AP Government Study Guide

Unit One: Constitutional Underpinnings
Fundamental Principles of Democracy

• **Direct Democracy** – citizens meet and vote directly on government decisions
• **Representative Democracy (Republic)** – citizens choose officials who make decisions on government policy
• **Magna Carta** (1215) – the first ever attempt to limit the power of the British King, guaranteed all people certain rights
• Enlightenment Philosophers – **Locke** and **Rousseau**
  o **Social Contract Theory** – principle that people enter into a social contract with the government and allow to be ruled
  o **Consent of the Governed** – principle that there are no supreme rulers, all rulers depend on the approval of the people, when governments fail to protect rights the people have the right to change the government
  o **Natural Rights** – principle that all people are born with certain rights: life, liberty, and property (Jefferson changes property into pursuit of happiness)
• **Declaration of Independence** – Thomas Jefferson’s document built on principles of “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” consent of the governed, and social contract theory. It also justified American revolution against England
• **Common Good** – Belief in doing what’s best for the nation overall
• **Popular Sovereignty** – Belief that the ultimate authority rests with the people
• **Majority Rule** – Belief that government is run based on the will of the majority

The First Government – **Articles of Confederation**

• Weak association of states (states very independent)
• No central executive power
• No federal power to tax citizens directly
• Federal government could raise an army, (but not pay for it), print money, declare war, and run the post office
• 9 out of 13 states were required to vote to pass a law
• With no strong central government supervision, states could get away with taxing and printing money, and making foreign treaties,
• **Shays’ Rebellion** – Farmer rebellion in Massachusetts 1786-1787 protesting mortgage foreclosures and terrible economy. Rebellion represented how weak the central government was, and terrified many Americans

Constitutional Debate

• Constitutional Convention meets in Philadelphia, 1787 to write new constitution
• All delegates supported **Representative Democracy (Republic)** – democracy where people elect representatives who pass laws
• Supported three branches – executive, legislative, and judicial
• Serious debate between Federalists vs. Anti-Federalists, North vs. South, Big States vs. Small States over new government
• North-South Compromises – **3/5 Compromise** counted slaves as 3/5 of a person to give the south more representatives
• **Connecticut Compromise** – *(Bicameralism)* – Established two equal bodies (House of Representatives and Senate) one based on population, one giving all states equal representation. This was a compromise between big states *(Virginia Plan)* and small states *(New Jersey Plan)* over the format of the Congress
• **Federalists** (Hamilton, Madison) supported the Constitution because it gave power to a strong central government. **Anti-federalists** opposed the constitution because they thought the national government would become tyrannical and take power away from the states
• **Federalist Papers** – articles written by Madison, Hamilton, and Jay arguing for the constitution
  o **Federalist Paper #10** – written by Madison, discusses importance of factions, factions are inevitable, but factions are best handled by a large republic.
  o **Federalist Paper #51** – written by Madison, discusses importance of checks and balances and the separation of powers in the constitution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Weaknesses in the Articles of Confederation</th>
<th>How the Constitution Fixed these Problems</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congress could not tax, it relied on contributions from states</td>
<td>National government had power to tax directly</td>
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<tr>
<td>Congress couldn’t regulate interstate trade</td>
<td><strong>Interstate Commerce Clause</strong> gives Congress interstate regulatory power</td>
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<tr>
<td>No chief executive to enforce the law</td>
<td>Article II creates president who enforces the law</td>
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<tr>
<td>No national judiciary to handle state fights</td>
<td>Article III creates <strong>Supreme Court</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Each state was given only one vote</td>
<td>Bicameral legislature represents states both by population, and equality</td>
</tr>
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The Constitution of the United States of America
• Article I – Legislative Branch
• Article II – Executive Branch
• Article III – Judicial Branch
• Article IV – Interstate relations
• Article V – Amendment process
• **Separation of Powers** – Each of the three branches has its own power and independence
  1. Legislative Branch – Passes laws
  2. Executive Branch – Executes laws
  3. Judicial Branch – Interprets laws *(this power comes from Supreme Court Case **Marbury vs. Madison**)* – set dogma of judicial review,
where the Supreme Court may rule an act of the President or Congress unconstitutional)

- **Checks and Balances** – Each branch has some power over the others, but retains independence:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legislative</th>
<th>Executive</th>
<th>Judicial</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Approves budget</td>
<td>- Can propose laws</td>
<td>- Interprets laws</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Passes laws</td>
<td>- Can veto laws</td>
<td>- Can declare executive acts and legislative laws unconstitutional</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Can override veto</td>
<td>- Can call special sessions of congress</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Can impeach president, judges</td>
<td>- Can appeal to public</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Approves appointments and treaties</td>
<td>- Appoints officials and judges</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Confirms judges and cabinet appointments</td>
<td>- Can pardon convicted felons</td>
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</table>

- **Federalism** – Separation between powers of the Federal, State, and Local governments
- **Confederacy** – System of government in which the central government is very weak, and most of the true power lies in individual states
- **Unitary System** – System of government in which the central government is extremely powerful, and individual states have few powers
- Dual Federalism, aka “Layer Cake” Federalism (1789-1932) – Belief that the state and national governments are supreme within their own sphere of influence
- Cooperative Federalism, aka “Marble Cake” Federalism – sharing powers between state and federal governments
- **Fiscal Federalism** – government’s patterns of spending, taxing, and providing grants to influence state and local governments
  - **Grants-in-aid** – money given from the federal government to the states
  - **Categorical grants** – federal grants for specific purposes (building an airport)
  - **Block grants** – broad grants from the federal government that give local/state governments a lot of freedom to spend money as they please without many strings attached. The Welfare Reform Act of 1996 began transferring more authority back to the states through block grants
  - **Revenue sharing** – federal sharing of a fixed percentage of its revenue with the states
  - **Mandates** – terms set by the federal government that states must meet if they accept federal grants
- **Devolution** – process of returning power to the states, this began during New Federalism under presidents Nixon, Reagan, and Bush
- **Federal Powers** – Express, Implied, and Inherent powers:
1. Express powers – powers listed (enumerated) in the constitution for the Federal government: go to war, raise an army, regulate interstate and foreign commerce, establish post offices

