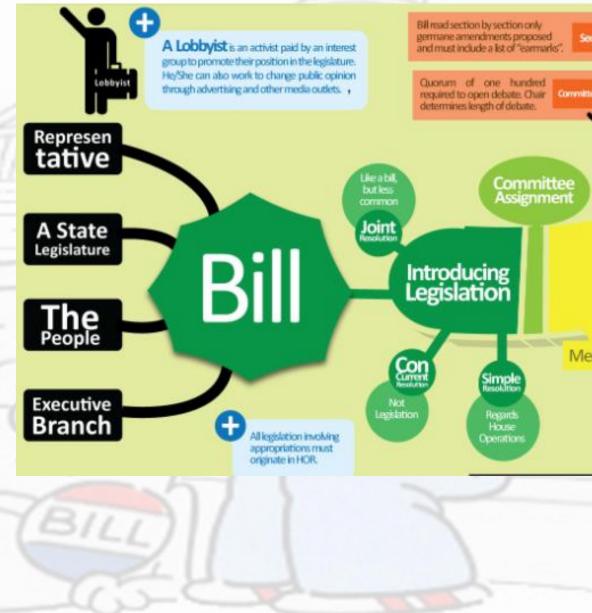


The "Traditional Process" of Passing a Bill into Law

-Any bill starts as an idea of an individual citizen, a president, an interest group, or an agenda item of a political party

-It needs to be sponsored by a member of Congress who drafts it for introduction

-The person or persons who introduce a bill are the sponsors; any member of the same body (House or Senate) can add his or her name as a cosponsor after the day of introduction



Bills vs. Resolutions

Types of Bills

- 1. Private bills: deal with people's claims against the government (e.g., armed service decoration issues, veterans' benefit issues, immigration issues)
- 2. Public bills: of national impact to citizens and involve generic matters (e.g., taxes, healthcare, national security)
- 3. Appropriations bill: authorizes spending of federal revenue



Resolutions

Measure relating to the business of either house or expressing an opinion on a matter

- 1. Joint resolutions: deal with temporary or unusual matters, also used to propose Constitutional Amendments, or authorize the use of force in another country (in some cases, these require the signature of the president)
- These have the force of law when passed
- 2. Concurrent resolutions: deal with concerns of both houses and does not require the signature of the president
- These do not have the force of law when passed



MAY 20, 1919.

Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed,

JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution extending the right of suffrage to women.

1 Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives 2 of the United States of America in Congress assembled 3 (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the 4 following article is proposed as an amendment to the Con-5 stitution, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as 6 part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of 7 three-fourths of the several States.

"ARTICLE -

Becoming a Bill

- -The bill must be put into draft form, then given a title and a number (Hopper: box that House members put bills into to be considered on the floor)
 - e.g., S.1, H.R.1 if the first bill introduced in that session of that term of Congress
- -Must be introduced to the house of Congress it started in
- -Bills must pass both houses of Congress in exactly the same form



Committee Work

- -The bill is then assigned to the standing committee that is related to the subject of the bill
- Standing committees have "life-and-death power" over bills
- Committee has **5** options:
 - 1. Pass it through sending it on to the next phase
 - 2. Mark it up with changes and suggest it pass in its new form
 - 3. Replace the original bill with a new bill
 - 4. Kill the bill with an outright majority vote
 - 5. "Pigeonhole" the bill (tabling the bill and letting it die in committee)



Subcommittee

The bill is then referred to the bill's subcommittee for hearings and revisions to be studied further

- -Public hearings are held at this point to allow public comments and information to be given to legislative committees
- "Mark Up": the subcommittee may decide to recommend a bill back to the full committee for approval, BUT they can also make changes or amendments to it; if the subcommittee votes not to report a bill to the full committee, the bill dies there
- -After the mark up process, they make a decision with the same options as the standing committee does (see page)



