# **ANSWER KEY**

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29.	EDAEDAAECCBACABBEDBCAEECCBBDC	
7.	A	
8.	E	
9.	C	
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<b>11</b> .	В	
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31.	В
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33.	A
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# **MULTIPLE-CHOICE SECTION: ANSWERS EXPLAINED**

1. E Federalism is a government system under which the national government shares power with subnational governments. Under federalism, both the national and state governments are granted exclusive powers. They share many other concurrent powers, such as the powers to tax and write laws.

## Incorrect answers

- (A) The term *system of checks and balances* refers to the manner in which government power at the national level is divided to prevent any single office or faction from gaining control of the government. It applies specifically to the national government; *federalism* refers to the relationship between the national and state governments.
- (B) The power of the Supreme Court to review the constitutionality of laws is called *judicial review*.
- (C) The Bill of Rights' protection of the rights of the accused occasionally has an impact on Federalism, as when the Supreme Court requires the state laws to conform to provisions in the Bill of Rights. However, this answer does not provide the definition of the term *federalism*.
- (D) The size of state delegations to the House of Representatives is determined by the national census, which is taken every 10 years.
- 2. D During the ratification debate, the Constitution received its strongest opposition from those objecting to its lack of a Bill of Rights, which raised fears that the new government may grow too powerful and suppress individual rights. Had supporters of the Constitution not conceded the speedy addition of a Bill of Rights after ratification, the Constitution may never have received the necessary support.

- (A) Had the Framers been wholeheartedly committed to individual rights, the Constitution would originally have included a Bill of Rights. Its later addition reveals that the framers did not consider a Bill of Rights necessary.
- (B) The Bill of Rights enumerates the rights of individuals and thus provides protection against an overpowerful national government. Answer (B) refers to a concession the small states received during the framing of the body of the Constitution. That concession resulted in the creation of the Senate, where all states receive equal representation.
- (C) The Bill of Rights is silent on the issue of slavery, so it cannot be cited as evidence of abolitionism in the North.
- (E) The system of checks and balances is laid out in the body of the Constitution, not in the Bill of Rights.

3. A *Civil court* is the venue for lawsuits. It is where disputes between two private parties, such as individuals or corporations, are settled (as opposed to *criminal court*, where the state tries accused criminals).

#### Incorrect answers

- (B) Suits may be filed in either state or federal court, depending on the nature of the case.
- (C) Criminal court is where the state tries accused criminals.
- (D) Suits may be filed in either state or federal court, depending on the nature of the case.
- (E) A *grand jury* hears preliminary evidence in a criminal case. Its job is to decide whether prosecutors have enough evidence to bring an indictment against the accused. When a grand jury indicts, the case moves on to the criminal courts.
- 4. E A budget deficit is the difference between government income and government spending, when spending is greater than income. When income is greater, this difference is called a budget surplus.

#### Incorrect answers

- (A) See the explanation for answer (E).
- (B) Interest on the national debt may contribute to the deficit, but it is not synonymous with the term budget deficit.
- (C) See the explanation for answer (E).
- (D) Occasionally the federal fiscal year ends before Congress and the president can agree on a new budget. When this happens, Congress usually passes emergency spending bills to cover government expenses. This can contribute to *budget deficits*, because it is more expensive to run the government on this *ad hoc* basis, but the situation described is not synonymous with the term *budget deficit*.
- 5. D Many successful interest groups—such as those cited in the question—represent minority positions. Their power derives from the fact that the minorities they represent base their votes almost exclusively on a candidate's position on that issue. The intensity of their commitment overrides their numerical disadvantage, because their opposition more often considers other issues when voting. Accordingly, they form a less powerful voting bloc on any single issue.

- (A) In fact, domestic policy has grown more liberal during the period described. Such a policy shift is common under Democratic administrations.
- (B) Political action committees have remained powerful in recent years and will continue to do so as long as current campaign-finance laws and practices remain in place.
- (C) No, both the NRA and antiabortion rights activists were opposed by the Clinton White House, yet both remained influential in Washington, DC.
- (E) The groups described are powerful AND they support extremely controversial positions.

This answer choice encapsulates the *preferred position doctrine*, framed by the Supreme Court the 1940s.

### ncorrect answers

- **(B)** The Supreme Court has accepted limits on free speech, most notably in *Schenck v. United States*, in which the Court established the "clear and present danger" limit on speech.
- (C) This was, in fact, true between 1830 and 1925. In 1830, the Court ruled in Barron v. Baltimore that the Bill of Rights applied only to the national government, not to state governments. In 1925, however, the Court ruled in Gitlow v. New York that free speech was protected from state infringement by the "due process" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Since the 1940s, the Court's position on free speech has been the preferred position doctrine (see above).
- (D) The First Amendment protects offensive speech. A classic example of protected offensive speech is graphic pornography; most Americans find it offensive, yet it proliferates nonetheless.
- (E). The exact same First Amendment rights that protect print and broadcast media protect individuals as well.

The power to administer elections is reserved to the states. All powers described in the other answer choices are concurrent powers, granted to both the national and the state tovernments.

PACs contribute primarily to incumbents because 1) incumbents usually win their elections, and 2) the PACs hope to gain influence with the candidate by donating to his or her cambridge.

A pocket veto can only be used on bills passed in the final days of a congressional session. The Constitution requires the president to sign a bill within 10 days of its reaching his desk. If the president fails to sign a bill while Congress is in session, the bill is returned to Congress, whereupon it becomes law. (Presidents who wish to express disapproval of a law, but not veto the occasionally use this constitutional process.) However, if Congress is not in session, the bill cannot be returned to Congress, so it simply dies. This process is called a pocket veto.

- (A) While using the pocket veto, the president may or may not express disapproval of the bill. A public rejection of the bill, however, is not a necessary element of a pocket veto.
  - See the explanation for answer choice (C).
- (c) See the explanation for answer choice (C).
- The situation described in this answer choice does not describe a pocket veto. Furthermore, it describes an extremely unlikely scenario because the president must first nominate federal judges before the Senate can confirm them.

10. C Compare each of the four "Democratic Upper House" bars with the corresponding "Republican Upper House" bars on the bar graph. In each case, the Democratic bar is larger. The same holds true for the lower houses. If you did not choose this answer, perhaps the wording of the answer choice confused you. The answer choice does not say that Democrats held majorities in the majority of legislative chambers, an assertion that the bar graph does not support. Rather, it simply says that Democrats had more seats in all the legislatures. That is precisely what this graph shows.

Remember that graph questions on the AP Government and Politics Exam ask only that you identify indisputable conclusions. Do not try to "read between the lines" and interpret the data—you will only get into trouble that way.

#### Incorrect answers

- (A) While the chart does demonstrate an increase in Republican representation in state legislatures, this answer choice goes too far in drawing its conclusion. The trend shown is simply not dramatic enough to support this assertion.
- (B) This chart does not include information about registered voters and therefore cannot support the conclusion drawn in this answer choice.
- (D) This chart does not include information about governors and therefore cannot support the conclusion drawn in this answer choice.
- (E) This chart does not include information about party representation in individual state legislatures and therefore cannot support the conclusion drawn in this answer choice.
- 11. **B** As in U.S. government, power in political parties is spread out among various national, state, and local officials. National party organizations exert little influence over local party officials and elected officers. In contrast, the national party organizations in parliamentary democracies (such as Britain) tightly control the activities and votes of party members in government.

- (A) This statement is true of national parties within parliamentary governments, but not of those within the United States federal government.
- (C) The president and his counterpart in the opposition party are too busy running the government to direct party activities. Both serve as important fundraisers and ideological leaders of their parties, but neither typically spends much time on day-to-day party operations.
- (D) If the parties waited for their nominating conventions (which occur once every four years) to make important decisions, they would never get anything done. In fact, important decisions of any kind are rarely made at conventions, which are instead carefully choreographed pageants designed to sell the party's candidates to voters.
- (E) Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter, and George H. W. Bush all played minimal roles in their political parties.

12. A By covering some events heavily and down playing others, the media help set the public agenda. The amount of exposure given to an issue by the media directly affects whether the public perceives that issue as important. Furthermore, because the public relies on the media for information, the way in which the media present news (and the frequency with which they report certain stories) naturally influences the public's viewpoint.

