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help minorities because they should be expected to help themselves. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought very much about this?
		MBUS	There is much discussion about the best way to deal with racial problems. Some people think that achieving racial integration of schools is so important that it justifies busing children to schools out of their own neighborhoods. Others think that letting children go to their neighborhood schools is so important that they oppose busing. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought very much about this?
		MDESEG	Does R favor desegregation?
		MFAIR	If negroes are not getting fair treatment in jobs and housing, the government should see to it that they do. Agree or disagree?
		MFAIRF2	Some feel that if negroes are not getting fair treatment in jobs the government in Washington ought to see to it that they do. Others feel that this is not the federal government's business. What do you think?
		NATRACE	Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on improving the conditions of Blacks?
		NATRACEY	Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on assistance to blacks?

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		NYTAA	Do you believe that where there has been job discrimination against blacks in the past, preference in hiring or promotion should be given to blacks today?
		NYTHELP	Do you think the government should do more to help blacks, or has it done enough, or has it done too much already?
		RACOPEN	Suppose there is a community wide vote on the general housing issue. There are two possible laws to vote on: A. One law says that a homeowner can decide for himself whom to sell his house to, even if he prefers not to sell to Negroes/Blacks/African Americans. B. The second law says that a homeowner cannot refuse to sell to someone because of their race or color. Which law would you vote for?
		RIT2LIV	Some people say that Negroes should be allowed to live in any part of town they want to. How do you feel? Should Negroes be allowed to live in any part of town they want to or not?
		RPGHETTO	There are many problems facing our nation today. But at certain times some things are more important than others and need more attention. I'd like to know for each of the things on this list whether you think it is something we should be making the government should be making a major effort on now, or something the government should be making some effort on now, or something not needing any particular government effort now. Trying to solve the problems caused by ghettos, race and poverty

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		SCHSEG	Some people say that the government in Washington should see to it that white and Negro children are allowed to go to the same schools. Others claim that this is not the government's business. Have you been concerned enough about this question to favor one side over the other?
		SPAIDB	Should federal spending on AID TO BLACKS be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?
		STRCTSEG	Are you in favor of desegregation, strict segregation, or something in between?
		VOTE18	Would you favor or oppose lowering the voting age limit so that persons 18, 19, and 20 years old could vote in elections?
		FIREHOMO	School boards ought to have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals.
		GAYMIL	Do you think homosexuals should be allowed to serve in the United States Armed Forces or don't you think so?
		GMILABC1	Do you think homosexuals who do NOT publicly disclose their sexual orientation should be allowed to serve in the military or not?
		GMILABC2	Do you think homosexuals who DO publicly disclose their sexual orientation should be allowed to serve in the military or not?
		MWOMEN	Recently there has been a lot of talk about women's rights. Some people feel that women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry, and government. Others feel that a woman's place is in the home. What do you think?

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		WOMHIRE	Some people say that because of past discrimination, women should be given preference in hiring and promotion. Others say that such preference in hiring and promotion of women is wrong because it discriminates against men. What about your opinion -- are you for or against preferential hiring and promotion of women?
		WOMHIRE2	Now I'm going to read several statements. As I read each one, please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, or strongly disagree. Because of past discrimination, employers should make special efforts to hire and promote qualified women.
		MCCARTHY	The 10 Boxes On This Card Go From The Highest Position Of Plus 5--or Something You Like Very Much--to The Lowest Position Of Minus 5--or Something You Dislike Very Much. Put Your Finger On The Box Which Best Tells How You Feel About...Joseph McCarthy
		NCPRADIO	In peacetime, do you think members of the Communist Party in this country should be allowed to speak on the radio?
		ABCABORT	Do you think abortion should be legal in all cases, legal in most cases, illegal in most cases, or illegal in all cases?
		ABORTORC	Do you think abortion should be legal under any circumstances, legal only under certain circumstances, or illegal in all circumstances?
		ABPOOR	Please tell me whether or not you think it should be possible for a pregnant woman to obtain a legal abortion if...the family has a very low income and cannot afford any more children?

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		ABRAPE	Please tell me whether or not you think it should be possible for a pregnant woman to obtain a legal abortion if...she became pregnant as a result of rape?
		STEMCELL	Sometimes fertility clinics produce extra fertilized eggs, also called embryos, that are implanted in a woman's womb. These extra embryos either are discarded, or couples can donate them for use in medical research called stem-cell research. Some people support stem-cell research, saying it's an important way to find treatments for many diseases. Other people oppose stem-cell research, saying it's wrong to use any human embryos for research purposes. What about you—do you support or oppose stem-cell research?
		ABCBAN	Would you support amending the U.S. (United States) Constitution to make it against the law for homosexual couples to get married anywhere in the U.S., or should each state make its own laws on homosexual marriage?
		ABCCU	Do you think homosexual couples should or should not be allowed to form legally recognized civil unions, giving them the legal rights of married couples in areas such as health insurance, inheritance and pension coverage?
		BANMAR	Would you support or oppose amending the United States Constitution to ban same sex marriage?
		HOMOMAR	Do you think marriages between homosexuals should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
		MADOPT	Do you think gay or lesbian couples, in other words, homosexual couples, should be legally permitted to adopt children?



Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		HOMOJOBS	In general, do you think homosexuals should or should not have equal rights in terms of job opportunities?
Health	All items, Health	HCREFORM	As of right now, do you favor or oppose the healthcare reform proposals presently being discussed?
		STEMCELL	Sometimes fertility clinics produce extra fertilized eggs, also called embryos, that are implanted in a woman's womb. These extra embryos either are discarded, or couples can donate them for use in medical research called stem-cell research. Some people support stem-cell research, saying it's an important way to find treatments for many diseases. Other people oppose stem-cell research, saying it's wrong to use any human embryos for research purposes. What about you—do you support or oppose stem-cell research?
		SPHLTH	Listed below are various areas of government spending. Please indicate whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area. Remember that if you say 'much more,' it might require a tax increase to pay for it....Spend much more, spend more, spend the same as now, spend less, spend much less...Health
		SPAIDS	Should federal spending on SPENDING ON AIDS RESEARCH be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		RPHEALTH	There are many problems facing our nation today. But at certain times some things are more important than others, and need more attention from our Federal Government than others. I'd like to know for each of the things on this list whether you think it is something the government should be making a major effort on now, or something the government should be making some effort on now, or something not needing any particular government effort now. Taking steps to contain the cost of health care.
		NYTHINS2	Do you favor or oppose national health insurance, which would be financed by tax money, paying for most forms of health care?
		NYTHINS	Do you think the federal government should require companies to provide health insurance for all of their workers, or is this something that should be left up to the individual company?
		NYTHEAL	Do you think the government in Washington should guarantee medical care for all people who don't have health insurance, or isn't that the responsibility of the government in Washington?
		NATSCI	Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on supporting scientific research?
		NATHEALY	Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on health?
		NATHEAL	Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on improving and protecting the nation's health?

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		MHEALTH3	There is much concern about the rapid rise in medical and hospital costs. Some feel there should be a government insurance plan which would cover all medical and hospital expenses. Others feel that medical expenses should be paid by individuals, and through private insurance like Blue Cross. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought very much about this?
		MHEALTH2	Some say the government in Washington ought to help people get doctors and hospital care at low cost; others say the government should not get into this. Have you been interested enough in this to favor one side over the other?
		MHEALTH1	The government ought to help people get doctors and hospital care at low cost. Agree or disagree?
		MAINTAIN	Which of the following approaches for providing health care in the United States would you prefer—replacing the current health care system with a new government run health care system, or maintaining the current system based mostly on private health insurance?
		HLHTAX	I notice you said you would like the government to do more on (health measures). Would you favor this increased activity if it required an increase in taxes?
		HLTHPSRA	I'd like to read you a list of some programs and proposals that are being discussed in this country today. For each one, please tell me whether you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose it...The U.S. government guaranteeing health insurance for all citizens, even if it means raising taxes.

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		HLTHMORE	I would like to get your opinion on several areas of important government activities. As I read each one, please tell me if you would like government to do more, do less, or do about the same as they have been...Health measures?
		HLTHCARE	On the whole, do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to provide health care for the sick? Definitely should be, probably should be, probably should not be, definitely should not be.
		HELPSICK	In general, some people think that it is the responsibility of the government in Washington to see to it that people have help in paying for doctors and hospital bills. Others think that these matters are not the responsibility of the federal government and that people should take care of these things themselves. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you made up your mind on this?
		HEALTHGOV	Do you think it is the responsibility of the federal government to make sure all Americans have health care coverage, or is that not the responsibility of the federal government?
Agriculture	N/A		
Jobs/Unemployment	Under Macroeconomics: Unemployment rate; all items, Labor, Employment	CUTHOURS	Here are some things the government might do for the economy. Circle one number for each action to show whether you are in favor of it or against it. Reducing the work week to create more jobs
		INFLJOBS	If the government had to choose between keeping down inflation or keeping down unemployment to which do you think it should give highest priority?

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		JOBS-TR	I would like to get your opinion on several areas of important government activities. As I read each one, please tell me if you would like to see the government do more, less or do about the same amount as they have been on...Expanding employment.
		JOBSALL	On the whole, do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to . . . Provide a job for everyone who wants one.
		NYTENV2	Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: We must protect the environment even if it means jobs in your community are lost because of it.
		RPUNEMP	There are many problems facing our nation today. But at certain times some things are more important than others, and need more attention from our Federal Government than others. I'd like to know for each of the things on this list whether you think it is something the government should be making a major effort on now, or something the government should be making some effort on now, or something not needing any particular government effort now. Trying to reduce unemployment.
		SAVEJOBS	Here are some things the government might do for the economy. Circle one number for each action to show whether you are in favor of it or against it. Support declining industries to protect jobs.
		APUNIONS	In general, do you approve or disapprove of labor unions?
		LABORPOW	Do you think that labor unions in this country have too much power or too little power?

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		ORCUNION	There is a law that guarantees workers the right to form unions and bargain with their employers. On the whole, do you approve or disapprove of a law for this purpose?
		MINWPSRA	As I list some programs and proposals that are being discussed in this country today, please tell me whether you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose each...An increase in the minimum wage, from \$5.15 an hour to \$7.15 an hour
		MAKEJOBS	Here are some things the government might do for the economy. Circle one number for each action to show whether you are in favor of it or against it. Government financing of projects to create new jobs.
		THREAT	In your opinion, which of the following do you think will be the biggest threat to the country in the future—big business, big labor, or big government?
		NATCHLD	Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on assistance for childcare?
		PRESCHL	A proposal has been made to make childcare centers available for all preschool children as part of the public school system. This program would be supported by taxes. Would you favor or oppose such a program in your school district?
		SPCHILDC	Should federal spending on CHILD CARE be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?
Education	All items, Education	EDAID	If the cities and towns around the country need help to build more schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need.

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		EDAIDF2	Some people think the government in Washington should help towns and cities provide education for grade and high school children; others think that this should be handled by the states and local communities. Have you been interested enough in this to favor one side over the other?
		EDMORE	I would like to get your opinion on several areas of important government activities. As I read each one, please tell me if you would like to see the government do more, less or do about the same amount as they have been on...Education?
		NATEDUC	Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on improving the nation's education system?
		NATEDUCY	Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on education?
		PRESCHL	A proposal has been made to make childcare centers available for all preschool children as part of the public school system. This program would be supported by taxes. Would you favor or oppose such a program in your school district?
		PRIVSCH	A proposal has been made that would allow parents to send their school-age children to any public, private, or churchrelated school they choose. For those parents choosing nonpublic schools, the government would pay all or part of the tuition. Would you favor or oppose this proposal in your state?

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		SCHAID	Some people say that government should give financial help to build schools, especially in poorer states. Others say this will mean higher taxes and that communities should built their own schools. How do you, yourself, feel, do you favor or oppose federal aid to help build new public schools?
		VOUCHERS	Do you favor or oppose providing parents with tax money in the form of school vouchers to help pay for their children to attend private or religious schools?
		SPARTS	Listed below are various areas of government spending. Please indicate whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area. Remember that if you say ‘much more,’ it might require a tax increase to pay for it....Spend much more, spend more, spend the same as now, spend less, spend much less...Culture and the arts.
		EDTAX	I notice you said you would like the government to do more on education. Would you favor this increased activity if it required an increase in taxes?
		SPSCHOOL	Listed below are various areas of government spending. Please indicate whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area. Remember that if you say ‘much more,’ it might require a tax increase to pay for it....Spend much more, spend more, spend the same as now, spend less, spend much less...Education.
		SPSCHOOL	Should federal spending on PUBLIC SCHOOLS be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?



Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		AIDCOL	On the whole, do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to give financial assistance to college students from low-income families? Definitely should be, probably should be, probably should not be, definitely should not be.
Environment	All items, Environment	CAPTRADE	There's a proposed system called 'cap and trade.' The government would issue permits limiting the amount of greenhouse gases companies can put out. Companies that did not use all their permits could sell them to other companies. The idea is that many companies would find ways to put out less greenhouse gases, because that would be cheaper than buying permits. Would you support or oppose this system?
		DOENV	Do you think the U.S. government is doing too much, too little, or about the right amount in terms of protecting the environment?
		ENVCHOICE	With which one of these statements about the environment and the economy do you most agree? Protection of the environment should be given priority, even at the risk of curbing economic growth. Or, Economic growth should be given priority, even if the environment suffers to some extent.
		ENVLAWS	On the whole, do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to impose strict laws to make industry do less damage to the environment? Definitely should be, probably should be, probably should not be, definitely should not be?

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		ENVPRICE	Now I am going to read you another series of statements on some different topics. For each statement, please tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it...People should be willing to pay higher prices in order to protect the environment.
		ENVREG	Some people think we need much tougher government regulations on business in order to protect the environment. Others think that current regulations to protect the environment are already too much of a burden on business.
		HOWWILL	How willing would you be to pay much higher prices in order to protect the environment? Very willing, fairly willing, neither willing nor unwilling, not very willing, not at all willing?
		NATENVIR	Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on improving and protecting the environment?
		NATENVIY	Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on the environment?
		NYTENV2	Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: We must protect the environment even if it means jobs in your community are lost because of it.
		NYTENVIR	Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Protecting the environment is so important that requirements and standards cannot be too high, and continuing environmental improvements must be made regardless of cost.

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		SPENVIRO	Listed below are various areas of government spending. Please indicate whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area. Remember that if you say 'much more,' it might require a tax increase to pay for it....Spend much more, spend more, spend the same as now, spend less, spend much less...The environment
		SPENVPR	Should federal spending on ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?
		STRICTLAW	I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it...There needs to be stricter laws and regulations to protect the environment
		DRILL	Do you think the federal government should or should not allow oil drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in Alaska?
Energy	All items, Energy	CONSERVE	Now I am going to read you another series of statements on some different topics. For each statement, please tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. We should put more emphasis on fuel conservation than on developing new oil supplies.
		DRILL	Do you think the federal government should or should not allow oil drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in Alaska?

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		ENVENERG	With which one of these statements about the environment and energy production do you most agree— protection of the environment should be given priority, even at the risk of limiting the amount of energy supplies— such as oil, gas and coal— which the United States produces or development of U.S. energy supplies—such as oil, gas and coal—should be given priority, even if the environment suffers to some extent?
Immigration	All items, Immigration	IMMIGRAT	Should immigration to the United States be kept at its present level, increased, or decreased?
		IMMKEPT	Thinking now about immigrants, that is, people who come from other countries to live here in the United States: In your view, should immigration be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?
		IMMLEGAL	Should legal immigration into the United States be kept at its present level, increased, or decreased?
		IMMRATE	Does R think number of immigrants should be increased or decreased?
		PSRAIMM	Now I am going to read you another series of statements on some different topics. For each statement, please tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it...We should restrict and control people coming into our country to live more than we do now.
		SPIMMIG	Should federal spending on TIGHTENING BORDER SECURITY TO PREVENT ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?
Transportation	All items, Transportation	NATROAD	Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on highways and bridges?

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		SPHWAY	If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, should federal spending on BUILDING AND REPAIRING HIGHWAYS be increased decreased or kept about the same?
		NATMASS	Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on mass transportation?
Law and Crime	All items, Law and Crime	MCRIME	Some people say that the best way to reduce crime is to address the social problems that cause crime, like bad schools, poverty and joblessness. Other people say the best way to reduce crime is to make sure that criminals are caught, convicted and punished. What do you think?
		SPCRIME	Should federal spending on DEALING WITH CRIME be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?
		SPIMMIG	Should federal spending on TIGHTENING BORDER SECURITY TO PREVENT ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?
		BANGUNS	Do you favor or oppose a ban on the sale of all handguns, except those that are issued to law enforcement officers?
		FIREARMS	In general, do you feel that the laws covering the sale of firearms should be made more strict, less strict, or kept as they are now?
		GALGUN2	Now here are some questions about guns. first, let's talk about handguns, such as pistols and revolvers. in general, do you feel that the laws covering the sale of handguns should be made more strict, less strict, or kept as they are now?
		GUNABC	Do you favor or oppose stricter gun control laws in this country? (If favor/oppose, ask:) Is that strongly or somewhat favor/oppose?