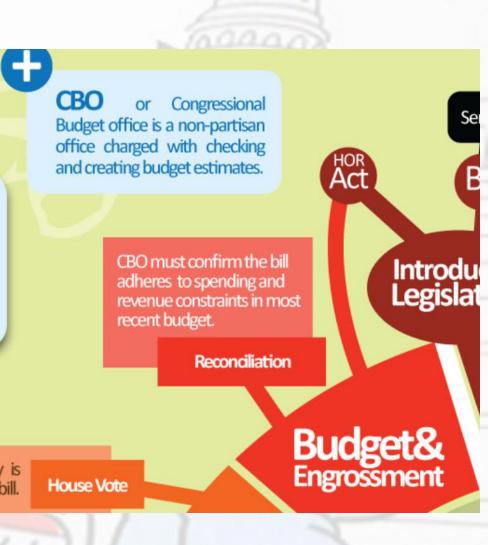
-Once it's back to the full committee to be reviewed for any changes, the committee debates and then votes on its presentation of the bill to the full House or Senate

This is called "ordering the bill to be reported"

Tactics of Lawmakers:

-Logrolling: practice of exchanging favors by reciprocal voting for proposed legislation

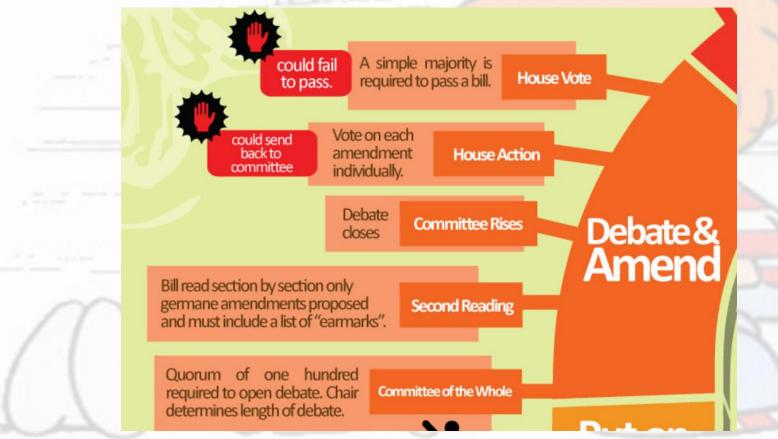
-Pork-barrel projects: appropriation of government funding for local projects secured solely or primarily to bring money to a representative's district (also known as "earmarking" and was prohibited in 2010)



Read on Floor

-Bill is read to the full House or Senate (wherever it started) for the first time

- -Party leaders try to schedule time for the bill to be debated in advance so members can research the merits of the bill
- -Riders: unrelated amendments tacked onto a bill so they pass through with the bill; those who attach these riders are often passing something in favor of their constituents and using the already "along the way" bill for convenience



Debate

- -Time is limited in debates in the House
- -Each party is given equal opportunity to speak about the bill
- -Senate has no time limits on their debate because they are smaller and have less rules
- Senate filibuster: if a senator opposes a bill, they can speak in front of the Senate for as long as they do not yield the floor
- This is done to avoid the bill being voted on and hoping it will kill the bill by talking it to death
- Can only be ended through a vote of cloture: 3/5^{ths} vote (60 Senators) to end discussion of the bill



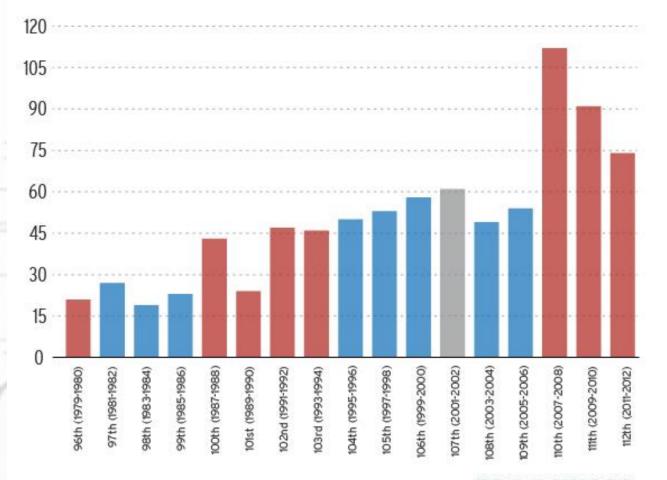
Attempted Senate cloture votes, 96th - 112th Congress (1979 - 2012)