## Incorrect answers

- (B) Pundits who are "overly political" are in high demand during elections.
- (C) News media play an important role in elections by dissecting campaign advertisements. However, this highly specified task does not "play a major role in establishing the public agenda."
- (D) Except in times of crisis, most Americans pay little attention to news from overseas. Consequently, political reporting from overseas usually has little impact on the public agenda.
- (E) Again, this answer describes a media service of interest to only a small portion of the voting public.
- 13. C Support for prayer in schools is weakest among those with higher levels of education. The less education a person has, the more likely that person is to support school prayer (Gallup poll, 1992).

- (A) Government-enforced racial and sexual equality is more likely to be supported as the level of education rises due to the impact of understanding historical and social causes and effects of segregation and discrimination.
- (B) The more educated, the more likely voters are to hold progressive or liberal views about the environment.
- (D) The more educated, the more likely voters are to hold progressive or liberal views about abortion.
- (E) The more educated, the more likely voters are to hold progressive or liberal views about civil liberties.
- 14. A In 1963, Clarence Earl Gideon won an appeal of his criminal conviction. His appeal argued that the state of Florida had denied him a fair trial because its court had refused to provide him with a defense attorney. The Supreme Court agreed, ruling that Florida had violated Gideon's right to due process under the Fourteenth Amendment. Because of Gideon v. Wainwright, poor defendants are now entitled to court-appointed attorneys in felony cases. (B), Self-incrimination was the central issue in Miranda v. Arizona. Each of the incorrect answers describes a right guaranteed by the Bill of Rights, but not the one tested in Gideon.

15. **B** The better informed voters are of an election and its central issues, the more likely they are to vote. Media coverage provides the primary source of election information for most Americans. Accordingly, voter turnout usually increases as media coverage increases. Turnout is lowest in local elections, which are poorly publicized, and highest during national elections, which are highly publicized. This is especially true of presidential elections, which receive the most publicity of all U.S. elections.

## Incorrect answers

- (A) Voters are less likely to vote when they believe their vote cannot influence the outcome of the election, as in the situation described by this answer choice.
- (C) Voters are more likely to vote when they perceive stark differences between the candidates. When they are unfamiliar with the candidates, they are less likely to vote.
- (D) Independents vote less frequently than do voters registered as Democrats or Republicans.
- (E) Voters turn out in greater numbers for a presidential election. Without the drawing power of a presidential election, midterm elections attract fewer voters to the polls.
- 16. **B** The "necessary and proper" clause, often referred to as the *elastic* clause, allows Congress to pass laws "necessary and proper" to the performance of its duties. Congress can use this clause to expand its authority, often by citing its power to regulate interstate commerce. The "necessary and proper" clause comes into conflict with the Tenth Amendment because Congress uses this clause to gain control in areas previously under state supervision. Avid states' rights advocates argue that these Congressional actions usurp the states' reserved powers.

- (A) The "full faith and credit" clause requires states to honor one another's laws, licenses, and so on. Because it does not involve infringements on state governments by the national government, it does not pertain to the Tenth Amendment.
- (C) The provisions for the impeachment of a president pertain only to the national government and so cannot come into conflict with the Tenth Amendment.
- (D) The clause prohibiting states from coining money and entering into treaties appears in the body of the Constitution. These powers are "delegated to the United States by the Constitution," as acknowledged in the Tenth Amendment, and so do not conflict with the amendment.
- (E) The provisions for constitutional amendment lay out a process for amending the Constitution that does not infringe on states' rights and therefore do not conflict with the Tenth Amendment.

17. E States' righters believe that the Constitution limits the national government to its specifically enumerated powers. They also believe that the vast majority of governance should be left entirely to the states.

#### Incorrect answers

- (A) The term *Federalist* refers either to those who support the federal system or to members of the Federalist Party, which existed from the late 1700s until the late 1810s. Either way, it describes a person who supports a strong central government.
- (B) The term *isolationist* refers to a person who believes that the government should avoid involvement with foreign governments and nations.
- (C) The term *laissez-faire capitalist* refers to a person who believes the government should regulate the economy as little as possible.
- (D) The term *loose constructionist* refers to a person who believes the national government should use the elastic clause to expand its powers. Loose constructionists argue that the national government may do anything not expressly forbidden by the Constitution. They do not see the Tenth Amendment as a significant limitation of federal power.
- 18. **D** Because the membership of the House is so large, the process by which the House debates and amends bills must be regulated. The task of setting these limits falls to the House Rules Committee. Because the Rules Committee controls crucial aspects of the legislative process, it is the most powerful committee in the House. The Speaker of the House nearly always chairs this committee.

- (A) The Ways and Means Committee has jurisdiction over tax and trade legislation. It is an extremely powerful committee.
- (B) The Judiciary Committee is a powerful committee with a wide range of responsibilities. It has jurisdiction over matters concerning the judiciary, immigration, and constitutional amendments. This committee heard the evidence in the impeachment proceedings against Bill Clinton and reported to the full membership of the House, recommending impeachment.
- (C) The Ethics Committee determines the rules of proper behavior for representatives. It punishes those who violate the rules.
- (E) The Committee on Government Reform performs oversight on executive agencies.

19. B Entitlement programs include Social Security and Medicare. Many people, especially among the elderly, rely on these programs to cover living and medical expenses. Recipients of entitlements form a large and powerful voting bloc. Consequently, it is considered political suicide even to suggest substantial reductions in entitlement benefits.

## Incorrect answers

- (A) Entitlement programs are created by acts of Congress. Social Security was established during the New Deal; Medicare was created as part of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society program.
- (C) Entitlement programs are not defense-related. See the explanation for answer choice (B).
- (D) Entitlement recipients do indeed constitute a powerful political bloc, but the vast majority of entitlement recipients are not wealthy. In fact, most are extremely protective of their entitlements precisely because they have very little money.
- (E) Congress can alter entitlement budgets, although in theory these budgets are supposed to be separately funded (through payroll withholding taxes) and thus "untouchable." If Congress and the president were unable to alter entitlement budgets, these budgets would not be the hot political issue that they are.
- 20. C The fact that power is divided among so many different government branches and agencies guarantees slow, conservative government action. Only during times of extreme crisis—such as during the Great Depression—can the government move quickly AND effect substantial change. Otherwise, the conflicting interests of the many parties involved slow both the process and the rate of change, resulting in relatively stable policy.

- (A) The two major parties rarely cooperate. The lack of cooperation between them, in fact, slows the political process, increasing political stability.
- (B) Judicial activism—the process by which courts change policy by reinterpreting the law—decreases stability by effecting rapid change to the legal system. The Warren Court's alterations of criminal rights, for example, quickly changed policing and trial procedures in the United States.
- (D) Affirmative action programs, which attempt to redress previous racial and gender inequality, are a recent phenomenon. Because American public policy has always been relatively stable, this cannot be the correct answer.
- (E) The delegation of specific powers to the House and Senate plays an important role in the functioning of the legislature, but it does not have a major influence on the stability of public policy.

21. A The Constitution provides a broad outline of the president's duties but does not define them specifically. Nor does the Constitution enumerate the limits on those powers, except in the broadest of terms. Consequently, presidents are often left to define for themselves the limits of their powers under such mandates as "Commander in Chief" and "Head of State." Presidential power is accordingly fluid, dependent on the popularity and skills of the office holder. Franklin D. Roosevelt was able to establish an extremely strong presidency; Presidents Ford and Carter, conversely, found their presidencies limited by post-Watergate mistrust of the executive branch.

## Incorrect answers

- (B) Whether the Constitution places too many or too few limits on presidential power is a subject of endless debate. "Most people" do not agree that the presidency is too weak.
- (C) The Supreme Court is not unwilling to rule on such cases. In the 1930s, the Court frequently struck down Roosevelt's New Deal programs on constitutional grounds. In the 1970s, the Court decided against the Nixon administration several times, in each instance ruling that Nixon had overstepped his authority as president.
- (D) No constitutional amendments have increased presidential power. One amendment limits the number of terms a president may serve. This amendment arguably decreases presidential power by creating a "lame duck" period for second-term presidents, during which presidents' ability to influence Congress invariably declines.
- (E) This is simply not an issue in the debate over presidential power.
- 22. E The secretary of state is responsible for international relations. The chief national security advisor consults with the president on foreign policy matters. Consequently, the responsibilities of the two officials overlap. This was most evident in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when President Nixon clearly favored the advice of national security advisor Henry Kissinger over that of Secretary of State William Rogers.

- (A) The secretary of the interior is responsible for administering public lands, such as national parks and wildlife refuges, within the United States.
- (B) The secretary of the treasury oversees the Treasury Department.
- (C) The Speaker of the House leads the House of Representatives. The Speaker is always a member of the majority party in the House.
- (D) The president's chief of staff manages the president's schedule and controls access to the president.

