Wilson’s Famous Quote

- Congress in session is Congress on public exhibition, whilst Congress in its committee-rooms is Congress at work.
What do Committees Do?

- Study issues and provide expertise
- Channel ambition
- Provide for representation of groups
Development of Committees

a. House

- Slow to develop (Hamilton)
- Short leash
- Gradual increase under Clay

b. Senate

- Even slower
- 1819 boom
House/Senate comparisons

• House more reliant on committees than the Senate
  – House more specialized
  – First-mover advantage may give Ways and Means even great power
How Committee members are chosen

• Party committees make choices
  – House tends to rely on party committees
  – Senate tends to go by seniority
    • Republicans pure seniority
    • Democrats weight seniority highest

• Formal and informal constraints
  – Property rights in committee assignments arose around the turn of the last century
  – Allocation restrictions
    • Senate
      – “Johnson rule” most famous
      – All junior senators get one “good” assignment before a senior senator gets a second
    • Rules, create “A” and “B” committees
      – B: Budget, Ethics, Indian Affairs, Rules and Administration, Select Aging, Select Intelligence, Small Business and Veterans’ Affairs [may serve on 1]
    • Senate Republicans create “super A” committees [bold, limit 1]
      – Kyle is trying to change this rule
  • House
    – Republicans: “Red” “White” “Blue”
    – Democrats: Exclusive, Semi-Exclusive, Non-exclusive
Chairs

• Seniority system: the practice of reserving the chairs of committees for the most senior member (on that committee)
  – Result of revolt against Cannon
  – Senate: pretty inviolate, with bidding (note saga of Jesse Helms, p. 296, Table 8-6)
  – House
    • Democrats in 1970s put chairs up to confirmatory vote
    • Republicans
      – 1970s put ranking members up to confirmatory vote
      – 1994: term limits (6 years) plus vote of caucus
        » 2000: Affected virtually every chair (ideology + $$ mattered)
        » 2002: Affects only Gov’t Reform (Dan Burton)
Subcommittees and Their Role

- Subcommittees sometimes just smaller versions of committees
- The congressional receptor for the “Iron Triangle”
- Increasing importance of subcommittees
- “Subcommittee bill of rights” in 1973 (House Dems)
  - Written jurisdictions
  - Members given rights to pick memberships and bid for chairmanships
Staff and Resources

• Varies by committees
  – Number
  – Who controls
Moving To and Fro

• If there are property rights in committee seats, then a transfer reveals a preference for Committee_{new} over Committee_{old}.

• This gives rise to independent measures of committee value (see table 8-7).
# Grosewart Scores for the House

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Committee</th>
<th>Score</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ways and Means</td>
<td>∞</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appropriations</td>
<td>5.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rules</td>
<td>4.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energy &amp; Commerce</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armed Services</td>
<td>1.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>1.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budget</td>
<td>1.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House Administration</td>
<td>1.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal Security</td>
<td>0.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Resources</td>
<td>0.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>0.84</td>
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<tr>
<td>Judiciary</td>
<td>0.81</td>
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<tr>
<td>DC</td>
<td>0.59</td>
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<tr>
<td>Banking</td>
<td>0.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchant Marine</td>
<td>0.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Works</td>
<td>0.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>0.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Office</td>
<td>0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education &amp; Labor</td>
<td>0.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standards of Official Conduct</td>
<td>0.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Operations</td>
<td>0.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veterans Affairs</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Business</td>
<td>-0.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 1. Average Value of Committee Assignments Held by House Members, 1947–91, as a Function of Terms in Office

Source: Groseclose and Stewart (1998)
Hearings

- Civics book perspective on hearings is incomplete
  - Information-gathering (substantive and political)
  - Build the public record
  - Symbolism
  - Establish jurisdiction
- Put together by staff
- Rarely change minds
The Markup

Transforming Government for the 21st Century
Summary of the Chairman's Mark for a Bill Establishing a Department of Homeland Security
July 18, 2002

The standing committees of the House of Representatives have recommended improvements to the President's proposal. The Chairman's mark incorporates many of these improvements while preserving the essential functions outlined in the President's plan. It will serve as a basis for Friday's mark up.