Bars are colored according to the minority party - blue for Democrats, red for Republicans

57.25

41.63

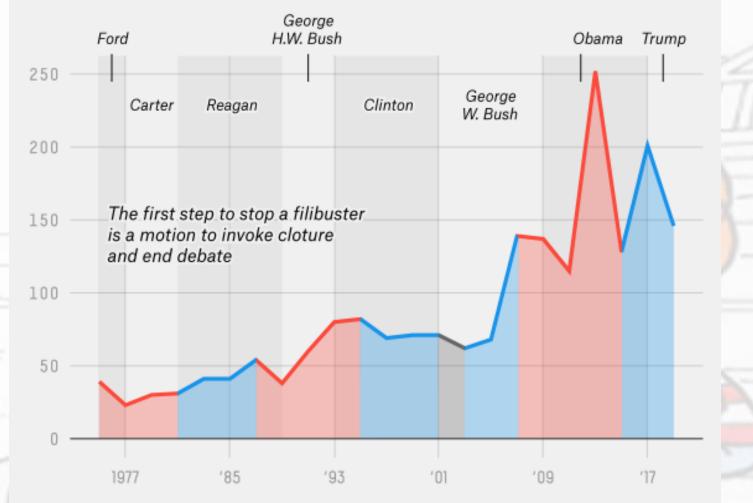
Avg. cloture votes when **REPUBLICANS** are in minority: Avg. cloture votes when **DEMOCRATS** are in minority:



BROOKINGS

The use of filibusters accelerated during Obama's terms

Number of motions filed to invoke cloture, by congressional session **MINORITY PARTY:** DEMOCRATIC **E** REPUBLICAN **E** DIVIDED



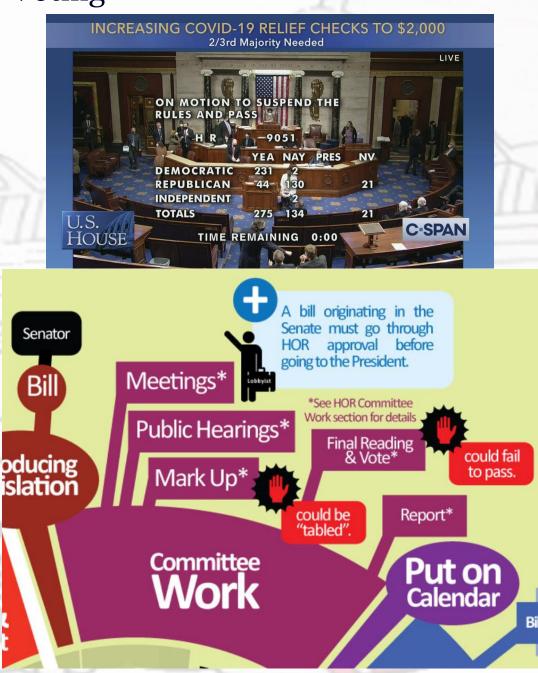
Due to the nature of Senate procedure, the number of cloture motions doesn't correspond perfectly to the number of filibusters. The Senate was "divided" from 2001-03 because Republicans and Democrats both held the majority for some period of time.

