

CHAPTER 13

Congress

REVIEWING THE CHAPTER

CHAPTER FOCUS

The central purpose of this chapter is to describe the Framers' understanding of the role of Congress and to describe the role and organization of Congress today. You should pay particular attention to the effects of organizational characteristics on the behavior of members of Congress and on the way that the House and the Senate perform their functions. After reading and reviewing the material in this chapter, you should be able to do each of the following:

1. Explain the differences between Congress and Parliament.
2. Delineate the role that the Framers expected Congress to play.
3. Pinpoint the significant eras in the evolution of Congress.
4. Describe the characteristics of members of Congress.
5. Discuss the relationship between ideology and civility in Congress in recent years.
6. Identify the factors that help to explain why a member of Congress votes as she or he does.
7. Outline the process for electing members of Congress.
8. Identify the functions of party affiliation in the organization of Congress.
9. Explain the effect of committee reform on the organization of Congress.
10. Describe the formal process by which a bill becomes a law.
11. Explain the ethical problems confronting Congress.

STUDY OUTLINE

- I. Introduction
 - A. Congress: the least popular branch
 - B. Heavily emphasized in the text of the Constitution
 - C. An independent and powerful institution
- II. Congress versus Parliament
 - A. Parliamentary candidates are selected by party
 1. Members of Parliament select the prime minister and other leaders
 2. Party members vote together on most issues
 3. Renomination depends on loyalty to party
 4. Principal work is debating national issues
 5. Very little power, very little pay
 - B. Congressional candidates run in a primary election, with little party control
 1. Vote is for the man or woman, not the party

- 2. Result is a body of independent representatives
- 3. Members do not choose the president
- 4. Principal work is representation and action
- 5. Great deal of power, high pay; parties cannot discipline members
- C. Congress a decentralized institution
 - 1. Members more concerned with their views and the views of their constituents
 - 2. Members less concerned with organized parties and program proposals of president
- D. Congress can be unpopular with voters
- III. The evolution of Congress
 - A. Intent of the Framers
 - 1. To oppose concentration of power in a single institution
 - 2. To balance large and small states: bicameralism
 - B. Traditional criticism: Congress is too slow
 - 1. Centralization needed for quick and decisive action
 - 2. Decentralization needed if congressional constituency interests are to be dominant
 - C. Development of the House
 - 1. Always powerful but varied in organization and leadership
 - a) Powerful Speakers
 - b) Powerful committee chairmen
 - c) Powerful individual members
 - 2. Ongoing dilemmas
 - a) Increases in size have lead to the need for centralization and less individual influence
 - b) Desire for individual influence has led to institutional weakness
 - D. Development of the Senate
 - 1. Structural advantages over the House
 - a) Small enough to be run without giving authority to small group of leaders
 - b) Interests more carefully balanced
 - c) No time limits on speakers or committee control of debate
 - d) Senators not elected by voters until twentieth century
 - (1) Chosen by state legislators
 - (2) Often leaders of local party organizations
 - 2. Major changes
 - a) Demand for direct popular election
 - (1) Intense political maneuvering and the Millionaire's Club
 - (2) Senate opposition and the threat of a constitutional convention
 - (3) Seventeenth Amendment approved in 1913
 - b) Filibuster restricted by Rule 22—though tradition of unlimited debate remains
- IV. Who is in Congress?
 - A. The beliefs and interests of members of Congress can affect policy
 - B. Sex and race
 - 1. House has become less male and less white
 - 2. Senate has been slower to change, but several blacks and Hispanics hold powerful positions
 - C. Incumbency
 - 1. Low turnover rates and safe districts common in Congress before 1980s
 - 2. Incumbents increasingly viewed as professional politicians and out of touch with the people by the 1980s
 - 3. Call for term limits; however, natural forces were doing what term limits were designed to do by the mid-1990s
 - 4. Influx of new members should not distort incumbents' advantage