23. E In primary elections, momentum translates into donations, the lifeblood of the campaign. Accordingly, early victories are extremely important. Because of this emphasis placed on early primaries, many states have pushed their primary dates forward. By enhancing the prominence of their primaries, states hope to influence the direction of the campaign, perhaps even gaining promises of increased federal support from candidates hopeful of winning in their states.

## Incorrect answers

- (A) State expenses in elections are not a major concern to the states. While candidates spend many millions, the states' expenses are confined to maintaining voting machines, hiring poll workers, and so on. Changing the primary date would do little to alter these costs, which are nominal at any rate.
- (B) General elections are always held on the first Tuesday of November. There is no public interest in changing that date.
- (C) Other factors—primarily the ability to raise money—restrict the number of entrants in the presidential race. While moving primary dates forward may have exacerbated this situation, this was not the states' intent in changing their primary dates.
- (D) State-level primary races rarely generate national attention. The exception to this rule is the rare controversial primary, such as when David Duke, an ex-member of the Ku Klux Klan, ran in—and won—Louisiana's Republican primary for governor in 1990.
- 24. C Neither senators nor representatives are allowed to use federal funding to finance their campaigns.

- (A) Senators represent entire states, in which party identification is rarely lopsided. A representative from an inner-city district, however, may have a constituency that is 95 percent Democratic.
- (B) In terms of political currency, a Senate seat is simply more valuable than a seat in the House. The length of term in office, the limited number of seats in the chamber, and the special powers of the body all confer extra status on senators. Accordingly, Senate races are usually hotly contested. House incumbents, conversely, frequently run uncontested.
- (D) See the explanation for answer choice (B).
- (E) House races rarely generate much media attention. Senate races always do, at least within the state (and often nationally as well). This increased public interest makes it more difficult for Senate incumbents to win reelection.
- 25. C Cabinet members head executive departments. As they work with the bureaucrats within their departments, many come to see themselves as their department's chief advocate within the administration. As such, they grow more concerned with their department's priorities and less concerned with the president's, a process referred to as "going native." This is why presidents more often turn to their personal advisors than to cabinet members for advice.

26. **B** The Constitution does not specifically grant Congress the authority to impose workplace safety standards. Congress does so by citing its power to regulate interstate commerce and exercising the elastic clause, which allows Congress to pass laws "necessary and proper" to the execution of its enumerated powers.

## Incorrect answers

NOTE: All of the incorrect answers appear in Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution.

- (A) The Constitution specifically empowers Congress to "establish a uniform rule of naturalization."
- (C) The Constitution specifically empowers Congress to "collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises."
- (D) The Constitution specifically empowers Congress to "coin money [and] regulate the value thereof."
- (E) The Constitution specifically empowers Congress to declare war.
- 27. **B** The Supreme Court hears less than 5 percent of all appeals. It chooses its cases carefully, fully aware that each Court decision could have a major impact on society. In choosing its cases, the Court helps set the public agenda. Whenever the Court agrees to hear an abortion case, for example, abortion immediately leaps to the top of the public agenda, with activists on all sides of the issue stepping up activities.

- (A) The Court hears less than 5 percent of all appeals.
- (C) Four or more justices must agree to hear a case. When four justices reach this agreement, the court issues a writ of *certiorari* requesting all transcripts for the case.
- (D) The vote of the chief justice counts as one vote, as do the votes of all nine members of the Court.
- (E) The Court will rule in favor of one side or another even if the justices cannot reach a majority agreement on a single opinion. For example, five justices may vote in favor of one party. They may not agree, however, on why the party has won the case. All five justices may then write separate opinions, or (more often) several will sign on to one justice's opinion, while another justice will offer a separate *concurring opinion* on the case.
- 28. D Add the totals of all PAC contributions in each of the recent elections. In each election, the sum is greater than \$150 million. Remember that this is only the tip of the iceberg: Candidates raise money from private donors and many other sources as well.
  - Remember that graph questions on the AP Government and Politics Exam ask only that you identify indisputable conclusions. Do not try to "read between the lines" and interpret the data—you will only get into trouble that way.

29. C Former Supreme Court justices William Brennan and Thurgood Marshall were among the numerous legal experts who have argued that the death penalty constitutes "cruel and unusual punishment." While theirs is the minority opinion, it is one that is widely held among opponents of the death penalty.

## Incorrect answers

- (A) The double jeopardy clause protects individuals from a second prosecution once a court has found them "not guilty."
- (B) The Constitution addresses this issue only in its "cruel and unusual punishment" clause, and then only if the states impose the death penalty in a cruel manner. While hanging and the electric chair were arguably "cruel and unusual," the most common form of execution today—lethal injection—is less so.
- (D) Federal and state laws vary on most issues. This is a fundamental feature of federalism and is not particularly controversial.
- (E) This may be an issue in some death penalty cases, but it is not the central constitutional issue concerning the death penalty.
- 30. **B** The process described in this question is called *selective incorporation*. You should have been able to use process of elimination to answer this question, because none of the incorrect answers appears in the Fourteenth Amendment.

### Incorrect answers

- (A) The Fourth Amendment guarantees this right.
- (C) The Constitution does not explicitly guarantee this right. The Supreme Court has found an implied right to privacy, however, in the combined effect of the Bill of Rights and the Fourteenth Amendment.
- (D) The Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery.
- (E) The "reserved powers" provision appears in the Tenth Amendment.
- 31. **B** Under the provisions of the Constitution as ratified in 1789, state legislatures selected senators. The framers considered the House of Representatives to be the "people's house," as evidenced by the provision for direct election of representatives. The Seventeenth Amendment (1913) provided for the direct election of senators.

- (A) No such restriction appears in the Constitution.
- (C) While the Constitution does in fact require all spending bills to originate in the House, the purpose of this provision was not to insulate the Senate from public opinion. Rather, the purpose was to increase the accountability of those who spent the people's money.
- (D) While the Constitution does in fact give this power to the Senate, the purpose of this provision was not to insulate the Senate from public opinion. Rather, the purpose was to reinforce the system of checks and balances.
- (E) The purpose of this provision was to create one legislative body in which each state received equal representation, not to insulate the Senate from public opinion.

- 32. A Under the Articles of Confederation, the states remained nearly autonomous, united in a loose confederation empowered to perform only those few tasks necessary to the maintenance of a single nation. The framers of the Articles left the national government dependent on the states to collect taxes and enforce its laws, tasks that the states could not be compelled to perform and which therefore were performed erratically, if at all. The Articles did not empower the national government to create a judiciary or regulate interstate commerce. Of the powers listed in the answer choices, only the power to negotiate treaties belonged to the national government.
- 33. A Federal law requires that a panel of commissioners drawn from both parties lead independent regulatory agencies. Commissioners serve long terms that do not usually coincide with the changes of presidential administrations. All of these provisions are intended to protect regulatory agencies from the political pressures of electoral politics. In reality, of course, political pressures cannot be avoided, given the weighty impact of regulatory agencies' decisions. Politicians, businesses, and public-interest groups all work hard to influence regulatory policy.

- (B) Regulatory agencies must often defend their decisions before congressional committees, but they are not required to plan policy cooperatively with them. Furthermore, interactions with Congress increase the political pressure on regulators.
- (C) This process increases political pressure on regulatory agencies by leaving them dependent on Congress.
- (D) Interactions between the president and regulatory agencies increase the political pressure on those agencies.
- (E) Regulatory agencies are not required to seek the advice of the industries they regulate, although almost all do as a matter of course. Such interactions, however, increase political pressure on regulatory agencies.
- 34. C The government could not immediately enforce the 1954 Supreme Court decision *Brown v. Board of Education* because it had little enforcement power. Short of sending troops to force integration, the government had few powers over uncooperative states. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 changed that by allowing the government to cut off funding to discriminatory school systems. The loss of federal funding would have crippled many school systems and so persuaded many to comply with *Brown*.

- (A) See the explanation for answer choice (C).
- (B) Brown v. Board of Education overturned the "separate but equal" principle. See the explanation for answer choice (C).
- (D) See the explanation for answer choice (C).
- (E) The process described in this answer choice would have been impossible, given residential segregation. To make each public school population mirror state residential demographics would require transporting some students many, many miles. The impracticality of this answer choice should have helped you eliminate it.