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		GUNLAW	Do you favor or oppose each of the following...Gun control laws?
		GUNLAW	Would you favor or oppose a law which would require a person to obtain a police permit before he or she could buy a gun?
		GUNLAWY	Do you favor or oppose each of the following...Gun control laws.
		GUNPEW	What do you think is more important: to protect the right of Americans to own guns or to control gun ownership?
		GUNSTRICT	In general, do you feel the laws covering the sale of hand guns should be made more strict, less strict, or kept as they are now?
		HALLGUNS	Do you favor or oppose federal laws which control the sale of guns, such as making all persons register all gun purchases with federal authorities?
		HANDGUN	Do you favor or oppose mandatory registration of all handguns?
		HHANDGUN	Do you favor or oppose a federal law requiring that all handguns people own be registered by federal authorities?
		NATCRIMY	Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on law enforcement?
		PEWGUN	What do you think is more important—to protect the right of Americans to own guns, or to control gun ownership?
		SPPOLICE	Listed below are various areas of government spending. Please indicate whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area. Remember that if you say 'much more,' it might require a tax increase to pay for it....Spend much more, spend more, spend the same as now, spend less, spend much less...The police and law enforcement.
		STRICTORC	Would you like to see gun laws in this country made more strict, less strict, or remain as they are?

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		CAPPUN	Does R favor/oppose the death penalty?
		CAPPUN	Are you in favor of the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?
		CAPPUN	Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?
		CAPPUNH	Do you believe in capital punishment, that is, the death penalty, or are you opposed to it?
		COURTSY	In general, do you think the courts in this area deal too harshly, or not harshly enough with criminals, or don't you have enough information about the courts to say?
		DEATHFAIR	Generally speaking, do you believe the death penalty is applied fairly or unfairly in this country today?
		DEATHOFT	In your opinion, is the death penalty imposed...too often, about the right amount, or not often enough?
		HARSH	In General, Do You Think The Courts In This Area Deal Too Harshly Or Not Harshly Enough With Criminals?
		MRIGHTS	Some people are primarily concerned with doing everything possible to protect the rights of those accused of committing crimes. Others feel that it is more important to stop criminal activity even at the risk of reducing the rights of the accused. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought very much about this?
		NYTDEATH	Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?
		NATCRIME	Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on halting the rising crime rate?

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		UNREST	There is much discussion about the best way to deal with the problem of urban unrest and rioting. Some say it is more important to use all available force to maintain law and order – no matter what results. Others say it is more important to correct the problems of poverty and unemployment that give rise to the disturbances. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought very much about this?
		NATDRUG	Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount dealing with drug addiction?
		MADOPT	Do you think gay or lesbian couples, in other words, homosexual couples, should be legally permitted to adopt children?
Poverty and Social Welfare	All items, Social Welfare EXCEPT those under Elderly Issues	AIDUNEMP	On the whole, do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to provide a decent standard of living for the unemployed? Definitely should be, probably should be, probably
		EQUALIZE	On the whole, do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to...Reduce income differences between the rich and poor.



Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		EQWLTH	Some people think that the government in Washington ought to reduce the income differences between the rich and the poor, perhaps by raising the taxes of wealthy families or by giving income assistance to the poor. Others think that the government should not concern itself with reducing this income difference between the rich and the poor. Here is a card with a scale from 1 to 7. Think of a score of 1 as meaning that the government ought to reduce the income differences between rich and poor, and a score of 7 meaning that the government should not concern itself with reducing income differences. What score between 1 and 7 comes closest to the way you feel?
		EQWLTHY	What is your opinion of the following statement? It is the responsibility of the government to reduce the differences in income between people with high incomes and those with low incomes.
		GALNEEDY	What is your opinion of the following statement? It is the responsibility of the government to reduce the differences in income between people with high incomes and those with low incomes.
		GOVEQINC	Do you agree or disagree...it is the responsibility of the government to reduce the differences in income between people with high incomes and those with low incomes.

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		HELPPPOOR	Some people think that the government in Washington should do everything possible to improve the standard of living for all poor Americans, they are at point 1 on this card. Other people think it is not the government's responsibility, and that each person should take care of himself, they are at point 5. Where would you place yourself on this scale or haven't you made up your mind on this?
		INCGUAR	Some people have said that instead of providing welfare and relief payments, the federal government should guarantee every American family a minimum yearly income of about \$3,000. Would you personally favor or oppose such an income guarantee?
		NATCHLD	Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on assistance for childcare?
		NATFARE	Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on welfare?
		NATFAREY	Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on assistance to the poor?
		NOPROB	I am going to read several statements. One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give everyone an equal chance. Agree or disagree?
		PSRACARE	I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it...It is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who can't take care of themselves

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		PSRANEED	I'm going to read you some pairs of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. As I read each pair, tell me whether the first statement or the second statement comes closer to your own views—even if neither is exactly right. The pair is...the government should do more to help needy Americans, even if it means going deeper into debt or, the government today can't afford to do much more to help the needy. Do you feel strongly about that, or not?
		SPCHILDC	Should federal spending on CHILD CARE be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?
		SPHOMLES	Does R think government should increase or decrease spending on the homeless?
		SPPOOR	Should federal spending on AID TO POOR PEOPLE be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?
		SPUNEMP	Listed below are various areas of government spending. Please indicate whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area. Remember that if you say 'much more,' it might require a tax increase to pay for it....Spend much more, spend more, spend the same as now, spend less, spend much less...Unemployment benefits.
		SPWELFAR	Should federal spending on WELFARE PROGRAMS be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?
		TWOYEAR	Does R favor or oppose 2 year limit on welfare?
		WHYPOOR	In your opinion, which is more often to blame if a person is poor—lack of effort on his part or circumstances beyond his control?

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		SPFOOD	Should federal spending on FOOD STAMPS be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?
		EQUALOPP	I am going to read several statements. Please tell me if you agree or disagree. Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed.
		MCRIME	Some people say that the best way to reduce crime is to address the social problems that cause crime, like bad schools, poverty and joblessness. Other people say the best way to reduce crime is to make sure that criminals are caught, convicted and punished. What do you think?
		NOWORRY	This country would be better off if we worried less about how equal people are. Agree or disagree?
Housing and Community Development	All items, Housing and Community Development	AIDCITY	Many of our major central cities are experiencing financial difficulty, would you favor or oppose special federal aid for these central cities?
		NATCITY	Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on solving the problems of the big cities?
		NATCITYY	Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on assistance to big cities?
		RSCITIES	We are faced with many problems in this country, none of which can be solved easily or inexpensively. I'm going to name some of these problems, and for each one I'd like you to tell me whether you think we're spending too much money on it, too little money, or about the right amount. Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on solving the problems of the big cities?

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		URBREN	I would like to get your opinion on several areas of important government activities. As I read each one, please tell me if you would like to see the government do more, less or do about the same amount as they have been on urban renewal?
		SPHOMLES	Does R think government should increase or decrease spending on the homeless?
		AIDHOUSE	On the whole, do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to provide decent housing for those who can't afford it?
Banking, Finance, and Domestic Commerce	All items, Banking and Finance	BUSPOW	How about business and industry, do they have too much power or too little power?
		ENVLAWS	On the whole, do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to impose strict laws to make industry do less damage to the environment? Definitely should be, probably should be, probably should not be, definitely should not be?
		ENVREG	Some people think we need much tougher government regulations on business in order to protect the environment. Others think that current regulations to protect the environment are already too much of a burden on business
		LESSREG	Here are some things the government might do for the economy. Circle one number for each action to show whether you are in favor of it or against it. Less government regulation of business

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		NYTENVIR	Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Protecting the environment is so important that requirements and standards cannot be too high, and continuing environmental improvements must be made regardless of cost.
		REGULATE	What is your feeling about government regulation of business—would you say it's better to regulate business pretty closely, or would you say the less regulation of business the better?
		STRICTLAW	I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it...There needs to be stricter laws and regulations to protect the environment
		THREAT	In your opinion, which of the following do you think will be the biggest threat to the country in the future—big business, big labor, or big government?
		THREAT	In your opinion, which one of these do you think will be the biggest threat to the personal freedom of people in this country in the future?
		THREATFX	What do you think is a greater potential threat to the country's future—big business or big government?

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		RPBUYER	There are many problems facing our nation today. But at certain times some things are more important than others, and need more attention from our Federal Government than others. I'd like to know for each of the things on this list whether you think it is something the government should be making a major effort on now, or something the government should be making some effort on now, or something not needing any particular government effort now. Trying to establish more controls to protect consumers on the products and services they buy.
Defense and Veterans Issues	Under Defense: General Defense Issues	MILXG3	There is much discussion as to the amount of money the government in washington should spend for national defense and military purposes. how do you feel about this: do you think we are spending too little, too much or about the right amount
		MILXM	Less for defense or increase defense spending?
		MILXM2	Military powerful enough or cut spending?
		NATARMS	Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on the military, armaments and defense?
		NATARMSY	Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on national defense?
		SPARMS	Listed below are various areas of government spending. Please indicate whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area. Remember that if you say "much more", it might require a tax increase to pay for it. The military and defense.

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
Space, Science, Technology, and Communications	All items, Space, Science, Technology, Communications	NATSCI	Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on supporting scientific research?
		SPSCIENCE	Should federal spending on SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY be INCREASED, DECREASED, or kept ABOUT THE SAME?
		SPSPACE	Should federal spending on SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY be INCREASED, DECREASED, or kept ABOUT THE SAME?
		NATSPAC	We are faced with many problems in this country, none of which can be solved easily or inexpensively. I'm going to name some of these problems, and for each one I'd like you to tell me whether you think we're spending too much money on it, too little money, or about the right amount. Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on the space exploration program?
		NATSPACY	Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on space exploration?
Foreign Trade	N/A		
International Affairs and Foreign Aid	All items, International Affairs, Foreign Aid	NATAID	Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on foreign aid?
		NATAIDY	Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on assistance to other countries?
		SPFORAID	Should federal spending on foreign aid be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?
		TORTURE	Do you think the use of torture against suspected terrorists in order to gain important information can often be justified, sometimes be justified, rarely be justified, or never be justified?



Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
Government Operations	All items, Government Operations	HELPNOT	Some think that the government is trying to do too many things that should be left to individuals and private businesses. Others disagree and think that government should do even more to solve our country's problems. Where would you place yourself on this scale?
		MTOOBIG	What is your feeling, do you think the Government in Washington is getting too powerful or do you think the government has not gotten too strong?
		NYTBIGGV	Generally speaking, would you say you favor smaller government with fewer services, or larger government with more services?
		SERVSPND	Some people think that the government should provide fewer services, even in areas such as health and education, in order to reduce spending. Other people feel that it is important for the government to provide many more services, even if it means an increase in spending. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought very much about this?
		THREATFX	What do you think is a greater potential threat to the country's future—big business or big government?
		WASTELOT	Do you think that people in the government waste a lot of the money we pay in taxes, waste some of it, or don't waste very much of it?
		FEDSTATE	Think about the relationship between the states and the federal government. Does the federal government have too much power, do the states have too much power, or is the balance about right?
		GOVTPOW	And what about the federal government, does it have too much power or too little power?

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		SPRETIRE	Listed below are various areas of government spending. Please indicate whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area. Remember that if you say 'much more,' it might require a tax increase to pay for it....Spend much more, spend more, spend the same as now, spend less, spend much less...Retirement benefits.
Public Lands and Water Management	All items, Public Lands	ADMITAK	Would You Favor Or Oppose Having Alaska Admitted As A State In The Union?
		ADMITHA	Would You Favor Or Oppose Having Hawaii Admitted As A 49th State In The Union?
		NATPARK	Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on parks and recreation?
Social Security	Under Social Welfare: Elderly Issues	AIDOLD	On the whole, do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to provide a decent standard of living for the old? Definitely should be, probably should be, probably should not be, definitely should not be.
		NATSOC	Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on Social Security?
		SOCSEC	I would like to get your opinion on several areas of important government activities. As I read each one, please tell me if you would like government to do more, do less, or do about the same as they have been on improving Social Security benefits?

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		SPRETIRE	Listed below are various areas of government spending. Please indicate whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area. Remember that if you say 'much more,' it might require a tax increase to pay for it....Spend much more, spend more, spend the same as now, spend less, spend much less...Retirement benefits.
		SPSOCSEC	Should federal spending on SOCIAL SECURITY be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?
		SSNBCWSJ	In general, do you think that it is a good idea or a bad idea to change the Social Security system to allow workers to invest their Social Security contributions in the stock market?
		SSPRIVA2	Would you support or oppose a plan in which people who chose to do so could invest some of their Social Security contributions in the stock market?
		SSPRIVAT	Some people have suggested allowing individuals to invest portions of their Social Security taxes on their own, which might allow them to make more money for their retirement, but would involve greater risk. Do you think allowing individuals to invest a portion of their Social Security taxes on their own is a good idea or bad idea?
		SSTAX	I notice you said you would like the government to do more on improving Social Security benefits. Would you favor this increased activity if it required an increase in taxes?

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
Domestic Security	Under Defense: Civil Defense	PATRTACT	Some people say the Patriot Act is a necessary tool that helps the government find terrorists, while others say it goes too far and is a threat to civil liberties. Which comes closer to your view—is the Patriot Act a necessary tool that helps the government find terrorists or does it go too far and pose a threat to civil liberties?
		SPTERROR	Should federal spending on the WAR ON TERRORISM be INCREASED, DECREASED, or kept ABOUT THE SAME?
Taxes	Under Macroeconomics: Taxation, Tax Policy	RPINCTAX	There are many problems facing our nation today. But at certain times some things are more important than others, and need more attention from our Federal Government than others. I'd like to know for each of the things on this list whether you think it is something the government should be making a major effort on now, or something not needing any particular government effort now. Trying to reform our income tax system.
		TAX	Does R believe he/she pays right amount in tax?
		TAX	Do you consider the amount of federal income tax which you have to pay as too high, about right, or too low?
		TAXPOOR	Generally, how would you describe taxes in America today. We mean all taxes together, including social security, income tax, sales tax, and all the rest. Lastly, for those with low incomes, are taxes
		TAXRICH	Generally, how would you describe taxes in America today. We mean all taxes together, including social security, income tax, sales tax, and all the rest. First, for those with high incomes, are taxes
		TAXSHARE	Should rich pay bigger share of taxes?

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
Deficit/Debt	Under Macroeconomics: National Budget and Debt	CUTGOVT	Here are some things the government might do for the economy. Circle one number for each action to show whether you are in favor of it or against it. Cuts in government spending.
		GALNEEDY	Now I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it...The government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt
		PSRANEED	I'm going to read you some pairs of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. As I read each pair, tell me whether the first statement or the second statement comes closer to your own views—even if neither is exactly right. The pair is...the government should do more to help needy Americans, even if it means going deeper into debt or, the government today can't afford to do much more to help the needy. Do you feel strongly about that, or not?
		RPDEFCIT	There are many problems facing our nation today. But at certain times some things are more important than others and need more attention. I'd like to know for each of the things on this list whether you think it is something we should be making a major effort on now, or something we should be making some effort on now, or something not needing any particular effort now. Taking steps to reduce the budget deficit.

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
Inflation	Under Macroeconomics: Inflation, Prices, and Interest Rates	ENVPRICE	Now I am going to read you another series of statements on some different topics. For each statement, please tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it...People should be willing to pay higher prices in order to protect the environment.
		HOWWILL	How willing would you be to pay much higher prices in order to protect the environment? Very willing, fairly willing, neither willing nor unwilling, not very willing, not at all willing?
		INFLJOBS	If the government had to choose between keeping down inflation or keeping down unemployment to which do you think it should give highest priority?
		PRICECON	On the whole, do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to keep prices under control.
		RPINFLAT	There are many problems facing our nation today. But at certain times some things are more important than others and need more attention. I'd like to know for each of the things on this list whether you think it is something we should be making a major effort on now, or something we should be making some effort on now, or something not needing any particular effort now. Trying to slow down inflation in our economy.
		SETPRICE	Here are some things the government might do for the economy. Circle one number for each action to show whether you are in favor of it or against it. Keep prices under control.

Issue Area	Mood Categories Included	Question Variable	Full Text of Question
		SETPRICE	Here are some thing the government might do for the economy. Circle one number for each action to show whether you are in favor of it or against it...Control of prices by legislation

All question items, as well as the aggregation thereof, are from the “Policy Mood Custom Series Application,” <<http://laits.utexas.edu/policymoods/>>.