- D. Party
 - 1. Democratic control of Congress post-1933 and possible explanations
 - a) Democratic legislatures redraw district lines to favor Democratic candidates: higher percentage of seats obtained than the percentage of actual votes
 - (1) Striking anecdotal evidence (Texas and California)
 - (2) By 2006, things evened out nationally
 - (3) Conditions for partisan gerrymandering do not exist in most states
 - b) Democrats tend to do better in low turnout districts
 - c) Another explanation: incumbent advantage is increasing
 - (1) Worth 6 to 8 points today
 - (2) Although Republicans have enjoyed the same advantages
 - 2. Recent Republican surges in the House and Senate and possible explanations
 - a) Advantages of incumbency can become disadvantages
 - (1) Dislike of professional politicians
 - (2) Perceptions that Washington was a “mess”
 - (3) Congressional scandals
 - (4) Decline in public confidence in Congress
 - b) Democrats were in power when the above trends set in
- V. Do members represent their voters?
 - A. Representational view
 - 1. Assumes that members vote to please their constituents
 - 2. Constituents must have a clear opinion of the issue
 - a) Very strong correlation on civil rights and social welfare bills
 - b) Very weak correlation on foreign policy
 - 3. May be conflict between legislator and constituency on certain measures: gun control, Panama Canal treaty, abortion
 - 4. Constituency influence more important in Senate votes
 - 5. Members in marginal districts as independent as those in safe districts
 - 6. Weakness of representational explanation: no clear opinion in the constituency
 - B. Organizational view
 - 1. Assumes members of Congress vote to please colleagues
 - 2. Organizational cues
 - a) Party
 - b) Ideology
 - 3. Problem is that party and other organizations do not have a clear position on all issues
 - 4. On minor votes most members influenced by party members on sponsoring committees
 - C. Attitudinal view
 - 1. Assumes that ideology affects a legislator’s vote
 - 2. House members tend more than senators to have opinions similar to those of the public
 - a) 1970s: senators more liberal
 - b) 1980s: senators more conservative
 - 3. Prior to 1990s, southern Democrats often aligned with Republicans to form a conservative coalition
 - 4. Conservative coalition no longer as important since most southerners are Republicans
 - D. A polarized Congress
 - 1. Members of Congress more sharply divided ideologically than they once were
 - 2. New members of Congress are more ideological
 - 3. Members of Congress more polarized than voters
 - a) Democrats more liberal/Republicans more conservative
 - b) Voters closer to center of political spectrum

4. Members of Congress (especially the House) do not get along as well as they once did
- VI. The organization of Congress: parties and caucuses
- A. Party organization of the Senate
 1. President pro tempore presides; member with most seniority in majority party
 2. Leaders are the majority leader and the minority leader, elected by their respective party members
 3. Party whips keep leaders informed, round up votes, count noses
 4. Policy Committee schedules Senate business
 5. Committee assignments
 - a) Democratic Steering Committee
 - b) Republican Committee on Committees
 - c) Emphasize ideological and regional balance
 - d) Other factors: popularity, effectiveness on television, favors owed
 - B. Party structure in the House
 1. Speaker of the House as leader of majority party; presides over House
 - a) Decides whom to recognize to speak on the floor
 - b) Rules of germaneness of motions
 - c) Decides to which committee bills go to
 - d) Appoints members of special and select committees
 - e) Has some patronage power
 2. Majority leader and minority leader
 3. Party whip organizations
 4. Democratic Steering and Policy Committee, chaired by Speaker
 - a) Makes committee assignments
 - b) Schedules legislation
 5. Republican Committee on Committees; makes committee assignments
 6. Republican Policy Committee; discusses policy
 7. Democratic and Republican congressional campaign committees
 - C. The strength of party structure
 1. Loose measure is ability of leaders to determine party rules and organization
 2. Tested in 103d Congress: 110 new members
 - a) Ran as outsiders
 - b) Yet reelected entire leadership and committee chairs
 3. Senate different since transformed by changes in norms, not rules: now less party centered, less leader oriented, more hospitable to new members
 - D. Party unity
 1. Recent trends
 - a) Party unity voting higher between 1953 and 1965 and lower between 1966 and 1982
 - b) Party unity voting increased since 1983, and was norm in the 1990s
 - c) Party unity voting lower today than in the 1800s and early 1900s
 - d) Party splits today may reflect sharp ideological differences between parties (or at least their respective leaders)
 2. Such strong differences in opinion are not so obvious among the public
 - a) Impeachment vote did not reflect public opinion
 - b) Congressional Democrats and Republicans also more sharply divided on abortion
 3. Why are congressional Democrats and Republicans so liberal and conservative?
 - a) Most districts are drawn to protect partisan interests
 - (1) Few are truly competitive
 - (2) Primary elections count for more and ideological voters are more common in such a low turnout environment