2. Implied powers – Based on necessary and proper clause (elastic clause) – gives congress flexibility to make laws necessary and proper for carrying out express powers, upheld in McCulloch v. Maryland

3. Inherent powers – powers dealing with foreign policy not in constitution, but given to federal government

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Federal Powers (Expressed, Implied, Inherent)</th>
<th>Federal and State Powers (Concurrent)</th>
<th>State Powers (Reserved)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Regulate interstate commerce</td>
<td>• Levy taxes</td>
<td>• Regulate intrastate commerce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Coin/print money</td>
<td>• Spend for general welfare</td>
<td>• Establish local governments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Provide army</td>
<td>• Enact and enforce laws</td>
<td>• Establish public schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>•Declare war</td>
<td></td>
<td>• Administer elections</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Establish federal courts</td>
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<td>• Establish licensing requirements</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Set foreign policy</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• Make all laws “necessary and proper”</td>
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</table>

• Denied Powers – Powers explicitly denied to government:
  o suspending writ of habeas corpus (being imprisoned without formal accusation)
  o passing bills of attainder: laws that declare a person to be guilty
  o ex post facto laws: “after the fact,” laws that make an act illegal after it was performed

• Concurrent Powers (shared by Federal and State governments) – power to tax and spend, establish courts, make laws

• Reserved to States (10th amendment) – any power not denied nor given to federal government is reserved for state governments (create local governments)

• Supremacy Clause – Federal law is superior to state law. This came out of the court case McCulloch vs. Maryland, in which there was debate as to whether or not the Bank of the United States had to pay Maryland state taxes. The Supreme Court ruled that because the Bank of the US was NATIONAL it did not have to follow Maryland STATE law. This ruling overturned the idea of nullification by which states could override federal law

• Interstate Commerce Clause – Gives Federal Government authority to regulate all of interstate commerce. This clause gives the federal government authority
to regulate businesses that go between state lines, and justifies many federal laws (Civil Rights Act)

• **Take Care Clause** – president must enforce ALL laws passed by congress
• **Full Faith and Credit** – states must honor laws and court rulings of other states
• **Privileges and Immunities** – requires states to extend same privileges and immunities to all citizens (even of other states)
• **Bill of Rights** – First 10 amendments to the Constitution that guarantees individual and states’ rights. This was a concession the federalists made to the anti-federalists to ensure constitution would be ratified
  - Amendment 1 – freedom of speech, assembly, petition, religion, press
  - Amendment 2 – right to bear arms
  - Amendment 4 – no unreasonable searches and seizures
  - Amendment 5 – right to a trial, no double jeopardy, individuals are not required to testify against themselves
  - Amendment 6 – right to a speedy, public, and impartial trial with lawyer
  - Amendment 8 – no excessive bails or fines, no cruel and unusual policies
  - Amendment 10 – powers not given to the federal government or denied of the states are reserved to the states (states rights)

• **How to Amend the Constitution**
  1. 2/3 of congress propose amendment, 3/4 of states ratify it
  2. State convention called by 2/3 of states propose amendments, 3/4 of states ratify (this method has only been used once, 21st amendment)

**Unit Two: Political Culture, Beliefs, and Behaviors**

• **Alexis de Tocqueville** – Frenchmen who visited America in the 1800’s and described the young democracy he saw

• **Political Culture** – a coherent way of thinking about how politics and the government ought to be carried out
  - Americans tend to support free enterprise with some limits
  - Americans tend to be committed to individual responsibility and economic individualism
  - Americans believe strongly in equality of opportunity, NOT result
  - Americans tend to be particularly patriotic and aware of their rights
  - Religion tends to play a very influential role in determining an individual’s political views

• **Political Socialization** – manner in which people develop their political views (family, friends, media, current government, education)

• **Ideologies**
  1. Liberal – large federal government involvement needed to provide for the people (welfare, new deal, great society)
  2. Socialist – belief in an extremely powerful state to protect people
  3. Conservative – belief that limited government is necessary to grow strong economy, very pro-business anti-regulation
4. Libertarianism – belief in very small government and extreme focus on individual and business rights, no regulation of industry
People may be liberals/conservatives either economically or socially.

• **Demographics** – characteristics of population on income, education, race, gender

• **Demographics trends** – changes in the way people of a certain socio-economic background vote (politicians follow these very closely)
  - Who votes? Whites vote more than blacks. Rich vote more than poor. Women vote more than men. Old vote more than young. Educated vote more than uneducated.
  - Women, blacks, Hispanics, young people, blue collar workers vote liberal. Men, wealthy whites, religious people, rural people vote conservative

• **The Census** – Every 10 years a count of the total population, different ethnic groups, religions, and how people vote

• **Redistricting** – after every census the congressional districts are redrawn based on population

• **Reapportionment** – state legislatures reapportion (resize) state congressional districts after every census

• **Gerrymandering** – The practice of redistricting in order to benefit a specific party by drawing districts based on the demo of their residents (*Baker v. Carr* and *Shaw v. Reno* were court cases in which the supreme court ruled that gerrymandering was unconstitutional)

• **Voting Behavior** – Since 1960 voting turnout has greatly decreased because of the very difficult process of voter registration. People vote because of the party of the candidate, on basis of candidate, and on basis of issues

• **Party Identification** – when people identify with a political party based on issues

• **Political Efficacy** – belief that you can participate in politics, or that government will respond (my vote counts)

• **Civic Duty** – belief that one has an obligation to participate in civic and political affairs

**Types of Elections**

• **General elections** – held every four years in which president is elected

• **Primary elections** – a political party’s elections to determine nominee for general election
  1. Open primaries – people from either party can vote (must choose to vote for either democrats or republicans)
  2. Closed primaries – people can only vote if they are a registered member of the party

• **Caucuses** – candidate nomination process in which party members meet to discuss and decide on candidate