**Appendix Table AA3.3: Probability of Adoption of Proposed Delegation Exceptions, Proposal-Level Analysis, 91<sup>st</sup> to 112<sup>th</sup> Congress (1969-2012), Data Subsetted**

	(1) Majority-Sponsored Proposals	(2) Non-Majority Owned Issues
Public Mood	4.069** (1.632)	3.492** (1.575)
Most Important Problem	10.174** (5.086)	9.986* (5.221)
Issue Ownership	-2.133* (1.113)	
Majority		2.855** (1.153)
House	-1.652*** (0.457)	-1.749*** (0.542)
President	-1.198** (0.483)	-1.472*** (0.557)
Majority Seat Share	31.242*** (6.801)	35.734*** (7.159)
Constant	-19.268*** (3.792)	-24.186*** (4.026)
Log-Pseudolikelihood	-96.55	-90.73
Pseudo-R <sup>2</sup>	0.11	0.18
Observations	266	304

Standard errors clustered by Congress in parentheses

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1



**Appendix Table AA4.1: Senate Committees Mentioned in Reconciliation Instructions, 1980-2012**

<b>Calendar Year</b>	<b>Fiscal Year</b>	<b>Committees Mentioned in Instructions</b>
1980	1981	Appropriations, Agriculture, Armed Services, Commerce, Environment and Public Works (EPW), Finance, Governmental Affairs, Labor and Human Resources, Small Business, Veterans' Affairs
1981	1982	Appropriations, Agriculture, Armed Services, Banking, Commerce, Energy, EPW, Finance, Foreign Relations, Governmental Affairs, Judiciary, Labor and Human Resources, Small Business, Veterans' Affairs
1982	1983	Agriculture, Armed Services, Banking, Commerce, Foreign Relations, Governmental Affairs, Veterans' Affairs
1983	1984	Finance, Governmental Affairs, Small Business, Veterans' Affairs
1984	1985	No reconciliation instructions in budget resolution
1985	1986	Agriculture, Armed Services, Banking, Commerce, Energy, EPW, Finance, Government Affairs, Small Business, Labor and Human Resources, Veterans' Affairs
1986	1987	Agriculture, Banking, Commerce, Energy, EPW, Finance, Governmental Affairs, Labor and Human Resources, Small Business
1987	1988	Agriculture, Banking, Commerce, Energy, EPW, Finance, Governmental Affairs, Labor and Human Resources, Veterans' Affairs
1988	1989	No reconciliation instructions in budget resolution
1989	1990	Agriculture, Banking, Commerce, EPW, Finance, Government Affairs, Labor and Human Resources, Veterans' Affairs
1990	1991	Agriculture, Banking, Commerce, Energy, EPW, Government Affairs, Veterans' Affairs, Finance, Labor and Human Resources, Judiciary

1991	1992	No reconciliation instructions in budget resolution
1992	1993	No reconciliation instructions in budget resolution
1993	1994	Finance, Agriculture, Armed Services, Banking, Commerce, Energy, EPW, Foreign Relations, Governmental Affairs, Judiciary, Labor and Human Resources, Veterans' Affairs
1994	1995	No reconciliation instructions in budget resolution
1995	1996	Agriculture, Armed Services, Banking, Commerce, Energy, EPW, Finance, Government Affairs, Judiciary, Labor and Human Resources, Veterans' Affairs
1996	1997	Finance, Agriculture, Armed Services, Banking, Commerce, Energy, EPW, Governmental Affairs, Judiciary, Labor and Human Resources, Veterans' Affairs
1997	1998	Agriculture, Banking, Commerce, Energy, Finance, Governmental Affairs, Labor and Human Resources, Veterans' Affairs
1998	1999	No budget resolution
1999	2000	Finance
2000	2001	Finance
2001	2002	Finance
2002	2003	No budget resolution
2003	2004	Finance
2004	2005	No budget resolution

2005	2006	Agriculture, Banking, Commerce, Energy and Natural Resources, Environment, Finance, Health, Education, Labor and Pensions (HELP), Judiciary
2006	2007	No budget resolution
2007	2008	HELP
2008	2009	No reconciliation instructions in budget resolution
2009	2010	Finance, HELP
2010	2011	No budget resolution
2011	2012	No budget resolution
2012	2013	No budget resolution

Sources: Yearly congressional budget resolutions. For a list, see “Table 1: Congressional Budget Resolutions, FY1976-FY2012,” in Bill Heniff Jr., “Congressional Budget Resolutions: Historical Information,” *Congressional Research Service*, 7 February 2014.

### The Reconciliation Instructions Model

I begin by defining a set of proposals for which each legislative actor (L, M, and F) will **not** obstruct further progress on the measure at hand. For the floor median (M), I define the set of proposals,  $b$ ,  $r(p)$ , and  $o$ , that he will approve in a floor vote. For the majority leader (L), I define the set of proposals,  $r(p)$ , that he will schedule. Finally, for the filibuster pivot (F), I define the set of proposals,  $o$ , that he will not filibuster. The notation is summarized in Appendix Table AA4.2. Case 1 occurs for liberal majority leaders ( $L < 2M - F$ ), while Case 2 occurs for more moderate majority leaders ( $L > 2M - F$ ):

**Appendix Table AA4.2: Model Notation**

L: Senate Majority Leader/median member of the Senate majority party; l: Majority Leader's ideal point
C: Median member of Senate committee; t: committee median's ideal point; c: Senate committee
M: Floor median in the Senate; m: floor median's ideal point
F: Filibuster pivot; f: filibuster pivot's ideal point
Q: status quo policy
Q*: policy outcome at the conclusion of the game
b: Budget resolution
$r(p)$ : Reconciliation proposal generated by c
$r(o)$ : Reconciliation proposal generated by L via a motion to recommit
o: Bill considered under regular order

We will assume that the reconciliation phase proceeds before the regular order phase, with the regular order phase triggered if any of the following occur:

1. The majority leader has chosen not to draft the budget resolution OR
2. The Senate chooses not to adopt the budget resolution OR
3. The committee chooses not to report out a reconciliation bill OR
4. The committee reports the reconciliation bill but the majority leader does not schedule it OR

5. The Senate does not pass the reconciliation bill

Beginning, then, in the final stage of the regular order phase:

**Definition 1:** Let F's no-filibuster set for o be:

$$N[Q, f] = \begin{cases} [Q, 2f - Q] & \text{if } Q \leq f \\ [2f - Q, Q] & \text{if } Q > f \end{cases}$$

Under regular order, F will filibuster any proposal that makes him worse off than the status quo, Q.

Knowing the proposals that F will not filibuster, L will engage in the following equilibrium behavior in the regular order phase:

**Proposition 1:** In equilibrium, in the regular order phase, L will introduce the following proposal,  $o^*$ :

$$o^* = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} m \text{ if } Q < 2l - m \text{ and } l < 2m - f \\ \emptyset \text{ if } 2l - m \leq Q < f \text{ and } l < 2m - f \\ \\ m \text{ if } Q < 3m - 2f \text{ and } 2m - f < l \\ 4m - 2f - Q \text{ if } 3m - 2f < Q < 2m - f \text{ and } 2m - f < l \\ \emptyset \text{ if } 2m - f < Q < f \text{ and } 2m - f < l \\ \\ 2f - Q \text{ if } f \leq Q < 2f - m \\ m \text{ if } Q \geq f \end{array} \right.$$

L will introduce the proposal, o, which brings policy as close as possible to L's ideal point that within F's no-filibuster set. Recall, however, that L only makes a choice about whether or not introduce o if the reconciliation phase of the game is either not played or fails in some way. To consider what happens in that phase of the game, let us define M's approval set for r(p):

**Definition 2:** Let M's approval set for r(p) be:

$$A[Q, m] = \begin{cases} [Q, 2m - Q] & \text{if } Q < m \\ [2m - Q, Q] & \text{if } Q \geq m \end{cases}$$

M will approve any reconciliation bill,  $r(p)$ , if doing so makes him at least as well off as the status quo,  $Q$ . There are two possible ways that M is given the choice of whether or not to approve such a bill. The first occurs if L chooses the schedule  $r(p)$  after it has been reported out by the committee. L will introduce  $r(p)$  if the following holds:

**Definition 3:** Let L's schedule set for  $r(p)$  be:

$$S[Q, l] = \begin{cases} [Q, 2l - Q] & \text{if } Q < l \\ [2l - Q, Q] & \text{if } Q \geq l \end{cases}$$

Because  $r(p)$  comes to the floor under a closed rule, L is willing to schedule any version of it that makes him at least as well off as  $Q$ ; he is not concerned that  $r(p)$  will be amended on the floor in such a way that results in an outcome that makes L worse off than  $Q$ . Given Definitions 2 and 3, we should expect  $c$  to produce the following proposals,  $r(p)$ :

**Proposition 2:** In equilibrium,  $c$  will report out the following proposal,  $r(p)^*$ :

$$r(p)^* = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} t \text{ if } Q < t \text{ or } Q \geq 2m - t \text{ and } C < L \\ \emptyset \text{ if } C \leq Q < m \text{ and } C < L \\ 2m - Q \text{ if } m \leq Q < 2m - t \\ \\ t \text{ if } Q < 2l - t \text{ and } L \leq C < M \\ 2l - Q \text{ if } 2l - t \leq Q < l \text{ and } L \leq C < M \\ \emptyset \text{ if } l \leq Q < m \text{ and } L \leq C < M \\ 2m - Q \text{ if } M \leq Q < 2m - C \text{ and } L \leq C < M \\ t \text{ if } Q \geq 2m - C \text{ and } L \leq C < M \\ \\ t \text{ if } Q < 2l - t \text{ and } M \leq C \\ 2l - Q \text{ if } 2l - t \leq Q < l \text{ and } M \leq C \\ \emptyset \text{ if } l \leq Q < t \text{ and } M \leq C \\ t \text{ if } t \leq Q \text{ and } M \leq C \end{array} \right.$$

When charged with a set of reconciliation instructions,  $c$  will introduce a proposal—protected by a closed rule—that brings policy as close as possible to the ideal point,  $t$ , of its median member,  $C$ , while still getting the consent of  $M$  and  $L$ . In order for  $c$  to have the opportunity to report out  $r(p)^*$ , though, the floor must have approved a budget resolution,  $b$ , that names  $c$  in its reconciliation instructions. Given Proposition 2, we can define  $M$ 's approval set for  $b$  as follows:

**Definition 4:** Let  $M$ 's approval set for  $b$  be:

$$A[Q, m] = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [2l - m, f] \text{ if } C < L \text{ and } l < 2m - f \\ [m, f] \text{ if } C < L \text{ and } l > 2m - f \text{ and } t < 2m - f \\ [4m - 2f - c, 2f - 2m + c] \text{ if } C < L \text{ and } l > 2m - f \text{ and } t > 2m - f \\ [2l - m, 2f - 2m + t] \text{ if } L \leq C < M \text{ and } |M - C| < |M - F| \text{ and } l < 2m - f \\ [2l - m, f] \text{ if } L \leq C < M \text{ and } |M - C| \geq |M - F| \text{ and } l < 2m - f \\ [4m - 2f - c, 2f - 2m + t] \text{ if } L \leq C < M \text{ and } |M - C| < |M - F| \\ \text{and } l > 2m - f \text{ and } |C - L| < |(2M - F) - L| \\ [4m - 2f - c, f] \text{ if } L \leq C < M \text{ and } |M - C| \geq |M - F| \\ \text{and } l > 2m - f \text{ and } |C - L| < |(2M - F) - L| \\ [4m - 2f - c, 2f - 2m + t] \text{ if } L \leq C < M \text{ and } |M - C| < |M - F| \\ \text{and } l > 2m - f \text{ and } |C - L| > |(2M - F) - L| \\ [4m - 2f - c, f] \text{ if } L \leq C < M \text{ and } |M - C| \geq |M - F| \\ \text{and } l > 2m - f \text{ and } |C - L| > |(2M - F) - L| \\ [2l - m, 2f - c] \text{ if } M \leq C \text{ and } l < 2m - f \\ [2m - 2f + c, 2f - c] \text{ if } M \leq C \text{ and } l > 2m - f \end{array} \right.$$

For these values of  $Q$ ,  $M$  is no worse off under the eventual policy change, enacted via  $r(p)$  and the reconciliation rules, than he would be by avoiding the reconciliation process and moving to the regular order phase. The final choice in the game is  $L$ 's, over whether to draft a set of instructions in  $b$  that name  $c$ . Given Proposition 2 and Definition 4,  $L$  will draft  $b^*$  naming  $c$  in equilibrium under the following conditions:

**Proposition 3:** L will introduce  $b^*$  naming C under the following values of Q:

$$\begin{aligned}
& [2l - m, \infty] \text{ if } C < L \text{ and } l < 2m - f \\
& [2m - f, 2f - 2l + t] \text{ if } C < L \text{ and } l > 2m - f \text{ and } t < 2m - f \\
& [-\infty, 4m - 2f - 2l + t] \text{ if } C < L \text{ and } l > 2m - f \text{ and } t > 2m - f \\
& [4m - 2f - c, 2f - 2m + l] \text{ if } C < L \text{ and } l > 2m - f \text{ and } t > 2m - f \\
\\
& [2l - m, \infty] \text{ if } L \leq C < M \text{ and } l < 2m - f \\
& [-\infty, 4m - 2f - t] \text{ if } L \leq C < M \text{ and } l > 2m - f \\
& [4m - 2f - 2l + t, \infty] \text{ if } L \leq C < M \text{ and } l > 2m - f \text{ and } |C - L| < |(2M - F) - L| \\
& [2m - f, \infty] \text{ if } L \leq C < M \text{ and } l > 2m - f \text{ and } |C - L| > |(2M - F) - L| \\
\\
& [2l - m, 2f - t] \text{ if } M \leq C \text{ and } l < 2m - f \\
& [4m - 2f - 2l + t, 2f - t] \text{ if } M \leq C \text{ and } l > 2m - f \text{ and } |C - L| < |(2M - F) - L| \\
& [2m - f, 2f - t] \text{ if } M \leq C \text{ and } l > 2m - f \text{ and } |C - L| > |(2M - F) - L|
\end{aligned}$$

L is almost always willing to name c, since he is almost always made better off by  $r(p)$  than by o; the principal constraint on the frequency c's inclusion is M, who is made better off less often. Given Propositions 1-3, then, we should expect to observe c being named in the reconciliation instructions under the following conditions:



**Proposition 4:** Committee  $c$  will be named in the reconciliation instructions under the following conditions:

$$\begin{aligned}
& [2l - m, f] \text{ if } C < L \text{ and } l < 2m - f \\
& [m, f] \text{ if } C < L \text{ and } l > 2m - f \text{ and } t < 2m - f \\
& [4m - 2f - t, 2f - 2m + t] \text{ if } l > 2m - f \text{ and } t > 2m - f \\
\\
& [2l - m, 2f - 2m + t] \text{ if } L \leq C < M \text{ and } l < 2m - f \text{ and } |M - C| < |M - F| \\
& [2l - m, f] \text{ if } L \leq C < M \text{ and } l < 2m - f \text{ and } |M - C| > |M - F| \\
& [4m - 2f - 2l + t, 2f - 2m + t] \text{ if } L \leq C < M \text{ and } l < 2m - f \\
& \text{ and } |M - C| < |M - F| \text{ and } |C - L| < |(2M - F) - L| \\
& [4m - 2f - 2l + t, f] \text{ if } L \leq C < M \text{ and } l < 2m - f \\
& \text{ and } |M - C| > |M - F| \text{ and } |C - L| < |(2M - F) - L| \\
& [2m - f, 2f - 2m + t] \text{ if } L \leq C < M \text{ and } l < 2m - f \\
& \text{ and } |M - C| < |M - F| \text{ and } |C - L| > |(2M - F) - L| \\
& [2m - f, f] \text{ if } L \leq C < M \text{ and } l < 2m - f \\
& \text{ and } |M - C| < |M - F| \text{ and } |C - L| > |(2M - F) - L| \\
\\
& [2l - m, 2f - t] \text{ if } M \leq C \text{ and } l < 2m - f \\
& [4m - 2f - 2l + t, 2f - t] \text{ if } M \leq C \text{ and } l > 2m - f \text{ and } |C - L| < |(2M - F) - L| \\
& [2m - f, 2f - t] \text{ if } M \leq C \text{ and } l > 2m - f \text{ and } |C - L| > |(2M - F) - L|
\end{aligned}$$

Finally, given Propositions 1-4, we should expect the following ultimate policy outcomes,  $Q^*$ , at the end of the game:

**Proposition 5:** In equilibrium, policy will be located at:

Case 1:

$$Q^* = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} m \text{ if } Q < 2l - m \text{ and } C < L \\ t \text{ if } 2l - m \leq Q < t \text{ and } C < L \\ Q \text{ if } t \leq Q < m \text{ and } C < L \\ 2m - Q \text{ if } m \leq Q < f \text{ and } C < L \\ 2f - Q \text{ if } f \leq Q < 2f - m \text{ and } C < L \\ m \text{ if } 2f - m \leq Q \text{ and } C < L \\ \\ m \text{ if } Q < 2l - m \text{ and } L \leq C < M \\ t \text{ if } 2l - m \leq Q < 2l - t \text{ and } L \leq C < M \\ 2l - Q \text{ if } 2l - t \leq Q < l \text{ and } L \leq C < M \\ Q \text{ if } l \leq Q < m \text{ and } L \leq C < M \\ 2m - Q \text{ if } M \leq Q < 2m - t \text{ and } L \leq C < M \\ t \text{ if } 2m - t \leq Q < 2f - 2m + t \text{ and } L \leq C < M \text{ and } |M - C| < |M - F| \\ t \text{ if } 2m - t \leq Q < 2f - t \text{ and } L \leq C \leq M \text{ and } |M - C| > |M - F| \\ 2f - Q \text{ if } 2f - 2m + t \leq Q < 2f - m \text{ and } L \leq C < M \text{ and } |M - C| < |M - F| \\ 2f - Q \text{ if } 2f - t \leq Q < 2f - m \text{ and } L \leq C \leq M \text{ and } |M - C| > |M - F| \\ m \text{ if } 2f - m \leq Q \text{ and } L \leq C < M \\ \\ m \text{ if } Q < 2l - m \text{ and } M \leq C \\ 2l - Q \text{ if } 2l - m \leq Q < l \text{ and } M \leq C \\ Q \text{ if } l \leq Q < t \text{ and } M \leq C \\ t \text{ if } t \leq Q < 2f - t \text{ and } M \leq C \\ 2f - Q \text{ if } 2f - t \leq Q < 2f - m \text{ and } M \leq C \\ m \text{ if } 2f - m \leq Q \text{ and } M \leq C \end{array} \right.$$

Case 2:

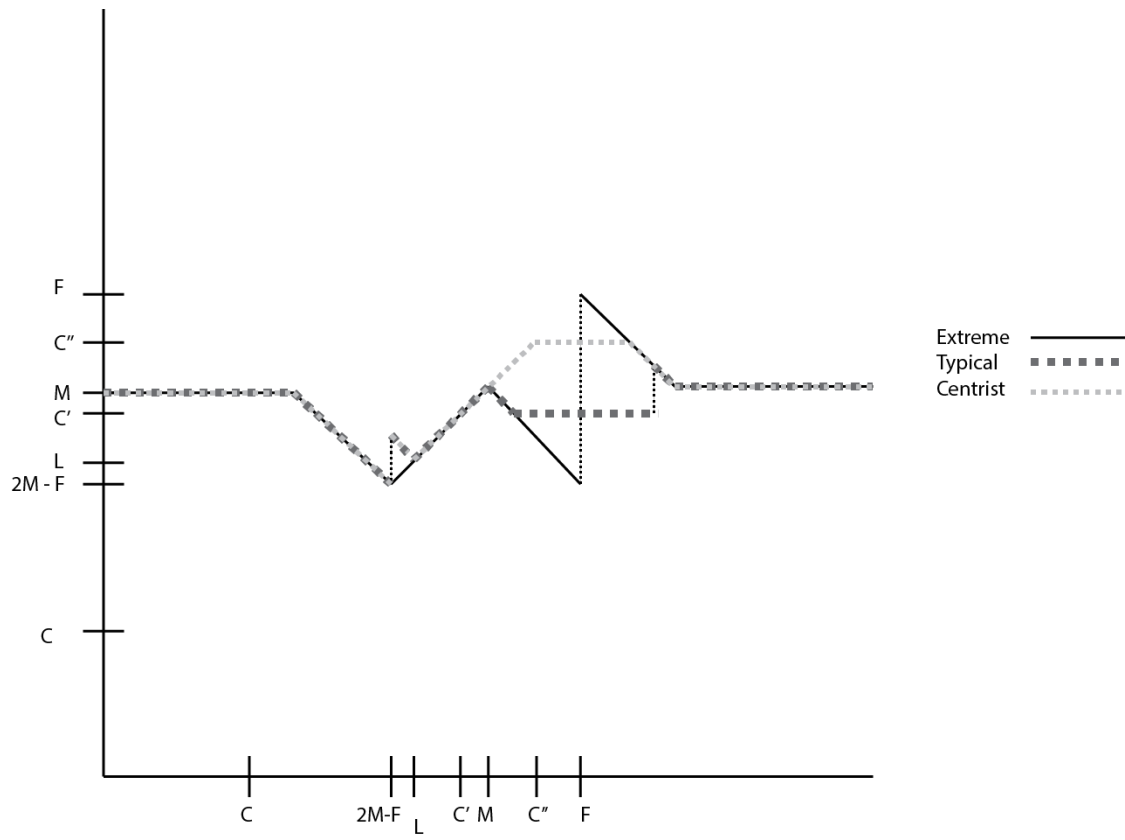
 $Q^*$ 

$$\begin{aligned}
& \left. \begin{aligned}
& m \text{ if } Q \leq 3m - 2f \text{ and } C < L \\
& 4m - 2f - Q \text{ if } 3m - 2f \leq Q < 2m - f \text{ and } C < L \text{ and } t < 2m - f \\
& 4m - 2f - Q \text{ if } 3m - 2f \leq Q < 4m - 2f - t \text{ and } C < L \text{ and } t > 2m - f \\
& \quad t \text{ if } 4m - 2f - t \leq Q < t \text{ and } C < L \text{ and } t > 2m - f \\
& \quad Q \text{ if } t \leq Q < m \text{ and } C < L \\
& \quad 2m - Q \text{ if } m \leq Q < 2m - t \text{ and } C < L \text{ and } t > 2m - f \\
& \quad t \text{ if } 2m - t \leq Q < 2f - 2m + t \text{ and } C < L \text{ and } t > 2m - f \\
& \quad 2f - Q \text{ if } 2f - 2m + t \leq Q < 2f - m \text{ and } C < L \text{ and } t > 2m - f \\
& \quad \quad m \text{ if } 2f - m \leq Q \text{ and } C < L \text{ and } t > 2m - f \\
& \quad \quad 2m - Q \text{ if } m \leq Q < t \text{ if } C < L \text{ and } t < 2m - f \\
& \quad 2f - Q \text{ if } 2f - 2m + t \leq Q < 2f - m \text{ and } C < L \text{ and } t < 2m - f \\
& \quad \quad m \text{ if } 2f - m \leq Q \text{ and } C < L \text{ and } t < 2m - f \\
& \\
& \quad m \text{ if } Q \leq 3m - 2f \text{ and } L \leq C < M \\
& 4m - 2f - Q \text{ if } 3m - 2f \leq Q < 4m - 2f - 2l + t \text{ and } L \leq C < M \text{ and } |C - L| < |(2M - F) - L| \\
& 4m - 2f - Q \text{ if } 3m - 2f \leq Q < 2m - f \text{ and } L \leq C < M \text{ and } |C - L| > |(2M - F) - L| \\
& \quad t \text{ if } 4m - 2f - 2l + t \leq Q < 2l - t \text{ and } L \leq C < M \text{ and } |C - L| < |(2M - F) - L| \\
& \quad 2l - Q \text{ if } 2l - t \leq Q < l \text{ and } L \leq C < M \text{ and } |C - L| < |(2M - F) - L| \\
& \quad 2l - Q \text{ if } 2m - f \leq Q < l \text{ and } L \leq C < M \text{ and } |C - L| > |(2M - F) - L| \\
& \quad \quad Q \text{ if } l \leq Q < m \text{ and } L \leq C < M \\
& \quad \quad 2m - Q \text{ if } M \leq Q < 2m - t \text{ and } L \leq C < M \\
& \quad \quad t \text{ if } 2m - t \leq Q < 2f - 2m + t \text{ and } L \leq C < M \text{ and } |M - C| < |M - F| \\
& \quad 2f - Q \text{ if } 2f - 2m + t \leq Q < 2f - m \text{ and } L \leq C < M \text{ and } |M - C| < |M - F| \\
& \quad 2f - Q \text{ if } 2f - t \leq Q < 2f - m \text{ and } L \leq C \leq M \text{ and } |M - C| > |M - F| \\
& \quad \quad m \text{ if } 2f - m \leq Q \text{ and } L \leq C < M \\
& \\
& \quad m \text{ if } Q \leq 3m - 2f \text{ and } M \leq C \\
& 4m - 2f - Q \text{ if } 3m - 2f \leq Q < 4m - 2f - 2l + t \text{ and } M \leq C \text{ and } |C - L| < |(2M - F) - L| \\
& 4m - 2f - Q \text{ if } 3m - 2f \leq Q < 2m - f \text{ and } M \leq C \text{ and } |C - L| > |(2M - F) - L| \\
& \quad 2l - t \text{ if } 4m - 2f - 2l + t \leq Q < l \text{ and } M \leq C \text{ and } |C - L| < |(2M - F) - L| \\
& \quad 2l - t \text{ if } 2m - f \leq Q < l \text{ and } M \leq C \text{ and } |C - L| > |(2M - F) - L| \\
& \quad \quad Q \text{ if } l \leq Q < m \text{ and } M \leq C \\
& \quad \quad t \text{ if } t \leq Q < 2f - t \text{ and } M \leq C \\
& \quad 2f - Q \text{ if } 2f - t \leq Q < 2f - m \text{ and } M \leq C \\
& \quad \quad m \text{ if } 2f - m \leq Q \text{ and } M \leq C
\end{aligned}
\right\} =
\end{aligned}$$

Figures AA4.1 and AA4.2 display these outcomes graphically. The solid line depicts outcomes in the Extreme Regime. The medium gray dotted line depicts outcomes in the Typical Regime. The light gray

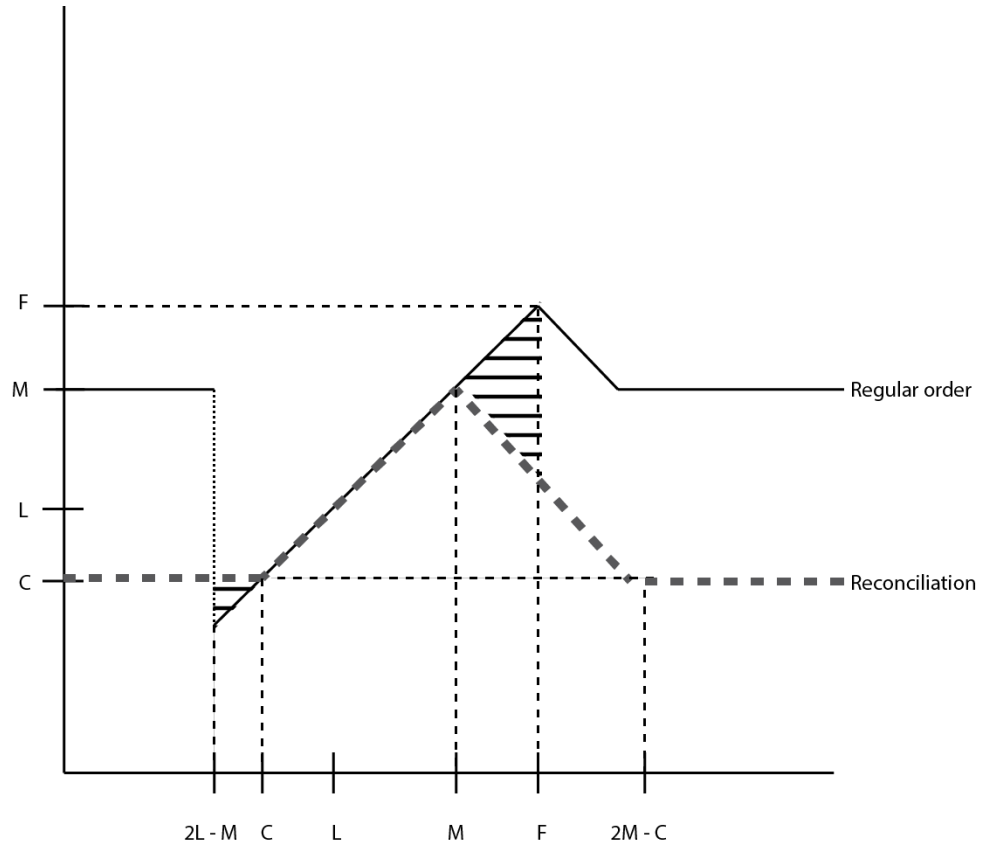


**Figure AA4.2: Final Policy Outcomes, by Regime, Case 2**

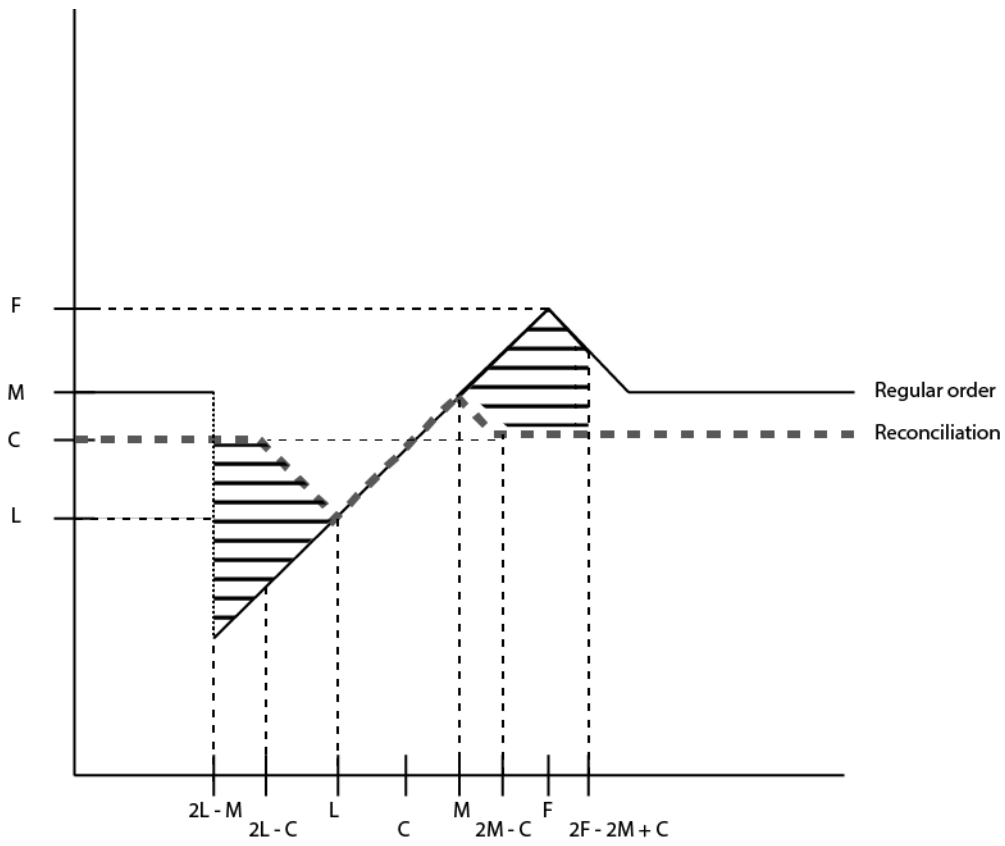


*Graphical Depictions, Case 1:*

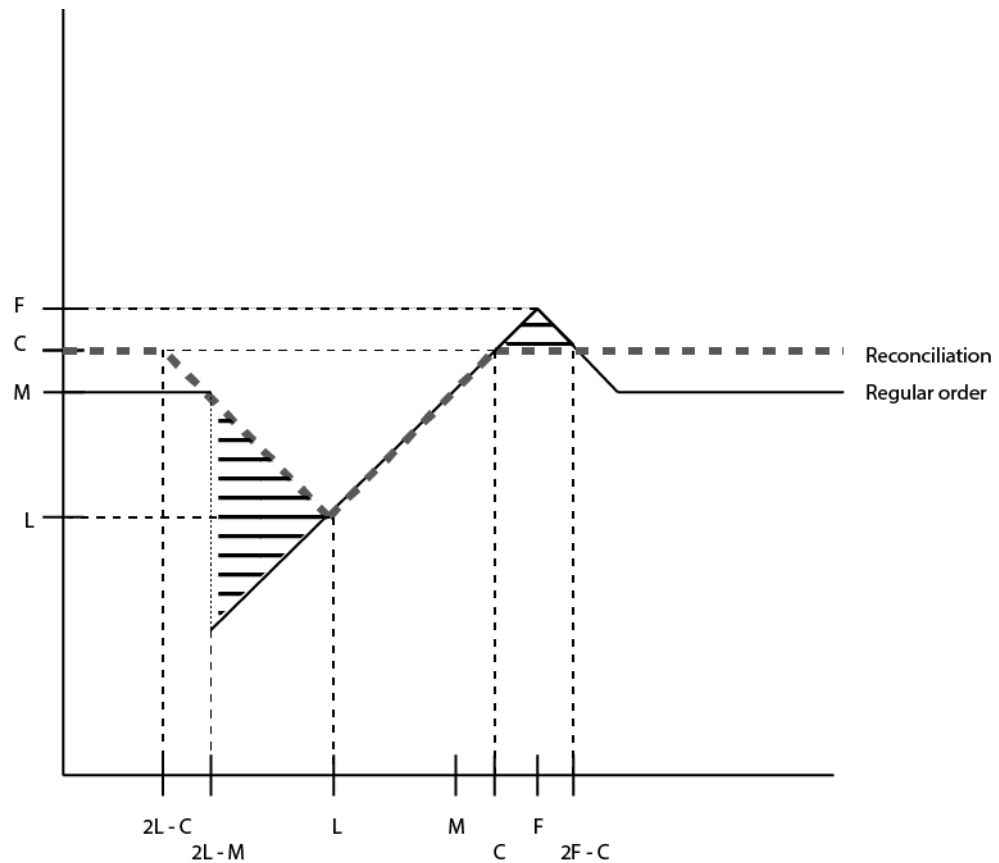
**Figure AA4.3: Regular Order vs. Reconciliation, Extreme Regime, Case 1**