- b) Voters may be taking cues from the liberal and conservative votes of members of Congress
 - c) Committee chairs are typically chosen on the basis of seniority
 - (1) They are also usually from safe districts
 - (2) And hold views shaped by lifetime dedication to the cause of their party
 - (3) Although extent of leadership influence is difficult to document
- E. Caucuses: rivals to parties in policy formulation
 - 1. Rapid growth, to about 290 today
 - 2. Reports that they would be abolished
 - 3. Some are more influential than others (Congressional Black Caucus)
- VII. The organization of Congress: committees
 - A. Legislative committees—most important organizational feature of Congress
 - 1. Consider bills or legislative proposals
 - 2. Maintain oversight of executive agencies
 - 3. Conduct investigations
 - B. Types of committees
 - 1. Select committees—groups appointed for a limited purpose and limited duration
 - 2. Joint committees—those on which both representatives and senators serve
 - 3. Conference committee—a joint committee appointed to resolve differences in the Senate and House versions of the same piece of legislation before final passage
 - 4. Standing committees—most important type of committee
 - a) Majority party has majority of seats on the committees
 - b) Each member usually serves on two standing committees
 - c) Chairs are elected, but usually the most senior member of the committee is elected by the majority party
 - d) Subcommittee “bill of rights” of 1970s changed several traditions
 - (1) Opened more meetings to the public
 - (2) Allowed television coverage of meetings
 - (3) Effort to reduce number of committees in 1995–1996
 - C. Committee styles
 - 1. Decentralization has increased individual member’s influence
 - a) Less control by chairs
 - b) More amendments proposed and adopted
 - 2. Ideological orientations of committees vary, depending on attitudes of members
 - 3. Certain committees tend to attract particular types of legislators
 - a) Policy-oriented members
 - b) Constituency-oriented members
- VIII. The organization of Congress: staffs and specialized offices
 - A. Tasks of staff members
 - 1. Constituency service: major task of staff
 - 2. Legislative functions: monitoring hearings, devising proposals, drafting reports, meeting with lobbyists
 - 3. Staff members consider themselves advocates of their employers
 - B. Growth and influence of staff
 - 1. Rapid growth: a large staff itself requires a large staff
 - 2. Larger staff generates more legislative work
 - 3. Members of Congress can no longer keep up with increased legislative work and so must rely on staff
 - 4. Results in a more individualistic Congress
 - C. Staff agencies offer specialized information
 - 1. Congressional Research Service (CRS)

2. General Accounting Office (GAO)
3. Office of Technology Assessment (OTA)
4. Congressional Budget Office (CBO)

IX. How a bill becomes law

- A. Bills travel through Congress at different speeds
 1. Bills to spend money or to tax or regulate business move slowly
 2. Bills with a clear, appealing idea move fast
 - a) Examples: “Stop drugs,” “End scandal”
- B. Introducing a bill
 1. Introduced by a member of Congress: hopper in House, recognized in Senate
 2. Most legislation has been initiated in Congress
 3. Presidentially-drafted legislation is shaped by Congress
 4. Resolutions
 - a) Simple—passed by one house affecting that house
 - b) Concurrent—passed by both houses affecting both
 - c) Joint—passed by both houses, signed by president (except for constitutional amendments)
- C. Study by committees
 1. Bill is referred to a committee for consideration by either Speaker or presiding officer
 2. Revenue bills must originate in the House
 3. Most bills die in committee
 4. Hearings are often conducted by several subcommittees: multiple referrals (replaced by sequential referral system in 1995)
 5. Markup of bills—bills are revised by committees
 6. Committee reports a bill out to the House or Senate
 - a) If bill is not reported out, the House can use the discharge petition
 - b) If bill is not reported out, the Senate can pass a discharge motion
 7. House Rules Committee sets the rules for consideration
 - a) Closed rule: sets time limit on debate and restricts amendments
 - b) Open rule: permits amendments from the floor
 - c) Restrictive rule: permits only some amendments
 - d) Use of closed and restrictive rules growing
 - e) Rules can be bypassed by the House
 - f) No direct equivalent in Senate
- D. Floor debate, House
 1. Committee of the Whole—procedural device for expediting House consideration of bills but cannot pass bills
 2. Committee sponsor of bill organizes the discussion
- E. Floor debate, Senate
 1. No rule limiting debate or germaneness
 2. Entire committee hearing process can be bypassed by a senator
 3. Cloture—sets time limit on debate—three-fifths of Senate must vote for a cloture petition
 4. Both filibusters and cloture votes becoming more common
 - a) Easier now to stage filibuster
 - b) Roll calls are replacing long speeches
 - c) But can be curtailed by “double tracking”—disputed bill is shelved temporarily—making filibuster less costly
- F. Methods of voting
 1. To investigate voting behavior one must know how a legislator voted on amendments as well as on the bill itself

