CONTAINS:

- Multiple-Choice Questions and Answer Key
- Free-Response Questions, Scoring Guidelines, and Sample Student Responses with Commentary
- Statistical Information about Student Performance on the 1999 Exam
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The 1999 AP® Examination in U.S. Government & Politics

Contains:

- Multiple-Choice Questions and Answer Key
- Free-Response Questions, Scoring Guidelines, and Sample Student Responses with Commentary
- Statistical Information about Student Performance on the 1999 Exam
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Chapter I

The AP Process

- Who Develops the AP Government and Politics Exams?
- How Are They Developed?
  - Section I
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- Question Types
  - Multiple Choice
  - Free Response
- Scoring the Exam
  - Who Scores the AP Government and Politics Exams?
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- Preparing Students for the Exam
- Teacher Support

This chapter will give you a brief overview of what goes on behind the scenes during the development and grading of the AP Government and Politics Exams. You can find more detailed information in the "Technical Corner" of the AP website (www.collegeboard.org/ap).

Who Develops the AP Government and Politics Exams?

The AP Government and Politics Development Committee, working with test specialists at Educational Testing Service (ETS), is responsible for the development of the examinations. The College Board, working with the ETS test specialists, appoints the Government and Politics Development Committee composed of seven teachers from secondary schools, colleges, and universities in different parts of the country. Each committee member typically serves for three years. One of the college or university faculty is appointed chair of the committee. The Chief Faculty Consultant in AP Government and Politics serves ex officio on the committee and attends all meetings to ensure that the free-response questions selected for the exam can be scored reliably. This committee is responsible for developing both the United States and the Comparative Government and Politics examinations. (For more information on the Comparative Government examination, please see the 1999 AP Comparative Government & Politics Released Exam.)

How Are They Developed?

The Development Committee periodically surveys political science departments at colleges and universities across the United States to ascertain what topics and abilities are being stressed in introductory-level courses. There is no specific college curriculum that an AP course in United States Government and Politics must follow. Consequently, the Development Committee uses its research into typical course content and its members' sense of the direction of political science as a discipline to derive content recommendations that are challenging and equivalent to those obtained in most introductory college United States government and politics courses.

Each AP Government and Politics Examination is the result of several stages of development that together span two or more years. At any given time, several examinations are in various stages of development. The development process is different for the multiple-choice questions in Section I and the free-response questions in Section II:

Section I

1. Committee members contribute multiple-choice questions as part of their ongoing responsibilities; additional multiple-choice questions are written by college and university faculty who submit the questions to ETS.
2. ETS test specialists perform preliminary reviews to ensure that draft questions are formatted properly and meet the examination specifications.

3. At the committee meetings, which are held two or three times a year, the committee members review, revise, and approve the draft questions for use in future exams. They ensure that the substance of the questions is important and that each question has only one correct answer.

4. The questions are "pretested" in college and university settings to determine their level of difficulty.

5. Using the pool of approved items, test specialists assemble a draft Section I examination that is again reviewed and revised by the committee. The level of difficulty of the examination is controlled by selecting a range of items at different levels of difficulty, a subset of which has been used in an earlier form of the examination.

Section II

1. Well in advance of the exam administration, the members of the Development Committee write free-response questions that are assembled into question pools.

2. The committee then selects sets of questions that are revised and reviewed at subsequent meetings to ensure they are of the highest possible quality before being administered. They consider, for example, whether the questions will offer an appropriate level of difficulty and whether they will elicit answers that allow faculty consultants to discriminate among the responses along a particular scoring scale. An ideal question enables the stronger students to demonstrate their accomplishments while revealing the limitations of less advanced students. The expertise of the Chief Faculty Consultant and the committee members who have read examinations in past years is notable: they gain valuable experience regarding how past free-response questions have performed and they suggest changes based on that experience. The committee members who are AP high school teachers offer valuable advice regarding realistic expectations for students relating to coverage of material, knowledge of terms, and clarity of phrasing. The college and university faculty members contribute their own perspectives, ensuring that the approved and accepted questions are at the appropriate level of difficulty for an introductory college course in United States government and politics.

Several months before the exam is administered, the Development Committee conducts a final review of both sections of the exam, ensuring that all questions are current and appropriate. Final revisions are made at this time if necessary.