- 35. D The winner-take-all arrangement in the electoral college places a high premium on victory in battleground states, which are determined by used polling data. Presidential candidates spend relatively little time in strongly ideological states such as New York (Democratic) or Texas (Republican), preferring states like Florida and Pennsylvania where the vote is up for grabs. Incorrect answers
  - (A) It is possible for a candidate to win more than half the states in the electoral college and still lose the election. California alone has as many electoral votes as the 15 least populous states combined!
  - (B) Though the south has swung from being solidly Democratic to being solidly Republican, its importance is not absolute and can vary from election to election.
  - (C) Because the votes of electors always reflect their home state's election results, candidates need not campaign among electors at all.
  - (E) The winner-take-all arrangement of the electoral college encourages candidates to give up on states in which they are farthest behind and to concentrate instead on those in which they have a chance of winning.
- 36. A good example is the Agriculture Committee, which is invariably populated almost entirely by congresspersons from agricultural states. Accordingly, agricultural consumers and other constituencies with an interest in agriculture are underrepresented on this committee. This pattern holds true throughout the many special-interest committees in Congress.
  - Incorrect answers
     (B) Membership in congressional committees is reasonably large, certainly large enough to include representation of all popular opinions. Congress simply chooses not to populate its committees in that manner.
  - (C) The majority party controls every committee. The chairperson is a member of the majority party, and more than half the seats on every committee go to majority party members. The fact that the minority party controls some committee seats tends to make committee members more broadly representative of public opinion, not less.
  - (D) This is a pretty good distracter answer. However, most members of Congress keep constant tabs on their constituents' priorities through regular polling.
  - (E) Even if this were so, it would not explain why the opinions of committee members do not accurately reflect public opinion.
- 37. C Winning an election in a two-party system requires coalition building, which is not possible when one of the parties clings to one issue or ideological position. But it is possible in electoral systems (based on proportional representation) that allow for single-cause parties, such as the German Green party, to win a share of the seats in parliaments.

- (A) U.S. politicians must serve all classes in their constituency to win in a two-party system.
- (B) During the early and middle parts of the last century there was an expansion of the power of labor and unions in the economy, society, and politics.
- (D) The struggle between different interests within the two-party system has not led to the domination of labor, or any other interest in the political representation of party.
- (E) Race, although represented as a political cleavage within the parties, does not rank as high as class standing and political affiliation.

- 38. **B** The majority of federal programs are administered through *grants-in-aid* to the states. The federal government provides the states with a set of guidelines and the money to carry them out, but leaves administration of the programs to the states.
- 39. D The Constitution empowers Congress to create new federal courts (see Article III, Section 1).
- 40. E The War Powers Act requires the president to seek periodic approval from Congress for any substantial troop commitment. The bill was passed in response to the Vietnam War. The Budget and Impoundment Control Act requires congressional approval of presidential impoundments of federal funds. The bill was passed in response to impoundments made by President Nixon, who tried to cut federal spending by impounding, or refusing to allocate, funds Congress had appropriated. Both bills sought to limit the president's powers by requiring the president to seek congressional approval for specific actions.
- 41. E In an *open primary*, voters enter the voting booth and then decide in which party's primary they wish to vote. They may vote in only one party's primary, however; they may not hop-scotch across the ballot, for example, by voting in the Democratic primary for president and then the Republican primary for governor. Voting in such a manner is only permitted in a *blanket primary*.

- (A) Independents may vote in open and blanket primaries. They may not vote in closed primaries, which are limited only to members of the respective parties (i.e., Democrats may vote only in the Democratic primary and Republicans may vote only in the Republican primary).
- (B) There is no such primary election as the one described in this answer choice. See the explanation for answer choice (E).
- (C) See the explanation for answer choice (E).
- (D) There is no such primary election as the one described in this answer choice. See the explanation for answer choice (E).
- 42. D The FECA was intended to reduce the influence of money on election campaigns by limiting donations from individuals, corporations, and interest groups. To achieve this goal, the FECA allowed interest groups to form political action committees to advance their political goals. These PACs are subject to donation limits. As a result, thousands of new PACs arose to solicit funds for various causes. Consequently, money became an even more important factor in elections.

- (A) This answer describes an intended result of the FECA.
- (B) This answer describes an intended result of the FECA.
- (C) The amount of money spent on televised campaign advertising continues to increase from election to election.
- (E) Since the passage of the FECA, there have been several credible third-party candidates, for example, John Anderson in 1980 and Ross Perot in 1992. The FECA does not appear to have dampened third-party presidential efforts.

43. C Politicians need to reach the public for a number of reasons: to rally support and to publicize their reelection efforts, to name two. Political reporters need politicians as well: Without quotes to put in their news stories and confidential information from political insiders, the media would not be able to report the news. Each group needs the other, a fact that softens the antagonistic nature of their relationship.

## Incorrect answers

- (A) There is no real distinction between younger and older politicians' comfort level with the media. Some of the most savvy handlers of the press are older politicians, whose experiences have taught them how to manipulate the press.
- (B) The First Amendment prevents the government from regulating press activity in nearly all situations.
- (D) Most media outlets will gladly cover a story embarrassing to a politician if they believe their audiences are interested. For one obvious example, consider the coverage of Bill Clinton's affair with Monica Lewinsky.
- (E) Most government activity is accessible to the public. When information is classified, it tends to exacerbate the antagonistic relationship between the media and politicians. The media try to uncover the classified information (to find out whether it is newsworthy), much to the annoyance of the government.
- 44. **D** The Twenty-sixth Amendment to the Constitution established a uniform voting age of 18 for the entire nation. This answer states the facts incorrectly.

- (A) Many people in this age bracket attend college out of state. This requires them to either register in the new state (some states will not allow such students to register, requiring them to vote in their old home states instead) or vote in their former state of residence by absentee ballot. Both of these procedures are complicated enough to discourage some from voting.
- (B) Many people in this age bracket move frequently, requiring them to register at their new place of residence. Some do not, preferring instead not to vote.
- (C) Many people in this age bracket simply do not see the pertinence of most political issues to their daily lives. This results in a lower voting rate.
- (E) People in this age bracket serving in the military must vote by absentee ballot. This discourages some from voting.
- 45. E For a discussion of the different aspects of public opinion on issues, see Chapter 6.

46. C Among its traditional constituencies, the Democratic Party has the weakest hold on the south, where the party's progressive social policies are often at odds with the general conservatism of the region. For decades, the Democratic Party could count on solid support from the south merely because the Republican Party was "the party of Lincoln" and was thus "responsible" for the Civil War. In recent years, however, the Republican Party has made major inroads in the region.

## Incorrect answers

- (A) People holding advanced academic degrees generally support the liberal social policies advanced by traditional Democrats.
- (B) Northeastern city dwellers generally support the liberal social policies advanced by traditional Democrats.
- (D) Jewish Americans generally support the liberal social policies advanced by traditional Democrats.
- (E) Urban African Americans generally support the liberal social policies advanced by traditional Democrats.
- 47. A The Warren Court issued a number of landmark decisions expanding the rights of the accused. Among these decisions, *Miranda v. Arizona* protected defendants against self-incrimination, *Gideon v. Wainwright* guaranteed accused felons the right to legal counsel, and *Mapp v. Ohio* established the *exclusionary rule*, which disallows the use in trial of improperly obtained evidence.

- (B) Warren Court decisions increased the power of the national government over the states by forcing the states to comply with the Bill of Rights.
- (C) The principle of judicial review was established in 1803 by Chief Justice John Marshall in *Marbury v. Madison*.
- (D) The Supreme Court of the late 1800s employed unusual definitions of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act to subvert its intent. The Warren Court covers a later period (the 1950s and 1960s).
- (E) The Warren Court strengthened the division between church and state in several rulings. In its most noteworthy decision on the subject, the Court prohibited school prayer.
- 48. E This 1978 case concerned a white male who had been denied admission to the University of California at Davis medical school. The student, Alan Bakke, discovered that Davis had reserved 16 of the 100 slots in the class specifically for minority students. Bakke discovered further that some of the students admitted in those slots had lower MCAT scores and college GPAs than him. Bakke argued reverse discrimination, pointing out that minority students could compete for all 100 slots in the class but that he could compete for only 84, resulting in an unfair reduction of his chances of admission. The Court agreed with Bakke, but its decision was a complicated one that still allowed colleges to use affirmative action, so long as they did so in the name of diversity and avoided setting quotas.

49. D Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence reflects John Locke's philosophy regarding natural rights and the participation of the individual in politics.

