

**Table 1: Policy Classification by Levels**

<b>Tier 1</b>	<b>Tier 2</b>	<b>Tier 3</b>	<b>#</b>
<b>A. Sovereignty</b>	(1) <u>Liberty:</u>	(Loyalty and Expression)	1
		(Religion)	2
		(Privacy)	81
	(2) <u>Membership and Nation:</u>	(Commemorations and National Culture)	5
		(Immigration and Naturalization)	6
	(3) <u>Civil Rights:</u>	(African-Americans)	7
		(Native Americans)	8
		(Other Minority Groups)	9
		(Women)	77
		(Voting Rights)	10
	(4) <u>Boundaries:</u>	(Frontier Settlement)	11
		(Indian Removal and Compensation)	12
		(State admission/Union Composition)	13
		(Territories and Colonies)	14
<b>B. Organization and Scope</b>	(5) <u>Government Organization:</u>	(Congressional Organization, Administration and Personnel)	17
		(Executive Organization, Administration and Personnel)	18
		(Impeachment/Misconduct)	19
		( <i>Judicial</i> Organization, Administration and Personnel)	21
		(6) <u>Representation:</u>	(Census/Appportionment)
	(7) <u>Constitutional Amendments:</u>	(Elections)	23
		(Groups and Interests)	24
		(Federalism and terms of office)	25
		(Political participation and rights)	26
		(Other)	27

<b>C. International Relations</b>	<b>(8) <u>Defense:</u></b>	(Air Force Organization and Deployment)	28
		(Army Organization and Deployment)	31
		(Conscription/Enlistment)	32
		(Militias)	33
		(Naval organization and Deployment)	35
		(Organization, General)	36
		(Military Installations)	76
	(Civil/Homeland Defense)	80	
	<b>(9) <u>Geopolitics:</u></b>	(Diplomacy/Intelligence)	37
		(Foreign Aid)	38
		(International Organizations)	39
	<b>(10) <u>International Political Economy:</u></b>	(Maritime)	41
		(Trade/Tariffs)	42
(Economic International Organizations)		3	

<b>D. Domestic Affairs</b>	(11) <u>Agriculture and Food:</u>	(Agricultural Technology)	43
		(Farmers/Farming Support)	44
		(Fishing and Livestock)	47
	(12) <u>Planning and Resources:</u>	(Corporatism)	48
		(Environment)	49
		(Infrastructure/Public Works)	50
		(National Resources)	51
		(Social Knowledge)	78
		(Post-Office)	52
		(Transportation)	53
		(Wage and Price Controls)	54
		(Interstate Compacts/Federalism)	20
		(Urban, Rural & Regional Development)	74
		(13) <u>Political Economy:</u>	(Appropriations)
(Multiple-Agency)	79		
(Business/Capital Markets)	56		
(Fiscal/Taxation)	58		
(Labor Markets/Unions)	59		
(Monetary)	60		
(14) <u>Social Policy:</u>	(Regulation, Economic)	61	
	(Children/Youth)	63	
	(Crime)	64	
	(Disaster)	65	
	(Education)	66	
	(Handicapped/Disabilities)	67	
	(Health, Civilian)	68	
	(Housing)	69	
	(Military Pensions, Benefits and Civilian Compensation)	70	
	(Public-Works and Volunteer Employment)	71	
	(Regulation, Social)	75	
(Social Insurance)	72		
(Transfers, Poverty)	73		
<b>E. District of Columbia</b>			
<b>F. Housekeeping</b>			
<b>G. Quasi-private</b>			
<b>H. Public Quasi-private</b>			

# Notes

## Tier One

*Sovereignty* is the central feature of modern stateness; that is, it is the defining characteristic of states fashioned after feudalism in early modern Europe to the present. Though a rich and contested term, it refers to the state's indivisible claim to rule legitimately over particular populations and territories. Hence it is concerned with the very existence, boundaries, and membership of the national regime.

*Organization and Scope* is the category that concerns the substantive reach and range of activities and the institutional elaboration of the state and its governing instruments, including its basic rules, norms, formal organization, and terms of participation.

*International Relations* concerns the geopolitical and economic transactions between the United States as a unit in the global system of states and other sovereign states (as well as the international system and its formal and informal organizations).

*Domestic Affairs* is concerned with public policies shaping both the ties between government and the economy and between government and the welfare of its citizens.

*District of Columbia* bills are treated as a distinctive category; Congress has served, in effect, as the legislature for DC. As a result, there are a good many roll calls in this category.

