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Congress: The First Branch
CHAPTER 2

Chapter Outline

I. The Power of the People
   a. While debates still rage on about the role of Congress within the separation-of-powers system one responsibility is has remained the same without doubt. That is, Congress is to be the voice of the people.
      i. The debates that continue today are usually about the extent of congressional, presidential, or judicial reach.
         1. Example: how much can the president do abroad without Congress' declaration of war?
   b. For much of history the people remained outside the scope of decision-making processes within government.
      i. High-ranking members of the clergy or military, or holders of large estates were sometimes included, but for the most part there were two classes of people: those who decided and those who obeyed.
   c. The framers sought to create a radically new system of government that would constrain the powers of the executive.
      i. With this idea in mind, and the history of European monarchical abuses of power, they created Congress as the voice of the people.
      ii. To avoid Congress becoming merely symbolically empowering, they created two chambers
         1. Senate – where elected officials in states chose the senators
         2. House of Representatives – direct elections by citizens
      iii. Members of Congress are constitutionally required to actually live in the states from which they are elected.
         1. And, they are to be selected from among the people themselves.
         2. This contrasts what is normal in the United Kingdom's parliament where many members of Parliament have prior ties to constituencies, but a large minority do not.
   d. The people were expected to keep their elected officials in line.
      i. James Madison, in Federalist 57, argues that the "vigilant and manly" spirit of the American public would keep members in line.
      ii. Example: Pay of members of Congress
         1. Should members be paid? Benjamin Franklin thought not, but Madison believed in the ability of people to regulate members who might try to abuse their ability to set their own pay.
         2. Madison won out and at least three times in American history (1816, 1873, and 1989), the public retaliated with public demonstrations and, ultimately, incumbent defeats after members raised their own pay.
         3. In the modern era, even when the two parties agreed not to use pay increases as a campaign issue they often did anyways.

II. The Voice of the People
   a. How members represent their constituents can take two distinct forms
      i. Delegate

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1. Act just as their constituents would act if put in the same situation
2. Given modern advancements such as scientific polling, smart phones, etc. a true delegate form of representation could reduce policymaking to a purely administrative matter where citizens text in their preferences for votes.

ii. Trustee

1. More concerned with the effects of public policy than they are with the popularity of a given proposal.
2. A member who views her job as a trustee will support a proposal with positive outcomes even if her constituents oppose it.
    a. Of course, the representative still takes public perception into account but they will ultimately rely on their perceptions of the policy's effect on his constituents to make a decision

b. Most members today employ both kinds of representation.

i. This is known as the politico type of representation

ii. Commonly, the member will be a delegate on issues where their core constituency has strong beliefs.

1. Examples: abortion, gun rights, death penalty

iii. On other issues, especially more complex policy matters, representatives will be a trustee

1. Examples: intellectual property, procuring military defense weapons systems

c. Another variant in representational type is known as a Burkean trustee

i. While pure trustees would act in their constituents' best interests, a Burkean trustee will act in the country's best interest.

ii. Named after Edmund Burke, an 18th century British statesman.

1. He argued that legislators owed to their constituents not blind obedience but, for two reasons, the exercise of good judgment.
    a. Many issues are complex
    b. Alternative means of addressing problems may have ramifications that are difficult to foresee or have differential effects on groups of constituents.
2. Burke was defeated in an election following his support for a free trade bill that both the delegate and the trustee forms of representation suggested he should oppose. But, Burke thought free trade was an economic good and he supported the bill anyway.

iii. Popular wisdom might call for a Band-Aid solution that seldom provides a permanent fix to the problem and often creates additional problems that make matters worse.

d. Members may switch representation types multiple times per day and these switches depend on several factors.

i. How strongly constituents feel about the issue

ii. The representative's information and understanding compared to their constituents