• Many people think primary season is too long, and we should have one national primary, or a much shorter season
Changes to System of Checks and Balances

• **Referendum** – people vote on whether or not to accept a law passed by state legislature, or a proposed amendment to the state constitution

• **Initiative** – people vote on laws and constitutional amendments within state (direct democracy)

• **Recall** – voters remove elected officials

Unit Three: Political Parties, Interest Groups, and Mass Media

• Linkage Organizations – organizations that link the people with government

Political Parties

• Congressional elections use winner-take-all systems in which the winner of a plurality wins (**single-member district**)  
  
• Because of the winner-take-all system, we have a **two party system**

• **Third parties** – represent specific ideological positions, sometimes can serve as “spoilers” but rarely make much of an impact

• Parties help organize the government, organize election process, fundraise, hold **national convention** and form party platform, educate voters, and get out the vote

• Before primary system, party leaders actually chose the candidates

• Parties are expected to be “loyal opposition” when other party is in power

• Typically we have **Divided Government** – one party controls white house, other controls congress

• Parties have a national leadership, but local chapters have a lot of power

• **Realignment** – major change in the core members/beliefs of a political party- either one major party is replaced by another, or the two major parties completely change viewpoints

• **Dealignment** – when people abandon parties and become independents

• **Party activists** promote certain policies, candidates, and ideologies

Elections

• Presidents are elected by the **electoral college**

• The US public does not vote directly for the president, instead they vote in statewide elections for electors. These electors then vote directly for the president and vice president

• States have electoral votes equal to number of senators + number of representatives

• If candidate wins the plurality of popular vote in state he gets all the electoral votes (two exceptions – Maine, Nebraska)

• Majority of total electoral votes is needed to become president, if no candidate has a majority, the house votes

• It is possible to win popular vote but lose electoral vote (Gore)

• Many people suggest using a popular vote to decide president, or using the proportional system used by Maine and Nebraska

• In senate elections, total state votes for 2 senators
• In house elections, each district has a single representative, and the candidate with a plurality wins a two party system (its harder for 3rd parties to get represented)

• Throughout American history there have been many changes to who can vote:
  o Elimination of race requirement (15th amendment)
  o Direct election of senators (17th amendment)
  o Women allowed to vote (19th amendment)
  o Elimination of laws that discriminated against blacks from various civil rights acts like the voting rights act (grandfather clause, literacy tests, white primaries)
  o Allowing DC residents to vote (23rd amendment)
  o Elimination of poll tax (24th amendment)
  o Lowering voting age to 18 (26th amendment)

Influencing Elections
• Interest Group – a collection of people who share a common interest or attitude, and seek to influence government. These groups use fundraising and lobbying to influence the political process. Interest groups can be unions, government groups, businesses, think-tanks, or ideological groups

• Political Action Committees (PACs) – form financial branch of interest groups (donate to candidates)

• Iron triangle – close relationship between interest groups, congress, and agencies

• Revolving door – government officials often retire and move on to work as lobbyists for interest groups

• Lobbying – activities aimed at influencing public officials (legislators) and trying to promote or defeat certain legislation. Lobbying often comes in the form of supplying data to government officials to convince them to vote a certain way

• Interest groups often appeal to public opinion by issuing television and radio ads, or sending out newsletters

The Media
• The Media is referred to as the 4th estate (branch) of government because of its huge impact

• Media is a business, driven by profit, so media is often bias

• Media Bias – the media has a tendency to spin the news towards a certain political ideology

• Selective perception – people hear what they want to hear

• Selective exposure – people avoid listening to media with other viewpoints

• Horserace Journalism – Journalists cover elections like a horserace, focusing almost exclusively on the candidate who is doing well at that particular moment

Campaign Finance Reform (As of the Citizens United vs. FEC case none of the following information is accurate, but this is the information you are responsible to know for the AP exam)
• Originally individuals could donate infinite sums of money to candidates (bribing them)
• Candidates could spend infinite amounts of hard money
• Federal Election Campaign Act
  1. Set limits on individual contributions to candidates
  2. Limited how much money is spent by candidates (later ruled unconstitutional in Buckley v. Valeo)
  3. Individuals must disclose contributions
  4. Set up option to use public financing of presidential funds
• Interest groups and individuals got around FECA by donating to parties (soft money)
• McCain-Feingold Act
  1. Limited soft money
  2. Still allowed PACs and interest groups to spend infinite amounts of money on issue advocacy
• Political Action Committees (PACs) – Financial branch of an interest group (the part of the business that donates money)
• 527 Groups – Tax exempt organization created to influence the nomination/election of a candidate
• Currently, groups are free to spend infinite amounts of money on issue advocacy, as long as they do not say the name of a specific candidate

Proposed Campaign Financing Reforms
• Public Financing
• Limit expenditures
• Free TV ads
• Shorten Campaign Season

Unit Four: Institutions: Presidency and Congress

Congress
• Congress has two bodies, the House and the Senate, in order for a bill to pass it must be passed by both houses
• After a congressman proposes a bill, the Speaker (in the house) or the Majority leader (Senate) gives that bill to a committee, which gives it to a subcommittee
• Congress holds hearings to oversee the executive
• Incumbents have great chances of winning reelection
• Has power to create executive agencies (for example the clean air and water act established the EPA)
• Authorizes and appropriates money for the executive
• Approves the budget

How they Vote
• Sometimes politicians “trade” votes, a process known as logrolling
• Politicians like to add on extra, unrelated programs to bills that will benefit their constituents, these additions are known as pork barrel spending

The House of Representatives
• The house is regarded as the “lower house”
• States are given representatives based on population
• Impeaches members of executive, judicial
• **Representatives serve two year terms**
• Each rep. represents a certain congressional district
• The House has a **Rules Committee** – determines whether bills have closed rule (no amendments, time limit on debate) or open rule (open to relevant, germane amendments, no time limit)
• The Leader of the House is the Speaker of the House who assigns people to a committee that assigns people to committees, directs floor debate, and gives bills to appropriate committee

