

# TAKING *the* INITIATIVE

Leadership  
Agendas in  
Congress and the  
“Contract with  
America”

JOHN B. BADER

# Taking The Initiative Leadership Agendas In Congress And The Contract With America

**William Robert Lowry**



## **Taking The Initiative Leadership Agendas In Congress And The Contract With America:**

Taking the Initiative John B. Bader, 1996 Taking the Initiative shows that majority party leaders in Congress have set and successfully pushed their own policy agendas for decades revealing the Contract With America as only the most recent and certainly not the most successful example of independent policy making Cutting deeply into the politics and personalities of three decades of party leadership John B Bader probes the strategies and evaluates the effectiveness of House and Senate leaders operating in a divided government when Congress and the presidency are controlled by different political parties He provides a historical context for analyzing the Contract and shows that aggressive agenda setting has long been a regular feature of majority party leadership Bader interviewed more than seventy congressional leaders staff members party officials and political consultants including speakers Thomas Tip O Neill and Jim Wright for this book He supplemented these interviews with research in largely unexplored archival materials such as press conference transcripts notes from White House leadership meetings and staff memoranda on strategy

*The Oxford Handbook of the American Congress* Eric Schickler, Frances E. Lee, 2013-03-14 No legislature in the world has a greater influence over its nation's public affairs than the US Congress The Congress's centrality in the US system of government has placed research on Congress at the heart of scholarship on American politics Generations of American government scholars working in a wide range of methodological traditions have focused their analysis on understanding Congress both as a lawmaking and a representative institution The purpose of this volume is to take stock of this impressive and diverse literature identifying areas of accomplishment and promising directions for future work The editors have commissioned 37 chapters by leading scholars in the field each chapter critically engages the scholarship focusing on a particular aspect of congressional politics including the institution's responsiveness to the American public its procedures and capacities for policymaking its internal procedures and development relationships between the branches of government and the scholarly methodologies for approaching these topics The Handbook also includes chapters addressing timely questions including partisan polarization congressional war powers and the supermajoritarian procedures of the contemporary Senate Beyond simply bringing readers up to speed on the current state of research the volume offers critical assessments of how each literature has progressed or failed to progress in recent decades The chapters identify the major questions posed by each line of research and assess the degree to which the answers developed in the literature are persuasive The goal is not simply to tell us where we have been as a field but to set an agenda for research on Congress for the next decade The Oxford Handbooks of American Politics are a set of reference books offering authoritative and engaging critical overviews of the state of scholarship on American politics Each volume focuses on a particular aspect of the field The project is under the General Editorship of George C Edwards III and distinguished specialists in their respective fields edit each volume The Handbooks aim not just to report on the discipline but also to shape it as scholars critically assess the scholarship on a topic and propose directions in which it needs to move