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iii. The likelihood of defeat at the next election if they oppose their constituents
iv. Whether a small constituency benefit outweighs a substantial nationwide cost
v. Whether the issue is of great enough importance to justify that risk
vi. Example
    1. Regulations on farmers or factories in the name of environmental protection

e. What do constituents expect?
    i. Constituents' expectations are more varied and less well defined.
    ii. Many citizens focus not on specific policy outcomes but on the "direction" of a legislator's activities.
        1. Constituents want members to represent their values and fight for different causes.
        2. Ideological concerns come to mind here; that is, packages of issues where views are subjected to tests like "does this proposal maximize freedom" or "does this proposal reduce inequalities?"
    iii. Other citizens prefer a more pragmatic approach where the solutions are not predetermined by such tests but where they expect the legislator to thoughtfully solve the problem in the best way possible.
    iv. For many constituents, good policy is simply policy with which they agree.
        1. Even if there is evidence that the policy opposite their views could be beneficial in some way or another, many constituents still would not favor their member supporting a view with which they disagree.
    v. In addition to legislating—writing laws and shaping policy—members of Congress are expected to provide a link between government and citizen. This link takes several forms.
        1. Providing information about pending legislation
        2. Offering opportunities for citizens to express themselves on public policy issues
            a. Examples: town meetings, questionnaires, attendance at public events, tweets, and Facebook updates
        3. Assisting constituents who encounter problems with federal agencies
            a. This is also known as casework
            b. Many members maintain staffers in district officers to handle these cases
            c. Requests made by members staffers are given preferential treatment, in part, because agencies know members provide their budgets
            d. If there are problems resolving a case members will get involved and personally oversee the dispute's resolution

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4. Not all constituent service is of a personal nature. Members may be called on to seek financial assistance in the broader community interest. This is called pork barreling.
    a. Funding for these projects has historically been obtained via earmarks.
        i. Earmarks were banned in 2011 and since then members have spent more time securing money from bureaucrats who in turn rely on members for their agencies' budgets.
    b. Examples: support for the construction or repair of a bridge or highway, the building of a new museum, or the expansion of a local military base or commercial airport.

f. How members view the constituency
    i. Members must be more systematic in how they view their constituents because it is the constituents who decide if the members will retain their jobs.
        1. Not to mention, members in the House today have more than 700,000 constituents each.
            a. Initially the constitution mandated that members have only 30,000 constituents each, but in 1929, via the Reapportionment Act of 1929, the House was capped at 435 members.
    ii. Fenno's Concentric Circles
        1. Geographic constituency
            a. Outermost circle
            b. Includes every constituent and structure in the district
            c. Usually described in geographic terms
                i. Example: "My district includes the northeast corner of the state, but then has a strip fifty miles south never more than twenty miles from the border."
        2. Reelection constituency
            a. First circle inside the geographic constituency
            b. Includes the voters who supported the member in their last general election or expect to in the next election
                i. By virtue of the math it must include at least half of the voters from the geographic constituency
            c. Begins with the member's fellow partisans. But, only for the luckiest representatives will fellow partisans be enough. Most members need to peel off enough independents and voters from the opposite party to retain their seat in Congress.
            d. Members view this constituency differently throughout their careers.
                i. First, and for the first few elections, members take an expansionist view of their reelection

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constituency. That is, they seek to expand the number of supporters they have.
ii. As a member's career winds down, they enter the protectionist phase. That is, they seek to keep the supporters they have instead of gaining new supporters.

3. Primary constituency
    a. The circle just inside the reelection constituency
    b. Voters who side with the member even in a contested primary
    c. The member's most loyal voters, which might include…
        i. People from their ideological bent in their parties
        ii. Residents in their hometown
        iii. Old business associates
        iv. People in the member's old trade
        v. Voters belonging to the special interests particularly favored by the member
4. Personal constituency
    a. The innermost circle
    b. Discusses the broad contours that the member follows in both casting difficult and important votes and evaluating future electoral prospects with the member.
    c. Contains the members' spouse, family, closest friends, political consultants, and most trusted advisors
    d. Varies in size from member to member considerably
5. Developed by Richard Fenno via his signature method of soaking and poking research.
    a. That is, observing a member when she was engaged in official duties (e.g., soaking) and then later asking the member about her actions (e.g., poking).

g. How members present themselves
    i. Understanding how members view their constituencies goes a long way in determining how they present themselves.
    ii. Homestyles
        1. Fenno's term for a member's presentation of themselves to their constituents
        2. Members have many different homestyles, but they each take their constituents into consideration.
        3. Homestyles are a function of both the members and their districts or states.
            a. What fits an inner-city district may not fit an outlying district encompassing both suburbs and rural parts of the state.
        4. A homestyle must constantly be adjusted to fit the member, those she represents, and the time in which she serves.