Question Types

The AP United States Government and Politics Exam contains a 45-minute multiple-choice section and a 100-minute free-response section. The two sections are designed to complement each other and to meet the overall course objectives and exam specifications.

Multiple-choice questions are useful for measuring a student's knowledge of facts, concepts, and theories of United States Government and Politics, as well as the student's understanding of typical patterns of political processes and behaviors. In addition, they have three other strengths:

1. They are highly reliable. Reliability, or the likelihood that candidates of similar ability levels taking a different form of the exam will receive the same scores, is controlled more effectively with multiple-choice questions than with free-response questions.

2. They allow the Development Committee to include a selection of questions at various levels of difficulty, thereby ensuring that the measurement of differences in students' achievement is optimized. For AP Exams, the most important distinctions are between students earning the grades of 2 and 3, and 3 and 4. These distinctions are usually best accomplished by using many questions of middle difficulty.
3. They allow the Chief Faculty Consultant (CFC) to compare the ability level of the current candidates with those from another year. A number of questions from an earlier exam are included in the current one, thereby allowing comparisons to be made between the scores of the earlier group of candidates and the current group. This information, along with other data, is used by the CFC to establish AP grades that reflect the competence demanded by the Advanced Placement Program, and that compare with earlier grades.

Free-response questions on the AP Government and Politics Exam are a more appropriate tool for evaluating a student’s ability to use analytical and organizational skills.

1. They allow candidates to use their powers of analysis to build logical structures with supporting arguments and interconnected elements.

2. They allow students to present uncommon yet correct responses.

After each exam administration, the questions in each section are analyzed both individually and collectively, and the findings are used to improve the following year’s exam.

Scoring the Exam

Every May hundreds of thousands of students from around the world take one or more of the AP Examinations offered (in 1999, there were 32 exams from which to choose). In all subjects except Studio Art, the exams contain both multiple-choice questions and free-response questions, the latter requiring essay writing and problem solving.

Grading AP Examinations is a unique enterprise. The size and complexity of the Reading are unlike those of any other essay assessment in this country; the evaluation requires special and demanding procedures designed to produce equitable and consistent evaluations of performance. The multiple-choice sections of the exams are scored by computer. Once the pool of examinations is scored, the results are scrutinized to identify any unforeseen difficulties or biases in particular questions. While rare, if there is a problem identified with a multiple-choice question, the question may be dropped from the student scores at the discretion of the Chief Faculty Consultant, the Development Committee Chair, and ETS test specialists.

Scoring the free-response sections requires the involvement of college professors and AP teachers who have been carefully selected on the basis of their education, experience, and association with the AP Program. In 1999, approximately 1,150,000 exams were evaluated by more than 4,000 educators. In addition, several hundred individuals provided professional and clerical support at the many sites required to accommodate the AP Reading.

While pride in accomplishing this undertaking is justifiable, the essential concern of the Advanced Placement Program is that all students receive grades that demonstrate their achievement fairly and accurately. Thus, the following procedures are used to assure that grading standards are applied fairly to all student responses.

Who Scores the Government and Politics Exams?

The people who score the free-response sections of the AP Government and Politics Exams are known as “faculty consultants.” These faculty consultants are experienced government and politics instructors who either teach the AP course in a high school, or the equivalent course at a college or university. Great care is taken to get a broad and balanced group of teachers. Among the factors considered before appointing someone to the role are school locale and setting (urban, rural, etc.), gender, ethnicity, and years of teaching experience. If you are interested in applying to be a faculty consultant at a future AP Reading, you can complete and submit an online application in the “Teachers” section of the AP website (www.collegeboard.org/ap), or request a printed application by calling (609) 406-5384.

During the third week of June 1999, approximately 350 AP teachers and professors of government and politics gathered at the University of Nebraska, Lincoln. Among these teachers, about 60 were invited to serve as Question Leaders or Table Leaders and to come to the Reading early to help lead the effort. The remaining readers were divided into tables of five or six readers, with each table reporting to one Table Leader. Under
the guidance of the Chief Faculty Consultant, the Table Leaders had responsibility for organizing the details of the Reading and conveying information to the readers in the respective teams.

