

## Final Examination Study Guide

This is your Final Examination. This "study guide" *is* your exam. Except for the fact that I shall have you answer only part of the "multiple choice" and "short answer" questions, this is the *actual exam*. (The distribution will be forty multiple choice, and two short answer questions, and the political analysis question.) You should prepare thoroughly. You will have only two hours to complete the exam, so you want to have your answers in mind before you begin taking the exam. (Be sure to bring you prepared typewritten political analysis essay to the exam.)

Then come to class to write the exam. **You should bring a Scantron "bubble" sheet, one or two clean blue books and a pencil and one or two pens, to write the exam.** (In order to get started quickly, you should in advance complete the Scantron sheet identification information, including the appropriate bubbles.) **YOU SHOULD PICK UP A SCANTRON SHEET AND THE BLUEBOOKS AT THE BOOKSTORE.**

Please prepare your Political Analysis answer before the exam period. Write your essay, no more than ten typewritten pages, and bring it to the exam. I shall expect a first-class piece of professional writing that is concise, focused and demonstrates your understanding of the politics involved.

*The ground rules are as follows.*

You may study for the exam with your colleagues—please do so. Your "study group" may be no more than three to five people. (Creating a class-wide answer sheet is NOT within the rules and any move like that will be considered cheating. Any cases of cheating will prove a personal disaster for the participants.) While studying with your own group, you may discuss the meaning of the questions and the ways to go about answering them. Even for the prepared essay, you may talk with your colleagues and share ideas. However, once you start writing the exam you must proceed entirely on your own. (For example, you might compare outlines with your study group. But once you turn from an outline to the actual writing of the essay, you must do your own work without *any* outside help.) You will have an opportunity to sign the Honor pledge when you take the exam. Clearly, when we all respect each other, then we shall all be better off.

Please do take full advantage of this study guide to learn the material and develop your ideas.

When you get to the exam room you will exchange blue books to insure that everyone starts with a clean sheet. Immediately thereafter, you should write your name on the blue books. You must get this part of the exam right to get any credit for the rest!!!

When writing the exam, you will want to be mindful of the time. While there will be plenty of time for the exam, you must finish in the allotted period.

### Multiple Choice

Please look through these questions before coming to class to take the exam. In each case, you are to pick the *best* answer—given the nature of class discussions and the assigned reading. The questions are not "trick" questions—rather, they are meant to engage your understanding of the substantive course material. Some of these require more thought than others—but note that they all count the same.

*Using the study guide.* You should certainly work with your colleagues on this exam. However, you should be sure that you are comfortable with all the answers that you give—this is not the time to hope that your colleagues know more than you.

*Taking the exam.* If after some thought you believe that a question is genuinely ambiguous, please take a minute to write out your thoughts. Use the Blue Book, write down the number of the question, and then tell us what you know.

(One point each. Fifty points total.)

1. An interest group is in greatest danger from \_\_\_\_\_.
  - a. like-minded groups
  - b. opposing groups
  - c. incompetent leaders
  - d. fickle patrons
2. A substantial barrier to the organization of an interest group for the purposes of promoting or defending a shared interest is:
  - a. the constitutional prohibition on unauthorized group activity.
  - b. the inability to communicate on a large-scale basis because of the size of the country.
  - c. conformity costs are exceedingly low for such an activity.
  - d. rational self-interest leads to universal free riding, which dooms the organization as well as the effort unless some way can be found around this difficulty.
3. Interest groups that potentially compete for the same constituency:
  - a. usually run aggressive, negative ads about the shortcomings of their competitors.