**Senate**
• Senate is considered the “upper house” – older and wiser
• Each state has two senators (equal representation)
• Tries impeached members of executive, judicial
• **Senators serve six year terms**
• The senate has the responsibility of confirming presidential appointments and nominees, ratifying treaties, and confirming the budget
• There is no rules committee, debate is always unlimited
• Because debate is unlimited, the minority party can **filibuster** – kill a bill by continuing to talk
• To end debate and a filibuster, **cloture** (a vote by 3/5 of the senate) is required
• Senate can also add **riders** (irrelevant amendments) to bills

**Committees**
• Most work is done in committees (especially in house)
• Most bills DIE in committee

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Committee Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>House Examples</th>
<th>Senate Examples</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Standing Committee</strong></td>
<td>Permanent panel with full legislative functions and oversight responsibilities. The members become experts</td>
<td>Appropriations – sets specific expenditure for the federal government</td>
<td>Armed Services – oversees military and Defense</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Rules – determines under what rules bill comes to floor</td>
<td>Foreign Relations – provides foreign policy leadership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subcommittee</strong></td>
<td>Formed to tackle specific tasks within standing committee</td>
<td>Livestock, Dairy, and Poultry (subcommittee of agriculture)</td>
<td>Health Care Subcommittee (subcommittee of finance committee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Select or Special Committee</strong></td>
<td>Temporary groups with limited purposes (investigation)</td>
<td>House Watergate Committee</td>
<td>Select committee on Ethics</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Joint Committee
Includes members of both houses to perform housekeeping tasks of studies
Joint Economic Committee
Joint Economic Committee

Conference Committee
Special type of joint committee that reconciles senate and house versions of a bill
Conference committees formed as needed
Conference committees formed as needed

**President**
- Requirements for office
  1. Natural born citizen
  2. At least 35 years old
  3. Resident of America for at least 14 years
- Powers as Commander in Chief (civilian power over military)
  1. Head of Army and Navy
  2. Head of National Guard
- Powers as Chief Executive of Government
  1. “Faithfully execute” the laws
  2. require opinions of heads of agencies
  3. grant pardons except in cases of impeachment
  4. nominate judges to federal courts and nominate cabinet (confirmed by senate)
  5. call for special session of congress
- Powers in Foreign Affairs
  1. appoint ambassadors
  2. make treaties (to be confirmed by senate)
  3. send troops anywhere in the world if Congress authorizes it or during national emergency (War Powers Act) The president has 48 hours to justify in writing to congress why troops were sent, and 60 days before he must withdraw troops (unless congress extends time)
- Legislative Powers
  1. Give State of the Union address to Congress to push his agenda
  2. recommend and suggest bills for congress
  3. call special sessions of congress
  4. veto bill (can be overturned by 2/3 of congress)
  5. pocket veto – not signing a bill within 10 days and having Congress adjourn
- Cabinet – president picks (senate confirms) the heads of the 15 most important agencies, these agencies help execute the law
  1. Department of Defense, Department of State, Department of Treasury...
2. **Office of Management and Budget** – writes budget (must be confirmed by the senate)

- **Council of economic advisers** – part of executive office, help advise the president on economic issues
- **Informal Powers of the President**
  1. **Executive orders** – orders written by president or agency that have the weight of law. There are several ways to undo executive orders: president can rescind it, next president can rescind it, the supreme court can rule it unconstitutional
  2. **Executive privilege** – right of president to keep certain documents private if pertaining to national security (in *USA vs. Nixon* the supreme court ruled that executive privilege is NOT unlimited)
  3. **Agenda Setting** – president sets out the legislation he wants passed (he uses his bully pulpit)
  4. **Impoundment** – ability to refuse to spend money appropriated by congress (this was ruled unconstitutional)

**Unit Five: The Bureaucracy**

- Bureaucracy – administrative system that divides work into specific departments carried out by non-elected officials
- The bureaucracy remains politically neutral through the **Hatch Act**, which bats bureaucrats from running for public office, making political speeches, or soliciting campaign funds from subordinates
- The bureaucracy has grown tremendously over the past 100 years, taking on more and more responsibilities
- Currently it employs 4 million people, 2.8 are civil servants, the rest are military
- Many other people are indirectly employed by the federal government
- The biggest department is the Department of Defense
- Over time, the bureaucracy has increased its **discretionary authority** – its power to choose course of action and make policies not explicitly spelled out by laws
- Many federal officials belong to the **competitive civil service** – government offices to which people are appointed on the basis of merit (by taking an exam); this ended the “spoils system” where government jobs were given in exchange for political support; managed by the **Office of Personnel Management (OPM)**
- It is very difficult to fire a bureaucrat
- At the higher levels there are more whites than African Americans, and there are more men than women
- Often many departments are responsible for similar tasks, there are many procedures bureaucrats must go through to do anything
- **Red Tape** – complex rules and procedures that must be followed to get stuff done
- Many people are critical of the large amounts of waste (pork) in the bureaucracy
- **Iron Triangle**: informal alliances that work together to formulate and implement policy in their area of interest; they are made up of:
1) particular industry and its lobbyists
2) the congressional committee dealing with that industry
3) the agency that is actually affected

- **Alliance (or issue) network:** coalitions of interest groups, members of Congress, and bureaucrats form a close working relationship (more complicated than a simple iron triangle)

- **Deregulation:** removing government restrictions and regulations; deregulation has occurred recently in the telecommunications and transportation industries

- The bureaucracy has 3 main roles:
  1. **Implementation** – carry out laws, executive orders (homeland security enforces airport security laws)
  2. **Administration** – routine administrative work (social security administration sends out social security checks, postal service delivers mail)
  3. **Regulation** – issue rules and regulations that impact the public (EPA sets out standards for clean air and water)