**Ensuring Accuracy**

The assessment of the free-response questions is a complicated and very important part of the scoring process. Each essay should receive the correct score regardless of when it is read during the Reading or who reads it. This process requires the development of appropriate grading standards followed by the careful application of these standards to each and every essay.

The process of setting and maintaining standards for an AP Exam is a lengthy and continuous process. By the time the questions are used on the examination, the Chief Faculty Consultant, the members of the Development Committee, and the professional test specialists from Educational Testing Service have devoted close to two years to fashioning and honing questions that will guide the candidate to address the specific content and topics that are required.

In recent years, the Development Committee has developed free-response questions that ask for analysis, description, and/or explanation. Responses to these questions permit the application of analytic rather than holistic grading standards. While that change in essay type leaves less room for qualitative and idiosyncratic evaluation by readers, it also ensures a more consistent grading standard that can be applied reliably by all the readers. It also presents students with clearer and more precise tasks.

**How the Scoring Guidelines Are Created**

1. Prior to the beginning of the Reading, the number of points students can earn for each free-response question is assigned by the committee; the committee also provides direction regarding appropriate answers to each question.

2. During the five-day “pre-Reading” period, several important tasks are completed:

   - During the first three days, the Chief Faculty Consultant, Examination Leaders, and Question Leaders meet with the ETS test specialists to develop preliminary rubrics, or grading standards, for each question.
   - The essays written by AP candidates are then sampled extensively by this group of experienced professionals to determine how closely and in what ways the actual essays correspond to the initial standards outlined by the committee. The preliminary standards are revised and adjusted so that the rubrics reflect not only the committee’s directions but also the full range of actual essays that will be encountered by the readers.
   - During the last two days of the pre-Reading, these rubrics are presented to the Table Leaders who continue to work on the grading standards. In 1999, these two days involved about 60 experienced people who have read for many years, many of whom have been Table Leaders for years.
   - The final polishing of each grading standard is completed by the end of the five-day pre-Reading period, and the Table Leaders are then ready to begin the reading. It is essential that this period end with agreement and closure as well as complete understanding by all the Table Leaders, Question Leaders, and Examination Leaders as to the standards that will control and direct the evaluation of the students’ essays.

3. Once the grading of essays begins, no changes or modifications in the standard are made. Given the extensive preparation by the Development Committee prior to the exam administration, and the assessment of essay samples by Table and Question Leaders at the pre-Reading, there are essentially no essays that do not fit the grading standard and cannot be evaluated using this rubric.
Training Faculty Consultants to Apply the Scoring Guidelines

1. The actual Reading involves the entire set of readers in groups of five or six at a table. The Table Leader devotes a great deal of time and effort during the first day or so teaching the rubric and insuring that all the members of the table understand the grading standards and can apply that standard reliably to the essays they encounter. It is absolutely crucial that the grading standard be mastered by each reader at the outset. Each table devotes its attention to a single question and rubric, and except for a few late-reading cases, the entire effort of each reader will focus on one question for the duration of the Reading. Every reader understands the importance of reading carefully and consistently to insure the application of the standard without bias or idiosyncracy to all the essays. During this training, the members of each table will be presented with a wide variety of strong, weak, and mediocre essays so that they can understand the different scores that essays of differing quality earn.

2. The actual grading of essays begins at various times during the end of the first day or the beginning of the second day of the Reading. That start depends on each Table Leader's judgment about the table and its members. However, by the middle of the second day, all the readers at all the tables are grading essays on their respective questions. The Table Leaders, particularly at the outset of the actual reading, devote their time to “backreading” the essays graded by the readers. This involves Table Leaders randomly reading and grading essays that have been scored by readers at their tables to insure that everyone is applying the standard consistently and correctly.

Maintaining the Scoring Guidelines

1. Throughout the Reading, the CFC, Examination Leaders, Question Leaders, and Table Leaders check for reading reliability. These formal backchecks are regularly scheduled daily practices. They involve randomly selecting graded essays that are then objectively re-scored by the Table Leader and the Question Leader, applying the same grading standard used by the original reader. The first and second scores on an essay are compared, and any differences are discussed with readers, corrections are made as necessary, and the reader's work is continuously checked. The objective of this detailed and intensive process is to insure that the correct score for each essay is given, no matter when the essay is scored or who evaluates the essay.