The series is an indispensable reference for anyone working in American politics General Editor for The Oxford Handbooks of American Politics George C Edwards III      **Congress and the People** Donald R. Wolfensberger, 2001-04-27 Will some form of direct democracy supplant representative deliberative government in the twenty first century United States That question is at the heart of Donald R Wolfensberger s history of Congress and congressional reform which runs back to the Constitution s creation of a popularly elected House of Representatives and forward to the surreal ending of the 105th Congress featuring barrels of pork resignation of the speaker and impeachment of the president The author s expertise comes from twenty eight years as a staff member in the House culminating in service as chief of staff of the powerful House Rules Committee He was a top parliamentary expert and a principal Republican procedural strategist Sensitive to the power of process Wolfensberger is an authoritative guide to reform efforts of earlier eras And as a participant in reforms since the 1960s he offers a unique perspective on forging the 1970s sunshine coalition televising House proceedings debating term limits and coping with democracy in an electronic age      *The Republican Takeover of Congress* Dean McSweeney, John E. Owens, 2016-07-27 An electoral earthquake hit the American political landscape in 1994 As the Republican Party won control of the House of Representatives for the first time since 1954 and control of the Senate for the first time since 1986 the longest uninterrupted period of single party rule in the entire history of the United States Congress came to an end The new congressional majorities were the most conservative in 50 years and immediately proceeded to dominate the political agenda in Washington Scholars from Britain and the United States document these momentous developments evaluating their impact on America s political institutions and political culture and their significance for the future development of American politics and government      **Underdog Politics** Matthew N. Green, 2015-01-28 In the first comprehensive study of the subject in decades political scholar Matthew Green disputes the conventional belief that the minority party in the U S House of Representatives is an unimportant political player Examining the record of the House minority party from 1970 to the present and drawing from a wide range of quantitative and qualitative data Green shows how and why the minority seeks to influence legislative and political outcomes and demonstrates that the party s efforts can succeed The result is a fascinating appreciation of what the House minority can do and why it does it providing readers with new insights into the workings of this famously contentious legislative chamber      **The Education Mayor** Kenneth K. Wong, 2007 In 2002 the No Child Left Behind Act rocked America s schools with new initiatives for results based accountability But years before NCLB was signed a new movement was already under way by mayors to take control of city schools from school boards and integrate the management of public education with the overall governing of the city The Education Mayor is a critical look at mayoral control of urban school districts beginning with Boston s schools in 1992 and examining more than 100 school districts in 40 states The authors seek to answer four central questions What does school governance look like under mayoral leadership How does mayoral control affect school and student performance What are the key factors for success or failure of integrated

governance How does mayoral control effect practical changes in schools and classrooms The results of their examination indicate that although mayoral control of schools may not be appropriate for every district it can successfully emphasize accountability across the education system providing more leverage for each school district to strengthen its educational infrastructure and improve student performance Based on extensive quantitative data as well as case studies this analytical study provides a balanced look at America s education reform As the first multidistrict empirical examination and most comprehensive overall evaluation of mayoral school reform The Education Mayor is a must read for academics policymakers educational administrators and civic and political leaders concerned about public education

**Dam Politics** William Robert Lowry,2003 The politics of building dams and levees and other structures are just part of the policies determining how American rivers are managed or mismanaged America s well being depends upon the health of those rivers and important decisions go beyond just dam building or dam removal American rivers are suffering from poor water quality altered flows and diminished natural habitat Current efforts by policymakers to change the ways American rivers are managed range from the removal of dams to the simulation of seasonal flows to the restoration of habitat all with varying degrees of success Efforts to restore American rivers are clearly delineated by William Lowry in Dam Politics as he looks at how public policy and rivers interact examines the physical differences in rivers that affect policies and analyzes the political differences among the groups that use them He argues that we are indeed moving into an era of restoration defined in part as removing dams but also as restoring the water quality seasonal flows and natural habitat that existed before structural changes to the rivers and seeks to understand the political circumstances that affect the degree of restoration Lowry presents case studies of eight river restoration efforts including dam removals on the Neuse and Kennebec rivers simulation of seasonal flows on the Colorado river and the failed attempt to restore salmon runs on the Snake river He develops a typology of four different kinds of possible change dependent on the parties involved and the physical complexity of the river and then examines the cases using natural historical material along with dozens of interviews with key policymakers Policy approaches such as conjunctive water management adaptive management alternative licensing processes and water marketing are presented as possible ways of using our rivers more wisely Dam Politics provides a useful and systematic account of how American waterways are managed and how current policies are changing American rivers are literally the lifeblood of our nation Lowry has written a lively and accessible book that makes it clear as a mountain stream that it matters deeply how those rivers are managed