FiveThirtyEight

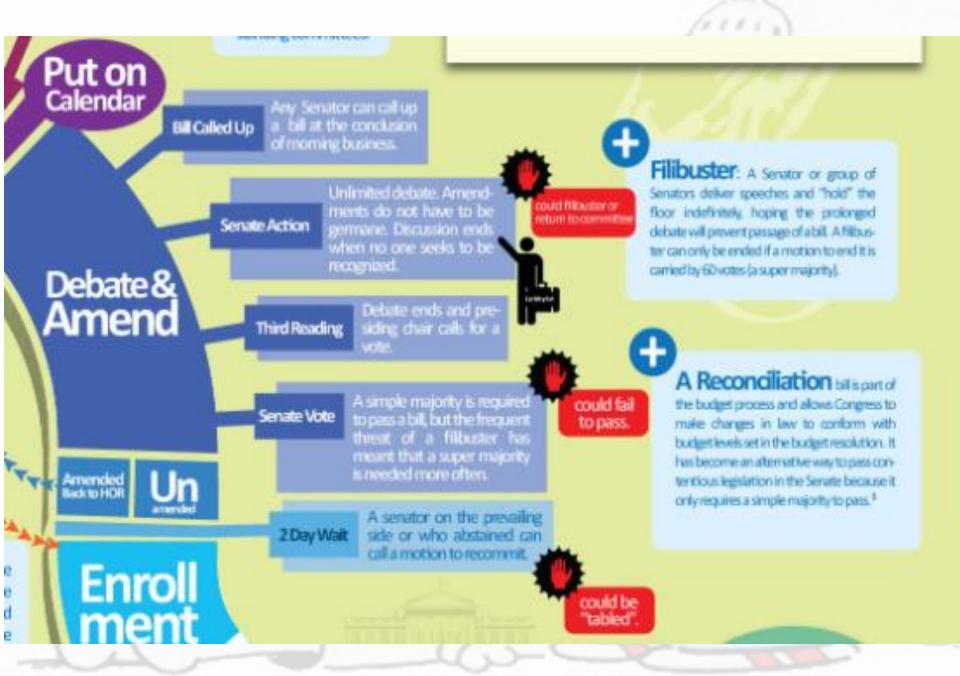
SOURCE: SENATE.GOV

Voting

- -After floor debate a vote is scheduled
- Types of votes
 - 1. Voice vote: "yea" or "nay" (how the Senate votes)
 - 2. Roll-call: each legislator is called out and a vote recorded (mostly done electronically today and is how the House votes)
- -After a bill is passed by either the House or Senate, it is then referred to the other chamber where it will go through similar committee and floor actions (except when the other chamber is already considering its own similar legislation) →



Senate Differences in Debate



- If there are significant differences between versions of a bill passed in both houses, a bicameral conference committee attempts to reconcile the differences between House and Senate versions - the two houses must approve identical versions
- -Conference Committee: special committee made up of legislators from the House and Senate who try to work out differences in bill that passed both houses in different forms
- -A report with the committee members' requests for changes is given to both the House and Senate for approval; if they do not agree on approval, the bill "dies"



Actions by the President

Actions:

- 1. Sign it into law
- 2. Do nothing

A. If Congress is still in session \rightarrow it defaults to law in 10 days

B. The president does not sign a bill knowing the Congressional session is ending \rightarrow after ten days the bills dies rather than becoming law (known as a Pocket Veto)

3. Veto: refuse to sign (can come with an explanation); can be overridden with a2/3rds majority of both housesWilliam McKinley (1897-1901)57-5563642Grover Cleveland (1893-1897)54-5342128170

