

== Index ==

Boldface numbers refer to figures and tables.

- AARP, 46, 202
Affordable Care Act (ACA, 2010),
23–24, 43, 274, 314–315ⁿ⁵⁰
AFL-CIO, 86, 88–89, 229, 240–242, 279,
315ⁿ⁶¹
Allard, Wayne, 155
alt-labor organizations, 279
American Bankers Association (ABA),
155, 192, 201–202, 207, 330–331ⁿ¹³⁶
American Enterprise Institute, 335ⁿ⁴¹
American Federation of State, County,
and Municipal Employees
(AFSCME), 229, 241
American Federation of Teachers
(AFT), 229
American Health Care Act (2017),
314–315ⁿ⁵⁰
American Insurance Association, 155
Americans for Financial Reform
(AFR), 196–200, 329ⁿ¹¹²
Americans for Prosperity, 335ⁿ⁴¹
Americans for Tax Reform, 335ⁿ⁴¹
America Votes, 241
Association for Advanced Life
Underwriting, 209

Baca, Joe, 335ⁿ³⁸
bailouts: COVID-19 pandemic and, 268;
deregulation and, 156; financing
in future, 202, 204, 207–208;
re-regulation and, 180, 181
Bank Holding Company Act (1956),
320ⁿ¹³

Banking Act (1933). *See* Glass-Steagall
Act
Bean, Melissa, 193
Biggert, Judy, 186–187
bill sponsorship: agenda measured
through, 65; speech as predictor
of, 14, 79–80, **81**, **288–289**,
313–314ⁿ⁴³
Bipartisan Campaign Finance Reform
Act (2002), 159
Black and Indigenous people of color
(BIPOC). *See* marginalized or
disadvantaged populations; race
and ethnicity
Black Lives Matter (BLM), 308ⁿ⁴⁵. *See*
also Movement for Black Lives
Bocieri, John, 187
Boehlert, Sherwood, 226, 248
Boehner, John, 151–152, 248
Boswell, Leonard, 212
Boxer, Barbara, 236, 246
broker-dealer services, 208–210,
331ⁿ¹⁴⁶, 332ⁿ¹⁵⁰
Brown, Scott, 330ⁿ¹³³
Buffett, Warren, 99
Bunning, Jim, 150
Bush, George W., 141, 253, 257
Business for a Fair Minimum Wage,
254
business interests: campaign
contributions, 113 (*see also*
political action committees);
healthcare system and, 309ⁿ²⁶;

- business interests (*cont.*)
 ideological hegemony of, 29;
 inequality *vs.*, congressional
 attention to, 105–109, **106**, **108**;
 informational advantages and,
 30, 34, 40, 51; kinetic power and
 congressional attention, 117–127,
119, **122–123**; kinetic power
 of campaign contributions,
 110–117, **115–116**; minimum
 wage rates and, 220–221, 227,
 229–230, 248–249, 254–255, 259–260,
 335*n*41; national priorities and,
 28–29, 33; patterns in American
 politics and, 272–275; recessions
 and structural power of, 327*n*36;
 state and local governments and,
 283; structural power and, 27–31,
 33–35, 54; workers' interests
vs., congressional attention to,
 101–105, **103**. *See also* financial
 deregulation; wealthy interests
- Business Roundtable, 86, 207
- campaign donations: **115–116**; analysis
 of, 50–51; congressional agenda
 control and, 18, 48, 51, 55–56,
 110–117, **115–116**, 311*n*98;
 deregulation and, 156–162,
158–159, 216–217, 262–264,
 323–324*n*101; economic interests
 and agenda in Congress and,
 18, 110–117, **115–116**; as kinetic
 power, 8, 15, 51, 306*nn*16–18,
 308*n*10; limits on, 15; main
 findings on, 262; minimum wage
 increases and, 230–234, **231**,
 237–243, 244–245, 264, **304**,
 337–338*n*66, 339*n*107; quantitative
 analysis and issue attention,
 117–127, **119**, **122–123**; re-regulation
 and, 195, 200–201, 205–206, **206**,
 264, 328*n*80; wealthy interests
 and, 2–3, 23–25, 48, 110–117. *See also*
 political action committees
- campaign finance reform, 15, 275–276
- Cantwell, Maria, 186
- Capital One, 155
- CARES (Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and
 Economic Security) Act (2020), 268
- Center for Responsible Lending, 196
- Center for Responsive Politics,
 325*n*124, 328*n*86
- CFA (Consumer Federation of
 America), 154–155, 323*n*84
- CFMA (Commodity Futures
 Modernization Act, 2000),
 321*n*20, 324*n*120, 327*n*54
- CFPB (Consumer Financial Protection
 Bureau), 180, 192, 199, 214–216
- Chafee, Lincoln, 226, 339*n*107
- Change America Now, 241
- Change to Win (CtW), 229, 242, 253,
 338*n*88
- Citibank, 155, 168, **169**, 323*n*85,
 324*nn*118–119
- Citicorp, 167
- Citigroup: campaign donations and,
 210; deregulation and, 150, 152,
 167–172, 322*n*74, 324*nn*121–122,
 331*n*146
- Citizens United v. Federal Election
 Commission* (2010), 15, 276
- civil rights movement and
 organizations, 42, 280
- Clinton, Bill, 141, 143, 152, 160
- Club for Growth, 86
- commercial banks: campaign
 contributions from, 157–159,
158–159, 167, 170, 205–206,
206, 323–324*n*101, 325*n*124;
 deregulation and, 139–140,
 143–144, 149, 155; re-regulation
 and, 202, 203
- Commission on Financial Structure
 and Regulation, 143
- Commodity Futures Modernization
 Act (CFMA, 2000), 321*n*20,
 324*n*120, 327*n*54
- Commodity Futures Trading
 Commission, 320*n*18
- Commodity Markets Oversight
 Coalition (CMOC), 191
- community banks, 191–193
- Community Reinvestment Act (CRA,
 1977), 160–161, 165–166, 171–172