**Collaborative Public Management** Robert Agranoff,2004-01-29 Local governments do not stand alone they find themselves in new relationships not only with state and federal government but often with a widening spectrum of other public and private organizations as well The result of this re forming of local governments calls for new collaborations and managerial responses that occur in addition to governmental and bureaucratic processes as usual bringing locally generated strategies or what the authors call jurisdiction based management into play Based on an extensive study of 237 cities within

five states Collaborative Public Management provides an in depth look at how city officials work with other governments and organizations to develop their city economies and what makes these collaborations work Exploring the more complex nature of collaboration across jurisdictions governments and sectors Agranoff and McGuire illustrate how public managers address complex problems through strategic partnerships networks contractual relationships alliances committees coalitions consortia and councils as they function together to meet public demands through other government agencies nonprofit associations for profit entities and many other types of nongovernmental organizations Beyond the how and why Collaborative Public Management identifies the importance of different managerial approaches by breaking them down into parts and sequences and describing the many kinds of collaborative activities and processes that allow local governments to function in new ways to address the most nettlesome public challenges

**The Government Taketh Away** Leslie A. Pal,R. Kent Weaver,2003-04-01 Democratic government is about making choices Sometimes those choices involve the distribution of benefits At other times they involve the imposition of some type of loss a program cut increased taxes or new regulatory standards Citizens will resist such impositions if they can or will try to punish governments at election time The dynamics of loss imposition are therefore a universal if unpleasant element of democratic governance The Government Taketh Away examines the repercussions of unpopular government decisions in Canada and the United States the two great democratic nations of North America Pal Weaver and their contributors compare the capacities of the U S presidential system and the Canadian Westminster system to impose different types of losses symbolic losses gun control and abortion geographically concentrated losses military base closings and nuclear waste disposal geographically dispersed losses cuts to pensions and to health care and losses imposed on business telecommunications deregulation and tobacco control Theory holds that Westminster style systems should all things being equal have a comparative advantage in loss imposition because they concentrate power and authority though this can make it easier to pin blame on politicians too The empirical findings of the cases in this book paint a more complex picture Westminster systems do appear to have some robust abilities to impose losses and US institutions provide more opportunities for loss avoiders to resist government policy in some sectors But in most sectors outcomes in the two countries are strikingly similar The Government Taketh Away is essential for the scholar and students of public policy or comparative policy It is also an important book for the average citizen who wants to know more about the complexities of living in a democratic society where the government can give but how it can also sometimes painfully taketh away

**Congress on Display, Congress at Work** William Bianco,2010-06-02 This impressive collection of essays by many renowned scholars was compiled in honor of Richard F Fenno s contribution to legislative studies Utilizing various approaches to examine the impact of strategic behavior rules and institutions on legislative outcomes this book produces significant new insights into legislative behavior The themes that are constant in this volume and that reflect Richard F Fenno s own treatment of the field are legislators as rational actors the expectation that congressional rules

procedures and institutions reflect the preferences and constraints faced by members of Congress and viewing politics as politicians do The contributors are John Aldrich Steve Balla David Castle Christine DeGregorio Richard Delany Diana Evans Patrick Fett Linda Fowler Brian Frederking Jeffrey Hill Bryan Marshall Brandon Prins David Rohde Wendy Schiller Kenneth Shepsle and John Wright William T Bianco is Associate Professor of Political Science Pennsylvania State University

Federalism in the Forest Tomas M. Koontz, 2002-08-06 A love for nature and the forest drew Tomas Koontz to develop a keen interest in the workings of public forest management and forest policy Beyond policy however this book is also about the very human issues of federalism decentralization of control over public lands citizen participation and how agency policies both state and federal are formulated and exercised Federalism in the Forest is the first book to examine and compare public policy performance across both state and national levels explaining why state agencies excel at economic outputs and profitability the management of land with state income in mind while national agencies are stronger in citizen participation and the inarguably important role of environmental protection Instead of focusing on historical development of federal state roles or on state officials as affected by national policies Koontz shows how officials when given authority both make and implement policy at the state versus the national level Although arguments fly about the decentralization of public lands most often based on ideology Koontz offers empirical evidence that demonstrates not only that devolution matters but how