*Housekeeping* roll calls are concerned with procedural matters, including most printing matters. Note that one cannot conclude from the ICPSR codes that you are dealing with a procedural bill. For example, when motions for adjournment are offered, which ordinarily would be considered 'housekeeping,' to derail a specific substantive bill in the midst of debate we would code this as a vote on the bill rather than as mere housekeeping. This may be the category with the lowest inter-coder reliability; hence there is a need to pay particular attention to such votes. Housekeeping also occupies a fourth tier category (similar to that of appropriations). Such bills are coded by their substantive policy area but also get assigned a fourth tier if they are procedural. For example, a motion to recommit a bill that increases the size of the navy would be coded as a navy bill and then also receive a fourth tier housekeeping code.

*Quasi-private* bills deal with economic benefits to particular individuals and single-named companies/firms/organizations fall in this category. No omnibus bill, therefore, can fall here, unless amendments to an omnibus bill are made for specific claimants.

*Public Quasi-private* bills that deal with specific benefits that are not for individuals or single-named companies but include the features of a public good, including building a specific bridge, building and administering individual public buildings, and transferring public property, such as a tract of land, a building, or an office to a city or county. Note that individual public buildings and individual bridges receive a double code that is first Public-Quasi-private, and, second, Infrastructure and Transportation, respectively. Some discretion is required: Note that if the legislation deals with Indians or Indian lands, the policy will be coded as Indian Removal or Native Americans.

## Tier Two

### A. Sovereignty

- (1) *Liberty*=legislation defining the scope of citizens' civil liberty.
- (2) *Membership and Nation*=rules for entering, in part or in full, the communities of citizens and political participants and of marking the character of the nation.
- (3) *Civil Rights*=inclusion/exclusion/protection of racialized minorities, especially African-Americans
- (4) *Boundaries*=legislation concerned with the spatial dimensions and location of the American 'frontier' and the extension of national sovereignty to particular geographic locations, excluding war and diplomacy between the United States and other recognized sovereign states. Also, includes issues dealing with the stability of the union.

## B. Organization and Scope

- (5) *Government Organization*=the structure, scale, and rules of the national government.
- (6) *Representation*=terms of participation by individual and group members of civil society.
- (7) *Constitutional Amendments*=attempted additions to the Constitution.

## C. International Relations

- (8) *Defense*=the organization, scope, and resources of the armed forces.
- (9) *Geopolitics*=the extension and management of American power and security in a global setting
- (10) *International Political Economy*=the global extension and management of the American economy.

## D. Domestic Affairs

- (11) *Agriculture and Food*=farming and its conditions.
- (12) *Planning and Resources*=authoritative and negotiated non-market emplacement and allocation of public goods, private capital, and labor.
- (13) *Political Economy*=legislation shaping rules and conditions within which the economy and economic choice by individuals or collectivities operates.
- (14) *Social Policy*=the well-being or welfare (economic and social) of the population.

## Tier Three

(A-1-1) *Loyalty and Expression* includes subversion or protection from subversion (espionage, anti-government propaganda, restrictions on travel during war time, imputed loyalty to other governments and movements such as fascist and communist; hence Japanese internment would be included here).

(A-1-2) *Religion* includes separation and relationship between church and state.

(A-1-81) *Privacy* includes consumer privacy, including the protection of worker records, employee drug and polygraph testing, government and police wiretapping. The protection of medical records would fall here. Also includes privacy concerning the Internet and computer technology.

(A-2-5) *Commemorations and National Culture* includes holidays, memorials, and other means to officially recall people and events, plus depositories of cultural heritage, such as the National Archive and the Smithsonian Institution, and programs geared to advance a national culture.

(A-2-6) *Immigration and Naturalization* includes entry and exit (family reunification and deportation fall here except when motivated by 'liberty' issues). Also includes rules for citizenship, procedures for becoming a naturalized citizen such as literacy tests for immigrants, and rules for dealing with refugees and their legal status, except when this involves direct negotiations with a foreign country. Legislation on agencies that deal with immigration issues in part or whole are placed in this category.

(A-3-7) *African-Americans* includes slavery and slave trade taxation, relevant Reconstruction legislation, protection such as anti-lynching bills, segregation and desegregation of public accommodations, anti-discrimination legislation (as in employment and housing), busing, and affirmative action. Does not include roll calls on voting rights.

(A-3-8) *Native Americans* includes regulation of conduct, protection, political autonomy, and cultural rights. Also includes legislation concerning Indian reservations (such as rights to hunt, fish, and general uses of territory), as well as diplomatic and economic interactions with Native American tribes.