Preparing Students for the Exam

Beginning in 1998, the format of the free-response section of the AP U.S. Government and Politics Exam changed from that of previous years: it now contains four mandatory, equally weighted free-response questions. This change reflected the Development Committee's assessment of what would provide the most accurate and fair assessment of the abilities of all AP candidates.

Less writing time. The free-response writing time, though expanded in 1998 to 100 minutes, provides candidates with less time for some questions than they previously had. That change, in part, means that students have to “hit the ground running” for each of their answers. However, if they carefully consider the scope and coverage of the new questions, students will notice that they are less general and more focused than before. This means that their free-response answers need not be as lengthy as those required in the past by the 45-minute essay questions.
Essay-writing formats. What is the best way to structure an essay? It depends on the question that is being posed. For example, the standard essay question might call for 1) a thesis statement, 2) development of the thesis or examples to support the thesis, and 3) conclusions. The new free-response questions, on the other hand, may NOT call for this traditional mode of answer at all. The change in exam format requires that candidates read the questions carefully and understand what is asked of them. If they do this, formulating their response may be much more straightforward than they might think.

Essential features of student responses.
There are two things students should consider when answering a free-response question.

1. The first, essential task is to recognize the subject matter or topic of the question. For example, the subject matter may be “political parties,” “Congress,” or “voting behavior.” This may seem easy, but students should be careful to do more than recognize the overall topic; the substance of the question may well involve a relationship or connection between two or more topics. It may ask the candidate to focus on only one part of a topic, and certainly not present a general essay. So the question may not be only about political parties, but rather about the relationship between party organization and presidential nominations, or political parties and voter turnout. Candidates who “jump” at the topic of a question and immediately start writing run the great risk of missing the point or not answering the question at all. Thus, they lower their AP score needlessly because they failed to think about and respond to the question(s) posed.

2. The second task is to recognize what the question asks the candidate to do. For example, they may be asked to “list,” “discuss,” “describe,” “analyze,” “explain,” “identify,” or “compare and contrast.” These are obviously NOT identical tasks, and each requires something different of the candidate. Furthermore, the question may call for more than one of these activities, such as “outline and describe,” or “identify and explain.” Clearly, this may require less than a general essay with a thesis, support, and conclusion. Only when students clearly understand what is being asked of them should they begin developing and presenting their response.

Students should also realize that there is something of an order to the tasks contained in a question. Listing or identifying is easier than explaining and analyzing. A “list” need not even be in complete sentences, while an “explanation” may require several paragraphs of discussion, complete with a thesis. Thus, it is important for the student to develop specific writing and thinking skills that enable them to describe, analyze, list, explain, outline, and the like.

Teaching strategies. It is important for AP teachers to devote some course time to reviewing these strategies with their students. Some practice in “listing factors,” or “describing a relationship,” or “analyzing the consequences” will produce responses with different content, different structure, and different length. The most important elements of good free-response essay writing are to understand the question, focus on developing an answer or response to what is asked, and then write the answer clearly and legibly. Teachers can develop their own scheme or order of action verbs for questions, and get candidates to think about how to develop good responses to those requests.

In grading students’ written work, teachers may want to use the scoring techniques used by the AP Government and Politics faculty consultants at the Reading. Samples of student responses to the AP U.S. Government Exam, the grading standards used at the Reading, and the rationales for why each answer received the score it did, are available in Chapter III of this and previously published examinations, as well as on the AP Web site: www.collegeboard.org/ap/gov-pol.

The sample questions contained in the most recent AP Government and Politics Course Description (May 2000, 2001) illustrate the kinds of topics and the scope and range of questions that might be contained in the free-response section of the AP Exam. The Course Description is crucial to
displaying the “shape” of the United States Government and Politics exam. It is essential to note that ALL the subjects presented in the Course Description are important and should be covered in order for the candidate to do well on the exam.

**Teacher Support**

There are a number of resources available to help teachers prepare their students — and themselves — for the AP course and exam.

**AP workshops and summer institutes.** New and experienced teachers are invited to attend workshops and seminars to learn the rudiments of teaching an AP course as well as the latest in each course’s expectations. Sessions of one day to about three weeks in length are held year-round. Dates, locations, topics, and fees are available from the College Board’s Regional Offices (see the inside front cover of this booklet), in the publication *Graduate Summer Courses and Institutes*, or in the “Teachers” section of our website (see below).