*Brussels Versus the Beltway* Christine Mahoney, 2008-03-25 This book presents the first large scale study of lobbying strategies and outcomes in the United States and the European Union two of the most powerful political systems in the world Every day tens of thousands of lobbyists in Washington and Brussels are working to protect and promote their interests in the policymaking process Policies emanating from these two spheres have global impacts they set global standards they influence global markets and they determine global politics Armed with extensive new data Christine Mahoney challenges the conventional stereotypes that attribute any differences between the two systems to cultural ones the American a partisan and combative approach and the European a consensus based one Mahoney draws from 149 interviews involving 47 issues to detail how institutional structures the nature of specific issues and characteristics of the interest groups combine to determine decisions about how to approach a political fight what arguments to use and how to frame an issue She looks at how lobbyists choose lobbying tactics public relations strategies and networking and coalition activities Her analysis demonstrates that advocacy can be better understood when we study the lobbying of interest groups in their institutional and issue context This book offers new insights into how the process of lobbying works on both sides of the Atlantic

*National Health Insurance in the United States and Canada* Gerard W. Boychuk, 2008-07-02 After World War II the United States and Canada two countries that were very similar in many ways struck out on radically divergent paths to public health insurance Canada developed a universal single payer system of national health care while the United States opted for a dual system that combines public health insurance for low income and senior residents with private primarily employer provided health

insurance or no insurance for everyone else In National Health Insurance in the United States and Canada Gerard W Boychuk probes the historical development of health care in each country honing in on the most distinctive social and political aspects of each country the politics of race in the U S and territorial politics in Canada especially the tensions between the national government and the province of Quebec In addition to the politics of race and territory Boychuk sifts through the numerous factors shaping health policy including national values political culture and institutions the power of special interests and the impact of strategic choices made at critical junctures Drawing on historical archives oral histories and public opinion data he presents a nuanced and thoughtful analysis of the evolution of the two systems compares them as they exist today and reflects on how each is poised to meet the challenges of the future Lessons of Disaster Thomas A. Birkland, 2006-11-07 Even before the wreckage of a disaster is cleared one question is foremost in the minds of the public What can be done to prevent this from happening again Today news media and policymakers often invoke the lessons of September 11 and the lessons of Hurricane Katrina Certainly these unexpected events heightened awareness about problems that might have contributed to or worsened the disasters particularly about gaps in preparation Inquiries and investigations are made that claim that lessons were learned from a disaster leading us to assume that we will be more ready the next time a similar threat looms and that our government will put in place measures to protect us In Lessons of Disaster Thomas Birkland takes a critical look at this assumption We know that disasters play a role in setting policy agendas in getting policymakers to think about problems but does our government always take the next step and enact new legislation or regulations To determine when and how a catastrophic event serves as a catalyst for true policy change the author examines four categories of disasters aviation security homeland security earthquakes and hurricanes He explores lessons learned from each focusing on three types of policy change change in the larger social construction of the issues surrounding the disaster instrumental change in which laws and regulations are made and political change in which alliances are created and shifted Birkland argues that the type of disaster affects the types of lessons learned from it and that certain conditions are necessary to translate awareness into new policy including media attention salience for a large portion of the public the existence of advocacy groups for the issue and the preexistence of policy ideas that can be drawn upon This timely study concludes with a discussion of the interplay of multiple disasters focusing on the initial government response to Hurricane Katrina and the negative effect the September 11 catastrophe seems to have had on reaction to that tragedy **Seeking the Center** Martin A. Levin, Marc K. Landy, Martin Shapiro, 2001-08-03 During the past decade Democrats and Republicans each have received about fifty percent of the votes and controlled about half of the government but this has not resulted in policy deadlock Despite highly partisan political posturing the policy regime has been largely moderate Incremental yet substantial policy innovations such as welfare reform deficit reduction the North American Free Trade Agreement and the deregulation of telecommunications banking and agriculture have been accompanied by such continuities as Social Security



and Medicare the maintenance of earlier immigration reforms and the persistence of many rights based policies including federal affirmative action In Seeking the Center twenty one contributors analyze policy outcomes in light of the frequent alternation in power among evenly divided parties They show how the triumph of policy moderation and the defeat of more ambitious efforts such as health care reform can be explained by mutually supporting economic intellectual and political forces Demonstrating that the determinants of public policy become clear by probing specific issues rather than in abstract theorizing they restore the politics of policymaking to the forefront of the political science agenda A successor to Martin A Levin and Marc K Landy s influential The New Politics of Public Policy Johns Hopkins University Press 1995 this book will be vital reading for advanced undergraduate and graduate students in political science and public policy as well as a resource for scholars in both fields