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5. Example: Senator Grassley of Iowa still maintains his family farm and works it when he is home.

III. The Voice of the People and Its Complexities
   a. Whose views matter?
      i. Many questions can be posed to parse out the options for whose voice matters.
         1. Do members owe their attention to everyone or only those who were involved in the political process?
         2. What if those not involved could not spare the money or time to be involved?
         3. What about the fact that elections are THE way that citizens choose what views are represented in Congress?
            a. Put another way, the plurality of people who voted thought that the winning member should represent them in Congress. Shouldn't those people matter first and foremost since they won?
            b. Moreover, does winning matter more if the election is close vs. a landslide? At what point does a mandate to govern really start?
         4. What about constituents who feel strongly about an issue while others do not?
      ii. Our founding documents proclaim that all men and women are created equal. Given that, how can we argue that a representative not represent everyone's views equally?
         1. Fenno's concentric circles help to clarify some answers.
            a. In their right to vote, all citizens are equal. But members of Congress cannot possibly weigh all constituents' opinions equally. So, their perceptions of their constituency help them weigh the preferences of different parts of their constituency.
   b. Determining the constituents' preferences and interests
      i. The most common way for members to determine what that voice is saying involves professional, scientific polling.
      ii. Other methods, especially in recent years are used.
         1. Examples:
            a. Questionnaires
            b. An evaluation of constituent-generated mail, including emails, Facebook comments, and replies on Twitter
            c. Engaging citizens at town meetings (or telephone town halls) or at meetings of community organizations.
            d. Members have even developed smartphone apps that allow constituents to access information about the member or federal programs and leave their opinions about public policy problems both big and small.
      iii. Each of these methods remains insufficient and while polling is the best option it remains extremely expensive.

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1. Moreover, the most common type of poll is called a tracking poll.
    a. These polls imply try to gauge the member's standing with their constituency. That is, are they in front of their challenger by a large margin or just a few points?
    b. Most polls also fail to get at the nuances within issues.
        i. Pollsters may ask whether a citizen favors more or less gun control, but legislation may deal with guns made of plastic instead of metal to avoid detection. It is difficult for members to extrapolate preferences on gun control to such a specific issue.
2. Because of the brevity and infrequency of polls, legislators may know the political will of constituents for only a small percentage of the issues on which the House or Senate votes.
    a. And, the poll is static. To get accurate preferences a week later another poll would need to be conducted.
3. Some members attempt to conduct their own surveys and this often yields no useful results because they, and their staffers, lack professional training in survey design. This lack of expertise often leads to leaning questions and slanted responses, not to mention the lack of a random sample.
    a. Surveys conducted without a scientific sample are likely to be filled out by a small number of people most of whom feel strongly about a salient issue or who have a lot of time on their hands.
        i. Face-to-face meetings with constituents suffer from these problems as well.

c. The absence of committed political views
    i. Most scientific surveys show an American population that, at best, can easily be swayed from one side of a political issue to another or, at worst, lies.
        1. Example: Bringing the possibility of a tax increase depresses support for programs for poor people.
        2. Example: We know that in the 2016 election 60.1% of eligible Americans voted. In the chief survey on political behavior conducted by political scientists we saw 72.2% of Americans reported voting.
            a. These people lied, and they likely lied due to social pressure.

d. The American public does not have faith in the system
    i. While most Americans do not hold firm political beliefs everyone seems to be able to agree on one thing even across time: the federal government is inept and cannot be trusted.
        1. Example: In only a handful of Gallup polls conducted since February 2010 have more than 20 percent of Americans approved of "the way Congress is handling its job."