	•					Grover cleveland (1655-1651)	54-55	42	120	110	
		Vetoes				Benjamin Harrison (1889-1893)	52-51	19	25	44	1
President (Years)	Coinciding Congresses					Grover Cleveland (1885-1889)	50-49	304	110	414	2
		Regular				Chester A. Arthur (1881-1885)	48-47	4	8	12	1
Donald J. Trump (2017-2021)	115-116	10	0	10	1	James A. Garfield (1881)	47	0	0	0	0
Barack Obama (2009-2017)	114-111	12	0	12	1	Rutherford B. Hayes (1877-1881)	46-45	12	1	13	1
George W. Bush (2001-2009)	110-107	12	0	12	4	Ulysses S. Grant (1869-1877) ³	44-41	45	48	93	4
William J. Clinton (1993-2001)	106-103	36	1	37	2	Andrew Johnson (1865-1869)	40-39	21	8	29	15
George H. W. Bush (1989-1993) ¹ 102-101		29	15	44	1	Abraham Lincoln (1861-1865)	39-37	2	5	7	0
Ronald Reagan (1981-1989) ²	100-97	39	39	78	9	James Buchanan (1857-1861)	36-35	4	3	7	0
Jimmy Carter (1977-1981)	96-95	13	18	31	2	Franklin Pierce (1853-1857)	34-33	9	0	9	5
Gerald R. Ford (1974-1977)	94-93	48	18	66	12	Millard Fillmore (1850-1853)	32-31	0	0	0	0
Richard M. Nixon (1969-1974)	93-91	26	17	43	7	Zachary Taylor (1849-1850)	31	0	0	0	0
Lyndon B. Johnson (1963-1969)	90-88	16	14	30	0	James K. Polk (1845-1849)	30-29	2	1	3	0
John F. Kennedy (1961-1963)	88-87	12	9	21	0	John Tyler (1841-1845)	28-27	6	4	10	1
Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953-1961)	86-83	73	108	181	2	William H. Harrison (1841)	27	0	0	0	0
Harry S. Truman (1945-53)	82-79	180	70	250	12	Martin Van Buren (1837-1841)	26, 25	0	1	1	0
						Andrew Jackson(1829-1837)	24-21	5	7	12	0
Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933-1945)	79-73	372	263	635	9	John Q. Adams (1825-1829)	20-19	0	0	0	0
Herbert Hoover (1929-1933)	72-71	21	16	37	3	James Monroe (1817-1825)	18-15	1	0	1	0
Calvin Coolidge (1923-1929)	70-68	20	30	50	4	James Madison (1809-1817)	14-11	5	2	7	0
Warren G. Harding(1921-1923)	67	5	1	6	0	Thomas Jefferson (1801-1809)	10-7	0	0	0	0
Woodrow Wilson (1913-1921)	66-63	33	11	44	6	John Adams (1797-1801)	6-5	0	0	0	0
William H. Taft (1909-1913)	62-61	30	9	39	1	George Washington (1789-1797)	4-1	2	0	2	0
Theodore Roosevelt (1901-1909)	60-57	42	40	82	1	Total ⁴		1518	1066	2584	112

If either chamber fails to garner enough votes to override a veto, it has "sustained" the veto, and the bill does not become law

Forty Years of Presidential Vetoes

Frequency and outcome of presidential vetoes, by control of Congress

	President and session of Congress			% of bills vetoed	Control of Congress President's party controls	 Vetoes by outcome Overridden Sustained No action Pocket veto 					
e		Obama	114th		Neither chamber						
	Y.		113th		One						
			112th		One						
			111th	0.5%	Both	•• 2					
	Cont.	G.W. Bush	110th	2.4	Neither						
			109th	0.2	Both	• 1					
			108th		Both						
			107th		One						
	Clint	Clinton	106th	2.0	Neither	•••••••••• 12					
	B		105th	2.0	Neither	8 ******					
			104th	4.9	Neither			7			
			103rd		Both						
	0	Bush 102nd		4.1	Neither	••••••••••••••••••••••					
			101st	3.0	Neither	•••••••••••••••••••					
		Reagan	100th	2.6	Neither	•••••••••••••••					
	1		99th	2.7	One	•••••		.8			
			98th	3.1	One	••••••		• 20			
			97th	2.9	One		eeee 14				
- 10		Carter	arter 96th		Both		10				
>	Nº.		95th	2.9	Both			19			
2		Ford/	94th	6.0	Neither						
	. A	Nixon	93rd	5.3	Neither	*******	••••••		•••••• 36		

Note: Figures refer to public bills and laws only.

Source: Library of Congress' THOMAS database, Pew Research Center reporting

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

How Lawmaking Has Changed in the Past 35 Years

- -Business interests, advocacy groups, media coverage can cause a member of Congress to write a bill
- -Committees are less important today: campaign cash, emphasis on issue messaging, the constant news cycle — party leaders decide what goes to the floor for consideration rather than committees
- -Lobbyists are incredibly influential: depending on the size and topic of the legislation, dozens sometimes even hundreds — of lobbyists will be involved, petitioning lawmakers to tweak language and policy points in a bill