2. Procedures for voting in the House
 - a) Voice vote
 - b) Division vote
 - c) Teller vote
 - d) Roll call vote
 3. Senate voting is the same except no teller vote
 4. Differences in Senate and House versions of a bill
 - a) If minor, last house to act merely sends bill to the other house, which accepts the changes
 - b) If major, a conference committee is appointed
 - (1) Decisions are made by a majority of each delegation; Senate version favored
 - (2) Conference reports back to each house for acceptance or rejection
 5. Bill, in final form, goes to the president
 - a) President may sign it
 - b) If president vetoes it, it returns to the house of origin
 - (1) Either house may override the president by a vote of two-thirds of those present
 - (2) If both override, the bill becomes law without the president's signature
- X. Reducing power and perks
- A. Many proposals made to “reform” and “improve” Congress
 - B. Common perception it is overstaffed and self-indulgent
 1. Quick to regulate others, but not itself
 2. Quick to pass pork barrel legislation but slow to address controversial questions of national policy
 3. Use of franking privilege to subsidize personal campaigns
 - a) Proposals to abolish it
 - b) Proposals for restrictions on timing of mailings and a taxpayer “notice”
 - C. Congressional Accountability Act of 1995
 1. For years Congress routinely exempted itself from many of the laws it passed
 2. Concern for enforcement (by Executive branch) and separation of powers
 3. 1995 Act
 - a) Obligated Congress to obey eleven major laws
 - b) Created the Office of Compliance
 - c) Established an employee grievance procedure
 - D. Trimming the pork
 1. Main cause of deficit is entitlement programs, not pork
 2. Some spending in districts represents needed projects
 3. Members supposed to advocate interests of district
 4. Price of citizen-oriented Congress is pork
- XI. The Post-September 11 Congress
- A. Standard criticism: Congress cannot act quickly or change to meet new challenges
 - B. Important consideration: Framers preferred deliberation over dispatch and boldness only when
 1. Backed by a persistent popular majority
 2. There is broad consensus among leaders
 3. Or both of the conditions mentioned above

- C. Congress and terrorism
 - 1. 9/11 Commission recommended fundamental changes in oversight of intelligence gathering and counter-terrorism activities
 - a) Concern over fracturing of executive management by divided congressional oversight
 - b) Recognition that committee jurisdiction and prerogatives are difficult to change
 - 2. Reluctance of Congress to pass legislation implementing the Commission's recommendations
 - 3. Reorganization is likely to take years

KEY TERMS MATCH

Set 1

Match the following terms and descriptions:

- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| 4. The system under which committee chairs are awarded to members who have the longest continuous service on the committee | a. attitudinal view |
| 5. An assembly of party representatives that chooses a government and discusses major national issues | b. bicameral legislature |
| 6. Explanation of congressional voting which suggests members of Congress respond primarily to cues provided by their colleagues | c. closed rule |
| 7. An alliance of conservative Democrats with Republicans for voting purposes | d. cloture rule |
| 8. Indicated by votes in which a majority of voting Democrats oppose a majority of voting Republicans | e. Committee on Committees |
| 9. A rule issued by the Rules Committee that does not allow a bill to be amended on the House floor | f. concurrent resolution |
| 10. Resolution used for matters such as establishing the rules under which each body will operate | g. congressional caucus |
| 11. Resolution used for settling housekeeping and procedural matters that affect both houses | h. conservative coalition |
| 12. Resolution that is essentially the same as a law and is used to propose constitutional amendments | i. discharge petition |
| | j. filibuster |
| | k. House Rules Committee |
| | l. joint resolution |
| | m. marginal districts |
| | n. markup |
| | o. Millionaire's Club |
| | p. multiple referral |
| | q. organizational view |
| | r. Parliament |
| | s. party caucus |
| | t. party polarization |
| | u. party vote |
| | v. party whip |

13. A means by which senators can extend debate on a bill in order to prevent or delay its consideration
 14. Explanation of congressional voting which emphasizes the impact of personal ideology and party identification as a voting cue
 15. A Senate rule offering a means for stopping a filibuster
 16. A rule issued by the Rules Committee that permits some amendments to a bill but not to others
 17. Committee revisions of a bill
 18. An association of members of Congress created to advocate a political ideology or a regional or economic interest
 19. An individual who assists the party leader in staying abreast of the concerns and voting intentions of the party members
 20. Assigns Republicans to standing committees in the Senate
 21. Explanation of congressional voting that is based on the assumption that members want to get reelected and vote to please their constituents
 22. The group that decides what business comes up for a vote and what the limitations on debate should be
 23. A means by which the House can remove a bill stalled in committee
 24. The process through which a bill is referred to several committees that simultaneously consider it in whole or in part
 25. Assigns Democrats to standing committees in the Senate
 26. A meeting of the members of a political party to decide questions of policy
 27. The extent to which members of a party vote together in the House or the Senate
- w. representational view
 - x. restrictive rule
 - y. riders
 - z. safe districts
 - aa. seniority
 - bb. sequential referral
 - cc. simple resolution
 - dd. Steering Committee

28. A lawmaking body composed of two chambers or parts
29. Districts in which the winner got less than 55 percent of the vote
30. Unrelated amendments added to a bill
31. Districts in which the winner got more than 55 percent of the vote
32. The process through which a bill is referred to second committee after the first is finished acting
33. A traditional, pejorative name for the United States Senate

Set 2

Match the following terms and descriptions:

- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| 1. The legislative leader elected by party members holding the majority of seats in the House or Senate | a. Christmas tree bill |
| 2. Congressional committees appointed for a limited time period and purpose | b. conference committees |
| 3. The ability of members of Congress to mail letters to their constituents free of charge | c. division vote |
| 4. A congressional voting procedure that consists of members answering yea or nay to their names | d. double tracking |
| 5. The legislative leader elected by party members holding a minority of seats in the House or Senate | e. franking privilege |
| 6. A committee on which both representatives and senators serve | f. joint committee |
| 7. Legislation that deals with matters of general concern | g. majority leader |
| 8. An order from the Rules Committee in the House that permits a bill to be amended on the legislative floor | h. minority leader |
| 9. A method of voting used in both houses in which members vote by shouting yea or nay | i. open rule |
| | j. pork barrel legislation |
| | k. private bill |
| | l. public bill |
| | m. quorum call |
| | n. roll call vote |
| | o. select committees |
| | p. standing committees |
| | q. teller vote |
| | r. voice vote |

10. A congressional voting procedure in which members pass between two tellers, first the yeas and then the nays
11. A procedure to keep the Senate going during a filibuster; the disputed bill is shelved temporarily
12. A special type of joint committee appointed to resolve differences in the House and Senate versions of a piece of legislation
13. A bill that has many riders
14. A congressional voting procedure in which members stand and are counted
15. The permanent committees of each house with the power to report bills
16. Legislation that deals only with specific matters rather than with general legislative affairs
17. Legislation that gives tangible benefits to constituents in the hope of winning their votes
18. A calling of the role in either house of Congress to determine whether the number of members in attendance meets the minimum number required to conduct official business

DATA CHECK

Table 13.1 (Page 323): Blacks, Hispanics, and Women in Congress, 1971–2008

1. Which chamber generally features a greater number of blacks, Hispanics, and women?

2. Which Congress featured the greatest number of blacks in the House of Representatives?

3. Which Congress featured the greatest number of women in the House of Representatives?

4. Which Congress featured the greatest number of women in the Senate?

Figure 13.1 (Page 325): Percentage of Incumbents Reelected to Congress

5. Generalize about the percentage of House members who have been reelected in elections from 1952 to 2004.

6. Generalize about the percentage of Senate members who have been reelected in elections from 1952 to 2004.

7. Which members of Congress tend to win with 60 percent or more of the vote?

PRACTICING FOR EXAMS

TRUE/FALSE QUESTIONS

Read each statement carefully. Mark true statements *T*. If any part of the statement is false, mark it *F*, and write in the space provided a concise explanation of why the statement is false.

1. T F Congress derives from a Latin term that means “a coming together.”

2. T F In the United States, political parties exercise considerable control over the choice of who is nominated to run for congressional office.

3. T F The critical decision for a member of parliament is whether or not to support the government.

4. T F Political parties cannot discipline members of Congress who fail to support the party leadership.

5. T F Members of the British House of Commons are poorly paid and have no offices of their own.

6. T F Members of Congress are more concerned with their own constituencies than they are with the interests of any organized party.

7. T F Congress was designed by the Founders in ways that almost inevitably make it popular with voters.

8. T F The House has 335 members.

9. T F By the end of the nineteenth century, the House was known as the “Millionaires’ Club.”
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10. T F The Senate eventually agreed to a constitutional amendment that changed the manner in which its members were elected.
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11. T F The text suggests conservatives in the Senate monopolized the use of the filibuster for both lofty and self-serving purposes.
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12. T F The tradition of unlimited debate remains strong in the Senate.
-
13. T F Congress has become less male and white.
-
14. T F Serving in Congress had become a career by the 1930s.
-
15. T F The Supreme Court struck down an effort by a state to impose term limits on its own members of Congress.
-
16. T F Senators are more likely to lose bids for reelection than members of the House.
-
17. T F In every election from 1968 to 1992, Republicans have gathered a higher percentage of the popular vote than they have the percentage of seats in the House of Representatives.
-
18. T F Democrats tend to do exceptionally well in low-turnout districts.
-
19. T F Studies suggest the incumbency advantage is worth about two to three points in an election today.
-
20. T F During the 1980s, about forty members of Congress were charged with misconduct.
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21. T F The Conservative Coalition consisted of Republicans and certain Southern Democrats.
-
22. T F A member’s final vote on a bill may conceal as much as it reveals.
-
23. T F Members of Congress who win in close races are usually eager to vote the way their constituents want.
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24. T F Senators are often less in tune with public opinion than members of the House.
-
25. T F The Senate highlights the fact that the Republican Party is more deeply divided than the Democratic Party.
-
26. T F Congress has become an increasingly ideological organization.
-
27. T F The organizational explanation of how members of Congress vote has increased in importance.
-
28. T F Today, members of the House are more likely to investigate and denounce each other.
-
29. T F Leadership carries more power in the Senate than in the House.
-
30. T F The votes of Republicans on the four impeachment articles against President Clinton did not even represent the views of their districts.
-
31. T F Most congressional districts are not competitive.
-
32. T F Members of the majority party could, in theory, occupy all of the seats on all of the committees.
-
33. T F The Democratic Caucus changed the rules of Congress so that House chairmen were elected by secret ballot in party caucus.
-
34. T F Republicans in Congress also implemented term limits for committee chairmen.
-
35. T F In 1995, Republicans increased the number of committees in Congress.
-
36. T F In a typical Congress, several hundred bills are introduced.
-
37. T F Members of Congress are more likely to deal with one another through staff intermediaries than personally.
-
38. T F Bills which feature the spending of a lot of money tend to move through Congress more quickly than others.
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39. T F Pending legislation does not carry over from one Congress to the next.
-
40. T F Most bills die in committee and they are often introduced only to get publicity for a member of Congress.
-
41. T F Sequential referrals have slowed down the business of Congress considerably.
-
42. T F Today, most bills are considered under strict time limits and no possibility of amendment from the floor.
-
43. T F What the filibuster means in practice is that neither political party can control the Senate unless it has at least sixty votes.
-
44. T F Most bills require a conference of committees from each house.
-
45. T F Conferences tend to report bills that favor the Senate version.
-
46. T F In most instances, the conference report on a bill is accepted by the respective chambers.
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47. T F The text suggests that the only way to get rid of congressional “pork” is to eliminate Congress altogether and replace it with a tightly controlled parliament.
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MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