**AP’s corner of College Board Online.** You can supplement your AP course and preparation for the exam with plentiful advice and resources from our AP web pages (www.collegeboard.org/ap). From this page, you can enter the “Teachers” section, which provides answers to questions about exam dates, costs, and grades; course and exam content; College Board workshops; and much more. You’ll also find the latest free-response questions and scoring guidelines, multiple-choice questions, and information about how teachers can join an online discussion group in their subject. One of our newer features is a behind-the-scenes look at who creates the courses and exams; the AP Reading and grading process; the validity and reliability procedures used; and data on student performance. Because of CBO’s dynamic nature, and the difficulty of describing it in print, we encourage you to go online and see what’s there for yourself.

**Online discussion groups.** The AP Program has developed an interactive online mailing list for each AP subject. Many AP teachers find this free resource to be an invaluable tool for sharing ideas with colleagues on syllabi, course texts, teaching techniques, and so on, and for discussing other AP issues and topics as they arise. To find out how to subscribe, go to the “Teachers” section of our website.

**AP videoconferences.** Several videoconferences in various subjects are held each year so that AP teachers can converse electronically with the high school and college teachers who develop AP courses and exams. Schools that participate in the AP Program are notified of the time, date, and subject of the videoconference in advance. Videotapes of each conference are available shortly after the event; see the Appendix for ordering information. The next Government and Politics videoconference will be held in fall 2000.
Chapter II

The 1999 AP United States Government & Politics Examination

- Exam Content and Format
- Purpose of the Exam
- Giving a Practice Exam
- Instructions for Administering the Exam
- Sample Answer Sheet
- The Exam

Exam Content and Format

The format of the 1999 examination is identical to the format introduced in 1998. The examination is two hours and 25 minutes long and contains a 45-minute multiple-choice section and a 100-minute free-response section consisting of four mandatory questions. Section I is made up of 60 multiple-choice questions covering the following content areas: Constitutional underpinnings of democracy; political beliefs and behaviors of individuals, political parties, interest groups, and media; institutions of national government; public policy; and civil liberties and civil rights. Most of the multiple-choice questions are designed to challenge a student’s analytical ability rather than to test simple factual recall, although basic political science literacy questions may be included as appropriate based on the content of the examination. The multiple-choice portion of the examination counts for 50 percent of the total score.

In Section II, which contributes the other 50 percent of the total examination score, students have 100 minutes to answer all four questions, and it is expected that they will spend approximately 25 minutes on each question. The score on each question accounts for one-fourth of the student’s total score on this section of the exam. The questions may cover any aspect of the course content, and require application of political science concepts to political and institutional features of United States government. Examination grading standards reward the student’s ability to frame and sustain an analytical argument that employs appropriate political science concepts and is supported by evidence and examples.

In stimulus-based questions, students are required to work with data in different media, e.g., graphs, charts, and quotations. These questions typically require students to do two things: interpret the stimulus and then incorporate the information in the stimulus with appropriate political science concepts and knowledge.

Chapter III includes the scoring guides that the faculty consultants used to evaluate the 1999 essays and sample student responses representing different scores on these grading scales.

1999 United States Government & Politics Examination Format

Multiple-Choice (Section I)

60 questions ............... 45 minutes

Free-Response (Section II)

4 questions ............... 100 minutes
Purpose of the Exam

The AP United States Government and Politics Examination is intended to test student performance using standards equivalent to those used to measure college students who have completed an equivalent one-semester course in United States government and politics. At many schools, AP United States Government and Politics is taught in one semester. In any single year, students may take both AP Government and Politics examinations for a single fee. Students who take the AP United States Government and Politics course but opt not to take the exam still have the advantage of background knowledge that will serve them well when they do take government and politics as part of their college program of studies.

Giving a Practice Exam

The following pages contain the instructions, as printed in the 1999 AP Coordinator’s Manual, for administering the AP Government and Politics Examinations. Following the instructions are copies of the 1999 answer sheet and the entire AP United States Government and Politics Examination. If you use this released exam to test your students, you may wish to use these instructions to create an exam situation that resembles a national administration. If so, read aloud to the students the directions that are shaded and set in boldface. All other instructions are for the person administering the actual exam and need not be read aloud. You will find that some instructions, such as those referring to the date, the time, and page numbers, are no longer relevant; please ignore them.