- Comparative Agendas Project, 78–79, 85, 313n39
- Competitive Equality Banking Act (1987), 147
- congressional agenda control:
 campaign contributions and, 18, 48, 51, 55–56, 110–117, **115–116**, 311n98; congressional speech and, 64–67; economic crisis or war and, 48; minimum wage increases and, 222–223, 259, 334n21, 336n42; party leaders and, 66; prevention of issue attention and, 48, 133–134; structural and kinetic power, 8, 47–48; wealthy interests and, 3–5, 9–10, 261–262
- congressional attention, 18–19, 59–97;
 campaign donations' effect on, 18; competing interests and, 84–91, **87, 90**; congressional speech and congressional action, 78–83, **81–82**, 265–266; deregulation and, 2, 135–138, 147–148, 151–152, 322n74; to economic problems, measuring, 91–96, **93–95, 290–291**; hypotheses and empirical strategy for, 49–57; influence of, 60; interest groups' illusion of power and, 47; measures of speech, 67–75, **70–74**; minimum wage rates and, 226, 230–234, **231**, 243–247, 249–253; policy outcomes and, 135; prevention of issue attention and, 48; public opinion and, 60, 130, 133–134, 342n14; re-regulation and, 179, 192–193, 197, 204–208, 216–217; sources for economic indicators, 287, **287**; speech as indicator of, 14–15, 17, 50, 61–67, 218–219, 312n12; speech *vs.* economic reality, 75–78, **76–77**; structural and kinetic power of wealthy and influence on, 9–11, 47–48, 261. *See also* economic interests and economic agenda in Congress
- Congressional Bill Project*, 314n44
- Congressional Budget Office, 182
- congressional hearings, 64–65, 78, 80–83, **82**, 314n47, 314–315nn50–51
- congressional inaction, 42–43, 221–222, 320n15
- Congressional Quarterly*, 53, 149, 154
- Congressional Record (CR)*: analysis of, 15, 21, 53, 67–75, **70–74**, 91–92 (*see also* Congressional Rhetoric Database); on CFPB oversight, 192–193; extensions of remarks, 67, 69, 307n40; MCs monitoring congressional activity through, 63, 312n18
- Congressional Research Service, 184
- Congressional Rhetoric Database:
 on inequality, 107–109, **108**;
 measuring attention to economic problems through, 91–96, **93–95**;
 measuring issue attention and policy agenda through, 67–75, **70–74**; on workers *vs.* business interests, 102–105, **103**
- Congressmen's Voting Decisions* (Kingdon), 63, 312n18
- consumer advocacy groups: as counterweight to kinetic power of finance, 154–155; deregulation and, 2; re-regulation and, 177–180, 192, 195–200, 216, 263, 329n112; resource constraints of, 281
- Consumer Federation of America (CFA), 154–155, 323n84
- Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB), 180, 192, 199, 214–216
- consumer spending and confidence, 85–91, **87, 90**
- Conyers, John, 165, 324n109
- Cordray, Richard, 215
- Cornyn, John, 73, 236–237
- Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security Act (CARES, 2020), 268
- corporate, membership, or trade association (CMT) interests:
 kinetic power and congressional attention, 117–127, **119, 122–123**;
 kinetic power of campaign contributions, 114–117, **115–116**