### The Structure of the Bureaucracy

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<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cabinet Departments</td>
<td>Comprised of the 15 main departments. Headed up by secretaries, secretaries are appointed by president, confirmed by senate. Each has its own budget</td>
<td>Department of Defense Department of Treasury Department of State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Executive Agencies</td>
<td>Perform services on behalf of government. These are established by Congress outside of the Executive Branch</td>
<td>Social Security Administration Central Intelligence Agency Environmental Protection Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Regulatory Commissions</td>
<td>Regulate economic activities, operate independently. Once appointed, leaders cannot be removed without cause. Leaders serve fixed terms <strong>Quasi-Legislative Agencies:</strong> independent agencies responsible for filling in jurisdiction gaps and writing rules <strong>Quasi-Judicial Agencies:</strong> responsible for rule enforcement and punishing violators</td>
<td>Federal Reserve Board Federal Communications Commission (FCC) Federal Trade Commission (FTC) Interstate Commerce Commission (phased out) Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>Businesses established by</td>
<td>US Postal Service</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Corporations serve a public need, intended to be profitable. Amtrak Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

Oversight

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presidential Oversight</th>
<th>Congressional Oversight</th>
<th>Judicial Oversight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The president controls the agencies’ budget access. President appoints heads to departments and can issue executive orders</td>
<td>Congress can create/abolish agencies. Senate confirms all presidential appointees to the bureaucracy. Congress must authorize agencies to spend money. Congress must also appropriate (fund) all government agencies and programs. In some cases congress may use committee clearance – the ability of a committee to review and approve decisions of agencies. Congress may hold committee hearings to hold agencies responsible, congress may also launch investigations of the bureaucracy. Congress can punish agencies by cutting their funding.</td>
<td>Federal Courts can use their power of judicial review to determine whether an act taken by a department was unconstitutional</td>
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</tbody>
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The Judicial Branch and Civil Liberties

- The judicial branch was never expected to grow as powerful as other branches
- 1787-1865 – Court asserts federal supremacy
- 1865-1937 – Court puts restrictions on government
- 1937-2010 – Court deals primarily with individual freedoms
- **Criminal Law** – type of law dealing with crimes and their punishments
  - Protects interests of state (state vs. individual)
  - Between prosecutor (government) and defendant
  - Defendant must be guilty “beyond reasonable doubt” to be convicted
  - Conviction results in removal of “life, liberty, or property”
- **Civil Law** – type of law dealing with the rights and relationships of citizens
  - Protects interests of individual (individual vs. individual)
  - Between plaintiff and defendant
  - A preponderance of evidence (above 50%) is necessary
  - If convicted, there are monetary penalties
- Based on principle of **judicial review** – allows judges to interpret the Constitution and deem something unconstitutional
- **Stare Decisis** – the rule of precedent, whereby a rule or law contained in a judicial decision is viewed as binding on judges whenever the same question is raised “let the decision stand”
• **Strict-constructionist approach** – the view that judges should decide cases strictly on the basis of the language of the laws and the constitution
• **Judicial Restraint** – principle that courts will not overturn previous decisions
• **Activist approach** – the view that judges should discern the general principles underlying the constitution, and apply them to modern circumstances. These justices typically try to overturn precedent

**Structure of the Federal Courts**
- Each state has at least one district court
- 94 district courts in the 50 states, the District of Columbia and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.
- District judges are bound by the precedents of higher courts
- Federal judges are appointed by the president, and confirmed by the senate
- If for whatever reason the supreme court is tied, then the precedent set forth by the previous court is maintained WITHIN THAT DISTRICT
- **District Courts** – the lowest federal courts, where federal trials usually go first, use jury
- **Courts of Appeals (circuit courts)** – Federal courts that hear appeals from district courts, no juries, decisions made by panels of appointed judges. To get here someone must claim that their constitutional rights have been violated
- **Supreme Court** – Hears appeals of appeal court rulings (somebody appeals the decision of the circuit court). 4 of 9 justices must agree to hear case (**writ of certiorari**). Supreme Court has original jurisdiction in cases between states or with foreign ambassadors

![Diagram of the Federal Court System]

**Appointing Judges**
1. The president’s staff presents him with possible nominees (typically other judges), FBI does background check, president looks at previous record of the individuals, conducts litmus test (determines political views), uses senatorial courtesy (uses preferences of senators from the district where the judge will serve) and finally selects nominee

2. The Senate Judiciary committee members and staff review candidates, interest groups campaign for/against nominees, senate judiciary committee holds hearing, asking nominee questions, finally votes up/down on whether to send recommendation to the full senate

3. The full senate has open floor debate on nominee, votes on confirmation

4. If confirmed, the judge is given an oath of office by the Chief Justice
   - Because judges serve life terms, there is no political pressure on them to rule a certain way, and they are allowed to act independently

The Court
- To apply for writ of certiorari costs $300. A cheaper means is to use in forma pauperis – in which poor people have their cases heard in federal court for free
- Sovereign Immunity – rule that citizens cannot sue the government without the government’s consent
- Class-action Suit – a case brought by someone to help him or her and all others who are similarly situated
- Brief – a written statement by an attorney that summarizes a case and the laws and rulings that support it
- Amicus Curiae – brief submitted by a third party “friend of the court” (typically an interest group)
- Opinion of the Court – a signed opinion by the majority that decided the ruling in a case
- Concurring Opinion – a signed opinion that agrees with majority for other reasons
- Dissenting Opinion – a signed opinion from the justices on the losing side

Civil Liberties
- Civil Liberties – freedoms protected against government restraint, secured by 1st, 14th, and 15th amendments
- Due Process Clause – denies government the right to deny people of life, liberty, or property without due process of law (trial)
- Selective Incorporation – the process by which individual liberties originally only applied to the federal government are applied to the states (through the due process clause of the 14th amendment)
- Equal Protection of the Law – a standard of equal treatment for all Americans
- Freedom of Expression – right of people to speak, punish, assemble, and petition
- Non-protected Speech – libel, obscenity, fighting words, and commercial speech do not receive first amendment protection
• **Freedom of Religion** – people shall be free to exercise their own religion (**free exercise clause**) and government cannot establish an official religion (**establishment clause**)