**Globalization and the Politics of Pay** Susan B. Hansen, 2006-05-23 In the American federal system states actively compete for jobs business investment and factory locations Labor costs have played an important role in such interstate competition since the days of the pre Civil War plantation economy In recent years however global economic trends have put added pressures on businesses and government to reduce labor costs At least that is what most politicians the media and the business community believe Globalization and the Politics of Pay examines the economic political and social causes and consequences of declining wages in the United States It challenges the conventional wisdom that globalization is to blame for the decline in workers earnings Susan B Hansen presents a comprehensive analysis of the many factors affecting labor costs and concludes that many of them result from choices made by the states themselves through the laws and policies they enact In addition free market ideologies and low voter turnout have had greater effects in keeping wages down than globalization In fact foreign trade and investment can actually result in higher pay in the state labor market In this rigorous yet surprising study Hansen develops new measures of state and federal labor costs to test competing theories of the consequences of reducing wages and benefits Most economists would argue that higher labor costs cause higher unemployment and that reducing labor costs will lead to higher levels of job creation But citizens and elected officials must weigh any employment gains in lower wage jobs against slower state economic growth declining personal income and a less competitive position in international trade Cutting state labor costs is shown to have adverse social consequences including family instability high crime rates poverty and low voter turnouts The book concludes with policy recommendations for state governments trying to balance their need for more jobs with policies to enhance productivity living standards social stability and international competitiveness

**Not Whether But When** James M. Goldgeier, 2010-12-01 How did Poland Hungary and the Czech Republic become the newest members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Based on interviews conducted with more than 75 individuals from Cabinet officials to desk officers James M Goldgeier tells the inside story of this controversial Clinton administration initiative Analyzing the earliest internal deliberations as well as administration discussions with allies the Russians and the United States Senate Goldgeier

demonstrates how a handful of committed policymakers outmaneuvered overwhelming bureaucratic opposition He shows the role of domestic politics in shaping the evolution of this policy and dissects the national campaign waged by the administration s specially created NATO enlargement ratification office and its outside supporters Weaving together insights about bureaucratic politics policy entrepreneurship and domestic politics this book provides fresh insights into the American foreign policymaking process

*Congress and Its Members* Roger H. Davidson, Walter J. Oleszek, Frances E. Lee, Eric Schickler, James M. Curry, 2021-08-23 The Gold Standard for Congress Courses for Over Thirty Years Congress and Its Members offers comprehensive coverage of the U S Congress and the legislative process by examining the tension between Congress as a lawmaking institution and as a collection of politicians constantly seeking re election The highly anticipated Eighteenth Edition considers the 2020 elections the final years of the Trump administration and first 100 days of the Biden Administration while discussing the agenda of the new Congress White House Capitol Hill relations party and committee leadership changes judicial appointments and partisan polarization in addition to covering changes to budgeting campaign finance lobbying public attitudes about Congress reapportionment rules and procedures Always balancing great scholarship with currency this bestseller features lively case material along with relevant data charts exhibits maps and photos New and updated material for the 18th edition includes Analysis of the 2020 congressional elections including increased nationalization regional shifts and member turnover Data on the diversity of the new Congress in terms of race ethnicity gender and professional background Explanation of recent Supreme Court rulings on partisan gerrymandering Overview of the post 2020 census reapportionment of House seats and prospects for partisan gerrymandering Effects of the 2020 coronavirus pandemic on congressional campaigns election administration congressional rules and procedures lobbying and federal budget politics The post 2020 politics of organizing a 50 50 Senate and prospects of Senate filibuster reform Congress s return to earmarks and other adjustments to congressional rules and procedures The Biden administration s approach to trade and diplomacy and its effects on congressional politics Coverage of the January 6 2021 attack on the Capitol and what it says about Congress s relationship with the public and its role in American democracy Updated data on public opinion of Congress and Congress s productivity as a lawmaking institution A new concluding chapter reflecting on Congress s institutional strengths and weaknesses Fresh examples and illustrations in every chapter relating concepts to recent events and contemporary members