- corporate profits, 3–4, 5
 Costco, 254
 COVID-19 pandemic, 267–268, 285
 CRA (Community Reinvestment Act, 1977), 160–161, 165–166, 171–172
 Craig, Larry, 236
 credit default swaps, 191, 326n14
 Crowley, Joe, 1–2
 CtW (Change to Win), 229, 242, 253, 338n88
- D'Amato, Alfonse, 147
 Daschle, Tom, 73
 Davis, Danny, 188, 190
 Deacon, Doug, 24
 deficit: congressional speech and action on, 78–83, **81–82**, 94–95, **95**, 218–219, 314n46, 314n48; as economic priority, 85–91, **87**, **90**, 316n63; kinetic power, quantitative analysis of, 118–122, **119**, **122**
- DeLay, Tom, 148
 DeMint, Jim, 227, 336n50
 Democratic Party: campaign donations to, 115–117, **115–116**, 126–127; center-left ideology of, 36–37, 56, 310n52; COVID-19 pandemic and, 268; deregulation and, 134, 138, 143–146, 156–162, **158–159**, 323–324n101; Great Recession and, 186–187, 325–326n1; minimum wage increases and, 222–223, **231**, 232–234, 236–239, 243–247, 251–257, 263–264, 334–335n38, 337n52; organizational capacity and, 42, 278; progressive policies of, 273–275; re-regulation and, 187–189, 200–201, 205–208, **206**, 330n133; total words spoken, analysis of, 71, **72**; voting rights and, 282; wealthy interests and, 37. *See also* partisanship
- deposit insurance, 139, 143
 Depository Institutions Deregulation and Monetary Control Act (1980), 320n18
 Depository Trust and Clearing Corporation, 212
- deregulation. *See* financial deregulation
 derivatives market: divisions within, 190; re-regulation and oversight of, 179–181, 191–194, 203, 211–212, 326n14, 327n54
 Dingell, John, 154, 189
 Dodd, Christopher: deregulation and, 160–161; minimum wage increases and, 237, 249; re-regulation and, 172, 186, 193, 204, 210, 212
 Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act (2010). *See* financial re-regulation
 Dole, Bob, 73
 Dorgan, Byron, 161–162, 203, 218, 340n156
 Durbin, Richard, 73
- economic crisis or war, 33, 48, 54. *See also* Great Recession
 economic interests and economic agenda in Congress, 18–19, 98–130; analytical approach and, 11–13; campaign donations and, 18, 110–117, **115–116**; economic growth as priority, 3, 85–91, **87**, **90**, 141, 146, 151–152, 269; economic inequality and, 105–109, **106**, **108**; hypotheses and empirical strategy for, 49–57; kinetic power and issue attention, 117–127, **119**, **122–123**, **292–303**; labor *vs.* business interests and, 101–105, **103**; structural power and issue attention, 100–109, 265, 317n8
 Economic Policy Institute, 315–316n62
 Ellison, Keith, 187, 197
 Enron, 321n20
 Enzi, Mike, 227, 246, 339n106
 ethnicity. *See* race and ethnicity
 executive branch: appointments for financial oversight, 215–216; deregulation and, 141–142; policy priorities of, 271; policy process and, 12; structural and kinetic power influence in, 130

- Fair Labor Standards Act (1938), 224, 305n2
- Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, 188, 207
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), 181
- federal deposit insurance, 139, 143
- Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation Improvement Act (1991), 147, 164
- Federal Election Commission (FEC), 15, 111, 113
- Federal Reserve: Citicorp and Travelers Group merger, 167; Consumer Financial Protection Bureau and, 199, 215; deregulation and, 155–156, 170, 320n15; Great Recession and, 181, 207, 326n14; oversight of, 320n13; racial discrimination of financial sector and, 165; transparency proposal for, 330n135
- Feingold, Russ, 173, 186, 246, 325n133
- fiduciary responsibilities, 208–210
- Fight for \$15 campaign, 258–259, 279, 283
- financial advisers, 208–210, 331n146, 332n150
- financial crisis (2007–2009), 33, 54, 181–194, 262–263, 275, 326n14. *See also* financial re-regulation
- financial deregulation, 20–21, 131–175; campaign donations and, 156–162, 158–159, 216–217, 262–264, 323–324n101; congressional preoccupation with, 2, 131–132, 147–148; congressional rhetoric and structural power, 151–152; counterweights to kinetic power, 153–156; financial-sector regulatory framework and, 139–142, 320n15, 320n18; Great Recession and, 182–183; hypotheses and empirical strategy for, 51–52, 311n99; individual legislators and, 162–167; interest synchronization and timing of, 148–151; kinetic power and, 152–153, 262; main findings on, 262–264; post-financial crisis, 215–217; prosperity and, 145–152; public opinion and, 136, 154; reform of 1990s and, 142–145; role of finance in negotiations for, 167–173, 169; status-quo bias and policy on, 52–53, 133; structural-kinetic power framework and, 132–139; structural power and, 145–152, 262–263
- Financial Institutions Reform, Recovery, and Enforcement Act (1989), 147
- financialization of economy, 139, 263
- financial re-regulation, 20–21, 176–217; campaign donations and, 195, 200–201, 205–206, 206, 264, 328n80; counterweights to kinetic power, 196–200; financial sector and, 200–213; Great Recession and reform opportunity, 181–194; hypotheses and empirical strategy for, 51–52, 311n99; kinetic power and regulatory renewal limits, 179, 194–213, 214, 263, 271; limits of reform and, 213–217; main findings on, 262–263; structural power and, 178–179, 183–194, 184, 327n36
- Financial Services Modernization Act (1999), 168
- Financial Stability Oversight Council (FSOC), 202–203
- First Amendment, 276
- Frank, Barney, 152, 186, 189–190, 192–194, 207
- Frist, Bill, 238, 252
- Futures Trading Practices Act (1992), 320n18
- Garn–St. Germain Depository Institutions Act (1982), 147, 320n18
- Geithner, Tim, 142, 180, 185, 325–326n1
- gender: hierarchies, challenging, 274–275; protections for women, 280; structural power distribution and, 7, 26, 32. *See also* marginalized or disadvantaged populations