- b. avoid mutually destructive poaching on issues and constituencies through informal accommodations and deference to each other's turf.
  - c. almost always merge.
  - d. race to expand the set of issues over which they claim expertise and leadership so that they can become the constituency's main form of representation.
- 4. Interest group leaders and their constituents are involved in a \_\_\_\_\_ relationship with all the familiar problems and challenges such relationships pose.
  - a. principal-agent
  - b. fiduciary
  - c. confederation
  - d. anticipatory work-for-hire
- 5. Most scholarly research has found that political action committees:
  - a. virtually control policy outcomes through their activities.
  - b. are the best predictors of the reelection fortunes of incumbents.
  - c. exert, at most, only a modest effect on a legislator's decisions.
  - d. are more influential on legislators than are party affiliation, ideology, or state and district interests.
- 6. Congressional decision makers need two related types of information before they can implement policy:
  - a. technical information and political information.
  - b. information provided by lobbyists and information provided by other branches of government.
  - c. information provided by journalists and information provided by state governments.
  - d. substantive legal information and procedural legal information.
- 7. Before a rule or regulation can be adopted, the Administrative Procedures Act of 1946 requires administrative agencies to:
  - a. obtain an advisory opinion from the Supreme Court.
  - b. publish it in the *Federal Register* and hold public hearings if anyone, including lobbying organizations, objects to the rule or regulation.
  - c. invite lobbyists to comment privately on the rule or regulation.
  - d. obtain prior approval of the specifics of the rule or regulation from Congress.
- 8. The insider and outsider strategies interest groups use to affect policy are:
  - a. mutually exclusive, and the groups never use both.
  - b. indistinguishable from each other in either form or impact.
  - c. usually not disclosed to the groups' constituencies.
  - d. not mutually exclusive, and the groups use either or both depending on circumstances and opportunities.

9. Frank Baumgartner argues that well-resourced interest groups rarely dominate outcomes because:
  - a. resources such as money and well-connected friends are not important in the politics of Congress.
  - b. on major issues today, many different groups perceive that their interests are involved and both sides of a debate are likely to attract powerful players.
  - c. politicians are free to govern according to their own ideological or partisan beliefs because interest groups have little at stake in the modern Congress.
  - d. all of the above.
10. The Framers designed the House of Representatives with short, two-year terms and popular elections in order to:
  - a. make the Senate the more powerful of the two houses.
  - b. keep the House as close to the people as possible.
  - c. keep the members of the House from overcoming their collective action problems.
  - d. all of the above.
11. One aspect of the Senate designed to insulate it from momentary shifts in public mood is:
  - a. one third of the Senate stands for reelection every two years.
  - b. one half of the Senate stands for reelection every two years.
  - c. senators cannot be removed from office for misconduct.
  - d. political parties do not control the nomination of senatorial candidates.
12. The Constitution's single most extensive grant of power to Congress is the:
  - a. judicial review, which allows Congress to review judicial decisions.
  - b. doctrine of nullification, which allows Congress to override state law.
  - c. advice and consent clause, often known as the War Powers Act.
  - d. necessary and proper clause, often known as the elastic clause.
13. Unanimous consent agreements in the Senate:
  - a. mean party leadership is more collegial and less formal, and the minority party has greater influence in the business of the Senate than in the House.
  - b. are misnamed, because they only refer to a unanimous consent of the majority party.
  - c. are simple rubber stamps of bills that originated in the House.
  - d. make it almost impossible to conduct business because each party has a strong reason to at least *pretend* disagreement.
14. The Madisonian system that Congress epitomizes:
  - a. essentially means the aristocratic Senate alone dictates which bills become laws.
  - b. erects formidable barriers to collective action.
  - c. is nothing like what the Framers envisioned when they designed the institutions because it is too easy for one branch to stop the actions of another.
  - d. fails to accomplish the intended separation of power.

15. Proportional representation gives a party:
  - a. a share of seats in the legislature matching the share of votes it wins on election day.
  - b. a share of seats only equal to the number of districts won by a plurality by one of its candidates.
  - c. a share of seats in the legislature equal to the number of signatures it can obtain on a petition on election day.
  - d. a limited ability to be represented in the legislature, as the party only gets to be involved in a small proportion of the votes cast.
16. Standing committees are called so because:
  - a. they are limited to meetings that are so short that most times no one bothers to sit down.
  - b. they exist from one Congress to the next, unless they are explicitly disbanded.
  - c. they are provided for in the Constitution.
  - d. (b) and (c) are true.
17. Two characteristics of standing committees are:
  - a. fixed jurisdiction and stable memberships.
  - b. at-large jurisdiction and membership of the whole.
  - c. subpoena power and the power to call a grand jury.
  - d. jurisdiction over rules only and membership from both houses on each committee.
18. To end a filibuster in the Senate, cloture must be invoked by:
  - a. two-thirds of the Senate membership.
  - b. sixty votes of the Senate membership.
  - c. a unanimous vote.
  - d. any single Senator who is willing to hold the floor indefinitely.
19. Congressional override of a presidential veto:
  - a. requires a two-thirds vote of both chambers, sitting together.
  - b. requires a two-thirds vote in each chamber.
  - c. requires a two-thirds vote in at least one chamber.
  - d. requires a filibuster in the Senate.
20. In the current political climate, about 90% of Members of the House of Representatives seeking reelection are successful. Which of the following is NOT a reason for their success?
  - a. Interest groups are reluctant to fund challengers because they fear post-election retribution.
  - b. Challengers typically have low name recognition in the district.
  - c. About two-thirds of all congresspersons have at some time in their career been elected by less than a 55% margin so they are attentive to the needs of reelection.