**Figure A4.4: Regular Order vs. Reconciliation, Typical Regime, Case 1**



**Figure AA4.5: Regular Order vs. Reconciliation, Centrist Regime, Case 1**



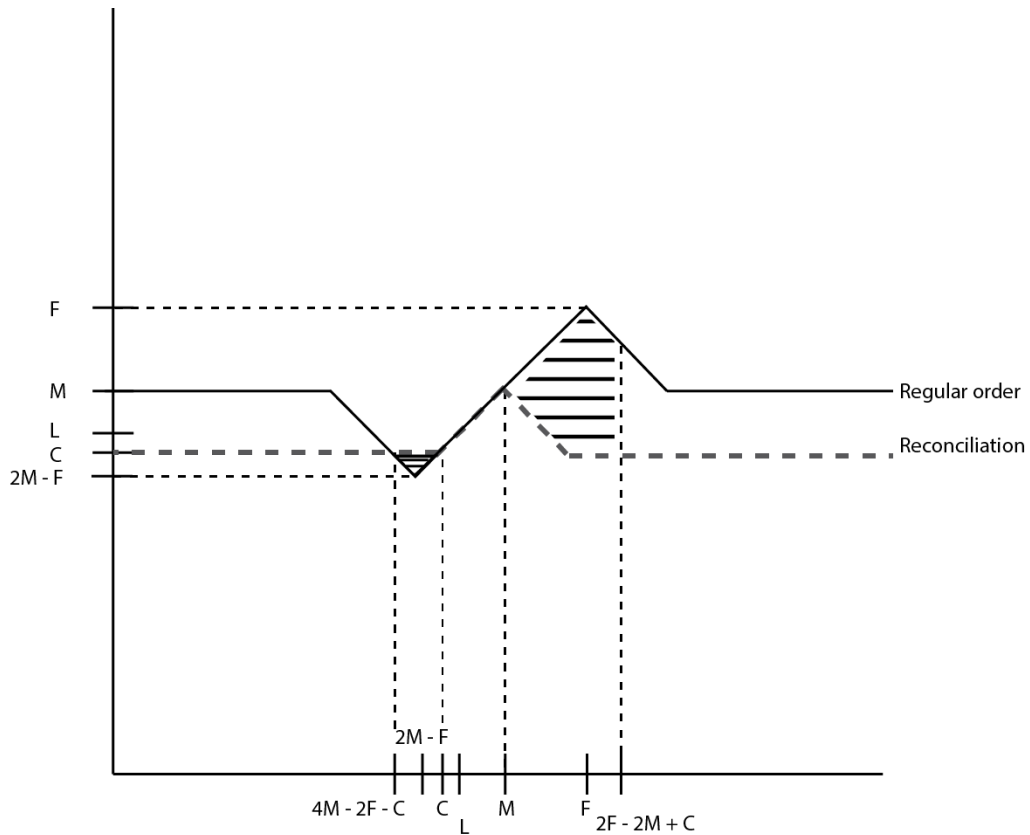
*Case 2 Illustrations:*

The basic logic of Case 2 ( $L > 2M - F$ ) is identical to Case 1: we will observe reconciliation instructions naming  $c$  when the eventual policy outcome produced by this choice makes  $L$  and  $M$ , the pivotal actors for that choice, better off than proceeding under regular order. Indeed, many of the outcomes are also identical. The principal difference is that, on the left side of the policy space, the boundary of the reconciliation zone is no longer  $2L - M$ . Because  $L > 2M - F$ , there are no longer outcomes under regular order for which  $L$  wishes to gatekeep. Rather,  $2M - F$  (the reflection of  $F$  about  $M$ ) is now the binding constraint on the left side of the policy space. For any values  $2M - F < Q < M$ , we now observe gridlock under reconciliation; by comparison, in Case 1, the gridlock interval under reconciliation was  $\min(L, C) < M$ . This has the effect of reducing the size of Zone 1, the reconciliation zone on the left side of the policy space.

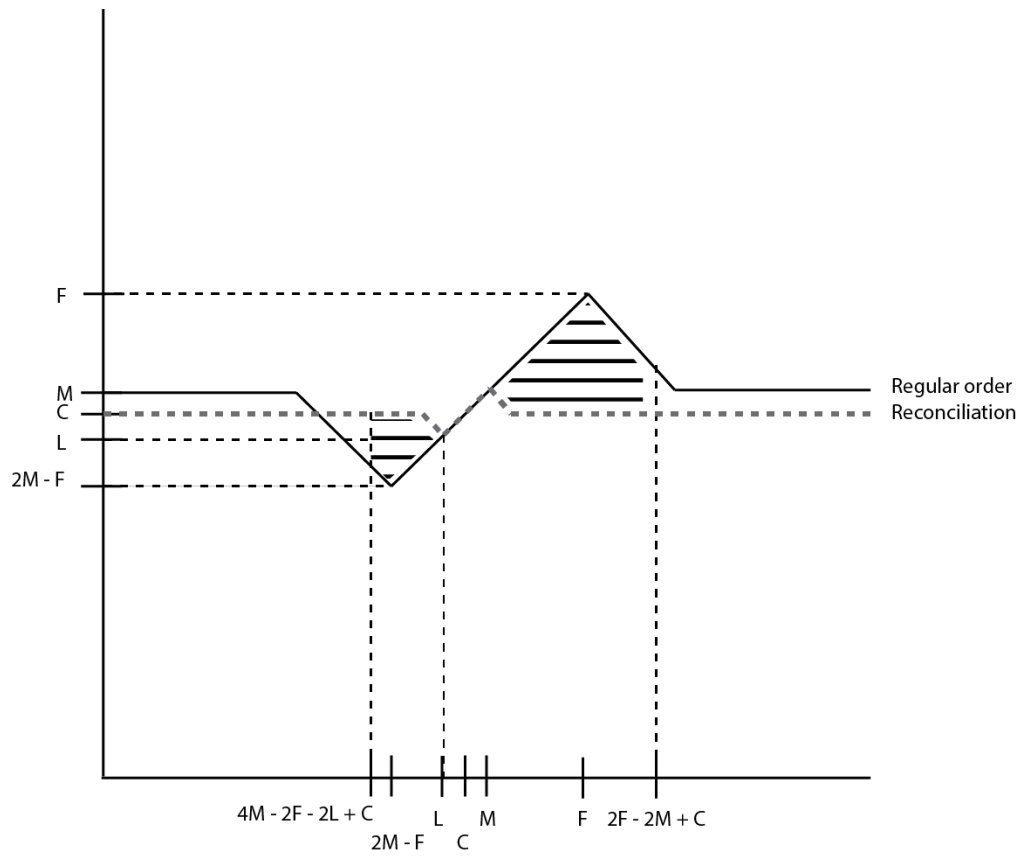


The left bound of Zone 1 is now either the point at which L or M is indifferent between the reconciliation outcome and the regular order outcome, whichever is larger. Formally, if  $L \leq C$ , we can define this as  $\max(4M - 2F - C, 4M - 2F - 2L + C)$  if  $|C - L| < |(2M - F) - L|$  and as  $2M - F$  if  $|C - L| > |(2M - F) - L|$ . If  $C < L$  and  $2M - F < C$ , then the boundary is also  $4M - 2F - C$ . If  $C < L$  and  $2M - F > C$ , there is no Zone 1 (see Figure A4.2 for an illustration of this.) These alternative boundaries are reflected in the definitions and propositions described above, and Figures A3.6, A3.7, and A3.8 display the comparison between regular order and reconciliation graphically.

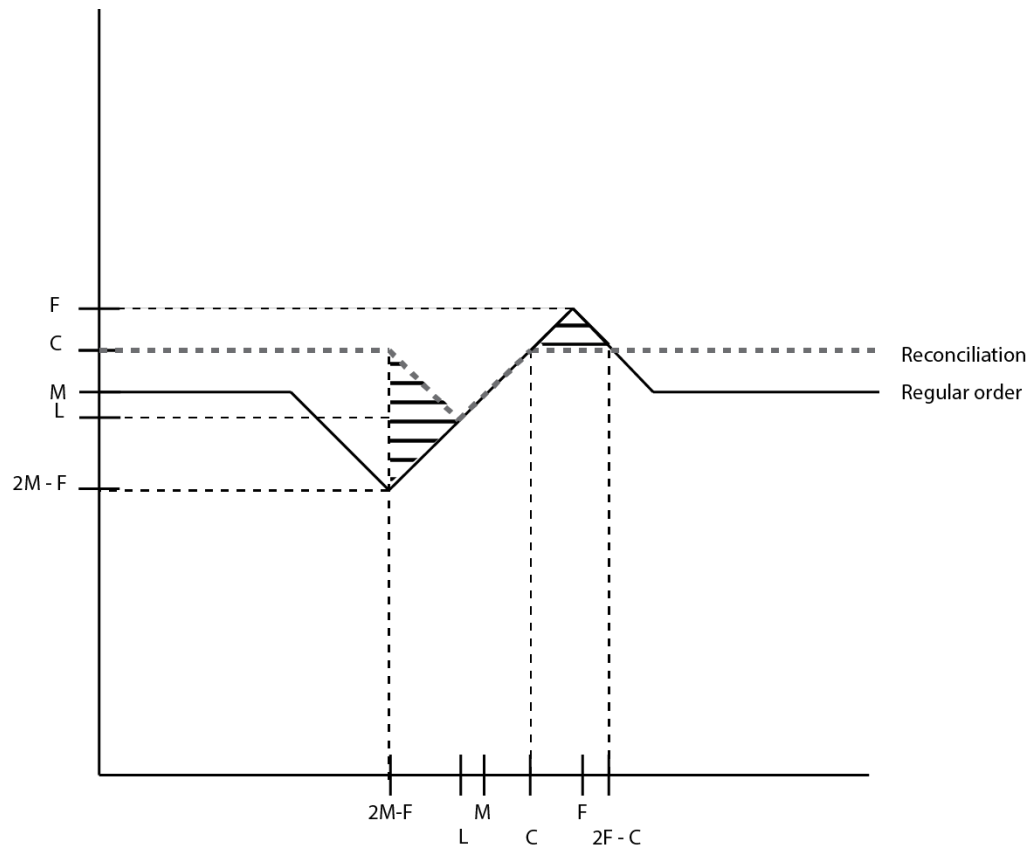
**Figure AA4.6: Reconciliation vs. Regular Order, Extreme Regime, Case 2**



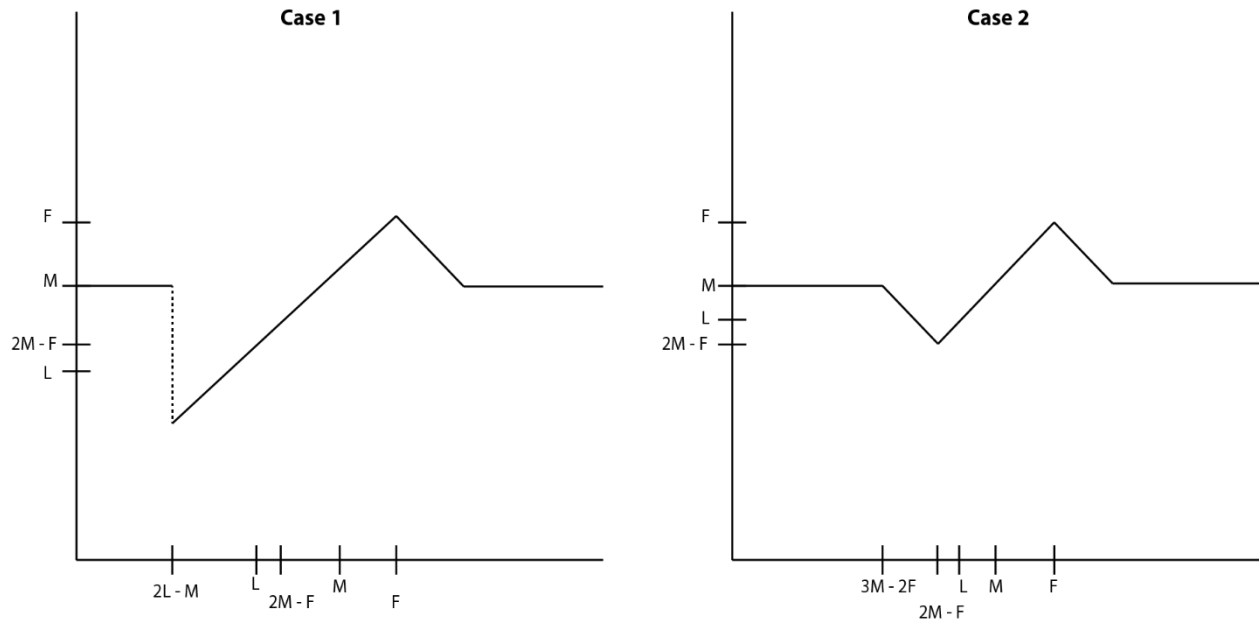
**Figure AA4.7: Reconciliation vs. Regular Order, Typical Regime, Case 2**



**Figure AA4.8: Reconciliation vs. Regular Order, Centrist Regime, Case 2**



**Figure AA4.9: Legislative Outcomes Under Regular Order**



**Appendix Table AA4.3: Probability of Inclusion in Reconciliation Instructions, 1984-2011,****Alternative Interval Measurement**

<i>Instructions Stage</i>	
Zone 1 Size	3.464** (1.364)
Zone 2 Size	0.847 (0.559)
Deficit <sub>t-1</sub>	-6.285*** (1.132)
Total Committee Mandatory Spending <sub>t-1</sub>	0.060*** (0.013)
Constant	-3.286*** (0.577)
Observations	242
<i>Budget Resolution Stage</i>	
Deficit <sub>t-1</sub>	0.875 (1.023)
Divided Control, House-Senate	-1.548*** (0.337)
Divided Control, Senate-President	-0.011 (0.251)
Polarization	-12.885*** (2.171)
Budget Committee Median	-3.696*** (1.434)
Constant	11.265*** (1.505)
Observations	308

Standard errors in parentheses

\*\*\* p&lt;0.01, \*\* p&lt;0.05, \* p&lt;0.1

Chi-Square, LR Test of Independent Equations: 11.25 (0.0008)

Log likelihood: -231.4791

**Appendix Table AA4.4: Probability of Inclusion in Reconciliation Instructions, 1984-2011, with Clustered Standard Errors**

<i>Instructions Stage</i>	(1)	(2)
Zone 1 Size	1.485*** (0.192)	1.485 (1.558)
Zone 2 Size	1.043*** (0.352)	1.043 (0.943)
Deficit <sub>t-1</sub>	-5.359*** (0.508)	-5.359*** (2.036)
Total Committee Mandatory Spending <sub>t-1</sub>	0.057*** (0.010)	0.057*** (0.016)
Constant	-2.622*** (0.276)	-2.622*** (0.911)
Observations	242	242
<i>Budget Resolution Stage</i>		
Deficit <sub>t-1</sub>	0.521 (0.474)	0.521 (1.631)
Divided Control, House-Senate	-1.556*** (0.101)	-1.556** (0.682)
Divided Control, Senate-President	0.175*** (0.038)	0.175 (0.333)
Polarization	-14.074*** (0.814)	-14.074*** (4.250)
Budget Committee Median	-2.369*** (0.522)	-2.369 (3.051)
Constant	11.758*** (0.559)	11.758*** (3.005)
Observations	308	308
Clustered standard errors in parentheses		
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1		
Chi-Square, LR Test of Independent Equations:	2.37 (p=.1237)	0.19 (p=0.662)
Log likelihood: -233.2875		

Column (1) displays results with errors clustered by committee, while column (2) does the same for errors clustered by year. For the statistically insignificant results in column 2, the p-value for Zone 1 is p=0.340. For Zone 2, it is p=0.269.