**Altogether Fitting and Proper** Timothy B. Smith, 2024-01-12 At last the preservation of Civil War battlefields has received a comprehensive and critical historical treatment Altogether Fitting and Proper combines a detailed accounting of federal state and private activity with an instructive critique of the role post Civil War racism played in affecting and influencing various preservation efforts Tim Smith reminds us in very concrete ways of the malleable nature of Civil War memory Dwight T Pitcaithley New Mexico State University In the century and a half since the Civil War various entities both private and public have earnestly sought to safeguard the legacy of that seismic conflict

through the preservation of its battlefields In *Altogether Fitting and Proper* a title taken from Lincoln's Gettysburg Address Timothy B Smith provides the most comprehensive synthesis ever written of the long often fraught history of those preservation efforts which began even as the war was still raging and have continued up through the present day Smith traces the story of battlefield park establishment from the war and the Reconstruction era through the Golden Age of Preservation at the turn of the century to the New Deal period and well beyond He pays close attention to the evolution of public policy as the creation and oversight of parks shifted from the War Department to the National Park Service and explores the evolving ways in which the Civil War has been remembered over the years most significantly with regard to its causes slavery and race While Smith's primary focus is on the famous national parks Gettysburg Shiloh Antietam Chickamauga and others he also examines the endeavors of state and local governments as well as an assortment of private organizations to establish parks and monuments for lesser known battle sites The ongoing conflicts between preservationists and commercial developers form another key element of the narrative As Smith makes clear the story of battlefield preservation is in many ways a story of people from Civil War veterans like Henry Boynton the Medal of Honor winner who oversaw the development of the first national military park at Chickamauga to Jim Lighthizer the president of the Civil War Trust the private charitable organization spearheading the twenty first century preservation movement In their dedication to this particular cause such individuals and the groups they represent have kept a central event in American history alive in our collective memory TIMOTHY B SMITH who teaches history at the University of Tennessee at Martin is the author of numerous books on the Civil War and its battlefields including *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh* *A Chickamauga Memorial* and *The Golden Age of Battlefield Preservation* all published by the University of Tennessee Press     **Ten Thousand**

**Democracies** Michael B. Berkman, Eric Plutzer, 2005 The essence of democracy is popular sovereignty The people rule In the United States citizens exercise this right through elected officials who they believe will best represent their own values and interests But are those interests and values always being followed Authors Michael B Berkman and Eric Plutzer provide the first systematic examination of the extent to which the governments closest to the American public its 10 000 plus local school boards respond to the wishes of the majority *Ten Thousand Democracies* begins with a look at educational reforms from the Progressive era in the late 19th and early 20th centuries through the civil rights movement and ending with Pennsylvania's 2004 tax relief measure Berkman and Plutzer explore what factors determine education spending levels in school districts including the effects of public opinion the nature of local political institutions and the roles played by special interests The authors show how board members are selected how well the boards represent minorities whether the public can bypass the board through referenda and how the schools are financed By providing an innovative statistical portrait that combines public opinion data with Census data for these school districts the authors answer questions central to democratic control of our schools how responsive are school boards to their public and when How powerful are such special interests

such as teachers unions and senior citizens By using the lens of America s public school districts to examine the workings of democracy Ten Thousand Democracies offers new insight not only into the forces shaping local education policy but also how democratic institutions may function throughout all levels of government

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