- d. Members of Congress have turned away from routine casework and concentrated on sponsoring legislation that serves the broader political interests of the national constituency.

21. The fact that congress employs a division of labor and a specialization of expertise in the Committee system:

- a. often enhances the reelection prospects of individual members.
- b. generates substantive committees that act as constituency advocates.
- c. reduces the political impact of interest groups' monopoly over specific information about policy areas.
- d. all of the above.

22. You are working for a member of the House of Representatives and are trying to improve his or her reelection chances. You try to get as much money as possible because:

- (i) you will dry up funds and make it more difficult for potential opponents' fundraising efforts.
- (ii) by building up a large war chest you will discourage any serious opponent from initiating a run against your Congressperson.
- (iii) past experience shows that an incumbent's spending (rather than a challenger's spending) determines the chances of victory.

The correct answer is:

- a. (i) alone.
- b. (i) and (ii).
- c. all of the above.
- d. none of the above.

23. The formal party leaderships are important in both the House and the Senate for all of the following reasons except one. Which is NOT a reason for the party leaderships power?

- a. Party leaders are skillful politicians.
- b. Rules allow party leaders (of the majority) to control how bills get assigned to committees.
- c. Their coordination of PAC contributions gives party leaders control over members' campaign finances.
- d. Political entrepreneurs need a way to organize winning coalitions and the party leaders have proven useful agents to reduce transaction costs.

24. Congress responds to a need for information by dividing labor, making members specialists in specific policy areas. How does it encourage members to spend the time necessary to become specialists?

- a. Members are guaranteed committee assignments that they want.
- b. Committee chairmanships generally go to the members who demonstrate the highest policy aptitude.
- c. Members enjoy greater policy influence in those areas in which they specialize.
- d. All of the above.

25. How do members of Congress monitor the administration of the laws they enact?
- Like police, on patrol looking for something gone wrong.
  - Like employers, dictating to employees what they can and cannot do.
  - Like employees on commission, getting some credit for each problem they fix.
  - Like firefighters, waiting for someone to sound an alarm and rushing to the scene.
26. The following features of debate are used in the Senate and not in the House EXCEPT:
- Closed rules.
  - Filibusters.
  - Cloture motions.
  - Unanimous consent agreements.
27. When members of Congress vote on a bill or amendment, they always think of how they would explain the vote to their constituents, even if most constituents have never heard of the issue. Why?
- To guard against calls from disgruntled constituents.
  - Just in case a future challenger raises the issue.
  - Deviations from the party program always need explanation.
  - Members don't really know what their constituents want, so they need to practice explaining things to them.
28. If a bill passes both the House and the Senate, but in different forms, what happens?
- The bill dies if the chambers cannot agree the first time around.
  - Whichever version was passed by a larger majority goes to the president for signing.
  - The committees from which the bills originated meet to reconcile the differences between the two versions.
  - Members from each chamber meet in conference committee to reconcile the differences between the two versions.
29. Why are Americans so often critical of Congress?
- People think compromise is selling out, even though it is an essential part of political life.
  - The public's low opinion of Congress reflects low opinions of politicians in general.
  - The public views stalemate as a result of partisan bickering, rather than conflicts between different legitimate views and values.
  - All of the above.
30. Which of the following is NOT true about a MC's Personal Constituency?
- MCs bring home the pork in the form of government projects for the district.
  - MCs devote nearly half of their staff to dealing with the constituents and the bureaucracy rather than considering legislation.
  - The MC can count on a "personal vote" of something like 5 to 10 percent of the constituency.

- (iv) The result is an enhanced relationship between voters' views and government policy-making.
  - a. (i) and (ii)
  - b. (iii)
  - c. (iv)
  - d. All of the statements are essentially true.
  