(A-3-9) *Other Minority Groups* includes the protection of specifically defined minority groups, that does not include Blacks or Indians (i.e. those not covered under A-3-7 and A-3-8); for example, protection of Chinese persons, anti-discrimination with respect to homosexuality, age, disease and disability (e.g., employment discrimination against the handicapped).

(A-3-77) *Women* includes legislation and regulation against gender discrimination as in employment, salary, and university sports programs. Does not include voting rights, such as women's suffrage.

(A-3-10) *Voting Rights* includes the franchise, its exercise and restriction (as in poll taxes).

(A-4-11) *Frontier Settlement* includes various aspects of westward push, including homestead acts (other land bills, such as those dealing with mineral rights, belong in planning and resources).

(A-4-12) *Indian Removal and Compensation* includes treaties, payments, and military operations to remove Indians to new locations as well as payments to Indian tribes.

(A-4-13) *State Admission/Union Composition* includes roll calls or public statutes to consider moving specific territories to the status of states and also votes that involve the stability of the union (as in Civil War measures that call for the break up of the Union).

(A-4-14) *Territories and Colonies* includes definition and governance of land under American sovereignty or possession before admission to the status of a state (e.g., incorporation of private companies). Annexation of territory (e.g., Texas and Hawaii) falls here.

(B-5-17) *Congressional Organization, Administration and Personnel* includes all internal rules of Congress, including salaries of members of the House and Senate.

(B-5-18) *Executive Organization, Administration and Personnel* includes the organization of the executive branch as a whole as defined by reorganization bills, shifts in cabinet scale and responsibilities, creation of cabinet level departments, and means to monitor the executive branch by congress, including requests for information from the executive branch and the legislative veto. Includes rules for personnel, including public-sector pensions, and promotion in the federal service; appointments of federal positions, and the preparation/maintenance of government records fall here. (Does not include creation of commissions or boards, which fall under their substantive policy areas.) Also includes issues concerning public access to information as in the Freedom of Information Act.

(B-5-19) *Impeachment/Misconduct* includes impeachment trials and misconduct trials dealing with federal public officials in the legislative, judicial, and executive branches.

(B-5-21) *Judicial Organization, Administration and Personnel* includes the organization of the federal court system and programs of access like the Legal Services Corporation.

(B-6-22) *Census/Appportionment* includes census legislation and adjustments to the number of seats held by states after a given census.

(B-6-23) *Elections* includes contested elections, and rules for elections and participation such as the Hatch Act, soldier voting bills, and campaign finance.

(B-6-24) *Groups and Interests* includes rules for lobbying, registration, governance, and access by pressure groups.

(B-7-25) *Federalism and Terms of Office* includes relevant constitutional amendments.

(B-7-26) *Political Participation and Rights* includes relevant constitutional amendments.

(B-7-27) *Other* includes all other Constitutional amendments not covered under B-7-25 or B-7-26.

(C-8-28) *Air Force Organization and Deployment* includes decisions about its structure, weapons, and personnel.

(C-8-31) *Army Organization and Deployment* includes decisions about its structure, weapons, and personnel. Deployment related to the protection of settlers against Indian attacks falls here. Prior to the civil war all military academy bills go under army organization.

(C-8-32) *Conscription/Enlistment* includes the mobilization of human power.

(C-8-33) *Militias* includes state and local military forces.

(C-8-35) *Naval Organization and Deployment* includes decisions about the navy's and marines' structure, weapons, and personnel. Also includes protection of commerce on the high seas prior to the establishment of a formal Navy.

(C-8-36) *Organization* includes decisions about the structure, weapons, and personnel of the armed forces as a whole or more than one branch, including powers of the President as Commander in Chief.

(C-8-76) *Military Installations* includes domestic and overseas infrastructure/bases.

(C-8-80) *Civil/Homeland Defense* includes activities to guard the territory and population within the United States from military invasion, bombing, and terrorist assaults, including the use of biological weapons against civilians. Examples include civil defense facilities, the emergency broadcasting system, anti-anthrax efforts, and airport screening when related to homeland threats.

(C-9-37) *Diplomacy/Intelligence* includes negotiations and relations with other states in peace and in war, including treaties, policy pronouncements, inter-state claims for compensation, declarations of war, as well as the collection and dissemination of information on foreign countries (e.g. CIA). This also includes trade policy that is geared toward geopolitical ends rather than economic ends such as trade sanctions against Iraq or Cuba. Also, includes policy aimed at protecting Americans living abroad.