- General Electric, 201
- Gillmor, Paul, 322*n*74
- Gingrich, Newt, 74, 163–166, 323–324*n*101
- Glass-Steagall Act (1933): deregulation and deconstruction of (*see* financial deregulation); opposition to deconstruction of, 154–155, 164; passage of, 139; re-regulation and, 189, 214
- Graham, Lindsey, 24
- Gramm, Phil, 131, 160–161, 171–172, 325*n*127
- Gramm-Leach-Bliley Financial Modernization Act (1999), 2.
See also financial deregulation
- Gramsci, Antonio, 29
- grassroots mobilization and organizations: antiracist organizations and, 280; gun control and, 267; minimum wage increases and, 229, 240–241, 253, 262; Movement for Black Lives and, 269–270
- Great Depression, 33, 139, 223, 275
- Great Recession, 33, 54, 181–194, 258, 262–263, 275, 326*n*14. *See also* financial re-regulation
- Gregg, Judd, 246
- gun control and gun rights issues, 266–267
- Gutierrez, Luis, 204
- Hatch, Orin, 73, 236
- Hensarling, Jeb, 207
- Heritage Foundation, 335*n*41
- Hinchey, Maurice, 173
- House of Representatives: campaign donations to members of, 111, 126–127; most and least talkative members, 73–75, 74; time limits on speech, 62; total words spoken, analysis of, 70–71, 71–72. *See also* partisanship; policy action and outcomes; *specific parties and members*
- Hoyer, Steny, 74, 186, 197–198
- Hunt, Reed Oliver, 143
- Hunt Commission, 143
- ideational hegemony: countering, 285; COVID-19 pandemic and, 268; defined, 29; economic prosperity and, 7; re-regulation and, 183–185, 187, 194, 213, 216; structural power, countering, 285
- ideological organizations, 335*n*41
- immigrants, 13, 279–280, 285. *See also* marginalized or disadvantaged populations
- Independent Community Bankers Association (ICBA), 192–193
- inequality: congressional attention to, 105–109, 106, 108, 219, 274, 275, 283, 317*n*15; as economic priority, 85–91, 87, 90, 93, 93–94; kinetic power, quantitative analysis of, 118–122, 119, 122; minimum wage and, 228; top 1 percent of income earners over time, 3, 4; welfare programs and, 273; workers *vs.* corporate profits, 3–4, 5, 129. *See also* poverty
- inflation: congressional attention and, 75–78, 77, 313*n*36, 313*n*38; congressional speech and action on, 78–83, 81–82, 314*n*46; as economic priority, 85–91, 87, 90, 315–316*n*62; minimum wage and, 222, 225, 235, 333*n*14
- information generation and dissemination, 30, 34, 40, 51
- instrumental power, 306*n*15, 307*n*41, 309–310*n*50. *See also* kinetic power
- insurance industry: campaign contributions from, 153, 157–159, 158–159, 161–167, 173, 205–206, 206, 323–324*n*101; deregulation and, 139–140, 143–144, 148–150, 155; oversight of, 192–193
- Insured Retirement Institute, 209
- interest groups: campaign contributions, 113 (*see also* political action committees); congressional issue attention and, 13; deregulation and, 154–156; economic priorities of, 86; issues