Circle the letter of the response that best answers the question or completes the statement.

1. A person ordinarily becomes a candidate for representative or senator by
 - a. appealing to party leaders.
 - b. serving first in the state legislature.
 - c. serving in the state judiciary.
 - d. running in a primary election.
 - e. serving first in a government agency.
2. Whereas the principal work of a parliament is debate, that of a congress is
 - a. representation and action.
 - b. oversight and assessment.
 - c. administration.
 - d. investigation and reorganization.
 - e. discussion.

3. Contemporary critics of Congress disagree with the Framers' vision of Congress in that the critics
 - a. believe that Congress should normally proceed slowly in its deliberations.
 - b. believe that Congress should rarely act without guidance from the executive branch.
 - c. view Congress as designed to check and balance strong leaders in the executive branch.
 - d. wish to end policy gridlock by making Congress capable of speedily adopting sweeping changes in national policies.
 - e. wish to make changes to prevent the American political system from resembling a parliamentary system.
4. In the twentieth century, the trend in congressional decision-making has been toward
 - a. centralization.
 - b. increasing the power of the Speaker.
 - c. increasing the power of party leaders.
 - d. increasing the power of the president.
 - e. decentralization.
5. Until 1913 senators were
 - a. popularly elected.
 - b. picked by state legislatures.
 - c. appointed by state governors.
 - d. selected by the state judiciaries.
 - e. elected by the electoral college.
6. Which amendment changed the manner in which U.S. Senators are selected?
 - a. Tenth.
 - b. Fourteenth.
 - c. Fifteenth.
 - d. Seventeenth.
 - e. Twenty-first.
7. Originally, filibusterers were sixteenth century
 - a. auctioneers.
 - b. lawyers.
 - c. salesmen.
 - d. cavalrymen.
 - e. pirates.
8. The typical representative or senator is
 - a. white.
 - b. male.
 - c. Protestant.
 - d. a lawyer.
 - e. all of the above.
9. In 1994, Native American Ben Nighthorse Campbell
 - a. was elected to the Senate.
 - b. was elected to the House.
 - c. used radio programs to argue persuasively in favor of term limits.
 - d. was allowed to fill a congressional seat as the result of a resignation.
 - e. ran for seats in the House and the Senate simultaneously.

10. In the 1860s, being a congressman was not regarded as a “career” because
 - a. the federal government was not very important.
 - b. travel to Washington, D.C., was difficult.
 - c. the job did not pay well.
 - d. Washington was not generally considered a pleasant place to live.
 - e. all of the above.
11. Serving in Congress became a career by the
 - a. 1920s.
 - b. 1940s.
 - c. 1950s.
 - d. 1970s.
 - e. 1990s.
12. When a state attempted to impose term limits on its own members of Congress
 - a. four other states did the same.
 - b. a majority of states did the same.
 - c. Congress outlawed the practice.
 - d. the Supreme Court struck down the effort.
 - e. a majority of incumbents nationwide announced they would not seek reelection.
13. Political scientists define a “safe” district as one where the incumbent received ___ percent or more of the vote in the previous election.
 - a. 50
 - b. 55
 - c. 60
 - d. 65
 - e. 80
14. A new Congress convenes every ____ years.
 - a. 2
 - b. 3
 - c. 4
 - d. 6
 - e. 10
15. The evidence that the electoral fortunes of members of Congress are shaped by the redrawing of congressional districts is
 - a. compelling.
 - b. striking, but anecdotal.
 - c. long-standing.
 - d. irrefutable.
 - e. somewhat mixed, but convincing.
16. Today, few congressional votes feature the so-called “conservative coalition” because
 - a. congressmen are increasingly facing strong challengers in their bid for reelection.
 - b. members of Congress have generally become more moderate in terms of ideology.
 - c. very few votes have an ideological dimension.
 - d. the Republicans deeply offended Southern Democrats during the Carter administration.
 - e. almost all of the conservatives are now in the Republican party.