- 31. Over the past two decades in Congress, especially the House of Representatives, the organization of conflict has become increasingly party-centered because:
  - a. Conservative Southern Democrats have either converted or been replaced by Conservative Southern Republicans.
  - b. Liberal Northern Republicans have either converted or been replaced by Liberal Northern Democrats.
  - c. The party leaderships, especially in the House, have controlled the issue agenda to produce a cohesive electoral program. This has been especially true since the Republican Revolution of 1994.
  - d. All of the above.
  
- 32. According to the theory of Conditional Party Government (Rhode and Aldrich), the members of the majority party in the House or the Senate are more likely to strengthen party rule at the expense of the committee system when they:
  - (i) Agree with each other on the major issues of the day.
  - (ii) Seek to reduce transaction costs so that they can enact a party program.
  - (iii) Seek to increase the division of labor to increase legislative expertise.
  - a. (i) alone.
  - b. (ii) alone.
  - c. (i) and (ii) together.
  - d. all of the above.
  
- 33. An executive order has the force of law:
  - a. permanently.
  - b. as long as Congress certifies the order as a law.
  - c. until the president or a successor retracts it, Congress nullifies it, or a federal court rules it unconstitutional.
  - d. once a federal court approves it.
  
- 34. Presidents use the veto power in order to
  - a. void unconstitutional congressional legislation.
  - b. prevent politically undesirable legislation but not to produce favorable outcomes.
  - c. both to prevent politically undesirable legislation and also to bargain for favorable outcomes.
  - d. send disputes to the Supreme Court which acts as the "final arbitrator."
  
- 35. A positive feedback cycle suggests that:



- a. when things get worse countervailing factors become important so that things will get better.
  - b. when things get worse they will get even worse later on.
  - c. the more that things change, the more they remain the same.
  - d. momentum depends on an outside response to sustain itself.
36. Most American newspapers and television networks look to \_\_\_\_\_ as the chief source of news about public policy.
- a. Congress
  - b. the White House
  - c. the U.S. Supreme Court
  - d. Rush Limbaugh
37. For most of the years since the end of World War II, the American political system has experienced
- a. unified, single-party government.
  - b. a multiple-party, coalition-style government.
  - c. divided, two-party government.
  - d. a tremendous growth in the number of viable political parties in the country.
38. When presidents successfully “go public” they:
- a. use the inherent "newsworthiness" of their office to command public attention.
  - b. define the national agenda — by focusing public spotlight on problems and framing issues in sympathetic ways.
  - c. generate public support—or at least the *appearance* of public support—to change the coalitional structure in Congress.
  - d. all of the above.
39. Which of the following statements are true:
- (i) The President's Electoral Constituency of potential voters is organized and articulate.
  - (ii) The President's Governing Constituency of Washingtonians is heterogeneous and well-informed.
  - (iii) The President must constantly reconstitute his coalition base in a "Permanent Campaign".
- a. (i) and (ii)
  - b. (ii) and (iii)
  - c. All of the above
  - d. None of the above.
40. Which President first asserted the Presidency's control over the military as a "Commander in Chief"?
- a. Andrew Jackson
  - b. William Henry Harrison.
  - c. Abraham Lincoln.
  - d. George W. Bush.