- agenda and, 47–48, 129; minimum wage rates and, 229, 280; pluralism of, 36–38; policymaking dominance and, 282; structural and kinetic power of, 45–46, 46. *See also specific groups*
- interest rates. *See* monetary policy and interest rates
- intergenerational wealth transmission, 31–32
- International Swaps and Derivatives Association, 191
- investment banks: campaign contributions from, 157–159, 158–159, 200–201, 205–206, 206, 323–324n101, 329n115; deregulation and, 140, 143, 149; re-regulation and, 181, 202, 203
- Iraq War, 257–258
- Isakson, Johnny, 246
- Jackson-Lee, Sheila, 93, 93, 197
- Janus v. AFSCME* (2018), 129
- Johanns, Mike, 207
- Johnson, Tim, 209–211
- judicial branch: deregulation and, 141; policy process and, 12
- Kaufman, Ted, 203
- Kennedy, Ted: as advocate for lower- and middle-class interests, 94, 94, 277; minimum wage increases and, 218, 225, 227, 236, 243, 246, 251, 330n133, 334n27, 336n51, 337n52
- Kerry, John, 212–213, 226
- kinetic power: business interests and, 109; congressional attention and, 117–127, 119, 122–123, 261–262; countering, 275–284; defined, 3, 26–27, 308n10; deregulation and, 152–156, 262; of financial sector, 152–173; gun rights issues and, 266–267; instrumental power and, 309–310n50; main findings on, 262–264; minimum wage rates and, 229; Movement for Black Lives and, 269–270; organizational capacity and, 277–283; overview, 2–3, 7–8, 35–39; re-regulation and, 179, 194–213, 214, 263, 271; structural power *vs.*, 39–43. *See also* campaign donations; structural-kinetic framework of economic power and political influence
- King, Peter, 248
- Kingdon, John, 63, 312n18
- Koch network, 335–336n41
- Kohl, Herb, 186
- labor unions: business interests *vs.*, congressional attention and, 101–105, 103; deregulation and, 146, 154; kinetic power and congressional attention, 117–127, 119, 122–123, 318n40; kinetic power of campaign contributions, 2–3, 36–37, 41, 110–117, 115–116, 262, 310n52; lobbying laws for, 129; measuring support from, 113; minimum wage laws and, 223–224, 228–232, 231, 236, 239–245, 251, 334n21, 334–335n38, 337–338n66, 339n107; organizational capacity of, 42, 51, 277–283, 284; public opinion on, 278; right-to-work laws and, 283; structural power, lack of, 3
- LaFalce, John, 160, 171
- LaHood, Ray, 248
- Lasswell, Harold, 13
- LaTourette, Steven, 248
- LCH Clearnet, 212
- Leach, Jim, 131, 160
- Leahy, Patrick, 188
- Lee, Barbara, 334–335n38
- Levin, Carl, 204, 226
- Levitt, Arthur, 142
- Levy, Roger, 172
- Lew, Jacob, 141–142
- Lewis, John, 163–167, 323–324n101
- Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act (2009), 88
- living wage laws, 221, 241, 333n3
- living wage movement, 258–259, 334–335n38

- lobbying: business interests and, 109; deregulation and, 155, 158–159, **159**, 167, 172–173, 323*n*85; financial capacity for, 51; gun rights and, 266–267; limits on, 276; minimum wage increases and, 241, 256; public interest lobbyists, funding for, 281; re-regulation and, 196–197, 200–201, 204, 210–211, 328*n*86, 331*n*146; small banks and credit unions, 192; state and local governments, 284
- Lobbying Disclosure Act (1995), 201
- LoBiondo, Frank, 248, 250
- Lott, Trent, 73
- lower and middle classes: Democratic Party and, 56, 274–275; economic priorities of, 84–91, **87**, **90**, 218; kinetic power of, 8, 36–38, 41–42, 118–122, **119**, **122**, 262; labor share of national income *vs.* corporate profits, 3–4, 5; lack of trust in government and, 272–275; mobilizational and numerical capacities of, 41–42, 55; policymaking and, 4–5; state and local governments and, 283–284; structural power of, 31; Tax Cuts and Jobs Act effect on, 24; wealthy interests *vs.*, 17, 306–307*n*36. *See also* labor unions; minimum wage
- Luntz, Frank, 331*n*137
- M4BL (Movement for Black Lives), 42, 267, 269–270, 285, 308*n*45
- Maloney, Carolyn, 168, 170
- manufacturing sector, 34, 183
- marginalized or disadvantaged populations: economic policies and implications for, 13; incorporating into policy system, 281–282; interest groups and, 280–281; kinetic resources of, 42; labor unions and alt-labor organization, 278–279; structural power, lack of, 31–32; voting and, 282–283. *See also* Movement for Black Lives
- Markey, Ed, 116–117
- Marshalov, Boris, 62
- Marx, Karl, 27–28, 30
- McCain, John, 23, 189, 207
- McCarthy, Kevin, 116
- McCollum, Bill, 168, 170, 325*n*124
- McConnell, Mitch, 73
- McHugh, John, 248
- McMahon, Michael, 211–212
- media: congressional attention to issues, coverage of, 60; costs and benefits of congressional speech and, 62–63; on deregulation, 154
- mergers, 140, 167, 322*n*74
- Merrill Lynch, 150, 155
- Mikulski, Barbara, 186
- Miller, George, 74, 219, 249, 255
- minimum wage, 21–22, 218–260; business divisions and loss of structural power, 248–249; campaign donations and, 230–234, **231**, 237–243, 244–245, 264, **304**, 337–338*n*66, 339*n*107; competing interests on, 228–230; congressional attention and, 243–253; continued inattention and inaction on, 258–260; as economic priority, 85–91, **87**, **90**; evolution and stagnation of policy on, 1–2, 223–228, **224**; Fight for \$15 campaign and, 258–259, 279, 283; hypotheses and empirical strategy for, 52; increases in, 253–258; justification for not raising, 31, 227, 238; kinetic power, quantitative analysis of, 118–122, **119**, **122**; labor unions and, 223–224, 228–232, **231**, 236, 239–245, 251, 334*n*21, 334–335*n*38, 337–338*n*66, 339*n*107; legislation on, 2, 219, 305*n*2; main findings on, 262–264; organized interests and inattention to, 234–253; public opinion on, 1, 133–134, 230, 235, 263, 333*n*1–2; purchasing