## Incorrect answers

- (A) Thomas Hobbes held a pessimistic view of humanity and favored a strong monarchy with limitations on individual liberty.
- (B) Niccolo Macchiavelli wrote *The Prince*, which advocates a strong, centralized leader, and an "ends justify the means" school of political thought.
- (C) Jonathan Edwards, an early colonial theologian, felt that rights were granted to people by God, not by government.
- (E) John Calvin, a protestant reformer, advocated a theocracratic type of government.
- 50. **B** In the most famous of the *Federalist Papers*, James Madison bemoaned the evils of political factions and explained how a federal republic, by dividing power among many parties, minimizes the damage that factions can cause. AP U.S. Government and Politics questions referring to the *Federalist Papers* almost invariably center on this essay and, more particularly, on this point. Make sure you know it.
- 51. C As a president enters the final two years of his second term, his political influence diminishes. Through the second midterm election of his tenure, the president carries considerable influence with the electorate and therefore can persuade Congress to cooperate through threats (e.g., "I will campaign against you, and you will lose"). Once that threat has passed, the president, no longer able to run for reelection, loses political capital. Congress accordingly defers to him less frequently. A president saddled with a Congress led by the opposing party will also experience a diminution in power because his ability to implement his programs will meet a challenge from the legislature. Bill Clinton proved adept at accomplishing some goals despite opposition from a Republican Congress; nonetheless, divided control of the legislative and executive branches unquestionably weakens a president.

International crises strengthen a president. Congress is reluctant to challenge a president when the United States is challenged abroad, preferring instead to present a united front to the world. Presidents always thrive when the economy is strong and approval ratings are high. Because the United States is a republican democracy, popularity confers substantial political power because popularity translates into votes.

52. E Senators have much greater leeway to alter legislation on the Senate floor than representatives have on the House floor. The size of the House prohibits lengthy debate and a prolonged amendment process. To complete its work on legislation, the House imposes strict rules on floor debates and amendments. All such work in the House is done in committee, making a representative's committee assignments a critical aspect of his or her ability to accomplish political goals.

## Incorrect answers

- (A) Like senators, House members may serve on several committees simultaneously.
- (B) Senate committee members enjoy all the same powers as House committee members.
- (C) The committee system works in roughly the same manner in both legislative chambers. A Senate bill does not have to pass through every committee. Were this procedure in place, it would certainly grind the legislative process to a halt.
- (D) A special committee assigns committee membership in the Senate. The House uses the same procedure.
- 53. **D** Third parties arise primarily out of discontent with the two major parties. The Republicans, for example, arose to represent Northern abolitionists, who could not find a voice in either of the two major parties of the 1840s and 1850s. The Populists gave farmers a political outlet in the 1890s; the Socialists represented disaffected workers in the early 1900s.

- (A) During times of prosperity, most Americans pay little attention to politics. The interest level of most Americans is too low during such periods to support a third party.
- (B) While some third parties fit this description, most do not.
- (C) Unless you count the Republicans as a third party, no third party has ever won a majority of seats in Congress. By the time a party accomplishes this feat, it has become one of the two major parties.
- (E) While some third parties fit this description, most do not.

54. E The dual judicial system of the United States encompasses state and federal courts. Usually the two domains remain distinct, but some crimes are prosecutable in both systems. Recently, the federal government has sought to correct perceived injustices in state courts—primarily in high-profile acquittals—by prosecuting the accused in federal court. Some such defendants include the police officers who were captured on videotape beating Rodney King in Los Angeles, and a young African American who stabbed a rabbinical student in Brooklyn during a racially charged riot. In these and other similar cases, the government charges the accused with violating the civil rights of their victims, thereby bringing the case within the jurisdiction of the federal courts.

#### Incorrect answers

- (A) The constitutional prohibition of double jeopardy prevents state prosecutors from appealing a case in which the defendant is found not guilty.
- (B) The double jeopardy clause would seem to prevent such double prosecutions but does not for the reasons given in the explanation for answer choice (E).
- (C) New evidence alone cannot provide grounds for a new trial unless it can be proven that the accused in some way participated in hiding the evidence. If this were not the case, the government could theoretically withhold evidence from a trial. If the government did not get the "guilty" verdict it desired, it could then introduce the new evidence and try the defendant again.
- (D) Governors may pardon convicts, but they may not veto "not guilty" verdicts.
- 55. A Both houses of Congress have standing committees that handle government oversight. Other committees provide oversight in the course of their business as they review the actions of regulatory agencies and other executive departments whose work coincides with the committee's area of concern. Oversight by the full body of either house would simply be too time-consuming, which is why oversight is performed in committee.

- (B) Congress oversees the workings of the federal government, particularly the executive branch. The states have not challenged this power of oversight.
- (C) Congressional oversight focuses primarily on the executive branch.
- (D) Constituent input influences nearly everything that Congress does, including performing its oversight duties.
- (E) Congressional oversight focuses primarily on the executive branch. Both houses maintain committees on ethics to regulate and discipline errant legislators.

- 56. D The fundamentalist vote is largely Republican, in large part because of Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush's efforts to win these voters with his conservative social agenda.

  Incorrect answers
  - (A) The Democratic commitment to poverty relief programs attracts minority voters, many of whom are disproportionately represented in lower-income groups.
  - (B) Women support Democratic candidates more frequently than do men. The Democratic Party's commitment to gender issues such as equal pay and maternity leave has helped the party in this area.
  - (C) The Democratic commitment to poverty relief programs, along with Republican antagonism toward such programs, persuades many poor Americans to vote Democratic.
  - (E) The conservative social agenda of the Republican Party, combined with the Democratic commitment to government-enforced equal rights, persuades many homosexuals to vote Democratic.
- 57. A Iron triangles—also called *subgovernments*—result from the workings of particular federal agencies, congressional committees that provide oversight for those agencies, and related public interest groups. Members of these groups forge relationships through constant interaction and form a strong bond because they are often pursuing the same goals. Consider the example cited by the question. Advocacy groups for small businesses pursue legislation beneficial to their constituents. The Small Business Administration champions these goals, both for the benefit of small businesses and because new small business initiatives strengthen the agency (by providing it with new tasks to perform). Congressional committees dealing with small business issues support the goals as a means of serving an important constituency: those who own or work at small businesses. This type of alliance can grow extremely powerful, dominating a particular area of policy.

- (B) A conference committee is a committee composed of members of the House and Senate. Conference committees meet when the House and Senate have passed differing versions of the same bill. Their goal is to work out a compromise bill that both houses can pass.
- (C) A regulatory agency regulates a particular area of policy. The Environmental Protection Agency, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, and the Federal Communications Commission are some examples of regulatory agencies. Regulatory agencies are part of the executive branch of government.
- (D) The term *dual federalism* refers to a federal system in which the national and local governments have separate and distinct responsibilities.
- (E) A third party is a political party other than the Democratic or Republican parties.
- 58. **B** To protect federal judges from political influence, the framers of the Constitution gave judges tenure for life. Judges serve "during good behavior" and can be removed from office only by impeachment.

59. D Guidelines issued by the Rules Committee strictly limit debate in the House; in most cases, representatives may speak on a bill for no more than five minutes. A *filibuster* is a speech of indefinite length, given by a senator in an effort to derail a particular Senate action, or to force a concession on that action. A three-fifths majority vote is required to end debate (such a vote is called a vote of *cloture*). A cloture vote is one of only two means to end a filibuster. The other is a unanimous consent agreement.

#### Incorrect answers

- (A) The Senate prides itself on having greater civility than the House, but this decorousness does not extend to suffering interminable speeches without protest.
- (B) House sessions are roughly the same length as Senate sessions.
- (C) Sessions of both chambers are open to the public.
- (E) All members of the House, not just the Speaker, may speak on the floor of the chamber.
- 60. C The Constitution requires that a census be taken every 10 years for the express purpose of apportioning seats in the House of Representatives. See Article I, Section 2, paragraph 3 of the Constitution.

- (A) State legislatures are responsible for redrawing congressional districts.
- (B) Redistricting has huge political ramifications. Seats in Congress are won and lost depending on where the lines are drawn, and whichever party is in power attempts to redraw the districts to its political advantage. This occasionally results in oddly shaped districts whose constituents have little in common other than their political party.
- (D) The Supreme Court has interpreted the Voting Rights Act to mean that states must consider racial demographics when redrawing districts, to remedy previous practices used to artificially reduce minority representation in the House. The result of this ruling has been to dramatically increase minority representation in the House.
- (E) Legislators' chief concern in redistricting is political outcomes, not allowing neighbors to be in the same district. Opposite sides of a street may fall into different districts.