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a. Congress is always at or near the bottom of the list for institutions Americans approve of.
2. There are some exceptions and usually they involve points when approval for all institutions spikes such as after the terrorist attacks on 9/11/01.

ii. Support for the federal government is simply nuanced.
1. Americans believe in the Constitution—they even revere it.
2. They approve of separation of powers and a legislative process that makes passing laws difficult.
3. They just do not like the way that these principles are carried out.

e. The American public is politically ignorant
i. In addition to not having firm political beliefs, the American public is also shockingly ignorant when it comes to basic facts about the practice of American politics.
1. Example: For years, surveys have revealed that the American public believes the United States should cut back sharply on foreign aid. Yet when asked what amount of assistance might be acceptable, they usually state a figure much higher than the United States normally provides.

ii. Many constituents do not even know who represents them in Congress.
1. In a 2013 Gallup poll, only 35 percent of the respondents could recall who their representative was and about the same percentage could name both of their senators, while an equal proportion could name neither one.

f. Voter turnout
i. Turnout in American elections is notably disappointing. During the 2018 midterm elections only about 50% of eligible Americans voted and this is consistent with previous years.
ii. Participation in broader senses is even worse. During 2018,
1. 9% attended a political meeting
2. 4% campaigned on behalf of a candidate or party
3. 13% gave money to a political cause
4. 18% wore a button supporting a candidate
5. <50% tried to influence how others voted

IV. Restoring Faith in the American Public's Duty
a. Given what we have discussed about the necessity of people to the American system of government and the less-than-encouraging record of people's participation, opinions, and knowledge, how has the system endured for so long?
b. The vigilant American spirit
i. The system designed by the framers does not require aggressive monitoring of members. Instead, it requires an evaluation every two years of their House member and twice every six years for their senators.
ii. Americans react to economic factors like unemployment or violations of their civil rights and when they are displeased they vote the incumbents out.

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1. Put another way, the American public need not always be vigilant; they only need to rise up when they perceive that the country is on the wrong track.

c. Police patrols and fire alarms
    i. Some citizens get involved between campaigns. Political science suggests there are two forms of oversight performed by these people.
        1. Police Patrol
            a. This form of oversight is constant. Like the police monitoring neighborhoods, the public is constantly monitoring members of Congress for wrongdoing.
            b. Most frequently involved actors:
                i. The media
                ii. Interest groups
        2. Fire Alarm
            a. Unlike the police who are constantly on patrol, firefighters only jump into action when an alarm rings.
            b. The people need not be well informed; they need only respond appropriately when the alarm goes off. Because other actors in the political process are engaged in police patrol, the American public can be lazy, ignorant, and uninformed.

d. Heuristics
    i. Our brains also help us to make decisions efficiently.
    ii. Psychologists have noted that humans developed mental shortcuts (heuristics) to break down complex situations into simpler ones.
        1. Political scientists have found that people use heuristics to make political decisions.
        2. Put another way, people use heuristics in lieu of in-depth assessments of the country's or a politician's performance. These make the process of voting much easier.
    iii. The likability heuristic is probably the most important one that helps the people do their job.
        1. Voters need only decide who they like and then make political decisions through association.
        2. Example: If you like Senate minority leader Chuck Schumer (D-NY), you can simply adopt Schumer's preferences. You can vote for the same people that Schumer would vote for and support the same policies he endorses.
            a. The same can be applied to political parties in general

e. The electoral process: adversarial and competitive
    i. Part of the genius of the American constitutional system is that it established adversarial relationships and that, from time to time, it requires the people to vote.
    ii. People need not understand the minutia of American politics they just need to weigh in from time to time on how things are going.

f. Potential preferences

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i. Critically, despite the lazy, distrusting, and uniformed nature of the American public, the elected officials think that the American public can do its job, and so they act in accord with the public's wishes.
ii. Members act as though they are being constantly monitored with prepared rationales for every action and vote.
iii. Members act in accordance with potential preferences of their constituents. That is, if their constituents were well informed about a particular vote, what would they think?

V. Conclusion
   a. Returning to the founders, we can examine James Madison and Alexander Hamilton's difference in opinion on how the American government would gain legitimacy and understand the endurance of the American system of government.
      i. James Madison believed in a bottom-up approach where Americans were constantly consulted about policy.
      ii. Alexander Hamilton believed in a top-down approach where legitimacy was secured through the proper functioning of government.
      iii. Both believed firmly that the acceptance of the American public was critical for the democratic experiment to work in the newly formed country.
      iv. In the end, both top-down and bottom-up approaches were integrated into the system. Regular elections and public outlets for expressions of outrage lend for bottom-up legitimacy. And the constant oversight provided by political parties, interest groups, and the media allow for a top-down legitimacy based on performance to exist. Together, they show that if the system fails, we have only ourselves to blame.