41. Stephen Skowronek has suggested that the political power of a president depends as much on the character of his relationship with the current governing regime as his personal capacity. Which of these presidents did NOT come to power facing a crumbling opposition regime that allowed him to assert popular authority?
  - a. Franklin Roosevelt
  - b. Ronald Reagan
  - c. Bill Clinton
  - d. All faced a crumbling opposition regime
42. Stephen Skowronek has suggested that the political power of a president depends as much on the character of his relationship with the current governing regime as his personal capacity. Which of these presidents did NOT come to power backed by a strong regime and was able to expand and amplify the strength of that regime?
  - a. Lyndon Johnson
  - b. Jimmy Carter
  - c. George H.W. Bush
  - d. All were backed by a strong regime
43. Marshall's ruling in *Marbury v. Madison* is a classic display of strategic behavior because:
  - a. it gave Marshall's political principal, Marbury, virtually everything he sought.
  - b. Marshall actually had another justice write the opinion and Marshall dissented, thus avoiding the controversy.
  - c. it led to Marshall ultimately being chosen as Jefferson's vice president in his second term.
  - d. it did not require any other political actor to take any action--which could have been ignored--yet laid the foundation for a more assertive federal judiciary in the future.
44. In part as a result of the decision in the case of *Dred Scott v. Sandford*:
  - a. the Court became an institutional equal to the Congress and the executive.
  - b. Congress recognized and accepted the doctrine of nullification.
  - c. the Court was seriously discredited.
  - d. Chief Justice Taney was placed on the one hundred dollar bill of the Confederacy.
45. The current Supreme Court may be tentatively ushering in a fourth era of judicial review:
  - a. one that finds it increasingly limiting Congress's ability to impose policy and administrative restrictions on the courts.
  - b. one that finds it increasingly limiting the states' ability to impose policy and administrative restrictions on the federal government.
  - c. one that finds it increasingly limiting the Court's ability to impose policy and administrative restrictions on Congress.
  - d. one that finds it increasingly limiting the federal government's ability to impose policy and administrative restrictions on the states.

46. Because the president nominates and the Senate confirms federal court appointments, judicial nominations:
- are sent to the sitting Supreme Court justices for a formal recommendation before the president nominates them.
  - always really originate in the Senate.
  - represent the veto game in reverse.
  - are sent to the House Judiciary Committee for a formal recommendation before the president nominates them.
47. In part, the office of solicitor general is responsible for:
- making the Supreme Court aware of which cases Congress thinks are important.
  - making the Supreme Court aware of which cases the press thinks are important.
  - making the Supreme Court aware of which cases the states think are important.
  - making the Supreme Court aware of which cases the president's administration thinks are important.
48. Since the 1940s, concurring and dissenting opinions:
- have neither increased nor decreased but rather have occurred at the same rates as before the 1940s.
  - have been severely curtailed because of judicial reform.
  - have both increased sharply.
  - have both decreased sharply.
49. The president's power over the philosophical composition of the Supreme Court via appointment is weakened because:
- the president cannot be certain about the nominee's future rulings.
  - the president must obtain the consent of the Senate.
  - the time delays in replacing the court make it unlikely that any president can appoint a majority of the Court.
  - all of the above.
50. In the American legal system, precedents are applied under the doctrine of
- certiorari.
  - habeas corpus.
  - stare decisis.
  - amicus curiae.
51. An *amicus curiae* brief
- is an unsigned opinion by the whole Court.
  - is the formal process by which the Court decides which cases to hear.
  - allows parties who are not directly affected by a case, but who have a vital interest, to become involved in its resolution.

- d. is one way by which an appeal reaches the Court.
52. When out of step with the current political climate, the Supreme Court must be careful about how it rules because:
- a. it relies on the other political institutions to enforce its rulings.
  - b. Congress may, by two-thirds vote, overrule the Court on matters of Constitutional interpretation.
  - c. the president may impeach justices for cause.
  - d. all of the above.
53. Chief Justice Earl Warren persuaded justices to forge a unanimous opinion in *Brown v. Board of Education* \_\_\_\_\_.
- a. ruling that school segregation was constitutional
  - b. because decisions must be unanimous to guarantee irreversibility
  - c. on the condition that he not specify a time schedule for implementing the ruling
  - d. all of the above
54. Appointments to the Supreme Court \_\_\_\_\_.
- a. reflect only the president's preferences.
  - b. can be made by members of the Senate or House.
  - c. represent the preferences of both the president and Senate.
  - d. are matters of competence rather than politics.

### Short Answer Questions

You should write a *very* brief answer to the following questions—usually no more than four paragraphs for each question. You should write complete sentences in proper expository English. You need not worry about introductions, transitions, nor conclusions. However, you want to be explicit about the points that you want to make. These are *short answer* questions intended to allow you to show that you understand some of the basic principles we have discussed. They are not broad essay questions.

Answer *three* of the four options. (Ten points each.)

In general, you want to have a reasonable answer to *three* questions. You cannot take a "zero" and hope to do well on the exam. If you are studying with someone else, be sure to check that you are more-or-less on the right track. (These questions emphasize the class discussions rather than the textbook.) You will write these answers in your Blue Book during the formal examination session. Because you have a chance to prepare your answers beforehand, I shall expect to take an opportunity to write clear and thoughtful answers.

