

### GUIDE TO THE THIRD TEST AND THE FINAL EXAM

**THIRD TEST:** Remember that the Third Test has been rescheduled for the second-to-last day of class **Friday, December 10**. It will be in the same multiple-choice format as the two previous tests, and it will cover the material covered in class since the second test. Thus the test will cover from Topic #24 (Congress as a Representative and Legislative Assembly) through as far as we get by the end of class on Wednesday, December 8. Hopefully this will include everything in Topics #38-41, for which you have already received a Study Guide. The Third Test and the Final Exam will *not* cover Topics #30-34, which we do not have time to cover in class

The *Student Course Evaluation Questionnaire (SCEQ)* will be distributed with the test, and you will be asked to fill out the questionnaire only if you have adequate time after completing the test. Because most students finished the previous tests early, and because the third test will be somewhat shorter than the previous ones (about 35 questions), I believe that almost all students will have time to finish the test comfortably and also fill out the questionnaire. But if you are pressed for time, clearly you should give priority to completing the test as well as you can.

As before, test grades will be posted (for those students who request this) by campus ID number on the course web page once they are ready (probably sometime on the evening of Thursday, May 13). The posting will show your grade on the third test, and also your three-test average.

On the last day of class (Monday, December 13), I will go over the questions on both the Second and Third Tests and answer any more general review questions. No new material will be introduced. You may attend either or both (10 and 11 o'clock) session.

**COMBINED FINAL EXAM: Wednesday, December 15, 10:30-12:30, in PUP 105 (not our regular classroom but the Lecture Hall downstairs).** Remember to check with me if this time presents you with a conflict; I can be flexible in arranging alternate exam times on an individual basis.

**Final Grades.** For those students who request it (by checking a box on the Final Exam), I will post grades for (i) the second writing assignment (which will not be returned prior to the end of the semester), (ii) the final exam, and (iii) the course as a whole on the course web page once they are ready. You can also come by my office in January or during the Spring semester to collect your second writing assignment and final exam booklet, if you wish to get them back.

Remember that the earlier tests and quizzes will not affect your course grade at all if you do better on the final exam. Therefore, if you are disappointed with your grade thus far, *please bear in mind that you can help yourself enormously by doing well on the final exam*. However, it has been my experience in the past that some students do not take the final exam seriously enough and thereby hurt rather than help themselves. In particular, some students do not appear to prepare for the exam adequately or simply do not use all the time they have available at the exam to write complete answers. Remember also that *if you fail the Final Exam, you cannot get a grade of higher than D in the course* (regardless of your test and writing assignment grades).

The final exam will be a two-hour *written* (“blue book”) exam. It will be *comprehensive* (or “cumulative”) in nature, covering both readings and class lectures and discussion from the entire semester. In both respects, therefore, the final exam differs from the midterm tests.

The final exam will not ask you to write essays (as more advanced political science exams typically do). You will write on *twenty-four items* for *five minutes* each and with a *limited amount of choice* among items. A typical portion of the exam would look like this:

(15 minutes). Select *three* of the four items below. For each, identify what is being referred to and briefly discuss its significance.

- a. New Jersey Plan vs. Virginia Plan
- b. *Brown v. Board of Education*
- c. pork barrel politics
- d. executive privilege vs. executive prerogative

However, on the test itself, related items (dealing with the same general topic, e.g., the Constitution, judicial review, the Presidency) will be grouped together for choice. If an item is a pair of terms (“A vs. B”), you should *make clear the nature and significance of the distinction that is to be drawn between them*. If possible, relate the item to other concepts introduced in the course. Here are two further sample questions (drawn from Topics #27 and #36, the former covered by an “enhanced” Study Guide), together with very thorough sample answers that would be scored as “better than excellent.”

For each item below, identify what is being referred to and briefly discuss its significance.