# **ESSAY SECTION: ANSWERS EXPLAINED**

## QUESTION 1

You receive full credit for this essay if you correctly identify two of the four congressional actions mentioned in the question and accurately assess the effectiveness of each of those legislative actions.

The Equal Pay Act of 1963

The Equal Pay Act outlaws wage discrimination based on gender. The law also outlaws wage discrimination based on skin color, religion, or nationality (you need not mention the latter fact in your essay to receive full credit, but it is useful information).

Here are several assessments of the effectiveness of the Equal Pay Act of 1963. Your essay only needs to include one accurate assessment to receive full credit.

- The law increased awareness of the problem of unequal pay for equal work. It persuaded some employers to end wage discrimination in their businesses.
- The law was initially difficult to enforce. It requires women to file a complaint against their employer, an action many workers hesitate to take for fear of reprisal (firing, workplace harassment, and so on).
- Because the law did not prohibit employment discrimination, it allowed employers to favor men in hiring for prestigious, higher-paying jobs. Thus, the law did little to remedy the fundamental problem of workplace discrimination. Even after the Equal Pay Act became law, women remained "ghettoized" in low-paying clerical, teaching, and nursing jobs.
- As the government passed more civil liberties laws and as the public grew more aware and supportive of gender rights issues, the Equal Pay Act became a useful tool for those fighting for women's rights.
- Women and men still do not earn the same money for the same work; therefore, the effectiveness of the Equal Pay Act has been limited at best.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964

The Civil Rights Act prohibits employment discrimination based on gender. The difference between the Equal Pay Act and the Civil Rights Act is that the Equal Pay Act did not prevent employers from awarding better jobs to men based on gender. Instead, it merely required them to pay the same wages to men and women performing the same jobs. The Civil Rights Act corrected this problem. The law also outlaws employment discrimination based on skin color, religion, or nationality (again, you need not mention this in your essay to receive credit, but it is good to know). The following are several assessments of the Civil Rights Act.

- The law increased awareness of the problem of gender discrimination in hiring. It persuaded some employers to end gender discrimination in their businesses.
- The law did not immediately end gender discrimination. Enforcement required legal action, which in turn required women to complain when they believed they had been victims of gender discrimination. Because of the time, effort, expense, and risk involved in lodging such a complaint, many women were unwilling to do so.

- Although the Civil Rights Act changed the law, it did not change the deeply ingrained attitudes of employers, judges, government officials, and so on. This proved another obstacle to enforcement. At least in its early years, enforcement of the gender discrimination provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 met with considerable institutional resistance.
- Eventually, as societal attitudes toward gender issues changed, the Civil Rights Act
  of 1964 became a powerful tool in forcing businesses to change their hiring practices. The law, in combination with the Equal Pay Act, proved a powerful tool for
  those willing to sue businesses over discrimination.
- The United States has not achieved gender equality in the workplace; therefore, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has not been entirely effective.

Title IX of the Higher Education Act of 1972

Title IX prohibits gender discrimination at colleges and universities which receive federal aid. Here are some assessments of Title IX.

- Title IX employed the federal government's most powerful enforcement tool: the
  cessation of federal aid. Because noncompliant schools risk losing essential funding,
   Title IX has been easier to enforce than either the Equal Pay Act or the Civil Rights
  Act. The threat of lost funding is a powerful one.
- Title IX ended public funding for all-male schools, increased financial aid to female students, and encouraged the development of women's studies and other genderrelated academic disciplines. It has had a tremendous impact on college athletics. On some campuses it has dramatically increased funding to women's sports programs. On others, it has resulted in a reduction of men's programs (to erase the difference between spending on men's and women's programs).
- Congress strengthened Title IX in 1988 by passing a law stating that all programs at
  a school are subject to Title IX even if only one or two programs at the school receive
  federal funding. This action, taken in response to a Supreme Court ruling, increased
  the effectiveness of Title IX in eliminating gender bias on publicly funded campuses.

The Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution

The ERA would have inserted into the Constitution a prohibition against all gender discrimination. Although it received the necessary support in Congress, it did not receive the required approval from three-fourths of the states. Here are some assessments of the ERA.

- The Equal Rights Amendment generated a tremendous amount of public interest in the gender rights issue. By placing the issue at the forefront of the public agenda, the ERA made it easier for women's rights activists to publicize their message.
- The Equal Rights Amendment also generated considerable opposition to the women's rights movement. This may have reinforced gender bias in some quarters.
- The Equal Rights Amendment failed to gain the necessary support of three-quarters of the states. In this regard, the ERA was a failure.
- The struggle for the ERA (and the public outcry in the aftermath of its failure) resulted in the passage of numerous state-level anti gender-bias laws. Sixteen states now have equal rights amendments in their constitutions. Considered in this light, the ERA was effective in advancing the cause of gender equality.

## Here's How to Crack It

- 1. Since the 1960s, Congress has addressed the problem of gender bias on numerous occasions.
  - (a) Choose one of the laws listed below. Describe how it has attempted to address the problem of gender bias in American society.
    - the Equal Pay Act of 1963
    - the Civil Rights Act of 1964
  - (b) Describe this law and evaluate its effectiveness.
  - (c) Choose one of the legislative actions listed below. Describe how it has attempted to address the problem of gender bias in American society.
    - Title IX of the Higher Education Act of 1973
    - the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution
  - (d) Describe this action and evaluate its effectiveness.

Describe two of the four congressional actions accurately, then state one reason why they were or were not effective in addressing the problem of gender bias.

## SAMPLE "EXCELLENT" ESSAY

While most of the major civil rights advancements of the 20th century were spearheaded by the Supreme Court, Congress also played a prominent role. More specifically, it has addressed the issue of gender rights on many occasions. Among the most prominent examples of its efforts are the Equal Pay Act of 1963 and Title IX of the Higher Education Act.

The Equal Pay Act of 1963 outlaws wage discrimination based on sex. Before the Equal Pay Act, it was legal to pay women and men different amounts for doing the same jobs. The feminist movement in the United States did not become very strong until the 1970s, but there was still support in Congress for the act—even if most justified its passage due to economic considerations. Interestingly enough, one of the major reasons for the bill's passage was to prevent employers from using women as a source of cheap labor that would depress the prevailing wage.

How effective was the Equal Pay Act? At first, it was not very good at preventing the payment disparities it was designed to eliminate. It was difficult to enforce and forced injured parties to engage in time-consuming litigation against their employers. It also failed to get at the deeper problem of sex discrimination, because employers were still allowed to discriminate when it came to hiring. So rather than pay a man more than a woman for doing the same job, the employer could just promote the man and then pay him the appropriate (male) wage for the new job. Still, as the women's movement became more powerful with passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Equal Pay Act became increasingly effective.

Title IX of the Higher Education Act is one of the most controversial laws passed in recent time. The law itself called for an end to sex discrimination in schools and threatened to cut off federal funding to any school, college or university that engaged in discriminatory practices. Because many schools, public and private, are very reliant on federal funds, they complied quite readily.

The question of effectiveness needs to be broadened to the issue of athletics. In 1979, the Department of Health defined Title IX as requiring schools to spend equal amounts of money on male and female athletics. Because far fewer women have joined sports teams, this has forced many schools to kill male sports that are less popular (like wrestling or track) in order to keep the proportion of spending the same. Critics claim that this quota system is devastating male sports for no good reason, while defenders say that Title IX has led to increased spending that resulted in a generation of empowered athletic American women.

## QUESTION 2

You receive full credit if you identify three factors that have decreased the reliance of presidential candidates on their political parties and explain how they have done so. Identifying more than three factors will not earn you extra credit. If you identify three factors that have decreased the reliance of presidential candidates on their political parties but do not explain how they have done so, you will receive half credit.