Lecture Suggestions

1. An ideal time for a robust and engaged discussion during this lecture would be immediately before the lecture material on whose views matter. Discussion question #3 (listed below and reproduced in this section for convenience) provides a great framing question that will get students thinking about who should matter and why. If the students are riled up from this discussion, then later in the lecture when you discuss how little Americans know about politics it will likely evoke many doubts about views many of them held strongly earlier in the class.
   a. Do members of Congress owe their attention to every single constituent or only those who were involved in the political process? And, what if those not involved could not spare the money or time to be involved?
      i. *Optional mid-discussion additional question:* What about the fact that elections are THE way that citizens choose what views are represented in Congress?
2. As you approach the topic of ignorance in the electorate, show one of those "man on the street" videos where people are asked political questions.
   a. Jimmy Kimmel has a great video for this purpose: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N6m7pWEMPlA
3. It might be useful to put the lecture material about participation and turnout into a broader and more historical perspective. That is, create a bar plot with the turnout rates

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from the past few elections and note how turnout differs between presidential and midterm election years. It could even be useful to point out differences in how we think about turnout based on who is eligible to vote at a given point in the country's history.

Class Activities

1. Voice of the People
    i. At the beginning of class randomly select ~5% of your students and tell them they are the ruling class. Select one student to be King. Have those students sit in the front of the classroom.
    ii. Inform the students that you are planning to offer extra credit during this class (Note: you don't actually have to give it, just claim it was for activity's sake at the end). The King will be getting 10 points, the elites will each get 2 points, and for anyone else to get any points the King has to sacrifice his own points to bestow it upon them.
    iii. Allow the students to mull over your announcement for a few seconds and then announce that the King will be holding a session where you can suggest reasons he or she should give their extra credit points away.
    iv. Allow for a few students to make their pleas and watch things play out.
    v. Announce the end of the simulation and discuss how this was quite literally how society used to function. Underscore that the founders wanted to reject this model and that Congress, with its empowering role for the people, was the centerpiece of their new way of governing.
        a. It may be a good idea to distribute some candy to everyone to equalize the students again.
    vi. *This activity is useful because it really sets the stage for why political participation should not be taken for granted. It also puts the American system of government in an important contrasting role, which is critical framework for this chapter.*
2. Which circles are you in?
    i. Before class:
        a. Pick a member of Congress, or make one up, and characterize their place on the ideological spectrum (i.e., liberal Democrat – conservative Republican) and the phase of their career (i.e., expansionist or protectionist).
        b. Create index cards, or some other way of assigning roles to students, and determine how many students should be assigned the following roles (given the percentages provided).
            1. Liberal Democrat (10%)
            2. Moderate Democrat (30%)
            3. Independent (20%)
            4. Moderate Republican (30%)
            5. Conservative Republican (10%)
    ii. As students enter class give them index cards randomly and tell them to take their seat as they normally would. Proceed with lecture.
    iii. After covering Fenno's concentric circles, discuss the politician you chose. Be sure to detail the member's ideological position and current phase of their career.

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iv. Pick a student, or ask for volunteers, and have them read their index card out loud. Ask them, given their position as assigned by their index card, which circles they would be in if they were in the member's constituency. Repeat this a few times until the students seem to understand why certain constituents are in different circles.
v. Discuss how members might use these concentric circle classifications when weighing different constituents opinions in political decision making.

3. What is their Homestyle?
   i. Navigate to a member's website and/or YouTube channel.
      a. It might be good to pick the House member who represents the university or one of the university's state's senators.
   ii. Explore as the students watch and tell them to pick out and write down 1-3 notable things the member says or does that might contribute to their homestyle.
      a. Ideally, you would pick a video or two in advance that really highlights the more prominent facets of the member's Homestyle.
         1. It may be particularly useful to highlight any instances where the member praises your university on the floor or on their website.
   iii. If time allows, pick another member from a very different type of district or state and repeat the activity asking the students to point out differences between the two members' homestyles.