• **Exclusionary Rule** – evidence that is obtained through illegal means cannot be used. This means that police can only conduct searches if they have search warrants and there is probable cause (**4th amendment**)

• No self-incrimination, right to a trial (**5th amendment**)

**Notable Cases** (highlighted cases especially important)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marbury v. Madison</td>
<td>Established Judicial Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>McCulloch v. Maryland</strong></td>
<td>Established federal supremacy over states</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibbons v. Ogden</td>
<td>Commerce Clause gives congress broad regulatory power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dred Scott v. Sanford</td>
<td>Slaves are property, not citizens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plessy v. Ferguson</strong></td>
<td>“Separate but equal” is ok, allows for segregation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schenk v. USA</td>
<td>Government can limit speech – “clear and present danger test”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gitlow v. New York</td>
<td>Limits on speech if it threatens government (anarchy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korematsu v. USA</td>
<td>Government can detain citizens in emergencies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Brown v. Board of Ed</strong></td>
<td>Overturned Plessy, rules segregation is unconstitutional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mapp v. Ohio</td>
<td>Search warrants needed, otherwise evidence is thrown out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baker v. Carr</td>
<td>Apportionment of districts must be as fair as possible “one man, one vote”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engel v. Vitale</td>
<td>No school-led daily player allowed in public schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gideon v. Wainwright</strong></td>
<td>States must provide attorneys to defendants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Griswold v. Connecticut</td>
<td>Information about birth control is protected under <strong>right to privacy</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miranda v. Arizona</td>
<td>Police must inform suspects of their rights (Miranda rights)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terry v. Ohio</td>
<td>Police can search and seize with probable cause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lemon v. Kurtzman</strong></td>
<td>Some government aid to church schools is allowed as long as its fair to schools of all faiths. (Lemon test) The lemon test is the standard set by the Supreme Court to measure the constitutionality of state laws in regard to freedom of religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NY Times v. USA (aka Pentagon Papers)</td>
<td>President cannot withhold pentagon papers from the press (no unlimited right to executive privilege)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miller v. California</td>
<td>Obscenity is not protected under freedom of speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Roe v. Wade</strong></td>
<td>First trimester abortions are ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US v. Nixon</td>
<td>Executive privilege is not unlimited</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case</td>
<td>Decision</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Gregg v. Georgia</td>
<td>Death penalty is ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buckley v. Valeo</td>
<td>Campaign money limits, independent expenditures ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas v. Johnson</td>
<td>Flag burning is ok, freedom of expression <em>(symbolic speech)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allegany v. ACLU</td>
<td>Courts cannot prominently display religious symbols</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loving v. Virginia</td>
<td>Bi-racial marriage is ok</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Economic Policy**
- Governments work to avoid **deficits** (spending more than we make) and **debt** (the sum of all the deficits)
- **Opportunity Cost** – Most highly valued alternative given up or forgone when choice is made (making trade-offs)
- **Supply** – amounts of product producers are willing to sell
  - **Law of Supply** – as price increases, the quantity suppliers are willing to supply increases
- **Demand** – Various amounts of a product or service consumers are willing and able to buy at a price
  - **Law of Demand** – As price falls, the quantity demanded rises
- Maintaining good levels of supply and demand is critical for stable prices

**Monetary Policy**
- **Monetary Policy** – Actions the **Federal Reserve** takes to control the economy by promoting growth and contractions, and to control the money supply
- **Inflation** – there is too much currency in circulation, so the value of money falls
- The Federal Reserve is allowed independence in setting monetary policy because this removes politics from economic policy, and allows the Fed to rely on experts and not politicians
- The Federal Reserve tries to keep the economy stable, it has three tools:
  1. **Reserve Requirement** – the amount of money the Fed requires banks to keep in reserve. To slow growth, the fed raises the reserve requirement, to increase growth, the fed decreases the reserve requirement
  2. **The Discount Rate** – interest rate the fed charges on banks when they borrow money. To slow growth, the fed raises discount rate, to increase growth, the fed lowers the discount rate
  3. **Government Bonds** – bonds are investments in which an investor loans money to the government for a certain amount of time at a certain interest rate. To slow growth, the fed sells bonds (takes money out of economy). To increase growth, the fed buy bonds (injects money into the economy)

**Fiscal Policy**
- **Fiscal Policy** – What the president and congress do to control economy via taxing and spending
• **Budget** – the president’s formal estimate of how much every government agency and program will cost. Congress has to confirm this budget, and then find ways to pay for all these expenditures
• **Progressive Taxation** – a tax system that forces people with higher incomes to pay a larger fraction of their income than do people with lower incomes
• **Flat Taxation** – a tax system that charges a flat payment of taxes from people of all different income levels
• **Regressive Taxation** – a tax system in which people with lower incomes pay a higher fraction of their incomes than do people with higher incomes
• **Taxes** – income government gets from people
  ▪ Raising taxes âslows economic growth
  ▪ Cutting taxes âspeeds up economic growth
• **Spending** – money spent by government on goods and services
  ▪ Decreased government spending âslows economic growth
  ▪ Increased government spending âspeeds up economic growth
• **Regulatory Policy** – the manner in which government regulates the economy to provide for the greater good
  ▪ More regulation âslows economic growth
  ▪ Less regulation âspeeds up economic growth

**Economic Theories**
- **Keynesianism** – Belief that government must manage the economy by spending more money during recessions and cutting spending when there is inflation
- **Monetarism** – The belief that inflation occurs when government prints too much money, and that government should leave the economy to the free market
- **Planning** – The belief that total government control over the economy such as wage and price controls or direction of investment can improve the economy
- **Supply-Side Economics** – Belief that lower taxes and fewer regulations stimulate economic growth
- **Reaganomics** – Reagan’s economic policies that combined monetarism, supply-side economics, and lower spending (except on the military) to stimulate the economy

**Social Welfare**
- Capitalism is inevitably a class-based society with inequities between classes
- Social policy aims at helping poorest members of society
- Liberals tend to blame society and favor government intervention, conservatives tend to blame individuals and favor private sector solutions
- Welfare programs are funded by taxes