17. Studies have found correlations between constituency opinion and congressional roll-call votes on bills related to
 - a. civil rights.
 - b. foreign policy.
 - c. social welfare.
 - d. international trade
 - e. A and C.
18. When voting on matters where constituency interests or opinion are not vitally at stake, members of Congress respond primarily to voting cues provided by
 - a. their colleagues.
 - b. judicial rulings.
 - c. interest groups.
 - d. PACs.
 - e. administrative agencies.
19. During the 1950s and 1960s, the Senate was dominated by
 - a. northern senators.
 - b. liberal senators.
 - c. conservative Republicans.
 - d. southern senators.
 - e. freshman senators.
20. Beginning in the mid-1960s, _____ rose steadily in number, seniority and influence.
 - a. northern senators
 - b. liberal senators
 - c. conservative Republicans
 - d. southern senators
 - e. freshman senators
21. Beginning in the late 1970s, _____ began to regain seats in the Senate.
 - a. northern senators
 - b. liberal senators
 - c. conservative Republicans
 - d. southern senators
 - e. freshman senators
22. The increasingly ideological nature of the House means today's members are more likely to
 - a. consult with campaign managers before voting.
 - b. be influenced by PAC contributions when they vote.
 - c. serve on low-profile committees.
 - d. investigate and denounce each other.
 - e. sponsor legislation written by interest groups.
23. The real leadership in the Senate rests with the
 - a. majority leader.
 - b. president pro tempore.
 - c. managers.
 - d. vice president.
 - e. Senate whip.

24. In the House, the most important position is the
 - a. majority leader.
 - b. manager.
 - c. Speaker.
 - d. president pro tempore.
 - e. floor leader.
25. In recent years, the Senate has become more hospitable to
 - a. lawyers.
 - b. ideologues.
 - c. partisans.
 - d. state legislators.
 - e. freshmen.
26. An extreme example of party voting was the response to Clinton's 1993 budget plan in which every Republican in the
 - a. House voted against it.
 - b. Senate voted for it.
 - c. House and Senate voted against it.
 - d. House and Senate voted for it.
 - e. House and Senate refused to vote on the matter at all.
27. The text suggests _____ are "a growing rival to the parties as a source of policy leadership."
 - a. senior leadership councils
 - b. PAC-based think tanks
 - c. regional alliances
 - d. executive liaisons
 - e. congressional caucuses
28. The most important organizational feature of Congress is the
 - a. party caucus.
 - b. floor leader.
 - c. committee structure.
 - d. legislative leadership program.
 - e. congressional campaign committee.
29. Each member of the House usually serves on ___ standing committees.
 - a. 2
 - b. 3
 - c. 4
 - d. 6
 - e. 7
30. The text suggests that closed rules, proxy voting and strong committee chairmen
 - a. were desired by Democrats, but not the Republicans.
 - b. were a major campaign issue in 1976.
 - c. reduced the number of bills that were introduced in Congress.
 - d. made it easier to get things done.
 - e. enhanced the public reputation of Congress.

31. Which of the following is signed by the president and has the force of law?
 - a. Simple resolution.
 - b. Concurrent resolution.
 - c. Parallel resolution.
 - d. Joint resolution.
 - e. A and B.
32. Which of the following is required in order to propose a constitutional amendment?
 - a. Simple resolution.
 - b. Concurrent resolution.
 - c. Parallel resolution.
 - d. Joint resolution.
 - e. A and B.
33. The Constitution requires that “all bills for raising revenue shall ...
 - a. originate in the House of Representatives.”
 - b. originate in the Senate.”
 - c. originate in Conference Committee.”
 - d. require a unanimous vote.”
 - e. be exempt from the veto of the President.”
34. In the House, a stalled bill can be extracted from a committee and brought to the floor by means of
 - a. a discharge petition.
 - b. an extraction bill.
 - c. a committee rule.
 - d. cloture.
 - e. a unanimous consent vote.
35. The “Committee of the Whole” refers to
 - a. a collection of committee chairs in the House.
 - b. the senior sponsors of a piece of legislation.
 - c. freshmen members of both the House and the Senate.
 - d. members of the House who happen to be on the floor when a bill is discussed.
 - e. none of the above.
36. The practical advantage of the “Committee of the Whole” is that
 - a. committee chairs have greater understanding of parliamentary procedure.
 - b. senior members of Congress are probably more enthusiastic supporters of legislation.
 - c. new members of Congress are made to feel more welcomed in chambers.
 - d. it requires a much smaller number of members to hold quorum.
 - e. none of the above.
37. In recent years, the filibuster has occurred more frequently because
 - a. the Senate has increased in size.
 - b. Republicans have gained seats in the Senate.
 - c. Democrats have gained seats in the Senate.
 - d. participants are guaranteed media exposure.
 - e. it is easier to stage one.