- a. patronage (or spoils) system vs. civil service system
  - b. pledged presidential electors
- a. Under the federal *patronage* or *spoils systems* used for much government employment during most of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Presidents upon winning an election and assuming office would dismiss ordinary government employees (such as clerks, postmasters, tax collectors, etc.) and replace them with their own supporters, based on the principle that “to the victors belong the spoils.” This made government employees very responsive to the President’s wishes, but it also produced a lot of corruption. The patronage system was in due course ended by *civil service reform*, under which government employees are hired and promoted on the basis of “merit” as assessed by competitive exams and neutral procedures, and they can acquire permanent tenure. Civil service reform increased the technical competence of the government workforce and reduced corruption, but it also created a federal bureaucracy that is less responsive to Presidential wishes.
- b. The framers of the Constitution expected (or at least hoped) that Presidential electors would function as representative *trustees* of their states or districts. But once contested Presidential elections arose in 1796, the voters or state legislators who selected the electors quickly realized that they were not looking for “wise” electors

of the *trustee* type but electors of the *instructed delegate* type who would cast their electoral votes in a predictable and preferred way. Thus prospective presidential electors have been *pledged* in advance as to how they would cast their electoral votes if selected, and they have been chosen exclusively on the basis of such pledges, not their personal qualities.

Each 5-minute item on the Final Exam will be evaluated on a scale running from 0 to 5. Both of the sample answers above would be deemed to be *complete*, *accurate*, and *excellent* and would be scored as 5 — and indeed shorter and less detailed answers could earn the same maximum score. Most actual student answers are scored between 2.5 and 4. A test in which all answers are scored 2.5 would get a grade of D+; one in which all answers are scored 4 would get a grade of an A– and one in which all are scored 4.5 would get an A+. Of course, most student exam books include a mixture of stronger and weaker answers.

Every item on the test will be drawn from the *Review List* that follows. (In fact, only the more significant and heavily emphasized items on this *Review List* will appear directly on the final exam; however, many other items on the *Review List* might be referred to in good answers.) Therefore, the *Review List* (together with the complete set of *Study Guides*) should be an important aid for preparing for the final exam. If you have followed something like the *Recommended Study Procedure* outlined in the syllabus, the material you have accumulated should be especially helpful in preparing for the final exam. All the PowerPoint slides used in class will remain on the course website until after the final exam.

In answering these questions, you should aim for precise, accurate, and complete answers. A complete answer to one of these five-minute items will usually require several sentences or short paragraph. In my experience, it is necessary for students to use most or all of the two hours in order to write complete answers.

## REVIEW LIST OF KEY WORDS

Empirical vs. normative statements

Anarchism/anarchy

Legitimacy (empirical and normative)

Consent theory (Hobbes vs. Locke)

state of nature /state of war: law of nature and natural rights

social contract/covenant

limited vs. unlimited government

right of revolution

Declaration of Independence

Anarchic / confederal / federal / unitary systems

delegated vs. reserved powers

Articles of Confederation

- government by states (manner of representation)
- government of states (manner of exercising delegated powers)

Federal constitutional convention

- Virginia vs. New Jersey Plan
- representation / commerce / executive / federal compromises

Ratification campaign (Article VII)

- Federalists vs. Antifederalists
- Federalist Papers
- Bill of Rights

Popular government

- democratic vs. republican forms (Madison)
- classical vs. factional tyranny

Federalist 51 (Madison)

- constitutional “checks and balances” (“ambition vs. ambition”)

Federalist 10 (Madison)

- factions / “social checks and balances” / extensive compound republic

Amending the constitution (Article V)

- alternate procedures for proposal and ratification

Constitutional interpretation

Judicial review: automatic/abstract vs. “byproduct”

- Federalist 78 (Hamilton)
- Marbury v. Madison*

Federal vs. state courts

- district / appeals (circuit) / supreme court
- appellate vs. original jurisdiction
- judicial decision making
  - writ of *certiorari*
  - court / concurring / dissenting opinions
- judicial appointments and tenure during “good behavior”
- judicial self-restraint vs. activism: *stare decisis*

Federalism (vs. decentralization)

- federal grants-in-aid and block grants

Phases of Supreme Court activity

- 1800-1850: delegated (national) vs. reserved (state) power
- 1875-1935: economic *laissez-faire*
- 1940-present: civil rights and liberties

*McCulloch v. Maryland*

- “necessary and proper” clause / “supremacy” clause

*Gibbons v. Ogden* / *Hammer v. Dagenhart*

- “interstate commerce” clause

Court vs. New Deal

- “court packing” plan / “switch in time”