Discussion Questions

1. Given modern advancements such as scientific polling, smart phones, etc. a true delegate form of representation could reduce policymaking to a purely administrative matter where citizens text in their preferences for votes. Would this necessarily be a bad thing? What decisions might not lend themselves best to direct democracy?
2. The Reapportionment Act of 1929 capped House membership at 435 members. Should we allow for more members in the House? If so, should we return to the standard suggested by the founders (i.e., 30,000 constituents per member)?
3. Do members of Congress owe their attention to every single constituent or only those who were involved in the political process? And, what if those not involved could not spare the money or time to be involved?
   - *Optional mid-discussion additional question:* What about the fact that elections are THE way that citizens choose what views are represented in Congress?
4. Does it matter that most Americans do not know who their member of Congress is?
   - *Alternative frame:* Do you agree with Alexander Hamilton that the people need not be constantly engaged as long as the government functions properly?
5. Should members of Congress determine their own pay? If you think they should not, who should decide their pay and how? What are the terms of an increase in salary?

Web Learning Resources

Link	Description
https://www.archives.gov/legislative/research/special-collections/oral-history/fenno/interview-notes.html	Access Richard Fenno's original research notes to explore what members of Congress were like in the midcentury.

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https://www.comparativeagendas.net/tool?project=us	Official website of the Comparative Agendas Project that allows anyone to plot historical data coded by policy area. Can be used to see how the public's priorities on different areas of public policy change over time.
https://history.house.gov/Institution/Origins-Development/Investigations-Oversight/	Learn more about the origin, and current state, of oversight activities within the U.S. House of Representatives.

Essay

1. Legislating is a critical task for members of Congress, but constituents expect them to do more than just write bills and cast votes. Name three other expectations that constituents have of their members and discuss why fulfilling each of these is important for a member to work toward reelection.

2. Polling is considered the best option for members of Congress to determine the preferences and interests of their constituents. Despite polling be the best option there are many reasons why polls are still not ideal for assessing constituent preferences. Briefly discuss why members should care about their constituent preferences at all and then provide three weaknesses of polling.

3. Chapter 2 discusses four different kinds of representation that members of Congress can utilize. Which form is the best and why? Be sure to name and clearly define each kind of representation. Be clear about what members' goals are fulfilled when they rely on each type of representation.

4. Richard Fenno coined the term "homestyle" to describe how members present themselves to their constituents. Why and how are homestyles useful to members? What factors go into shaping a member's homestyle? Are homestyles static and unchanging over time or dynamic and always adjusting? Support your answer with examples where appropriate.

5. Given what we have discussed about the necessity of the people in the American system of government and the less-than-encouraging record of people's participation, opinions, and knowledge, how has the system endured for so long? Provide at least three reasons and support for each reason.

Short Answer

1. Before the founders developed the system of government used in the United States today most societies were divided between those who decided and those who obeyed. In those societies, what types of people might have been included in the political decision-making process (i.e., the deciders)?

- Kings

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- High-ranking members of the clergy
- High-ranking members military
- Holders of large estates

2. What precautions did the founders take to make sure Congress did not become merely a symbolically empowering body?
- Two chambers, one of which was directly elected by the people
- Members are required to live in the state they represent
- Members are to be selected from amongst the people themselves

3. Who was Edmund Burke and why does he matter?
- An 18th century British statesman
- Burkean trustee named after him
- He stressed that acting in a country's best interest was more important than reelection or constituent preferences

4. Members of Congress may switch representation types multiple times per day and these switches depend on several factors. Name three factors.
- How strongly constituents feel about the issue
- The representative's information and understanding compared to their constituents
- The likelihood of defeat at the next election if they oppose their constituents
- Whether a small constituency benefit outweighs a substantial nationwide cost
- Whether the issue is of great enough importance to justify that risk

5. Many citizens focus not on specific policy outcomes but instead on the "direction" of a legislator's activities. What is meant by direction in this context?
- Representation of values
- Alliance with social movements or political causes
- Support for an ideology or set of ideas

6. Why might some federal agencies give preferential treatment to requests made by members of Congress?
- agencies know members provide their budgets
- Members of Congress conduct oversight of all federal agencies

7. In an ideal world a member of Congress would consider every constituent's preferences equally. In reality, they cannot possibly do so. How might they decide which constituents to listen to?
- By applying Fenno's concentric circles and focusing on different circles at different points in a given election cycle (e.g., primary constituency during the primary election and reelection constituency during the general election).

8. Polling is the best way for members of Congress to estimate constituent preferences but it is not the only way. How else do members of Congress estimate constituent preferences? Name at least three.