38. Bills which contain a large number of “riders” are known as “_____ bills.”
- Loaded
 - Constituency
 - Valentine
 - Dry Ice
 - Christmas Tree
39. The process of “double tracking” allows
- committees to consider recently rejected legislation within a limited time frame.
 - members of the House to filibuster two bills at the same time.
 - the president to influence congressional votes at the beginning and end of the legislative session.
 - members of the Senate to focus on other business during a filibuster.
 - freshmen members of Congress two chances to pass their first piece of legislation.
40. For years Congress defended the manner in which it exempted itself from many of its own laws by reference to
- federalism.
 - bicameralism.
 - the separation of powers.
 - legislative supremacy.
 - the committee structure.
41. According to the text, most categories of pork spending have _____ in the last ten or fifteen years.
- decreased
 - remained at approximately the same levels
 - increased
 - slightly increased
 - dramatically increased

ESSAY QUESTIONS

Practice writing extended answers to the following questions. These test your ability to integrate and express the ideas that you have been studying in this chapter.

- Compare and contrast membership in Parliament with membership in the U.S. Congress.
- Explain what a “filibuster” is and how “Rule 22” applies to filibusters.
- Generalize about the social background characteristics of the typical member of Congress and describe recent trends in membership.
- What are some explanations that scholars provide for why congressional seats have become less marginal?
- Identify and explain the three views of congressional voting.
- Why are members of Congress strong liberals and conservatives while the American people are usually somewhere in the center?
- Explain the three types of resolutions that Congress can pass.
- Explain the four procedures for voting in Congress.
- Identify 5-6 rules with respect to Congressional ethics.

ANSWERS TO KEY TERMS MATCH QUESTIONS

Set 1

1. aa
2. r
3. q
4. h
5. t
6. c
7. cc
8. f
9. l
10. j
11. a
12. d
13. x
14. n
15. g
16. v
17. e
18. w
19. k
20. i
21. p
22. dd
23. s
24. u
25. b
26. m
27. y
28. z
29. bb
30. o

Set 2

1. g
2. o
3. e
4. n
5. h
6. f
7. l
8. i
9. r
10. q
11. d
12. b
13. a
14. c
15. p
16. k
17. j
18. m

ANSWERS TO DATA CHECK QUESTIONS

1. The House.
2. 106th and 108th (with 39).
3. 110th (with 74).
4. 110th (with 16).
5. The number has varied to some degree, but generally hangs around the 90 percent mark. It has never fallen below 70 percent.
6. The number has varied considerably compared to the number for the House. It has fluctuated between 55 and 95 percent, but generally remains about the 70 percent mark.
7. House members are more likely to gather 60 percent or more of the vote.

ANSWERS TO TRUE/FALSE QUESTIONS

1. T
2. F Although parties do play a role in the process, attaining the nomination is largely an individual effort in the United States.
3. T
4. T

5. T
6. T
7. F It was designed in a way that would inevitably make it slow moving and unpopular.
8. F The House has 435 members.
9. T
10. T
11. F This has been the case with respect to both liberals and conservatives in the Senate.
12. T
13. T
14. F It did not become a career until the 1950s.
15. T
16. T
17. T
18. T
19. F It is worth 6 to 8 points today.
20. T
21. T
22. T
23. F Amazingly, there is no evidence of this. Perhaps it is because opinion is so divided in a marginal district that it isn't possible (or smart to even try to) please everyone.
24. T
25. F The Democratic party is more deeply divided (the split occurring between Northern and Southern Democrats).
26. T
27. F The attitudinal explanation has increased in importance as Congress has become more ideological.
28. T
29. F Leadership carries much more power in the House.
30. T
31. T
32. T
33. T
34. T
35. F They actually decreased the number.
36. F It would be more accurate to say five to six thousand are introduced.
37. T

38. F The more money involved in a bill, the slower it moves through the process.
39. T
40. T
41. F They are a device that could possibly slow down the process, to be sure, but there is as of yet, no evidence that they do.
42. T
43. T
44. F Most bills do not require the attention of such a committee.
45. T
46. T
47. T

ANSWERS TO MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

1. d
2. a
3. d
4. e
5. b
6. d
7. e
8. e
9. a
10. e
11. c
12. d
13. b
14. a
15. b
16. e
17. a
18. a
19. d
20. b
21. c
22. d
23. a

- 24. c
- 25. e
- 26. c
- 27. e
- 28. c
- 29. a
- 30. d
- 31. d
- 32. d
- 33. a
- 34. a
- 35. d
- 36. d
- 37. e
- 38. e
- 39. d
- 40. c
- 41. a