**Types of Welfare**
- **Majoritarian Politics** – Universal welfare programs in which everyone pays and everyone benefits (Social Security, Medicare)
- **Client Politics** – Means tested programs in which everyone pays yet only a few benefit (Food Stamps, Medicaid)
  - **Service Strategy** – policies that provide poor people with education and job training to lift them out of poverty
  - **Income Strategy** – policies that give poor people money to lift them out of poverty
  - **Earned Income Tax Credit** – provision of 1975 law that entitles working families with children to receive money from government if their income is below a certain level

**Welfare in USA**

1. **State Sponsored Era 1789-1932**
   - During this period most of the welfare in the nation came from the state governments, federal government didn’t play any role in it. States passed laws dealing with social problems (child labor, public schools, unemployment benefits, mandated pensions)

2. **Federal Era 1932-1980**
   - During this period the federal government took more responsibility for the poor. This began because of the crisis following the Great Depression. FDR in the New Deal established Social Security. LBJ in the Great Society established Medicare, Food Stamps, and Medicaid

3. **Safety Net Era 1980s**
   - This period was during the Reagan Administration. Reagan believed that welfare spending was too much and had created a dependency on the state. He decreased spending on Medicare and reduced welfare to be a “safety net”

4. **Block Grant Era 1995-2010**
   - Congressional republicans pass laws returning responsibility to the states. Block grants to the states have very few requirements. For instance the Welfare Reform Act of 1966 replaced aid programs with voucher programs (the Aid to Families with Dependent Children “AFDC” program was replaced by a voucher program – Temporary Assistance for Needy Families “TANF”).

**Medicare and Social Security**
- Medicare and Social Security are the two most famous Majoritarian programs.
- **Social Security** – a program that began in 1935 that taxed individuals to provide funds that were used to support the poor, elderly, and unemployed.
- **Medicare** – an insurance program begun under LBJ in 1964 that paid for the medical expenses of senior citizens
- Both of these programs are failing economically and will soon be bankrupt

**Welfare Reform**
- There are several proposals to reform the welfare system
• The retirement of the baby boom generation and the aging of the American population will lead to the bankruptcy of these programs
• Because Social Security will soon be bankrupt, proposed reforms are:
  1. Raising the retirement age
  2. Increasing taxes
  3. Decrease retirement benefits
  4. Privatizing social security by requiring citizens to invest their social security taxes in the stock market
• Medicare’s problems include:
  1. Because it is free, hospital visits by seniors are very common
  2. Many elderly get treatment that isn’t necessary
  3. Doctors and hospitals are paid with contracts that could change whenever
• Medicare’s problems need to be addressed soon, or the costs will be tremendous

Foreign and Defense Policy

US Government Interests
• National Security
• Strategic importance of the area
• Strength of the economy
• Availability of resources
• Previous agreements with nations
• Ideology

Reaction of People
• Concerns from political parties and interest groups
• Public opinion
• Strength of the national economy

Factors Relating to Other Countries
• Assets belonging to the other country
• Alliances with other nations
• Probable response to the policy
• History/culture of the country

Actions to be Taken

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive Actions</th>
<th>Negative Actions (conflict)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Make statements of praise/support</td>
<td>Statements of condemnation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exchange key info</td>
<td>Cut diplomatic ties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hold summit meeting</td>
<td>Limit travel/visas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loosen immigration policy</td>
<td>Raise tariffs, impose sanctions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Send peace corps</td>
<td>Issue threats</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
<pre><code>                                                             | Demand debt payments                            |
</code></pre>
The President and Foreign Policy
• The President is considered the leader in developing foreign policy
• President is the commander and chief, and has the power to negotiate treaties and executive agreements, appoint ambassadors, and set the nation’s tone on foreign policy issues
• National Security Council – chaired by the president, includes vice president, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, Joint Chiefs of Staff, head of CIA, Attorney General. It is designed to present various perspectives, facilitate presidential decision making discussions, and implement presidential decisions

Congress and Foreign Policy
• Congress’s most powerful tool is its power of the purse, Congress is responsible for authorizing and appropriating the funds needed for foreign policy missions
• War Powers Act of 1973 – All commitments of troops in hostile situations must be reported within 48 hours. Troops may only be deployed for 60 days without a formal congressional declaration of war or statutory authorization
• In reality the War Powers Act is relatively weak, because Congressmen are typically very unwilling to end an operation after troops have been deployed

Four Worldviews
• Isolationism – opposes involvement in wars/conflicts, believes American should withdraw from world affairs
• Containment (antiappeasement) - belief that the US should resist the expansion of aggressive nations (especially the Soviet Union)
• Disengagement – belief that America was harmed by the Vietnam War and should avoid similar events
• Human Rights – view that America should intervene to improve the lives of people in other countries

Previous AP Essay Questions and Response Guidelines

On the AP NSL exam you will be given 100 minutes to answer 4 essay questions, here are some of the previous essays. There should be enough information in the study guide to answer all of these questions, if not please contact me or look for more information at this website:
When answering AP free responses it is important to remember that your grader is NOT Mrs. Starin, and does NOT care about the quality of your writing. JUST HIT THE MAIN POINTS. You earn points based on whatever you write that is correct, so please, don’t be fancy – just answer the question as briefly as possible. This is NSL, not English.

It is also important to note that it is unlikely to have an essay on a topic covered in the 2010 exam. Therefore it is wise to go through this website to see what essay topics are likely to be asked. (Even though the final question included below seems to violate this principle, it is included because it is a good example of a question that demands graph comprehension as well as a sound knowledge base).

2008, Question One:
Congressional reapportionment and redistricting are conducted every ten years. When redistricting is conducted, politicians often engage in gerrymandering.

(a) Define congressional reapportionment and explain one reason why it is important to states.
(b) Define congressional redistricting.
(c) Explain two goals of politicians when they gerrymander during redistricting.
(d) Describe two limits that the United States Supreme Court has placed on congressional redistricting.