- power of, 1, 225, 333*n*14; status-quo bias and policy on, 43, 52–53, 133
- Minimum Wage Increase Act (1996), 219
- MIPD (Most Important Problem Dataset), 89
- monetary policy and interest rates: congressional speech and action on, 78–83, 81–82, 314*n*46; as economic priority, 85–91, **87, 90**
- monetary resources, 38, 40–41, 45.
See also campaign donations
- moral organizations, 280
- Morgan Stanley, 150
- mortgage defaults, 181
- mortgage lenders, 181, 198, 207, 216
- Most Important Problem Dataset (MIPD), 89
- Movement for Black Lives (M4BL), 42, 267, 269–270, 285, 308*n*45
- Murphy, Scott, 176, 189
- Murray, Patty, 246
- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 196
- National Association of Convenience Stores, 238
- National Association of Independent Life Brokerage Agencies, 209
- National Association of Insurance and Financial Advisors (NAIFA), 209
- National Association of Manufacturers, 86, 315*n*61
- National Association of Shareholder and Consumer Attorneys, 202
- National Council of La Raza, 196
- National Federation of Independent Business, 230, 247, 256, 335*n*41
- National Labor Coordinating Committee, 242
- National Labor Relations Board, 282
- National Restaurant Association, 230, 237, 247, 250–251, 256, 337*n*59, 340*n*137
- National Retail Federation, 230, 237–238, 256, 337*n*59
- National Rifle Association, 266–267
- National Science Foundation, 314*n*44, 315*n*51
- Nationwide Insurance, 155
- Neumann, Mark, 95, **95**
- The New Economic Populism*, 283
- new liberalism, 274
- New York Stock Exchange, 212
- New York Times*, 53, 85, 92, 154
- Ney, Robert, 248
- Nixon, Richard, 143
- numerical resources, 41–42, 102, 111–112
- Obama, Barack, 141, 186, 198, 215–216, 258
- Obamacare, 23–24, 43
- Obey, Dave, 74, 247
- Ocasio-Cortez, Alexandria, 275
- Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, 320*n*15
- Olson, Mancur, 39
- organizational capacity and resources, 37, 41–42, 51, 55, 178, 277–283, 284
- organized labor. *See* labor unions
- oversight. *See* financial re-regulation
- Owens, Bill, 116
- Owens, Major, 94, **94**
- partisanship: business *vs.* worker interests and, 105, 126; class-based differences and, 56; deregulation and, 138; minimum wage increases and, 134, 222–223, 233–234, 264; policy productivity and, 12
- Paul, Ron, 330*n*135
- Paulson, Hank, 141, 180
- Pelosi, Nancy, 187, 246, 253, 255
- Pence, Mike, 335*n*41
- personal financial advisers, 208–209, 331*n*146, 332*n*150
- Peterson, Collin, 194
- PIRG (Public Interest Research Group), 155
- pluralist perspective, 36–38, 45