## **Factors and Explanations**

- Voters no longer identify with political parties as strongly as they once did. America has more voters that consider themselves Independents than at any other point in her history. Those who identify with one of the major parties are more likely than ever before to vote a split ticket. All of this has weakened the parties' hold on the electorate. Consequently, the "prestige by association" that presidential candidates once gained from their parties has been greatly diminished, and they have thus begun to campaign more independently than ever before.
- Campaign finance legislation limits the amount of money parties can contribute to their candidates. Accordingly, candidates have been forced to look elsewhere for the financial support their parties once provided. This has shifted candidate allegiance from the parties to the PACs, interest groups, and individuals whose donations sustain their increasingly expensive campaigns.
- In various regions and among various voting blocs, dislike for one party or the other has handicapped some presidential candidates. Candidates have learned that by maintaining the ability to distance themselves from their parties, they can overcome a region's or bloc's dislike of their party. In both 1992 and 1996, for example, Bill Clinton successfully disassociated himself from the traditional Democratic image to gain support from some southern conservatives. In 1980 and 1984, Ronald Reagan was able to create enough distance between the public image of himself and his party to draw a majority of working-class votes.
- Once, candidates needed their parties to publicize their names and messages. Now
  they can use television and the internet to bypass their parties. Television exposure
  has supplanted party rallies, leaflets, and door-to-door canvassing as the preferred
  method of gaining visibility.
- Recent developments in polling and market research have made it much easier
  for individual candidates to track public opinion and respond accordingly. Where
  candidates once relied on their parties to give them the "lay of the land" in various
  regions, today they rely on pollsters (who work exclusively for their campaigns) to
  provide such information.

## Here's How to Crack It

- Traditionally, presidential candidates have relied on strong support from their national party organization.
  - (a) Describe how national party organizations have historically aided their candidates.
  - (b) Describe how this dynamic has changed in recent presidential elections.
  - (c) Discuss THREE factors that have helped bring about this change.

Brainstorm before you write. Make a list of all possible factors you may discuss in part (c). Consider the list carefully. Which factors most clearly contributed to the weakening of parties' hold on their presidential candidates? Which ones can you explain quickly and clearly? Choose the three best factors for you.

Do not write about four, five, or six factors. Graders can only give you credit for three, no matter how many more you come up with.

# SAMPLE "EXCELLENT" ESSAY

Once, there was a time when candidates were selected behind closed doors by party bosses in smoke-filled rooms. Up until the mid-20th century, parties dictated positions to candidates, and candidates relied on the organizational efforts of their parties to achieve elected office. Recently, however, the dynamic has shifted. Whereas candidates once ran as representatives of their parties, in recent times candidates have run more and more independently, emphasizing their party ties when advantageous, and distancing themselves from their parties in other situations.

The new "candidate-centered" campaign has come about as a result of numerous factors. First and foremost is the prominent role television plays in modern political campaigns. In the past, candidates have depended on their national party organizations to rally the party faithful and acquaint themselves with voters. Television allows candidates to bypass the party organization and speak directly to the voting public en masse. Without television and other mass media, the age of candidate-centered campaigns could never have arisen.

Another factor is the recently accelerated primary schedule, which has forced candidates to develop powerful campaign machines early in the election cycle. The new schedule places a high premium on early electoral success, meaning that candidates must arrive in New Hampshire with much of their primary campaign machine intact. Long before they can expect any help from the national party, candidates must raise large amounts of campaign money, publicize their messages, and begin all-important polling and voter tracking. The development of such independent full-service campaign organizations has altered the political landscape, leading candidates to rely more on their campaign organizations and less on their parties.

Changes in American voting patterns have helped to accelerate this process. Voters no longer identify with political parties as strongly as they once did. Many more now consider themselves independents. Others who identify with one of the major parties are more likely than ever before to vote a split ticket. All of this has weakened the parties' hold on the electorate. Consequently, presidential candidates have less to gain from the parties and so campaign more independently than they once could.

# QUESTION 3

You receive full credit if you clearly state your position on the subject, identify three examples, and explain how each of the three examples supports your position. Note that whereas there are basically only two positions to take-agreeing or disagreeing-there are literally hundreds of possible examples you could provide to support either argument. Here are the two positions, support for both, and examples that support the positions. You could, of course, provide different support and examples while still receiving full credit.

# **Positions and Examples**

Agree: The media focus on stories that can be told easily and quickly while ignoring or downplaying stories that are complicated or ambiguous.

How you may argue this position:

- Most Americans receive their news from television. The average news story on television runs between one and three minutes. Nearly one-quarter of the news stories on network news are less than one minute in length. This is rarely enough time to cover a complicated or nuanced story.
- News reporting on television plays to the medium's strength: the ability to present dramatic pictures. Television news stories are often immediate and dramatic, but they rarely present historical background or in-depth analysis of the issues surrounding a story. Consequently, coverage is superficial. Complexity and ambiguity are ignored, in favor of easily-digestible video and sound bites.
- Most modern newspapers follow the lead of USA Today in providing summary coverage of national and international news. They also devote more space to features, sports, and celebrity news, all of which fall under the category of stories that can be told quickly and easily. Only a few U.S. newspapers consistently provide in-depth news coverage and analysis.

Examples you may use to support this argument:

- The 2000 presidential campaign: The media spent a great deal of time covering
  inconsequential aspects of the race (Al Gore kissing his wife at the Democratic National Convention, George W. Bush's religious devotion, and chad counting) and as
  a result did not show the dramatic ideological divide between the two men.
- Afghanistan: The media did very little to cover the October, 2001, United States
  invasion of Afghanistan. News outlets focused almost exclusively on the hunt for
  Osama bin Laden and neglected to report on the potential long-term results of this
  military action (especially once the invasion of Iraq began).
- O. J. Simpson trial: The sheer magnitude of coverage the trial received was well beyond its significance to society. Simpson trial coverage demonstrated that the media prefer sensationalistic, personality-driven stories to complex, "hard news" stories.
- Presidential impeachment: The news media focused on the lurid details of Clinton's
  affair with Monica Lewinsky. Still, most Americans were unclear about the mechanics of the impeachment process even after seeing numerous stories about impeachment. Again, the media focused on the sensational, easily understandable aspects of
  the story but failed to inform Americans on the more complicated aspects.

**Disagree:** The media do not focus on stories that can be easily and quickly told while ignoring or downplaying stories that are complicated or ambiguous.

How you may argue this position:

• While it is true that some media focus on easy stories and avoid complex stories, it is not universally true of the media. PBS, all-news cable stations, National Public Radio, The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, The Washington Post, and literally dozens of magazines and journals often provide complex, in-depth coverage of the news. Media serve their audiences, so it is a mistake to blame mainstream media for the apparent lack of depth and breadth of its coverage. They cover stories in this manner because this is what the mass media audience wants. Those who want more complexity in their news coverage have ample access to such sources.

Examples you may use to support this argument:

- Yugoslavia: The tragic ethnic battles in the former Yugoslavia have torn the region apart for nearly a decade. Despite the complexity of the story and the remoteness of it to the daily lives of most Americans, the press has covered this story since the outset. Although one may argue that the coverage was not prominent enough—given the severity of the situation—it is also important to note that the fully-detailed story was available to anyone with an interest in pursuing it. In these and many other foreign news matters, the media does its job of providing the news, even though only a small number of Americans demonstrate interest in these stories.
- Y2K crisis: Again, the media reported extensively on a story that was difficult for many Americans to understand. Coverage of the Y2K issue disproves the oftenmade accusation that the media drop complicated stories, especially those that cannot be easily adapted to television reporting.
- In 1997, three reporters for The Seattle Times won the Pulitzer Prize for their investigation into abuses in a federally sponsored housing program for Native Americans. This is just one of many examples of investigative pieces that are neither easily told nor digested. Yet this story, and dozens of other investigative reports like it every year, result in a better-informed public and call for much-needed societal reform.
- Finally, you may cite any or all of the examples provided for the opposite point of view. You could conceivably argue that media coverage of any or all of those stories (e.g., the 2000 presidential campaign or the invasion of Afghanistan) was both thorough and appropriate. The fact that Americans were uninformed on the central issues of those stories, you may conclude, pertains to the salience of those issues to their lives. Because Americans did not feel the need to remain fully informed on these stories, they ignored or forgot detailed reporting on the issues.

## Here's How to Crack It

- 3. The media has a large influence on American politics.
  - (a) Describe why the media are so important and why they have such influence.
  - (b) Identify and describe THREE examples of media coverage that have influenced American politics in the past twenty years.
  - (c) Explain the argument that in politics, the media tend to overemphasize stories that are easy to tell at the expense of those that are more complicated.

Choose your position. Brainstorm a list of examples that support your position. Choose three that you would like to write about. Make sure to clearly identify your examples. Remember that the question specifies that your examples must be drawn from the previous two decades. Do not provide examples that are more than ten years old. Do not write about more than three examples. Graders can only give you credit for three, no matter how many more you come up with.