Subject (procedural) vs. citizen (political) rights

Freedom of expression

J.S. Mill, *On Liberty*

First Amendment rights

“clear and present danger” doctrine (*Schenck v. U.S.*)

14th Amendment: “due process” clause

substantive due process

nationalization of the Bill of Rights

*Gideon v. Wainwright*

Constitution and slavery

3/5 compromise

*Dred Scott v. Sandford*

13<sup>th</sup> Amendment

15<sup>th</sup> Amendment

14th Amendment: “equal protection” clause

Southern “Jim Crow” system

*de facto* racial disenfranchisement

*de jure* racial segregation

“separate but equal” doctrine (*Plessy v. Ferguson*)

*Brown v. Board of Education*

Representation vs. legislation

national vs. local (constituency) representation

descriptive representation (similarity)

demographic / personality / experiential / political and policy preferences

sample assembly / election by lot

representation as agency: delegate vs. trustee / Burkean dilemma / delegate’s dilemma

pork barrel politics / casework

Apportionment of House seats

Single Member Districts (SMDs) with simple plurality

Congressional districting

“malapportionment” (district size)

“one man, one vote” doctrine (*Baker v. Carr*)

“gerrymandering” (district shape)

homogenous vs. heterogenous districts

“majority-minority” districts / *Shaw v. Reno*

Legislative process

parliamentary vs. separation of powers systems

standing committees and subcommittees

agenda power

hearings / markup

House Rules Committee: open vs. closed rule

- Senate vs. House contrasts in procedure
  - House germaneness rule vs. Senate “riders”
  - limited debate (House) vs. unlimited debate (Senate): “filibusters” and cloture
  - voice / teller / roll call votes
  - conference committee
  - Presidential veto / override / pocket veto / item veto
- Citizen legislature vs. professional legislature
  - Congressional turnover / term limits
  - Congressional specialization
    - committee assignments and tenure
    - seniority system
- Congressional localism: popular members vs. unpopular Congress
- Office of President
  - unitary vs. plural executive (Hamilton, Federalist #70)
  - constitutionally enumerated powers of the President
    - expansive precedents
  - inherent executive power
    - executive privilege
    - executive prerogative
- Presidential leadership
  - national representation (President) vs. local representation (Congress)
  - normative aspects of Presidential power
  - Congressional vs. Presidential powers
    - “the two presidencies” (Wildavsky)
    - Neustadt, *Presidential Power* (cf. Machiavelli, *The Prince*)
    - “powers” vs. “power” of President
- Government bureaus and agencies
  - Congressional delegation: bureaucratic rule-making
    - independent regulatory agencies
  - bureaucratic recruitment and tenure
    - patronage/spoils system
    - merit system/civil service reform
- American liberal political culture (“liberal consensus”)
  - Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*
    - individualism
      - (individual) rights and liberties
      - equality of opportunity (vs. results)
- Presidential selection
  - Electoral College: contingent procedure / 12th Amendment
  - transformation due to party system
    - pledged electors / popular election of electors / general ticket system

Presidential nominations:

- congressional caucus
- nominating convention
  - party-dominant system of nomination
  - presidential primaries
  - mixed system of nomination
  - candidate-dominant system of nomination

Extension of suffrage (constitutional amendments, Voting Rights Act)

- “Jacksonian revolution”
- voter registration
- voting turnout

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Political parties and party competition

- market model / jury model

Two-party vs. multi-party system

- single-member districts (SMD) + plurality rule => two-party convergence
- multi-member districts (MMD) + proportional representation => multi-party divergence

Direct primary elections

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Historical American party systems

- realigning elections
- First Party System
- Second Party System
- Third Party System
  - “Solid South”
- Fourth Party System
- Fifth Party System
  - “New Deal Coalition”
- Sixth (Dealigned) Party System
- Seventh (Contemporary) Party System

**Note 1:** Items below the first line break [~~~] had not been covered in class as of 12/03/10 [when this Review List was prepared].

**Note 2:** Many items below the second line break do not appear in the Study Guide for Topics #38-41, but will probably be presented in class, in which case they may appear on the Third Test and/or Final Exam.