- policy action and outcomes: agenda measured through, 64–65; bill introductions *vs.*, 79–80, 313–314ⁿ43; congressional speech and, 78–83, **81–82**; deregulation and, 137; issue attention and, 60, 63–64, 135, 312ⁿ23. *See also specific acts*
- Policy Agendas Project, 78, 80, 85, 313ⁿ39, 314ⁿ44
- political action committees (PACs): defined, 113; deregulation and, 158–159, **159**, 168–172, 324ⁿ118, 325ⁿ124, 325ⁿ128; legalization of, 124; measuring support from, 113–114; minimum wage increases and contributions from, 239–240; wealthy professionals, priorities of, 318ⁿ32
- Portman, Rob, 116
- Posey, Bill, 207
- poverty: congressional speech and action on, 78–83, **81–82**, 275, 314ⁿ46, 314ⁿ48; as economic priority, 85–91, **87, 90**; minimum wage rates and, 226–228, 235, 258, 333ⁿ19, 334ⁿ22; political advocacy and, 280; structural power and, 100–101; voting and, 282–283; War on Poverty and, 275. *See also inequality*
- power differentials, 17, 26, 42, 280–283
- power resources theory, 36–37, 44–45, 55, 272, 310ⁿ52
- predatory lending, 181, 198
- process-tracing, 134, 264, 336ⁿ42
- productivity, 85–91, **87, 90**, 225
- protests, 37, 42, 273
- Public Interest Research Group (PIRG), 155
- public opinion: congressional attention to issues and, 60, 130, 133–134, 342ⁿ14; deregulation and, 136, 154; gun control and gun rights issues and, 267; as kinetic power, 262; on labor unions, 278; on minimum wage, 1, 133–134, 220–221, 230, 235, 263, 333ⁿⁿ1–2; trust in government and, 272–274
- Purple Ocean, 240, 279
- race and ethnicity: antiracist organizations and, 280; economic mobility and, 31–32; financial sector and, 165–166, 324ⁿ111; hierarchies, challenging, 274–275; Movement for Black Lives, 42, 267, 269–270, 285, 308ⁿ45; structural power distribution and, 7, 26, 31–32; systemic racism and, 269; voter suppression and, 282; welfare programs and inequality, 273. *See also marginalized or disadvantaged populations*
- Rangel, Charles, 163–167, 256, 323–324ⁿ101, 324ⁿ111
- real estate sector, 158, **159**, 173
- redistribution, 272–273
- Reed, John, 151
- Reid, Harry, 73, 251
- religious groups, 199, 229, 241, 280, 334–335ⁿ38
- Republican Party: campaign donations to, 24–25, 115–117, **115–116**, 126–127; deregulation and, 136, 143–145, 216; financial oversight, defunding of, 215; Great Recession and, 186–187; inequality and policies of, 85; minimum wage increases and, 222–223, 227, **231**, 232–234, 236–239, 244–257, 334ⁿ21, 337ⁿ52, 339ⁿⁿ125–126; organizational capacity, weakening, 42, 277; policy priorities of, 23–24, 308ⁿ1; re-regulation and, 188–189, 195, 201, 206–208, **206**; right-of-center ideology of, 56; total words spoken, analysis of, 71, **72**; wealthy interests and, 37. *See also partisanship*

- re-regulation. *See* financial re-regulation
- research design, 9–15
- Riegle-Neal Interstate Banking and Branching Efficiency Act (1994), 140, 147
- right-to-work laws, 283
- Roukema, Marge, 150
- Royce, Edward, 74
- Rubin, Robert, 141
- Rubio, Marco, 103
- Rutherford, John, 85
- Sanders, Bernie, 93, 93
- Santorum, Rick, 244–245, 339*n*107
- Sarbanes, Paul, 140, 154, 163–166, 171, 323–324*n*101
- Sarbanes-Oxley Act (2002), 163, 321*n*20
- Saunders, Lauren, 176, 199
- Schumer, Chuck, 140, 152, 160–161, 172
- Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC): deregulation and, 155, 170; former financial industry executives working at, 142; Great Recession and, 181; on uniform fiduciary standard, 210–211, 332*n*150
- Securities Industry Association, 155
- Senate: campaign donations to members of, 111, 126–127; most and least talkative members, 72–73, 73, 313*n*33; time limits on speech, 312*n*12; total words spoken, analysis of, 70–71, 71–72. *See also* partisanship; policy action and outcomes; *specific parties and members*
- Service Employees International Union (SEIU), 196, 240–243, 279
- Sessions, Jeff, 95, 95, 246
- Sessions, Pete, 140
- Shelby, Richard, 204
- small businesses: minimum wage increases and, 220, 227, 230, 238, 246, 249; re-regulation and, 187, 207
- Smith, Gordon, 251, 340*n*137
- social justice, 334–335*n*38
- Solomon, Gerald B. H., 74
- state and local governments: countering wealthy interests through, 283; lobbying and, 284; minimum wage rates and, 221, 225, 258; structural and kinetic power influence in, 130
- State Capture* (Hertel-Fernandez), 283
- status-quo bias: deregulation and, 133, 175; minimum wage policy and, 52, 133, 222; structural power weakness and, 55; wealthy interests and, 42–43, 270, 284
- stock market, 85–91, 87, 90, 100–101
- structuralist perspective, 27, 44
- structural-kinetic framework of economic power and political influence, 18, 23–58; analytical approach, 9–15; application to other issue areas, 266–270; application to other policymaking contexts, 271–272; case-based analysis of, 132–139, 319*n*4; core contributions of, 15–18, 307*n*41; deregulation and, 132–139; extensions of, 265–272; hypothesis and empirical strategy, 49–57; issue agenda and, 47–48; kinetic power in, 35–39; main findings on, 262–265; overview, 26–27; power sources and, 26–43; reinforcing and countervailing tendencies in, 39–43; reinforcing tendencies, 39–41; structural power dynamics and, 32–35; structural power in, 27–32; understanding power through, 44–47, 46. *See also* congressional attention; economic interests and economic agenda in Congress
- structural power: congressional attention and, 100–109, 261;