**Appendix Table AA5.1: Effect of Budget Reconciliation Bills on the Federal Budget Deficit**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Estimated Net Effect on Federal Budget Deficit</b>	<b>Estimated Federal Budget Deficit/Surplus</b>
1980	-\$8.2 billion (one year)	-\$73.1 billion
1981	-\$130.6 billion (three years)	-\$73.9 billion
1982	-\$129.1 billion (three years)	-\$120.6 billion
1985	-\$24.9 billion (four years)	-\$207.7 billion
1986	-\$17.0 billion (three years)	-\$237.9 billion
1987	-\$59.2 billion (three years)	-\$168.4 billion
1989	-\$14.7 billion (one year)	-\$205.4 billion
1990	-\$236 billion (five years)	-\$277.6 billion
1993	-\$433 billion (five years)	-\$300.4 billion
1996	-\$54.6 billion (five years)	-\$174 billion
1997	-\$127.2 billion (five years)	-\$103.2 billion
2001	+\$552 billion (five years)	-\$32.4 billion
2003	+\$342.9 billion (five years)	-\$538.4 billion
2005	+\$31 billion (four years)	-\$493.6 billion
2007	-\$752 million (five years)	-\$342.2 billion
2009	-\$5.0 billion (five years)	-\$1.5 trillion

Source: For reconciliation bills in years 1981-2007 excluding 1987 and 1989, see Thomas E. Mann, Norman J. Ornstein, Raffaella Wakeman, and Fogelson-Lubliner, "Reconciling with the Past," *New York Times* 6 March 2010; for 1980, see "\$8.2 Billion Reconciliation Bill Cleared," *CQ Almanac 1980*, 36th ed. (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 1981), 124-130; for 1987, see "Summary of Conference Agreement on the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1986," October 17, 1986; RG 46, Records of the U.S. Senate; 99<sup>th</sup> Congress, Senate Budget Committee; Subject Files - Appropriations and Budget Material FY 1987, Democrat, Box No. 17; National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.; for 1989, see "Reconciliation Cuts Total \$14.7 Billion," *CQ Almanac 1989*, 45th ed. (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 1990), 92-113; for 2009, see "Cost Estimate: H.R. 4872, the Reconciliation Act of 2010," *Congressional Budget Office*, 20 March 2010, <<http://cbo.gov/sites/default/files/cbofiles/ftpdocs/113xx/doc11379/amendreconprop.pdf>>, Table 7. For federal budget deficit/surplus data, see data supplement to "Updated Budget Projections: 2014 to 2024," *Congressional Budget Office*, 14 April 2014, Table 1 <<http://www.cbo.gov/publication/45249>>.

**Appendix Table AA5.2: Citations for Estimated Budget Effects of Reconciliation Bills**

Year	Source
1985	“Summary of Consolidated Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1985,” March 27, 1986; RG 46, Records of the U.S. Senate; 99 <sup>th</sup> Congress, Senate Budget Committee; Subject Files - Appropriations and Budget Material 1986, Democrat, Box No. 15; National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.
1986	“Summary of Conference Agreement on the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1986,” October 17, 1986; RG 46, Records of the U.S. Senate; 99 <sup>th</sup> Congress, Senate Budget Committee; Subject Files - Appropriations and Budget Material FY 1987, Democrat, Box No. 17; National Archives Building, Washington, D.C..
1987	“Office of Management and Budget Summary Tables,” December 29, 1987; RG 46, Records of the U.S. Senate; 100 <sup>th</sup> Congress, Senate Budget Committee; Subject Files - Appropriations and Budget Material FY 1988, Democrat, Box No. 20; National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.; “Reconciliation Bill Raises Taxes, Cuts Spending.” In <i>CQ Almanac 1987</i> , 43rd ed., 615-27. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1988.
1989	“Outyear Estimates for the 1990 Reconciliation Bill,” November 27, 1989; RG 46, Records of the U.S. Senate; 101 <sup>st</sup> Congress, Budget Committee; Republican Files, Budget Review, 1989 Reconciliation Act,...., Box No. 3; National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.
1990	“Summary of the Conference Budget Reconciliation Bill for Fiscal Year 1991,” October 27, 1990; RG 46, Records of the U.S. Senate; 101 <sup>st</sup> Congress Senate Budget CMTE; “Democrat” FY91 Budget Reconciliation Memoranda, Box No. 7; National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.; “Budget Adopted After Long Battle.” In <i>CQ Almanac 1990</i> , 46th ed., 111-66. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1991.
1993	“Memo to All Staff from Anne Miller, Subject: Final Reconciliation Scoring,” October 7, 1993; RG 46, Records of the U.S. Senate; 101 <sup>st</sup> to 103 <sup>rd</sup> Congress, Senate Budget Committee Subject Files, General Budget Files, Republican, Box No. 3; National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.
1995	“Letter to Pete Domenici from June O’Neill,” November 16, 1995; RG 46, Records of the U.S. Senate; 104 <sup>th</sup> Congress, Senate Budget Committee; Republican, Budget Reconciliation, Box No. 4; National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.
1996	“Federal Budgetary Implications of the Personal and Work Opportunity Act of 1996,” Congressional Budget Office, Washington, D.C, 1 December 1996.



1997	“Budgetary Implications of the Balanced Budget Act of 1997,” Congressional Budget Office, Washington, D.C., 1 December 1997.
2003	“Cost Estimate: H.R. 2, Jobs and Growth Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2003, Congressional Budget Office, Washington, D.C., 23 May 2003. < <a href="https://www.cbo.gov/sites/default/files/108th-congress-2003-2004/costestimate/hr250.pdf">https://www.cbo.gov/sites/default/files/108th-congress-2003-2004/costestimate/hr250.pdf</a> >.
2005	“Cost Estimate, S. 1932: Deficit Reduction Act of 2005,” Congressional Budget Office, Washington, D.C., 27 January 2006 < <a href="https://www.cbo.gov/sites/default/files/109th-congress-2005-2006/costestimate/s1932conf0.pdf">https://www.cbo.gov/sites/default/files/109th-congress-2005-2006/costestimate/s1932conf0.pdf</a> >.
2007	“Cost Estimate: H.R. 2669, College Cost Reduction and Access Act,” Congressional Budget Office, Washington, D.C., 19 September 2007. < <a href="http://cbo.gov/sites/default/files/cbofiles/ftpdocs/86xx/doc8643/hr2669pago.pdf">http://cbo.gov/sites/default/files/cbofiles/ftpdocs/86xx/doc8643/hr2669pago.pdf</a> >.
2009	“Cost Estimate: H.R. 4872, the Reconciliation Act of 2010,” Congressional Budget Office, Washington, D.C., 20 March 2010, < <a href="http://cbo.gov/sites/default/files/cbofiles/ftpdocs/113xx/doc11379/amendreconprop.pdf">http://cbo.gov/sites/default/files/cbofiles/ftpdocs/113xx/doc11379/amendreconprop.pdf</a> >. (See Tables 2, 5, 6, and 7)

For years not listed, either there was no reconciliation bill (1984, 1988, 1991, 1992, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010, and 2011) or the reconciliation bill contained only revenue provisions (1999, 2000, and 2001).

**Appendix Table AA5.3: Probability of Program Change via Reconciliation, Heckman Selection  
Model, 1985-2010**

Share of Spending to Areas Where Majority Party is Defending a Seat	0.454 (0.329)	0.527* (0.290)
Divided Government at Enactment	-0.031 (0.096)	-0.046 (0.077)
Enacting Majority Seat Gain	-5.517 (5.709)	-5.277 (5.858)
Enacting Majority Seat Loss	0.857 (0.667)	0.761 (0.606)
Share of Spending to Committee Members	0.073 (0.293)	0.001 (0.293)
Logged Spending on Program	-0.033*** (0.012)	-0.028* (0.015)
Size of Reconciliation Instructions (Log)	-0.023** (0.010)	-0.013 (0.011)
Current Budget Deficit	-1.617** (0.648)	-1.298** (0.657)
Cut(1)	-1.656** (0.765)	-1.526*** (0.374)
Cut(2)	0.859 (0.566)	1.027*** (0.332)
Log Pseudolikelihood	-2727.42	-1459.40
Observations	1,198	1,198

Standard errors clustered by committee-year in parentheses

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Appendix Table AA5.4: Probability of Program Change via Reconciliation, Ordered Logit,  
Including Non-Reconciliation-Eligible Programs, 1985-2010**

Share of Spending to Areas Where Majority Party is Defending a Seat	0.619** (0.288)
Divided Government at Enactment	0.007 (0.203)
Enacting Majority Seat Gain	-7.565 (9.428)
Enacting Majority Seat Loss	1.669 (1.304)
Share of Spending to Committee Members	0.097 (0.360)
Logged Spending on Program	-0.089* (0.049)
Size of Reconciliation Instructions (Log)	-0.068* (0.040)
Current Budget Deficit	-0.886 (0.750)
Cut(1)	-6.246*** (1.469)
Cut(2)	0.753 (1.371)
Log Pseudolikelihood	-1,080
Pseudo-R <sup>2</sup>	0.020
Observations	3,778

Two-way clustered standard errors in parentheses

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Appendix Table AA5.5: Probability of Program Change via Reconciliation, Ordered Logit,  
Including Imputed Values for Missing Data, 1985-2010**

Share of Spending to Areas Where Majority Party is Defending a Seat	0.967*** (0.313)
Divided Government at Enactment	0.250 (0.266)
Enacting Majority Seat Gain	-8.201 (14.369)
Enacting Majority Seat Loss	0.304 (1.595)
Share of Spending to Committee Members	0.458 (0.417)
Logged Spending on Program	-0.065* (0.037)
Size of Reconciliation Instructions (Log)	-0.052*** (0.016)
Current Budget Deficit	-2.529** (1.110)
Cut(1)	-3.466*** (0.516)
Cut(2)	1.283*** (0.414)
Log Pseudolikelihood	-816.18
Pseudo-R <sup>2</sup>	0.024
Observations	1,358

Two-way clustered standard errors in parentheses

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Appendix Table AA5.6: Probability of Program Change via Reconciliation, Crossed Random Effects (Year, Committee, and Program), 1985-2010**

Share of Spending to Areas Where Majority Party is Defending a Seat	1.034** (0.502)	0.973* (0.550)
Divided Government at Enactment	-0.020 (0.199)	-0.125 (0.266)
Enacting Majority Seat Gain	-3.007 (6.914)	-2.129 (7.513)
Enacting Majority Seat Loss	1.341 (1.206)	1.149 (1.510)
Share of Spending to Committee Members	-0.184 (0.454)	-0.051 (0.535)
Logged Spending on Program	-0.136*** (0.025)	-0.121*** (0.032)
Cut(1)	-4.667*** (0.606)	-4.651*** (0.709)
Cut(2)	0.273 (0.578)	0.840 (0.690)
Var (Year RE)	0.259** (0.129)	0.304** (0.150)
Var (Committee RE)	0.330* (0.185)	0.349 (0.222)
Var (Program RE)		0.760*** (0.202)
Log Likelihood	-729.80	-709.09
Observations	1,198	1,198

Standard errors in parentheses

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Column (1) included crossed random effects by year and committee. Column (2) includes crossed random effects by year and committee, with an additional random effect by program nested within the committee effect. Because the random effects term is assumed to be uncorrelated with the other explanatory variables, I omit several independent variables for which this concern is greatest.

**Appendix Table AA5.7: Probability of Program Change via Reconciliation, Multinomial Logit,  
1985-2010**

	(1)	(2)
	Cut	Expand
Share of Spending to Areas Where Majority Party is Defending a Seat	-0.497 (0.607)	0.778 (1.058)
Divided Government at Enactment	-0.512 (0.345)	-0.570 (0.433)
Enacting Majority Seat Gain	10.694 (9.813)	-2.165 (11.857)
Enacting Majority Seat Loss	2.239 (1.996)	4.720** (2.342)
Share of Spending to Committee Members	0.100 (0.967)	0.886 (0.823)
Logged Spending on Program	0.324*** (0.064)	0.347*** (0.064)
Size of Reconciliation Instructions (Log)	0.773*** (0.195)	0.975*** (0.293)
Current Budget Deficit	1.511 (1.092)	-4.528*** (1.587)
Constant	-26.814*** (5.141)	-34.516*** (7.263)
Log Pseudolikelihood	-647.41	
Pseudo-R <sup>2</sup>	0.17	
Observations	1,198	1,198

Standard errors clustered by program in parentheses

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

## The Executive Branch Oversight Exceptions Model

I begin what we would expect to observe when Congress can only respond to presidential actions using its regular procedures (the Baseline Case). Second, I outline what we would expect to observe if Congress can not only respond using regular procedures, but also, after the Baseline Case has played out, change the rules to require legislative approval of future unilateral actions (the Cooperation Case). Third, I outline what we would expect to observe if Congress can change the rules but *cannot* respond using regular procedures (the Pre-Emption Case). Finally, I discuss the implications of the decision in *INS v. Chadha* for the results in the Rule Change and Uncertainty Cases (the *Chadha* Case).

### *Assumptions*

1. All actors have continuous, single-peaked policy preferences
2. The legislature's rules permit a filibuster.
3. The president has veto power, but his veto can be overridden by a two-thirds vote of the legislature.
4. Bills come to the floor of the legislature under an open rule.
5. Without loss of generality,  $P < M$ .

*Notation*

P: president; p: president's ideal point
V: veto pivot; v: veto pivot's ideal point
M: floor median; m: median's ideal point
L: majority party median; l: majority party median's ideal point
F: filibuster pivot; f: filibuster pivot's ideal point
Q: status quo at beginning of game
Q': new policy at end of game
x(p): new policy set by president
x(c): new policy set by legislature
b: bill containing majoritarian exception
r(p): proposal made by P under a majoritarian exception

*The Baseline Case*

Here, we assume that the legislature can only respond with a legislative proposal,  $x(c)$ , to the president after the president has already taken an action,  $x(p)$ . Suppose that the legislature has adopted  $x(c)$  and P has vetoed it. V will consent to overriding that veto if he expects that he will be better off under  $x(c)$  than under  $x(p)$ :

**Definition 1:** Let V's veto override set of  $x(c)$  be:

$$O[x(p), v] = \begin{cases} [x(p), 2v - x(p)] & \text{if } x(p) < v \\ [2v - x(p), x(p)] & \text{if } x(p) \geq v \end{cases}$$

V will only have the option of overriding the veto of  $x(c)$  if P actually vetoes it:



**Definition 2:** Let P's sign (no-veto) set for  $x(c)$  be:

$$S[x(p), p] = \begin{cases} [x(p), 2p - x(p)] & \text{if } x(p) < p \\ [2p - x(p), x(p)] & \text{if } x(p) \geq p \end{cases}$$

P will only have the option of signing or vetoing  $x(c)$  if F chooses not to filibuster  $x(c)$ :

**Definition 3:** Let F's no-filibuster set for  $x(c)$  be:

$$N[x(p), f] = \begin{cases} [x(p), 2f - x(p)] & \text{if } x(p) < f \\ [2f - x(p), x(p)] & \text{if } x(p) \geq f \end{cases}$$

F is only given the option of filibustering  $x(c)$  if L chooses to introduce it. In equilibrium, we should expect L to do the following:

**Proposition 1:** In equilibrium, L will make the following proposal to revise the prior unilateral action,  $x(p)$ , taken by P:

$$x(c)^* = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} m \text{ if } x(p) < 2l - m \text{ and } L \leq V \\ 2l - x(p) \text{ if } 2l - m < x(p) \leq l \text{ and } L \leq V \\ \emptyset \text{ if } l < x(p) \leq f \text{ and } L \leq V \\ 2f - x(p) \text{ if } f < x(p) \leq 2f - m \text{ and } L \leq V \\ m \text{ if } x(p) > 2f - m \text{ and } L \leq V \\ \\ m \text{ if } x(p) \leq 2v - m \text{ and } V < L \leq F \\ 2v - x(p) \text{ if } 2v - m < x(p) \leq v \text{ and } V < L \leq F \\ \emptyset \text{ if } v < x(p) \leq f \text{ and } V < L \leq F \\ 2f - x(p) \text{ if } f < x(p) \leq 2f - m \text{ and } V < L \leq F \\ m \text{ if } x(p) > 2f - m \text{ and } V < L \leq F \\ \\ m \text{ if } x(p) \leq 2v - m \text{ and } F < L \\ 2v - x(p) \text{ if } 2v - m < x(p) \leq v \text{ and } F < L \\ \emptyset \text{ if } v < x(p) \leq l \text{ and } F < L \\ 2l - x(p) \text{ if } l < x(p) \leq 2l - m \text{ and } F < L \\ m \text{ if } x(p) > 2l - m \text{ and } F < L \end{array} \right.$$