Another publication that you might find useful is the so-called “Packets of 10,” which are just that: packets of ten of the 1999 AP United States Government and Politics Exam, each with a blank answer sheet. For ordering information, see the Appendix.

Special Note:
The questions developed for this examination were reviewed for accuracy and appropriateness prior to their administration in May 1999. Because of the changes that frequently occur in politics, it is possible that some of the questions may now have more than one plausible answer, or perhaps no plausible answer. Therefore, prior to using this exam for practice with students, AP teachers should review all questions and the answer key to determine whether any questions are outdated or any answers have changed.
IMPORTANT
For regular administrations, read ALL of the boxed instructions below except those marked specifically for the morning and afternoon administrations.

For administrations using an alternate form of each exam, read ALL of the boxed instructions below except for those marked specifically for the May 18th administrations. If these instructions are being used for a late administration, all days, dates, and times to be read aloud should be adjusted as necessary.

The Government and Politics Examinations are administered at separate times. A single exam fee applies whether a candidate takes one or both Government and Politics Exams. Since candidates who take both exams will complete two answer sheets, you must keep track of the number of candidates taking both exams to correctly determine the remittance due (i.e., not double count these exams). The special roster for this purpose is in the back of this manual. Read and follow the instructions on the roster before administering the exam.

Complete the general instructions beginning on page 34. Then say:

Open your Section I booklet and begin. You have 45 minutes for this section of the exam.

Allow 45 minutes. Note the time you will stop here _________. While candidates are working on Section I, you and your proctors should make sure they are marking answers on their answer sheets in pencil and are not looking at their Section II booklets.

After 45 minutes, say:

Stop working. Close your exam booklet and keep it closed on your desk. Do not insert your answer sheet in the booklet. . . . I will now collect the answer sheets.

After you have collected an answer sheet from every candidate, say:

Seal the Section I booklet with the three seals provided. Peel each seal from the backing sheet and press it on the front cover so it just covers the area marked “PLACE SEAL HERE.” Fold it over the open edge and press it to the back cover. Use one seal for each open edge. Be careful not to let the seals touch anything except the marked areas. . . .

Collect the sealed Section I exam booklets. Be sure you receive one from every candidate; then give your break instructions. A 5- to 10-minute break is permitted. Students may talk, move about, or leave the room together to get a drink of water or go to the rest room (see “Breaks During the Examination”).

Give your break instructions. Then say:

Testing will resume _________.

After the break, say:

Open the package containing your Section II booklet. Turn to the back cover of the booklet, and read the instructions at the upper left. . . . Using a pen with black or dark-blue ink, print your identification information in the boxes. . . . Taking care not to tear the sheet beneath the cover, detach the perforation at the top. . . . Fold the flap down, and moisten and press the glue strip firmly along the entire lower edge. . . . Your identification information should now be covered and will not be known by those scoring your answers.

Read the instructions at the upper right of the back cover. . . .
**AT THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION ONLY, SAY:**

Take one AP number label from the center of your Candidate Pack and place the label in the AP number box at the top of the page. If you do not have number labels left, copy your number from the front cover of your Candidate Pack into the box.

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**AT THE COMPARATIVE ADMINISTRATION ONLY, SAY:**

Print your initials in the three boxes provided. Next, take two AP number labels from the center of your Candidate Pack and place them in the two boxed areas, one below the instructions and one to the left. If you do not have number labels left, copy your number from the front cover of your Candidate Pack into both boxed areas...

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**Item 5** (for U.S., Item 6 for Comparative) provides you with the option of giving Educational Testing Service permission to use your free-response materials for educational research and instructional purposes. Your name would not be used in connection with the free-response materials. Read the statement and answer either “yes” or “no.”... Are there any questions?