Write an introductory paragraph explaining your position. Follow with one paragraph for each of your three examples. Write a conclusion if you have time.

## Question 4

You receive full credit if you correctly identify Andrew Johnson and Bill Clinton, state clearly whether Hamilton's quotation applies to each case, and correctly describe and analyze the various roles of the House, Senate, and Supreme Court as effective checks in the impeachment process.

## Identification

Clearly identify Andrew Johnson and Bill Clinton as the two impeached presidents in question. Even though the question does not specifically ask you to do so, you will not receive full credit if you fail to cite them both by name.

# In Each Case, Is Hamilton's Quotation Accurate?

- Congress impeached Andrew Johnson for violation of the Tenure of Office Act, a law that forbade Johnson to fire certain federal appointees to the executive branch. Johnson fired Secretary of War Stanton, a radical Republican who opposed Johnson's plans for Reconstruction. Hamilton's assessment of the impeachment process accurately describes Johnson's situation. Johnson's impeachment certainly "agitated the passions of the whole community" and "divided it into parties more or less friendly or inimical to the accused." These "pre-existing factions," divided over the nature of Reconstruction, were similarly divided over Johnson's impeachment. Republicans, who held the majority in Congress, lined up against Johnson. Democrats, arguing that the Tenure of Office Act violated the system of checks and balances (by giving Congress undue power over the executive branch) lined up behind Johnson. The outcome was regulated by "the comparative strength of the parties," as the vast Republican majority in the post-Civil War Congress assured Johnson's impeachment and very nearly his conviction by the Senate. Seven senators crossed party lines to vote for Johnson's acquittal, allowing Johnson to escape removal from office by a single vote. The Supreme Court later found the Tenure of Office Act unconstitutional, a fact that further underscores the political nature of Johnson's impeachment.
- Congress impeached Bill Clinton for crimes arising from the cover-up of an extramarital affair. Clinton was accused of having lied about the affair in a deposition in a civil suit and then again before a federal grand jury. He was also accused of encouraging others to lie, thereby obstructing justice, and of using the powers of his office to impede investigations into his wrongdoings. Do Hamilton's statements apply to Clinton's impeachment? Regardless of your personal feelings about Clinton's culpability, you should be ready to acknowledge the accuracy of Hamilton's warnings as they apply to the Clinton impeachment. The congressional vote for Clinton's impeachment fell almost exclusively along party lines, fulfilling Hamilton's warning of "pre-existing factions... [enlisting] all their animosities, partialities, influence, and interest in on one side or the other." You may also point out that Congress rushed its impeachment vote to maintain the Republican party-line advantage. Midterm elections had reduced the Republican majority in the upcoming session, and Republican leaders feared that defections in the next Congress could deny them a majority for impeachment. You may also make the argument that the charges against Clinton, while embarrassing, did not rise to the level of "high crimes and misdemeanors" and were only so defined because of "the comparative strength of parties."

## The Effectiveness of the System of Checks and Balances

Simply put, Hamilton's primary concern was that factions, or parties, would taint the impeachment process by infusing it with partisan agenda. The Constitution addresses the problem of factions through the system of checks and balances, which divides power to make it difficult for a faction to gain control of the government.

The Constitution allows for impeachment as a check on the power of the president. But it also places a series of checks in the impeachment process as a protection against hasty or imprudent congressional action. Chief among these checks is the division of trial responsibilities between the two houses of Congress. The House of Representatives is empowered to bring impeachment charges (not only against the president, but also against the vice president and other civilian government officials, including federal judges). Impeachment by the House requires only a majority vote. Impeachment trials occur in the Senate, where a two-thirds majority vote is required for conviction. Thus the system works to make impeachment possible (requiring merely a simple majority vote) but conviction difficult. It also places the ultimate responsibility for determining the fate of the accused in the hands of the Senate, which the framers regarded as the more cautious and deliberative of the legislative bodies. The chief justice of the Supreme Court presides over impeachment trials. This stipulation serves several purposes. First, it prevents an obvious conflict of interest; if not for this provision, the vice president would preside over the trial as president of the Senate. Additionally, it involves a second branch of government—the judicial branch—in this important process. As a representative of a separate, ostensibly less political branch of government, the chief justice provides a check on Senate power and injects an element of impartiality into a very partisan process.

The system of checks and balances works to prevent the excesses of political factions in the impeachment process. History provides the evidence: Congress has impeached only two presidents, neither of whom was removed from office. In one other instance—that of Richard Nixon—the House would surely have impeached and the Senate may well have convicted the president, had Nixon not resigned first. The charges against Nixon, however, more clearly fit the definition of "high crimes and misdemeanors" than did the charges in either of the two presidential impeachments to reach the Senate.

## Here's How to Crack It

"The prosecution of [impeachments] will seldom fail to agitate the passions of the whole community, and to divide it into parties more or less friendly or inimical to the accused. In many cases it will connect itself with pre-existing factions, and will enlist all their animosities, partialities, influence, and interest on one side or the other, and in such cases there will always be the greatest danger that the decision will be regulated more by the comparative strength of parties, than by the real demonstrations of innocence or guilt."

-Alexander Hamilton, Federalist 65

- The House of Representatives has twice impeached sitting presidents, both of whom avoided removal from office by the Senate.
  - (a) Define impeachment and removal, and describe the process of impeachment and removal as listed in the Constitution.
  - (b) Assess the accuracy of Hamilton's observations as applied to both cases of presidential impeachment.
  - (c) Explain one strength and one weaknesses of checks and balances in dealing with Hamilton's concerns.

Correctly identify the two presidents who have been impeached. Do not write about Richard Nixon, as he resigned before the House could impeach him. Recall the basic details of both impeachment trials, being careful to apply Hamilton's quotation to your recollection. Was Hamilton correct or not? Your narratives must address this question. Then discuss the roles of the House of Representatives, Senate, and Supreme Court in the impeachment process. Answer the question: Do they provide sufficient checks and balances against the abuse of power?

## SAMPLE "EXCELLENT" ESSAY

In Federalist 65, Alexander Hamilton warned that presidential impeachments could be politically motivated. Pointing out that impeachments "will seldom fail to agitate the passions of the whole community," Hamilton observed that pre-existing factions, such as political parties, could use impeachment to advance their political goals, regardless of the validity of their charges. Hamilton's words proved prophetic, accurately foretelling the impeachments of Andrew Johnson and Bill Clinton.

Andrew Johnson was impeached for violating the Tenure of Office Act, which forbade the president to fire certain federal appointees, among them the secretary of war. Johnson ignored the law and fired the secretary of war, who was a holdover from the Lincoln Administration and a political enemy of the president. As Hamilton predicted, Johnson's impeachment "agitated the passions of the whole community" and "divided it into parties more or less friendly or inimical to the accused." Republicans, especially the radical faction of the party, lined up against Johnson, while Democrats supported him. Again, as Hamilton predicted, the outcome of the impeachment was regulated by "the comparative strength of the parties." The vast Republican majority in the post—Civil War Congress assured Johnson's impeachment and very nearly brought about his conviction by the Senate. Johnson won acquittal by a single vote.

Bill Clinton was impeached for crimes arising from the cover-up of an extramarital affair. As did Johnson, Clinton faced accusation by a Congress controlled by his political opposition. The House vote on Clinton's impeachment fell almost entirely along party lines, showing how the process could be influenced by "pre-existing factions...[enlisting] all their animosities, partialities, influence, and interest on one side or the other." Did President Clinton's actions rise to the level of "high crimes and misdemeanors"? Almost every House Republican voted "yes," and almost every House Democrat voted "no." This mirrors Hamilton's observation that such matters could be decided by "the comparative strength of parties [rather] than by real demonstrations of innocence or guilt."

Fortunately, the framers of the Constitution installed a system of checks and balances to make politically-motivated impeachment extremely difficult. In impeachment, the most important check is the division of trial responsibilities between the two houses of Congress. The House of Representatives brings impeachment charges through a majority vote. Impeachment trials occur in the Senate, where a two-thirds majority vote is required for conviction. This system makes impeachment feasible but removal difficult. The framers intentionally gave the Senate the power to remove the president from office, regarding that legislative body as the more cautious of the two. Another check on the system requires the chief justice of the Supreme Court to preside over impeachment trials. The chief justice lends an air of impartiality to the proceedings. As a non-elected official, the chief justice is uniquely situated to defend the Constitution. Unlike House and Senate members, the chief justice can do his job unaffected by the latest poll results.