Finally, with knowledge of where L will propose  $x(c)^*$ , P will make the following choices about where to set  $x(p)$  with his initial move of the game:

**Proposition 2:** In equilibrium, in the first stage of the game, P will take the following unilateral action,  $x(p)^*$ :

$$x(p)^* = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 2l - m \text{ if } L \leq V \text{ and } P \leq 2L - M \text{ and } Q \leq 2p - 2l + m \\ \emptyset \text{ if } L \leq V \text{ and } P \leq 2L - M \text{ and } 2p - 2l + m < Q \leq 2l - m \\ 2l - m \text{ if } L \leq V \text{ and } P \leq 2L - M \text{ and } 2l - m < Q \\ \\ p \text{ if } L \leq V \text{ and } P > 2L - M \\ \\ 2v - m \text{ if } L > V \text{ and } P \leq 2V - M \text{ and } Q \leq 2p - 2v + m \\ \emptyset \text{ if } L > V \text{ and } P \leq 2V - M \text{ and } 2p - 2v + m < Q \leq 2v - m \\ 2v - m \text{ if } L > V \text{ and } P \leq 2V - M \text{ and } 2v - m < Q \\ \\ p \text{ if } L > V \text{ and } P > 2V - M \end{array} \right.$$

In each of these cases, P sets  $x(p)^*$  as close as he can to his own ideal point while also rendering either L (under unified government,  $L < V$ ) or V (under divided government,  $L > V$ ) at least indifferent between the new  $Q'$  at  $x(p)^*$  and what could be achieved if the legislature proceeded to respond through regular order. Given these actions by P, we should expect to observe the following policies,  $Q'$ , at the conclusion of the baseline stage of the game:

**Proposition 3:** In equilibrium, at the conclusion of the baseline stage of the game with a strategic president, policy will be located as follows:

$$Q' = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 2l - m \text{ if } L \leq V \text{ and } P \leq 2L - M \text{ and } Q \leq 2p - 2l + m \\ 2l - m \text{ if } L \leq V \text{ and } P \leq 2L - M \text{ and } 2l - m < Q \\ 2v - m \text{ if } L > V \text{ and } P \leq 2V - M \text{ and } Q \leq 2p - 2v + m \\ 2v - m \text{ if } L > V \text{ and } P \leq 2V - M \text{ and } 2v - m < Q \\ Q \text{ if } L \leq V \text{ and } P \leq 2L - M \text{ and } 2p - 2l + m < Q \leq 2l - m \\ Q \text{ if } L > V \text{ and } P \leq 2V - M \text{ and } 2p - 2v + m < Q \leq 2v - m \\ p \text{ if } L \leq V \text{ and } P > 2L - M \\ p \text{ if } L > V \text{ and } P > 2V - M \end{array} \right.$$

The first six rows indicate that when the president is extreme relative the relevant veto player (the majority party median under unified government and the veto pivot under divided government), he is usually constrained by the need to make that veto player indifferent between the new policy,  $Q'$ , and what would be achievable under regular order. The last two outcomes indicate that when the president is less extreme relative to either the majority party median or the veto pivot, he is able to set policy at his own ideal point since the key veto player is better off with a policy at the president's ideal point than where policy would end up if the legislature attempted to change it with  $x(c)$ .

Most interesting, however, are the two outcomes that involve  $Q=Q'$ . When the president is extreme relative to the majority party median or veto pivot, and the status quo is near but not at the president's ideal point,  $P$  is better off leaving policy alone than revising it with  $x(p)$ . Any  $x(p)$  that would make the president better off would prompt a legislative response that would make him *worse* off. For a value of  $Q$  just to the president's left, for example, if  $P$  sets  $x(p)$  closer to his ideal point,  $L$ ,  $V$ , and  $F$  would all be better off with  $x(c)=m$ .  $P$ , then, is better off leaving policy at  $Q$ .

### *The Cooperation Case*

Now, let us consider a scenario where Congress has an additional option after the president has taken a unilateral action. Now, it can also change the rules and require any additional unilateral actions by the president to be approved in order to take effect. Importantly, this happens *after* the baseline game

described above has already played out. (In the *Pre-Emption Case* below, we will explore when Congress changes the rules *before* the president takes unilateral action.) As a result, Congress will only pursue rule change if it believes that doing so will induce the president to move policy closer to Congress's own preferences than it is at the end of the baseline game.

Specifically, in the language of game play, we move to the *Cooperation Case* if a.) the president chooses not to take a unilateral action, b.) L chooses not to introduce a bill revising  $x(p)$ , c.) F chooses to filibuster  $x(c)$ , d.) P signs the bill revising  $x(p)$  to  $x(c)$ , or e.) V has chosen whether or not to override P's veto of  $x(c)$ . We begin with a set of preference sets, this time for  $r(p)$ , the president's unilateral action in the presence of a majoritarian exception.

**Definition 4:** Let M's approval set for  $r(p)$  be:

$$A[r(p), m] = \begin{cases} [Q', 2m - Q'] & \text{if } Q' \leq m \\ [2m - Q', Q'] & \text{if } Q' > m \end{cases}$$

Here, M will approve any proposal that comes to the floor under a majoritarian exception if it makes him at least as well off as the current policy,  $Q'$ . Knowing this set of proposals of which the median will approve, the president will engage in the following equilibrium behavior:

**Proposition 4:** In equilibrium, in the presence of an oversight exception, P will take the following unilateral action, subject to congressional approval under a majoritarian exception:

$$r(p)^* = \begin{cases} p & \text{if } Q' < p \text{ or } Q' > 2m - p \\ 2m - Q' & \text{if } m \leq Q' \leq 2m - p \\ Q' & \text{if } p \leq Q' < m \end{cases}$$

The majoritarian exception allows P to move policy all the way to his ideal point if the status quo,  $Q'$ , is extreme on either side of the policy spectrum. If  $Q'$  is to the left of P, P can set  $r(p)^*$  at his ideal point and M, unable to amend the proposal further, will approve the change. If  $Q'$  is beyond the point at which M is indifferent between  $Q'$  and P (that is, beyond  $2m - p$ ), P is also able to set  $r(p)^*$  at his ideal point. For all intermediate points to the right of M, P is able to move policy towards his ideal point, but only as far as

the point at which M is indifferent between  $Q'$  and  $r(p)^*$ . For all intermediate points to the left of M, there is no proposal to which M will consent that also makes P better off. Thus, P will not introduce  $r(p)^*$ .

P is only presented with the option of proposing  $r(p)$  if the L has proposed, and the legislature and P have enacted,  $b$ , the bill containing the majoritarian exception. Suppose first that the legislature has passed  $b$ , but P has vetoed it. In this situation, V will override a veto of  $b$  if his expectations about how a new proposal  $r(p)$  would alter  $Q'$  make him no worse off than remaining at  $Q'$ . Knowing how M and P will behave in the final stage of the game, V's preferences are as follows:

**Definition 5:** Let V's override set of  $b$  be:

$$O[r(p)^*, v] = \begin{cases} [Q', 2v - Q'] & \text{if } Q' \leq v \\ [2v - Q', Q'] & \text{if } v > Q' \end{cases}$$

V is only presented with the option to override if P was presented with  $b$  and chose to veto it. P's preferences over whether to sign  $b$  are as follows:

**Definition 6:** Let P's sign set for  $b$  be:

$$S[r(p)^*, p] = \begin{cases} [Q', 2p - Q'] & \text{if } Q \leq p \\ [2p - Q', Q'] & \text{if } p > Q' \end{cases}$$

For  $b$  to reach the president for his signature or veto, the filibuster pivot must first choose not to filibuster. For values of  $Q'$  on the same side of M as F, F is still the relevant filibuster pivot. If  $Q'$  is on the opposite of M, however, the relevant filibuster pivot is at  $2M - F$ . In either case, the filibuster pivot will avoid filibustering  $b$  if his expectations about how  $r(p)$  would alter  $Q'$  make him no worse off than remaining at  $Q'$ .

**Definition 7a:** Let F's no-filibuster set for b be:

$$N[r(p)^*, f] = \begin{cases} [Q', 2f - Q'] & \text{if } Q' \leq f \text{ and } Q' > M \\ [2f - Q', Q'] & \text{if } f > Q' \text{ and } Q' > M \end{cases}$$

**Definition 7b:** Let  $2M - F$ 's no-filibuster set for b be:

$$N[r(p)^*, f] = \begin{cases} [Q', 4f - 2m - Q'] & \text{if } Q' \leq 2m - f \text{ and } Q' < M \\ [4f - 2m - Q', Q'] & \text{if } 2m - f > Q' \text{ and } Q' < M \end{cases}$$

The filibuster pivot's choice to filibuster or not will only materialize if L chooses to introduce b. L will introduce b if a new policy enacted under b,  $r(p)$ , makes him better off than  $Q'$ :

**Definition 8:** Let L's proposal set for b be:

$$I[r(p)^*, l] = \begin{cases} [Q', 2l - Q] & \text{if } Q' \leq l \\ [2l - Q', Q'] & \text{if } l > Q' \end{cases}$$

Because the Cooperation Case only transpires after the Baseline Case, the location of  $Q'$  here is as described in Proposition 3. Thus, we would expect the following:

**Proposition 5a:** In equilibrium, a bill (b) will be enacted creating a majoritarian exception if:

$$\begin{aligned} 2l - 2p + m \leq Q < p \text{ and } L \leq V \text{ and } P \leq 2L - M \\ 2v - 2p + m \leq Q < p \text{ and } L > V \text{ and } P \leq 2V - M \end{aligned}$$

In both of these cases, creating a majoritarian exception allows P to set policy at his ideal point. Because a policy  $r(p)=p$  is better for L, V, and F than  $Q'$ , they are favor a procedure where P's proposal comes to

the floor protected from amendment for an up-or-down approval vote. In addition, there will be situations in which all actors will be indifferent about creating a majoritarian exception because the expected outcome is the same under either regular order or in the presence of expedited procedures:

**Proposition 5b:** In equilibrium, the actors will be indifferent about enacting a bill (b) creating a majoritarian exception if:

$$p \leq Q < 2l - m \text{ and } L \leq V \text{ and } P \leq 2L - M$$

$$p \leq Q < 2v - m \text{ and } L > V \text{ and } P \leq 2V - M$$

$$Q \leq p \text{ and } L \leq V \text{ and } 2L - M < P$$

$$Q \leq p \text{ and } L > V \text{ and } 2V - M < P$$

$$Q > 2m - p \text{ and } L \leq V \text{ and } 2L - M < P$$

$$Q > 2m - p \text{ and } L > V \text{ and } 2V - M < P$$

Given Propositions 4, 5a, and 5b, we can summarize the equilibrium conditions as follows. This is summarized in Appendix Figure AA6.1:

**Proposition 6:** In equilibrium, when the legislature can respond to unilateral action by the president, policy will be located at:

$$2l - m \text{ if } L \leq V \text{ and } P \leq 2L - M \text{ and } Q \leq 2p - 2l + m$$

$$2v - m \text{ if } L > V \text{ and } P \leq 2V - M \text{ and } Q \leq 2p - 2v + m$$

$$p \text{ if } L \leq V \text{ and } P \leq 2L - M \text{ and } 2p - 2l + m \leq Q < p$$

$$p \text{ if } L \leq V \text{ and } P > 2L - M$$

$$p \text{ if } L > V \text{ and } P \leq 2V - M \text{ and } 2p - 2v + m \leq Q < p$$

$$p \text{ if } L > V \text{ and } P > 2V - M$$

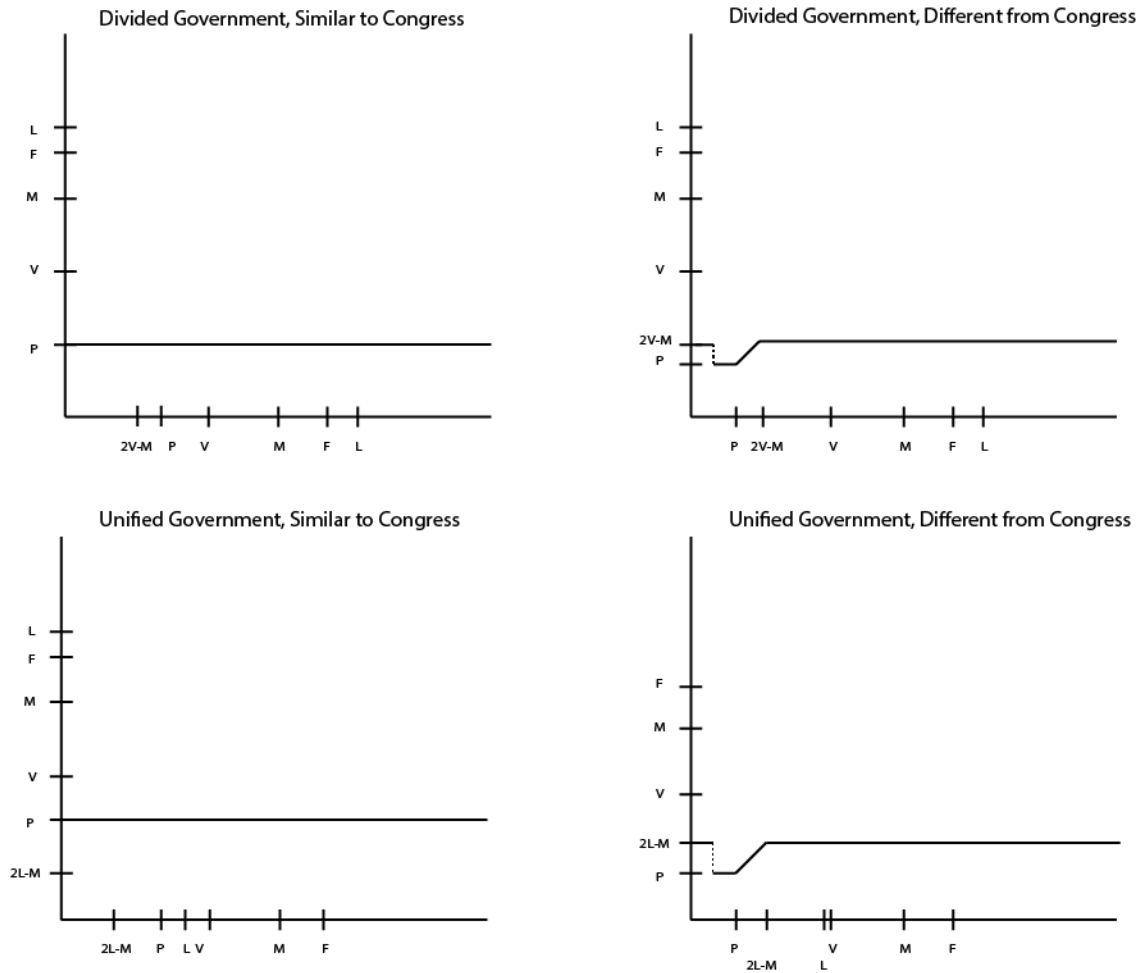
$$q \text{ if } L \leq V \text{ and } P \leq 2L - M \text{ and } p \leq Q < 2l - m$$

$$q \text{ if } L > V \text{ and } P \leq 2V - M \text{ and } p \leq Q < 2v - m$$

$$2l - m \text{ if } P \leq 2L - M \text{ and } Q \geq 2l - m$$

$$2v - m \text{ if } P \leq 2V - M \text{ and } Q \geq 2v - m$$

**Appendix Figure AA6.1: Equilibrium, Cooperation Case**



*The Pre-Emption Case*

In the Baseline and Cooperation Cases, we assumed that the legislature was capable of responding to the president's unilateral action under regular order. With this knowledge, the president must accommodate legislative preferences when choosing what sort of unilateral action to take. Now, we will consider what happens when the legislature is *not* capable of responding under regular order after the fact. Even if the legislature cannot respond, it may be able to structure the president's ability to set  $x(p)$  by changing the rules *before* he sets  $x(p)$ ; this is, as discussed in the text, especially likely if there is a reason why the president cannot take  $x(p)$  immediately, such as the need to negotiate the sale of an arms package or a trade deal. In these situations, the legislature views the president as a non-strategic actor and expects him to always set policy at his ideal point,  $p$ . We know from Proposition 4, moreover, where policy will end



up if a majoritarian exception is already in place. To understand when the legislature to change the rules in an attempt to structure future choices, by the president, let us first suppose that the legislature has passed  $b$ , but  $P$  has vetoed it.  $V$  will override the veto if the outcome,  $r(p)^*$ , makes him better off than a policy  $p$ :