- structural power (*cont.*)
 countering, 284–285; COVID-19 pandemic and, 267–268; defined, 3, 26–27; deregulation and, 145–152, 262–263; dynamics of, 33–35; of financial sector, 145–152, 177–178; kinetic power *vs.*, 39–43; main findings on, 262–264; minimum wage rates and, 220–221; overview, 2–3, 7, 27–33; policy priorities and, 265; re-regulation and, 178–179, 183–194, **184**, 327*n*36
- structural power theory, 7, 27–32, 48, 100–101
- subprime mortgage fraud, 181, 207
- Sunlight Foundation, 68
- Sweeney, John, 248, 250, 255, 340*n*134
- Talent, Jim, 237
- Tax Cuts and Jobs Act (2017), 24–25
- taxes: cuts to, 23–25, 250–251, 255–257, 337*n*52; Earned Income Tax Credit, 283; estate tax, 43, 250–251; increases in, 283; wealth tax, 275
- Tax Policy Center, 24
- Teamsters Union, 243
- technology firms, 30, 34, 40
- theory of collective action (Olson), 39
- Thurmond, Strom, 73
- tipped employees, 250–251, 340*n*137
- “too-big-to-fail” institutions, 140, 156, 179–180
- Travelers Group, 167
- Treasury Department, 141, 155
- Trump, Donald, 216, 341*n*3
- trust in government, 272–273
- unemployment: congressional attention and, 75–78, **76**, 313*n*37; congressional speech and action on, 78–83, **81–82**, 314*n*47, 315*n*53; COVID-19 pandemic and, 268; as economic priority, 85–91, **87**, **90**; Great Recession and, 182; minimum wage increases and, 227, 238, 246
- UNITE-HERE, 229, 242, 338*n*93
- U.S. Chamber of Commerce: issue attention and, 86, 315*n*61; lobbying of, 192, 196; minimum wage and, 254, 256; re-regulation and, 201–202, 207
- U.S. Troop Readiness, Veterans’ Care, Katrina Recovery, and Iraq Accountability Appropriations Act (2007), 257
- U.S. Women’s Chamber of Commerce, 254
- veto points, 42–43
- Volcker Rule, 203, 204, 216
- voters and political volunteers, 6, 42, 241, 282–283. *See also* public opinion
- wages and income, 3–4, 5, 94, **94**, 145. *See also* inequality; minimum wage
- Walmart, 248–249
- Warren, Elizabeth, 127, 197, 198, 215, 275
- Washington Post*, 53, 154, 185, 194
- Waters, Maxine, 165, 324*n*109
- Watt, Mel, 186
- wealthy interests: business unity and, 54; conflicting interests and structural power, 34–35; congressional agenda control and, 3–5, 9–10, 261–262; coordination of, 39; countering, 280–281; COVID-19 pandemic and kinetic power, 268; economic crisis as challenge to, 177; economic power and political influence of, 27–29; economic priorities and, 13, 84–91, **87**, **90**, 218; estate tax and, 43, 250; kinetic power and congressional attention, 117–127, **119**, **122–123**; kinetic power of campaign contributions, 2–3, 23–25, 48, 110–117, **115–116**; lower- and middle-class interests *vs.*, 17, 306–307*n*36; minimum wage rates and, 221–222, 225, 229–230, 236, 259, 333*n*14, 335*n*41;

- patterns in American politics and, 272–275; political influence and, 6–9, 37; state governments and countering, 283; status-quo bias and, 42–43, 270. *See also* financial deregulation
- wealthy people: inter-elite competition, 35; intergenerational wealth transmission, 31–32; personal networks of, 39; as policymakers, 6, 39; political views, privacy of, 23–24; Republican Party and, 56; Tax Cuts and Jobs Act effect on, 24; top 1 percent of income earners over time, 4
- Weill, Sandy, 142, 151, 172
- Weldon, Dave, 227
- welfare programs, 273
- Weller, Jerry, 248, 250
- Wells Fargo–Gallup Small Business Index, 249
- Wellstone, Paul, 152, 155–156, 173, 277
- worker productivity, 3–4, 5, 305*n*5
- workers. *See* labor unions; lower and middle classes
- Working America, 240, 279
- Yarmuth, John, 334–335*n*38
- Zuckerberg, Mark, 30