(C-9-38) *Foreign Aid* includes non-military and military transfers by grant and loan to other countries as in Lend Lease, reparations, and the Marshall Plan and programs of development assistance such as the Peace Corps.

(C-9-39) *International Organizations* includes formal organizations such as the League of Nations and the United Nations, international tribunals including those for war crimes, and NGO's like the International Red Cross. Must be more than a bi-lateral institution.

(C-10-41) *Maritime* includes shipping, merchant marines, laws of the sea, and trade routes, including the Panama Canal.

(C-10-42) *Trade/Tariffs* includes taxes and regulation of imports and exports, negotiations with other countries over rates, ports of entry and free trade zones, custom houses, and international trade regimes and organizations concerned with trade, such as GATT and NAFTA.

(C-10-3) *Economic International Organizations* includes formal organizations such as the World Bank and the IMF. Institutions such as the Bretton Woods agreement fall here.

(D-11-43) *Agricultural Technology* includes technical assistance geared to better crop production, including soil conservation, seed innovations, the diffusion of technical information to farmers, statistical studies, and the creation of educational institutions designated primarily to advance agriculture.

(D-11-44) *Farmers/Farming Support* includes disaster relief, guarantees to loan categories; assistance to farmers, including legislation subsidizing both productions of commodities and decisions not to plant and produce, as well as programs under the authority of the Commodity Credit Corporation that are not commodity subsidies as such. Also includes reductions of aid to farmers, as well as appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and agriculture programs.

(D-11-47) *Fishing and Livestock* includes subsidies and aid with respect to non-plant agricultural production.

(D-12-48) *Corporatism* includes negotiated agreements about production and consumption among representatives of business, labor and government and shifts to the locus of production between the private and public sectors; includes NIRA.

(D-12-49) *Environment* includes legislation concerned with quality of air, water, land, and protection of nature, animate and inanimate, disposal of waste including nuclear waste.

(D-12-50) *Infrastructure/Public Works* includes all non-transportation-related initiatives, including communications infrastructure, dams, flood prevention, and harbors, TVA, CVA, and electrification. In the case of individual public buildings, these bills are double coded first as Public Quasi-Private and second as Infrastructure. Energy projects involving construction fall here.

(D-12-51) *National Resources* includes reclamation projects, land affairs (whether civilian or sale of military land), minerals, energy (but not construction of infrastructure), forests and forest fires, national parks, production plants brought under public ownership or returned to private ownership, sale of government surplus goods. Land affairs dealt with here exclude those concerned with frontier settlement.

(D-12-78) *Social Knowledge* includes systematic government funded efforts to enhance the production of social and scientific knowledge, including federal planning agencies concerned with resources and investigation of resources, and government funding of programs that involve science and research (such as NSF, NIH, NIMH or scientific expeditions and surveys in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and space programs). Public broadcasting is located here and assistance to the arts is included here.

(D-12-52) *Post-Office* includes all postal affairs excluding civil service.

(D-12-53) *Transportation* includes road and rail transit, canals, lighthouses, mass transit, air travel and airports. Post roads are included as are efforts to make rivers navigable. In the case of individual bridges, these bills are double coded first as Public Quasi-Private and second as Transportation.

(D-12-54) *Wage and Price Controls* includes non-market interventions setting levels for wages and prices by governmental authority; also includes rationing.

(D-12-20) *Interstate Compacts/Federalism* includes arrangements between the states brokered by the federal government. These include boundary questions, rivers, and other national resource (for example, a state receiving a share of money from federal public lands within its boundaries is included here). Also includes inter-state relations such as financial transfers (excluding repayment of loans to states as this would be under monetary policy), revenue sharing measures, interactions between the federal government and one or several states. Because the policy content is vital, these bills receive a double third tier code that captures the policy content of the bill. No other types of bills routinely receive a "double" code, except for Appropriations.

(D-12-74) *Urban, Rural and Regional Development* includes programs aimed at promoting economic growth and development in specific locations such as cities and regions, excluding policies that fit specifically in a substantive category under *Planning and Resources* which are then coded by the more specific policy (e.g. mass transit, public works projects, etc.)

(D-13-55-fourth tier code) *Appropriations* includes all appropriation bills including making appropriations and temporal extensions of appropriations. Since the policy content of appropriations bills is vital, these bills receive a double third tier code. The first of these will always be “appropriations.” The second third tier coding captures the policy content of the bill. No other types of bills routinely receive a “double” code, except for Interstate Compact/Federalism.

(D-13-55-79) *Multiple-Agency* is a fourth tier category for appropriations legislation that appropriates funds to more than one of the following: an executive agency, department, board, commission, congress, or the judiciary.