**Definition 9:** Let  $V$ 's override set for  $b$  be:

$$O[r(p)^*, v] = \begin{cases} [-\infty, 2v - p] & \text{if } Q \leq m \\ [2m - 2v + p, \infty] & \text{if } Q > m \end{cases}$$

$V$  is only presented with the option to override if  $P$  was presented with  $b$  and chose to veto it.  $P$ 's preferences over whether to sign  $b$  are as follows:

**Definition 10:** Let  $P$ 's sign set for  $b$  be:

$$S[r(p)^*, p] = \begin{cases} [-\infty, p] & \text{if } Q \leq p \\ [2m - p, \infty] & \text{if } p > Q \end{cases}$$

For  $b$  to reach the president for his signature or veto,  $b$  must not be filibustered. Because the policy to which we are comparing  $r(p)^*$  is on the opposite side of  $M$  from  $F$ , the relevant filibuster pivot is not at  $F$ , but rather at the reflection of on the same side of  $M$  as  $P$ , or  $2M - F$ .  $2M - F$  will avoid filibustering if  $r(p)^*$  would make him better off than  $p$ :

**Definition 11:** Let  $2M - F$ 's no-filibuster set for  $b$  be:

$$N[r(p)^*, 2m - f] = \begin{cases} [-\infty, 4m - 2f - p] & \text{if } Q \leq 2m - f \\ [2f - 2m + p, \infty] & \text{if } 2m - f > Q \end{cases}$$

$2M - F$ 's choice to filibuster or not will only materialize if  $L$  chooses to introduce  $b$ .  $L$  will introduce  $b$  if a new policy enacted under  $b$ ,  $r(p)$ , makes him better off than  $p$ :

**Definition 12:** Let  $L$ 's proposal set for  $b$  be:

$$I[r(p)^*, l] = \begin{cases} [-\infty, 2l - p] & \text{if } Q \leq l \\ [2m - 2l + p, \infty] & \text{if } l > Q \end{cases}$$

Given each of these preference sets, in equilibrium, we should expect to observe a majoritarian exception created when:

**Proposition 7a:** In equilibrium, when the legislature cannot respond to unilateral action by the president, a bill (b) creating a majoritarian exception will be created when:

$$\begin{aligned} p \leq Q < 2l - p & \text{ if } L \leq V \text{ and } P \leq L \\ 2m - 2l + p \leq Q < 2m - p & \text{ if } L \leq V \text{ and } P \leq L \\ p \leq Q < 2v - p & \text{ if } L > V \\ 2m - 2v + p \leq Q < 2m - p & \text{ if } L > V \end{aligned}$$

The first two conditions pertain to unified government, where  $L \leq V$ . Here,  $L$  is the pivotal actor, and he will introduce  $b$  when the  $r(p)^*$  it produces makes his at least as well off as policy at  $p$ . The second two conditions pertain to divided government. There,  $V$  is the pivotal actor, and he will override a veto of  $b$  when the  $r(p)^*$  it produces makes him at least as well off as policy at  $p$ . In both cases, this will yield a set of policies in the middle of the policy spectrum where the pivotal actor is better off with policy at  $p$ , and thus we will not observe the creation of a majoritarian exception.

**Proposition 7b:** In equilibrium, when the legislature cannot respond to unilateral action by the president, the actors will be indifferent about enacting a bill (b) creating a majoritarian exception if:

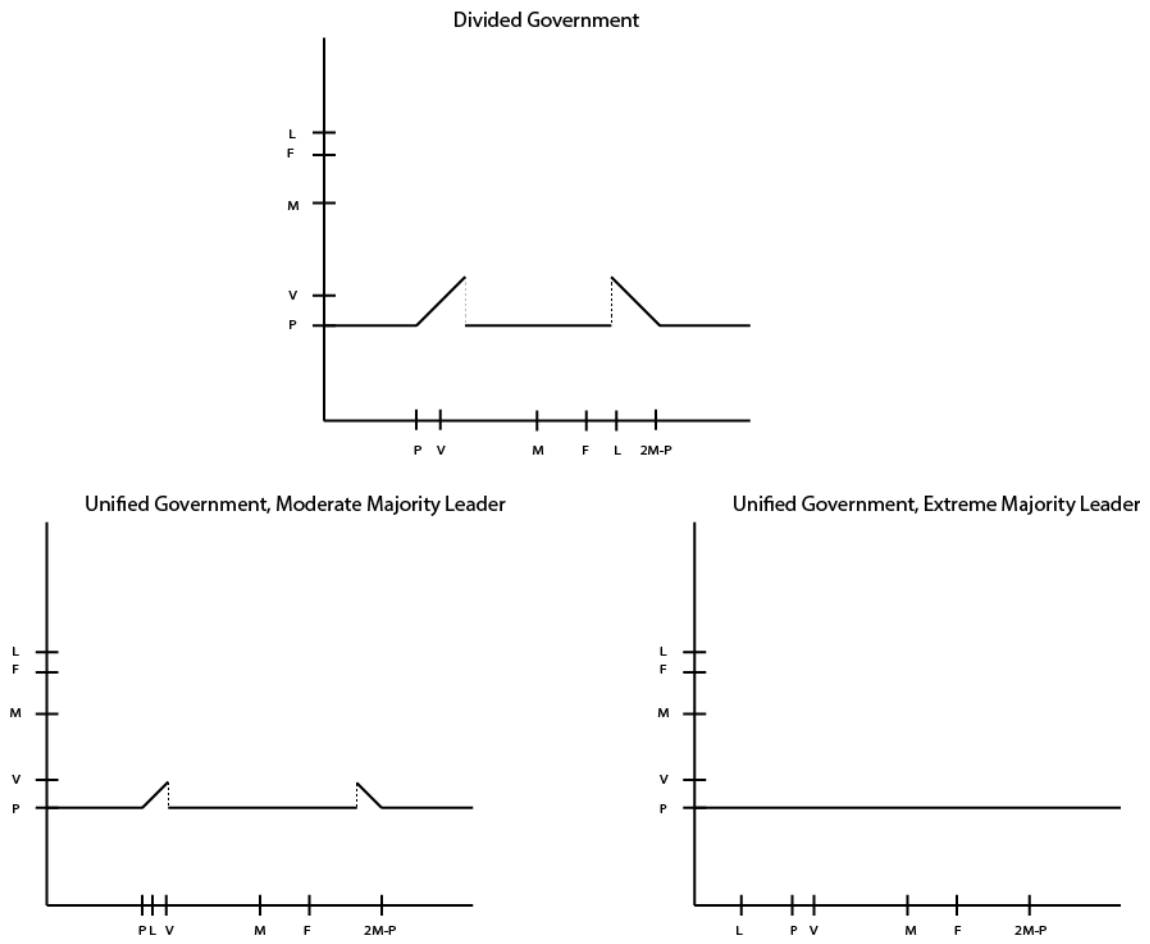
$$\begin{aligned} Q < p & \text{ if } L \leq V \\ Q < p & \text{ if } L > V \\ 2m - p \leq Q & \text{ if } L \leq V \\ 2m - p \leq Q & \text{ if } L > V \end{aligned}$$

We can combine the information in these two propositions to yield the following predictions for policy in equilibrium when the legislature cannot respond to the president after the fact. This is summarized in Appendix Figure AA6.2:

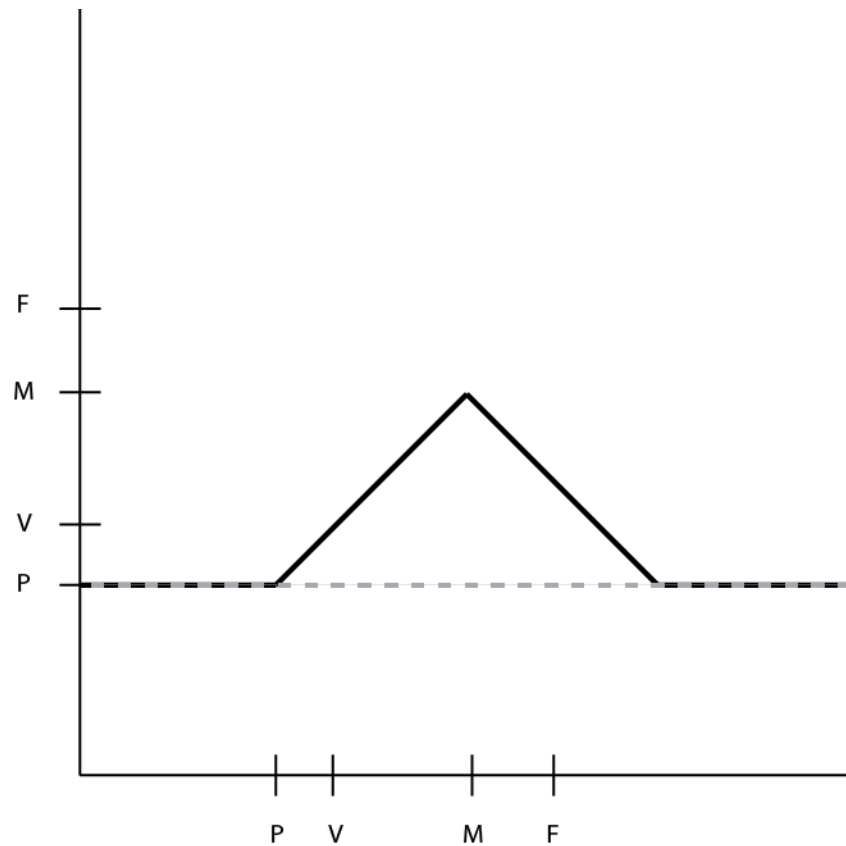
**Proposition 8:** In equilibrium, when the legislature cannot respond to unilateral action by the president, policy will be located at:

$$\begin{aligned}
 & p \text{ if } Q < p \\
 & p \text{ if } 2m - p \leq Q \\
 & p \text{ if } p < Q \leq 2m - p \text{ and } L < P \\
 & Q \text{ if } p < Q \leq 2l - p \text{ and } L \leq V \text{ and } P \leq L \\
 & p \text{ if } 2l - p \leq Q < 2m - 2l + p \text{ and } L \leq V \text{ and } P \leq L \\
 & 2m - Q \text{ if } 2m - 2l + p \leq Q < 2m - p \text{ and } L \leq V \text{ and } P \leq L \\
 & Q \text{ if } p < Q \leq 2v - p \text{ and } L > V \\
 & p \text{ if } 2v - p \leq Q < 2m - 2v + p \text{ and } L > V \\
 & 2m - Q \text{ if } 2m - 2v + p \leq Q < 2m - p \text{ and } L > V
 \end{aligned}$$

**Appendix Figure AA6.2: Equilibrium, Pre-Emption Case**



**Appendix Figure AA6.3: Policy Outcomes, with and without Executive Branch Oversight Exception, Pre-Emption Case**



*The Chadha Case*

In the Cooperation and Pre-Emption Cases, we assume that  $r(p)$  is followed by an approval resolution—that is, the president’s action will not take effect unless the legislature affirms it. In roughly half of the oversight exceptions explored in this chapter, however,  $r(p)$  is followed by a disapproval resolution, where the president’s action takes effect unless the legislature disapproves of it. When the interaction ends after the legislature’s vote on  $r(p)$ —as is modeled in cases 1 and 2—the equilibrium conditions outlined above do not depend on whether the procedurally protected resolution is one of approval or disapproval. P is still faced with the task of bringing policy as close as possible to his ideal point without prompting a congressional response, and L cannot obstruct the resolution reviewing  $r(p)$  from coming to

the floor. Under a simple majority voting rule, then, the constraint on this location is identical whether the vote in the legislature is on either approval or disapproval.

Since the Supreme Court's decision in *INS v. Chadha*, 462 U.S. 919 (1983), however, there has been an additional step that follows  $r(p)$  for some majoritarian exceptions. In the *Chadha* case, the Supreme Court declared the legislative veto, defined as a provision requiring "congressional review, deferral, approval, or disapproval of proposed executive actions" (Norton 1976, p. 1), unconstitutional. The universe of legislative vetoes is substantially larger than that of majoritarian exceptions, as it includes actions by both congressional committees acting alone and resolutions not protected by expedited procedures in the Senate (Berry 2009, 2016). Some exceptions enacted pre-*Chadha*, however, did fall into this category, as they took the form of simple or concurrent resolutions of disapproval that did not need to be signed by the president and/or required action by only one chamber. Since *Chadha*, oversight exceptions that would prevent an executive action have generally involved a joint resolution of disapproval, which must be signed by the president (Fisher 2005).

How does this requirement affect the model's predictions? For the kind of  $r(p)$  explicitly modeled above, where the legislature must approve a presidential action, there is no effect; since  $r(p)$  cannot be amended, the president would never propose a version of  $r(p)$  for which he would subsequently veto an approval resolution sent to him by Congress.

For disapproval resolutions, however, *Chadha's* requirement changes the outcomes achievable by the president in the presence of an oversight exception. It is no longer possible for the legislature to prevent a change to the president's action with a simple majority of votes. Now, a two-thirds, veto-proof majority is required, making the veto pivot the relevant veto player for approval rather than the floor median. This requires a change to Proposition 1 as follows:

**Proposition 9:** In equilibrium, in the presence of an oversight exception, P will take the following unilateral action, subject to congressional approval under a majoritarian exception:

$$r(p)^* = \begin{cases} p & \text{if } Q' < p \text{ or } Q' > 2v - p \\ 2v - Q' & \text{if } v \leq Q' \leq 2v - p \\ Q' & \text{if } p \leq Q' < v \end{cases}$$

For the Cooperation Case, this shift does not affect our equilibrium expectations. The circumstances under which we would expect to observe an oversight exception created do not depend on the chamber median being the key veto player. For the Pre-Emption Case, however, it changes our expectations under divided government only, when  $L > V$ . Under unified government (when  $L \leq V$ ),  $L$ 's preferences are binding, and  $L$  will not introduce  $b$  if the  $r(p)$  that it would produce would make him worse off. Under divided government, however, where  $V$ 's preferences are binding,  $V$  now always prefers to override a veto of  $b$ , since the  $r(p)$  it produces will always be closer to  $V$  than  $P$ . Propositions 10a and 10b summarize when we should observe a successful oversight exception that involves a disapproval resolution in the post-*Chadha* era. Proposition 11 displays where policy would end up in this scenario, and Appendix Figure AA6.4 displays this graphically:

**Proposition 10a:** In equilibrium, when Congress cannot respond to presidential actions after the fact, a bill (b) creating a majoritarian exception with a disapproval resolution post-*Chadha* will be created when:

$$\begin{aligned}
 p \leq Q < 2l - p & \text{ if } L \leq V \text{ and } P \leq L \\
 2v - 2l + p \leq Q < 2v - p & \text{ if } L \leq V \text{ and } P \leq L \\
 p \leq Q < 2v - p & \text{ if } L > V
 \end{aligned}$$

**Proposition 10b:** In equilibrium, when the president is a non-strategic actor in the first stage, the actors will be indifferent about enacting a bill (b) creating a majoritarian exception if:

$$\begin{aligned}
 Q < p & \text{ if } L \leq V \\
 Q < p & \text{ if } L > V \\
 2v - p \leq Q & \text{ if } L \leq V \\
 2v - p \leq Q & \text{ if } L > V
 \end{aligned}$$

**Proposition 11:** In equilibrium, when the president is a non-strategic actor in the first stage, policy will be located at:

$$\begin{aligned}
 & p \text{ if } Q < p \\
 & p \text{ if } 2v - p \leq Q \\
 & p \text{ if } p < Q \leq 2v - p \text{ and } L < P \\
 & Q \text{ if } p < Q \leq 2l - p \text{ and } L \leq V \text{ and } P \leq L \\
 & p \text{ if } 2l - p \leq Q < 2v - 2l + p \text{ and } L \leq V \text{ and } P \leq L \\
 & 2v - Q \text{ if } 2v - 2l + p \leq Q < 2v - p \text{ and } L \leq V \text{ and } P \leq L \\
 & Q \text{ if } p < Q \leq v \text{ and } L > V \\
 & 2m - Q \text{ if } v \leq Q < 2v - p \text{ and } L > V
 \end{aligned}$$



Appendix Figure AA6.4: Equilibrium, Disapproval Resolution, Post-*Chadha*