- SA1. [Ten points] Use the theory of Conditional Party Government to explain when members of Congress are likely to produce strong Party Government as opposed to strong Committee Government—and vice versa. Explain your argument.
- SA2. [Ten points] The contemporary Congress has a set of implicit "veto" institutions built into the overall framework—with the result that it is sometimes difficult to pass major legislation. Name four implicit veto institutions and explain how each operates.
- SA3. [Ten points] Stephen Skowronek suggests that the character of presidential leadership varies in a rhythm of political time. Explain what he has in mind, outlining the four phases of political time, and provide an illustration of a president for each phase.
- SA4. [Ten points] In the final lecture "The Governing System," Professor MacKuen described his work on *The Macro Polity* and an update by Greg Wolfe. He described evidence from 1953-1996 on the government's response to the public's preference for more Liberal or Conservative policies. And he described the public's reaction to the laws that the government passes. How might this evidence inform the debate about whether the U.S. democracy might be described as a "Weak Form" or a "Strong Form" of democracy? Then, briefly, how does Greg Wolfe's evidence on the rise of a more partisan response by the public and the politicians during the period since the 1990s alter this judgment?

### Political Analysis Question

[Thirty points] The Affordable Care Act proved difficult to pass the House and the Senate. And in the end, it was almost abandoned before it came to a final vote. Please analyze how Speaker Nancy Pelosi, Majority Leader Harry Reid, and President Barack Obama developed and executed their strategies to eventually triumph in 2010. Then take a moment to reflect on how the particulars of this political battle illustrate the nature of national politics in the twenty-first century.

You will probably want to address the following matters. (You may skip a point or two, or you may add different sorts of material. This list is meant to suggest points of interest rather than force on outline on your essay.)

- Speaker Pelosi knew immediately that the health care reform bill would have to pass with a majority limited to Democratic votes. Majority Leader Reid aimed to obtain Republican support in the Senate. Why was the political landscape different in the two houses?
- In the House, Speaker Pelosi faced disagreements between strong Liberals and the Blue Dog Democrats. What policy matters were they fighting about and how did Pelosi handle the conflict?

- Similarly, she had to handle the conflict between Pro-Life and Pro-Choice Democrats. Again, what were they fighting for and how did Pelosi handle the conflict?
- In the Senate, Majority Leader Reid had to make several compromises. Explain why he bargained away the Public Option that was central to the House plan. And then explain why he agreed that Nebraska would *not* have to assume an added Medicaid burden (while other states would). Are these sorts of deals normal or were they accepted only to achieve a major piece of legislation?
- Both Houses passed a health care bill before Christmas 2009. However, when Scott Brown won the 2010 Massachusetts Senate election, the prospects for health care reform appeared to die a sudden death. Describe two different reasons for this dramatic change.
- Explain the idea behind the "Two Bill" strategy adopted by Nancy Pelosi and Harry Reid? Why was this strategy necessary? Why might it work? What sorts of rules and institutions govern the two houses in a way that might make this strategy a success?
- Then describe why the Two Bill strategy was such a challenge. Please consider the natural relationship between the House and the Senate. And outline the substantive differences between the House and the Senate bills.
- How did Pelosi and Reid and Obama overcome these challenges?
- In the House, a last minute dispute arose. Explain the special case of the Pro-Life House members represented by Bart Stupak and how Pelosi and Obama responded.
- In the end, the Senate passed the "Second" bill rather quickly. Why was this so?

To explain all of this, you will want to use your understanding of how the two houses are (differently) organized, how MCs think about policy, how the party leadership teams develop strategies and work with their members, the role of the presidency in Congressional politics, and how the special institutions (and rules) of the House and Senate vary for different circumstances. You will want to apply this more general understanding to the specific case of the Affordable Care Act, taking care to show how this story was exceptional and how it was a normal (if large scale and dramatic) case of politics in Washington.

Please write out your answer before coming to the exam period. You should write something like 5-10 pages. (If you have fewer than 5 pages of ideas, please think some more. If you work through the case with real care, you will find 10 pages a constraining limit. Please use some discipline in how you describe the events and express your analysis. There is a 10 page maximum). Bring your hard copy of the typewritten essay to the exam and turn it in with your Blue Book and Scantron Sheet.

I look forward to reading your essay.