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- Questionnaires distributed via newsletters
- Evaluating constituent-generated mail, including emails, Facebook comments, and tweets
- Engaging citizens directly at town meetings (or telephone town halls)
- Smartphone apps

9. What explains the approximately 12% gap between those who claim to have voted and those who actually voted in 2016?
- The social desirability or pressure that Americans feel to vote

10. If a member of Congress was trying to determine how they will vote on a piece of legislation dealing with a complex public policy issue it is most likely they will be what kind of representative and why?
- Trustee
- Complex policy issues often mean the member has much more information than their constituents do, and the nuance involved is beyond the vague preferences most constituents have

Multiple Choice

1. Representative Molono has an important vote coming up on a bill that would increase environmental regulations in a variety of industries. Her constituents want her to oppose the bill. The most important industries in her district want her to oppose the bill too. But, Rep. Molono strongly believes that environmental regulations are critical for the future of the nation she loves. What form of representation is she utilizing if she supports the bill?
a) Trustee
b) Delegate
*c) Burkean Trustee
d) Politico

2. People come to their political preferences in a variety of different ways, but not everyone has the same level of specificity in their reasoning. Who tends to have the most well-defined preferences?
*a) Members of Congress
b) Congressional staffers
c) The general public
d) Members of the media

3. The framers sought to create a government based mainly on _____, which developed a similar form of government about a decade before the United States did.
a) Italy
b) Austria
c) Spain
*d) None of the above

4. What key point does James Madison make in Federalist No. 57?
*a) That the spirit of the American people will keep members of Congress accountable

b) That representation of the masses is of no concern as long as those with suffrage are pleased
c) That political parties will play a key role in representing the people
d) All of the above

5. If a member is more concerned with the effects of public policy than they are with the popularity of a given proposal they are utilizing _____ representation.
a) Fennoean Delegate
*b) Trustee
c) Burkean Trustee
d) Delegate

6. Most members today employ what type of representation form?
a) Trustee
b) Delegate
*c) Politico
d) Burkean Trustee

7. One way that members of Congress serve constituents is by bringing federally funded projects to their districts. What is the process of getting these projects called?
*a) Pork barreling
b) Earmarking
c) Homestyle
d) Constituenting

8. Earmarks were banned in 2011, but members still need to bring money back to their districts and so now members of Congress _____.
a) Pressure the president to allocate funds to their districts
b) Apply for waivers from the House or Senate Clerk's office to insert earmarks into existing bills
c) Obtain projects as a result of court case decisions that get overturned
*d) Secure projects via executive branch bureaucrats

9. Fenno's primary constituency includes which of the following?
a) Every constituent and structure in the district
b) Every member of the member's political party in the district
*c) The member's most loyal voters
d) None of the above

10. During the later phase of a member's career they seek to keep the supporters they have instead of gaining new supporters. What is this phase known as?
*a) Protectionist phase
b) Defensive phase
c) Expansionist phase
d) Retention phase

Congress First Branch 1st edition Theriault Test Bank

11. Senators were not directly elected according to the unamended version of the Constitution. Who chose senators initially?
a) A committee made up of state legislators, judges, and the governor
b) The governor of a state
*c) Members of state legislatures
d) Members of the U.S. Senate

12. Richard Fenno developed a, now widely respected, way of conducting research on Congress. Part of that method of research is known as "soaking," which can be defined as which of the following?
a) Closely examining all files in a member's office during a session of Congress
*b) Observing a member when they are engaging in official duties
c) Conducting an in-depth interview with a member about their official duties
d) Meeting weekly with a member and asking them the same questions each week to see how their answers evolve over time

13. Fenno describes a typology of homestyles within which all members can be categorized. What is the category that most members end up in?
a) Reelection focused
b) Committee focused
c) Prestige focused
*d) None of the above

14. Americans tend not to have firm political beliefs, but almost all Americans tend to agree on which of the following positions?
a) All children should attend public school
b) Universal healthcare should slowly be phased into American society
*c) The federal government is inept and cannot be trusted
d) The IRS should be eliminated

15. Members of Congress will frequently hold meetings to meet constituents and answer their questions. What are these meetings known as?
a) Questionnaires
*b) Town Halls
c) Policy Programs
d) District Days