Protecting Our Borders

The first step in defending America from the enemies of freedom is to ensure that our borders are secure. That is why this draft ensures the border function remains strong within the new Department.

- Coast Guard Moves to DHS
  Because the longest borders in our country are our coasts, the Coast Guard will play an essential role within the new Department. This draft essentially accepts the Government Reform Committee's recommendation.

- Customs Service Moves to DHS
  The U.S. Customs Service describes itself as the primary enforcement agency protecting the Nation's borders and will move to the new Department. Some revenue collection agents, however, will be subject to guidance from the Treasury Department. This draft essentially accepts the recommendation of the Ways and Means Committee.

- Border Functions at APHIS Move to DHS
  Those inspectors at the Animal Plant Health Inspection Service (APHIS) who currently protect our borders will move into the new Department. All other functions of this agency will remain with the Agriculture Department. This draft closely reflects the recommendations of the Agriculture Committee.

- INS Enforcement Functions Move to DHS
  Enforcement and border protection functions at the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) will move to the new Department. Immigrant service functions will remain at the Department of Justice. This draft essentially accepts the recommendation of the Judiciary Committee.

- DHS Provides Rules for Entry into the Country
  The State Department and consular officials will continue to issue visas, but they will do so under rules established by the Department. This draft essentially accepts the recommendation of the Judiciary and International Relations Committees.

Community Involvement
Committees to Know About

• House
  – Rules
  – Appropriations
    • NYTimes article about the “cardinals”
  – Ways and Means
  – Budget

• Senate
  – Finance
  – Appropriations
  – Budget
  – Judiciary
  – Foreign Relations
Changes Made by House Republicans after 1994

- Committees eliminated
  - DC
  - Merchant Marine & Fisheries
  - Post Office & Civil Service
- Staff cut by 1/3
- Subcommittee limits (generally 5)
- Subcommittee staff controlled by committee chair
- Assignment limits
- Proxy voting banned
- Committees must publish roll call votes on all bills and amendments
- Rolling quorums banned
- Meetings may be closed to the public rarely
- All committees open to broadcast coverage & still photography
- Multiple referrals eliminated
  - Speaker may still serially refer bills
Theoretical perspectives on committees

• “Distributive” theories
  – Agenda setting (the setter model)
  – Gate-keeping
  – Structure-induced equilibrium view
  – “Stacking”

• Information theories
The “Setter Model” Reprised

• Romer and Rosenthal
  – An agenda-setter has power to offer a “take it or leave it” motion.
  – If the agenda-setter is “high demand” and the reversion point is well below the median’s ideal point, the agenda-setter makes out like a bandit
Application of Setter Model to Committees

• Easy to think of committees as providing “take it or leave it” propositions and being composed of “high demanders”
  – “deference” to committees
  – Supposed “self-selection” on committees

• Problems with this view
  – “high demand committees” hard to sustain in a majoritarian institution
    • Empirical evidence mixed
    • Amendment opportunities galore
  – Status quo rarely so Draconian
Gatekeeping

- Gatekeeping is the right of a committee to decide to keep an item off the floor if it doesn’t want action.
- Usually thought of in a majoritarian setting
Applicability of the View

• Corresponds to practical application of rules (esp. in House)

• Problems with view
  – Majoritarian objection (again)
    • The Senate, especially, has ways around committees
    • Other ways around gatekeeping
      – Discharge
      – “speaker discharge”
  – Note that this is definitely a negative power
Structure-Induced Equilibrium View

• Combines gate-keeping with a certain view of jurisdictions
  – “Explains” (or at least illustrates) two stylized facts
    • Stability
    • “capture”
SIE: The Picture

Butter

Butter committee

C_B
Q_B
M_G

Q
Q^*

Guns

Gun committee

Q_G
M_G
C_G
Some Comments About This View

- Why it’s called the “gains from trade” view
- Majoritarian objection very clear from the “out of the Pareto set” result in the example
- Nonetheless, if the majoritarian objection doesn’t hold, this is an attractive descriptive view of much of policymaking + an explanation for why “everyone” can be dissatisfied with the current state of policy
Informational View

• Fundamentally different from other modern views
• While “rational choice,” more in consonance with more traditional views