(D-13-56) *Business/Capital Markets* includes aid to firms, government relations with firms and government purchasing from firms, anti-trust across sectors and industries (general legislation), torts, military-industrial complex, and information and statistical reports (i.e., Department of Commerce statistical study). Also, includes banking-related legislation but not Federal Reserve, bankruptcies (general not firm-specific), Reconstruction Finance Corporation, regulation of securities, and other agencies and activities which shape and regulate the operation of capital markets.

(D-13-58) *Fiscal/Taxation* includes budgets, including debt-ceilings, revenue bills and legislation within the boundaries of the United States aimed at determining fiscal aggregates relevant to macroeconomic performance, including fiscal duties of the Treasury such as the collection, safe-keeping, and deposit of the revenue.

(D-13-59) *Labor Markets/Unions* includes rules and information (i.e., statistical studies of the Department of Labor) for shaping and regulating conditions of employment such as wages, hours and health and safety. Also, includes legislation setting the terms and conditions for the existence and growth of trade unions.

(D-13-60) *Monetary* includes Federal Reserve and Treasury functions related to monetary policy, including gold and silver standards, value of dollar, bond sales (including war bonds), legislation to repay and refund the public debt, and monetary aggregates.

(D-13-61) *Regulation, Economic* includes all economic regulatory activities through independent regulatory commissions (e.g., ICC, FCC, and FAA) of sectors and industries; patents, copyrights, and trademarks, but excluding regulation of capital and labor markets, unions and the environment.

(D-14-63) *Children/Youth* includes policy targeted at children and youth, except overlapping transfer programs such as WIC. Child care, parental leave, and school lunch programs fall here.

(D-14-64) *Crime* includes legislation dealing with police, organized crime, surveillance and narcotics. Issues such as sentencing, defining a crime, the death penalty, statutes of limitation, and jurisdiction are also included.

(D-14-65) *Disaster* includes all relief efforts resulting from natural disaster (flooding, hurricane, cyclone, etc).

(D-14-66) *Education* includes all school related federal policy, except certain nutrition programs such as subsidized lunches.

(D-14-67) *Handicapped/Disabilities* includes legislation aimed at improving the quality of life of the handicapped. Policies aimed at the deaf and blind, along with other disabilities would fall here (brail reading materials). Also, policy aimed at making buildings and transportation service handicap accessible fall here.

(D-14-68) *Health (civilian)* includes legislation dealing with the physical and mental health of the nation. This would include the regulation of prescription drugs, medical devices, and medical procedures, including the regulation of food and projects for health reasons. Disease control, inoculation, mandatory health insurance, family leave is included. Military related health measures are excluded. Programs dealing with the physical and mental well-being of the elderly fall here.

(D-14-69) *Housing* includes public housing, housing for the elderly, home mortgages and other related measures.

(D-14-70) *Military Pensions/Benefits and Civilian Compensation* (including Military pensions but not social security) includes pensions, war-related compensation, including land grants, Veteran’s housing, health benefits (VA hospital privileges), job training and college-related benefits (GI bill). Includes compensation to civilians over war/conflict related claims (e.g., property impounded because of an embargo).

(D-14-71) *Public-works and Volunteer Employment* includes national government employment related programs and volunteer employment (such as WPA, VISTA, and AMERICORPS).

(D-14-75) *Regulation, Social* includes the regulation of social behavior and conduct, such as enforcement of Prohibition, and issues of sexual preference and reproduction, including abortion. (Note that abortion falls here because legislation concerns mostly appropriations to clinics, not the legality of abortion.) Also includes regulations such as seat belt laws to decrease health risks and regulation of firearms.



(D-14-72) *Social Insurance* deals with policies that protect and secure against the hazards of the labor market as a whole and with respect to particular industries, including unemployment insurance, social security and workers' compensation, and industry-specific social insurance such as the Railroad Retirement Act. Specific policies such as ADC that were included in the original Social Security Act would initially be coded under *social insurance*, but subsequently would be included within *transfers*.

(D-14-73) *Transfers, Poverty* direct cash assistance for relief such as FERA, AFDC or in-kind programs such as food stamps. Omnibus poverty programs such as the establishment of the OEO fall here.

Rule of Thumb: For congressional committees, only standing committees are coded as congressional organization. Both select and special committees are coded under the substantive policy area.

Rule of Thumb: In exceptional cases, a policy can receive a double third tier coding. Each of these double codes has to be approved in a coding meeting. For example, creating a new executive department would be coded first by the policy area it addresses and second as executive organization.