16. A member of Congress announces that they have secured funding for a bridge in their district to be repaired. What is this an example of?
a) Casework
b) Heuristics
c) Porkmarks
*d) Pork barreling

17. Members of Congress frequently face complex public policy issues that are difficult to resolve. In these cases, popular wisdom sometimes calls for members to use a(n)

_____, which seldom provides a permanent fix to the problem and often creates additional problems that make matters worse.
*a) Band-Aid solution
b) Heuristic
c) Roosevelt Resolution
d) Pork barrel

18. To estimate their constituents' preferences some members attempt to conduct their own surveys. Why do these surveys often yield no useful results?
a) Too many constituents respond
b) Their staffers lack professional training in survey design
c) The surveys frequently include leading questions
*d) Both b and c

19. Most scientific surveys show that Americans _____.
a) Hold consistent views over long periods of time
*b) Can easily be swayed from one side of a political issue to another
c) Participate vigorously in politics
d) Both a and c

20. Which of the following most accurately describes American public opinion about their system of government.
a) They believe in, and even revere, the Constitution
b) They approve of the separation of powers
c) They do not approve of the way that the principles underpinning their government are carried out
*d) All of the above

21. How would you characterize the proportion of people who know who their member of Congress is?
a) Almost no one
*b) A little over a quarter of the population
c) Just over half the population
d) Almost everyone

22. Which founder is most notable for his insistence that the American public be constantly consulted about policy decisions and the actions of government?
*a) James Madison
b) Thomas Jefferson
c) Alexander Hamilton
d) Benjamin Franklin

23. The framers wanted to be sure that members of Congress were selected from among the people themselves. To accomplish this goal, they required members of the House to be from the _____ that they represent.
*a) State

b) District
c) Geographic grouping
d) Both a and b

24. Which form of oversight suggests that the people need not be well informed and instead they need only get involved when attention is brought to an issue or scandal.
a) Burkean alarm
b) Police patrol
*c) Fire alarm
d) Judicious rigor

25. The media and interest groups are the two most frequently involved actors in which type of oversight?
a) Trustee
*b) Police patrol
c) Delegate
d) Fire alarm

26. In pondering how their newly created government might gain legitimacy, James Madison and Alexander Hamilton suggested different approaches. Which approach is served by the constant oversight provided by political parties, interest groups, and the media?
*a) Top-down approach
b) Bottom-up approach
c) Colonial approach
d) Anti-federalist approach

27. Which of the following heuristics allows for voters to merely decide who they like and then make political decisions through association?
a) Associative heuristic
b) Availability heuristic
c) Resolution heuristic
*d) None of the above

28. By asking themselves what their constituents might think of a given decision they have made if they were fully informed, members of Congress are trying to do what?
a) Fend off attacks from party leaders
b) Act as trustees
*c) Estimate potential preferences
d) None of the above

29. Which of Fenno's constituencies do members view differently during different phases of their career?
a) Geographic
*b) Reelection
c) Primary
d) Personal

30. Liberals and conservatives often end up on different sides of issues. These people usually have concerns based on sets of ideas about how the country should operate. What are these concerns called?
a) Partisan concerns
b) Issue concerns
*c) Ideological concerns
d) Both a and c

31. Some constituents gives legislators more flexibility and accept the premise that many issues are complicated. These constituents tend to stress problem solving over politics. This is known as the _____ approach.
a) Ideological
b) Social
c) Goldwater
*d) Pragmatic

32. We know that only about half of Americans tend to vote, but political participation more broadly defined produces even lower numbers. Which of the follow activities is the most common way Americans participate politically if we exclude voting?
*a) Trying to influence how someone else votes
b) Donating money to a political cause
c) Volunteering for a campaign or political party
d) Attending a political meeting

33. Congress is the most popular branch of government, but which branch comes in as a close second?
a) Presidency
b) Judicial
c) Executive (bureaucracy)
*d) Congress is not the most popular branch of government

34. Which of Fenno's constituencies is usually described with references to its borders?
a) Reelection
b) District
c) Primary
*d) None of the above

35. A mental shortcut in the human brain that breaks down complex situations into simpler ones to reduce cognitive costs of decision making is known as a _____.
*a) Heuristic
b) Psychological alternative
c) Rational choice
d) None of the above