Answers:
(a) Reapportionment – The reallocation of the number of representatives each state has in the House of Representatives. It is important because:
• Reapportionment increases or decreases the number of seats a state has in the House/Congress (not the Senate)
• More representatives mean that a state has more influence
• Reapportionment increases or decreases a state’s number of electoral votes

(b) Redistricting – the drawing/redrawing of House (not Senate) district lines
(c) Goals may include:
• To enhance political strength of a party
• To protect incumbents/weaken challengers
• To increase minority representation or decrease minority representation
• To reward political allies
(d) Limits may include:
• A discussion of Supreme Court cases: Baker v. Carr and Shaw v. Reno.
• Districts must be equally populated, and may not weaken minorities

2008, Question Three:
Fiscal policy and monetary policy are two tools used by the federal government to influence the United States economy. The executive and legislative branches share the responsibility of setting fiscal policy. The Federal Reserve Board has the primary role of setting monetary policy.

(a) Define fiscal policy.
(b) Describe one significant way the executive branch influences fiscal policy.
(c) Describe one significant way the legislative branch influences fiscal policy.
(d) Define monetary policy.
(e) Explain two reasons why the Federal Reserve Board is given independence in establishing monetary policy.

A full explanation of correct answers can be found on pages 17-18

2007, Question One:
A significant feature of the Electoral College is that most states have a winner-take-all system.

(a) Describe the winner-take-all feature of the Electoral College
(b) Explain one way in which the winner-take-all system affects how presidential candidates from the two main political parties run their campaigns
(c) Explain one way in which the winner-take-all feature of the Electoral College hinders third party candidates
(d) Explain two reasons why the Electoral College has not been abolished

Answers:
   a) The candidate who gets the most votes (a plurality) wins all the electoral votes from that state
   b) Candidates focus more on swing states, spend more money for ads in swing states, choose running mates who are popular in swing states, and focus on issues that are important in swing states
   c) Third-party candidates may get many individual votes, but unless they win the entire state they will get no electoral votes
   d) It helps to ensure that a candidate will win a majority of the electoral votes, it would require a constitutional amendment to change it, there is no clear consensus for an alternative, it favors the two party system, and small states support the electoral college system because it gives them more representation

2007, Question Three:
Conflicts between congress and the president over war powers have their origin in the United States constitution. In 1973 congress passed the War Powers Resolution in an attempt to clarify the balance of powers between the two branches of government
(a) Describe the primary constitutional conflict between Congress and the President over the decision to go to war

(b) Describe two provisions of the War Powers Resolution that were designed to limit the president’s power over war making

(c) The War Powers Resolution has received mixed reviews, but Congress has other powers over war making. Other than the constitutional power that you described in (a), identify and explain two other formal powers Congress has over war making

Answers:

a) The president is the commander and chief, but the congress has the power to declare war

b) The president must notify congress 48 hours after sending troops and conflicts are limited to 60 days without a congressional declaration of war or a statutory authorization for continued action

c) Congress has the power to authorize/appropriate any funds needed by the military, congress has the power to ratify treaties, congress can hold investigative hearings, and congress has the power to confirm presidential nominees

2007, Question Four:

(a) Define federalism

(b) Select two of the following and explain how each has been used to increase the power of the federal government relative to the states

- Categorical Grants
- Federal Mandates
- Selective Incorporation

(c) Select two of the following and explain how each has been used to increase the power of the states relative to the federal government

- Welfare Reform Act of 1996
- Block Grants
- 10th Amendment

Answers:

a) Federalism – a constitutional division of powers between the federal and state levels

b) Categorical grants are designed for specific purposes, and are watched over closely by the federal government. Federal mandates instruct states to implement certain policies. Selective incorporation allows federal courts to overturn state and local practices

c) The Welfare Reform Act returned power and resources to the states to run their own welfare programs. Block grants are given to states with few strings attached, so states have a great deal of freedom in deciding how to use the
money. The tenth amendment reserves power to the states and the people. It is used to argue for a return of power to the state governments.

2010, Question Three:

Over the last several decades, the composition of the Democratic and Republican parties has changed in important ways. A major partisan shift has occurred in the South, but other demographic changes have also been identified. Changes in party composition are reflected at different rates in presidential elections than in congressional elections.

(a) Identify one specific trend evident in the figure above.
(b) Choose two of the following and use each to explain why southern voters from 1948 to 2000 were electing Democratic candidates to Congress more frequently than choosing Democratic candidates for the presidency.
   • Incumbency advantage
   • Gerrymandering
   • Differences between state and national parties
(c) Several other changes in party composition have emerged in the past few decades. Select three of the following groups and for each explain how parties have changed in composition with respect to that group.
   • Catholics
   • Labor union members
   • Women
   • Social conservatives

Answers:
   a) This question requires only basic graph reading abilities:
      • Percentage of House seats for Democrats has trended down
      • Percentage of presidential electoral votes for Democrats has trended down
b) The easier two topics would probably be incumbency advantage and gerrymandering, but all three are included below:

- **Incumbency advantage** — Although Southern voters were voting for Republican presidential candidates, they continued to vote for incumbent Democratic congressional candidates because of the incumbency advantage.
- **Gerrymandering** — District lines created safe seats/majority–minority districts, which protected Democratic seats even though there were more Republican voters in statewide presidential elections.
- **State versus national parties** — Because national and state parties were largely independent of each other, to get votes Democratic congressional candidates responded to local interests, whereas Democratic presidential candidates responded to a national constituency.

c) Be brief with these answers, the question does not ask for “why”

- **Catholics** — They have become less reliable Democratic voters.
- **Labor union members** — They have become less reliable Democratic voters; have decreased in number and thus there are fewer Democratic supporters; have become a smaller percentage of the Democratic voting bloc.
- **Women** — They have become more reliable Democratic voters; have increased in number and thus there are more Democratic supporters; have become a larger percentage of the Democratic voting bloc.
- **Social conservatives** — They were previously nonexistent and have now crystallized to become more reliable Republican voters; previously found in the Democratic party and have moved to the Republican party.