Answer all questions regarding procedure. Then say:

**If you will be taking another AP Exam, I will collect your Candidate Pack. You may keep your Candidate Pack if this is your last or only AP Exam.**

Collect the Candidate Packs. Then say:

**Read the directions for Section II on the back of your booklet. Look up when you have finished... Are there any questions?**

Answer all questions regarding procedure. Then say:

**You have 100 minutes to answer all four questions in Section II. All questions are weighted equally. It is suggested that you spend approximately 25 minutes answering each question. Open the Section II booklet.**

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**AT THE MAY 18TH ADMINISTRATIONS ONLY, SAY:**

Tear out the green insert in the center of the booklet. Print your name, teacher, and school in the upper left-hand corner of the insert. I will be collecting this insert at the end of the administration. It will be returned to you at a later date by your teacher.

You may use the insert for notes but write all your answers on the lined pages in the Section II booklet.

When you are ready to begin the exam, note the time here — Then say:

**Begin work on Section II.**

Allow 100 minutes. Note the time you will stop here — You will be advising students at 25-minute intervals to move on to questions 2, 3, and 4. You and your proctors should check to make sure all candidates are writing their answers in the Section II booklets.

After 25 minutes, say:

**You should move on to question 2 if you have not already done so.**

After another 25 minutes, say:

**You should move on to question 3 if you have not already done so.**

After 25 more minutes, say:

**You should move on to question 4 if you have not already done so.**

At the end of the 100-minute testing time, say:

**Stop working. Close your booklet and keep it closed on your desk. I will now collect your booklets. Remain in your seats, without talking, while the exam materials are being collected. You will receive your grade reports by mid-July and grades will be available by phone beginning July 1st.**

Collect the Section II booklets and the green inserts. Be sure you have one of each from every candidate. Check the back of each Section II booklet to make sure the candidate’s AP number appears in the box(es) [one box for U.S., two boxes for Comparative]. The green inserts must be stored securely for no less than 48 hours (2 school days) after they are collected. After the 48-hour holding time, the inserts may be given to the appropriate AP teacher(s) for return to the students. (The alternate exam for late administrations does not have an insert.)

When all examination materials have been collected, dismiss the candidates.

Fill in the necessary information for the Government and Politics Examinations on the S&R Form. Alternate exams should be recorded on their respective line on the S&R Form. Put the exam materials in locked storage until they are returned to ETS in one shipment after your school’s last administration. See “Activities After the Exam.”
**Q. THIS SECTION IS FOR THE SURVEY QUESTIONS IN THE CANDIDATE PACK. (DO NOT PUT RESPONSES TO EXAM QUESTIONS IN THIS SECTION.) BE SURE EACH MARK IS DARK AND COMPLETELY FILLS THE OVAL.**

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

**DO NOT COMPLETE THIS SECTION UNLESS INSTRUCTED TO DO SO.**

R. If this answer sheet is for the French Language, French Literature, German Language, Spanish Language, or Spanish Literature Examination, please answer the following questions. (Your responses will not affect your grade.)

1. Have you lived or studied for one month or more in a country where the language of the exam you are now taking is spoken?  
   - Yes  
   - No

2. Do you regularly speak or hear the language at home?  
   - Yes  
   - No

**INDICATE YOUR ANSWERS TO THE EXAM QUESTIONS IN THIS SECTION. IF A QUESTION HAS ONLY FOUR ANSWER OPTIONS, DO NOT MARK OPTION (E). YOUR ANSWER SHEET WILL BE SCORED BY MACHINE. USE ONLY NO. 2 PENCILS TO MARK YOUR ANSWERS ON PAGES 2 AND 3 (ONE RESPONSE PER QUESTION). AFTER YOU HAVE DETERMINED YOUR RESPONSE, BE SURE TO COMPLETELY FILL IN THE OVAL CORRESPONDING TO THE NUMBER OF THE QUESTION YOU ARE ANSWERING. STRAY MARKS AND SMUDGES COULD BE READ AS ANSWERS, SO ERASE CAREFULLY AND COMPLETELY. ANY IMPROPER GRIDDING MAY AFFECT YOUR GRADE.**

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 |
| A | B | C | D | E | 26 | A | B | C | D | E | 51 | A | B | C | D | E | 27 | A | B | C | D | E | 52 | A | B | C | D | E | 28 | A | B | C | D | E | 53 | A | B | C | D | E |

FOR QUESTIONS 75-151, SEE PAGE 3.
**1. YOUR MAILING ADDRESS**

- Your grade report will be mailed to this address in July.

**AREA 3 – COMPLETE THIS AREA ONLY ONCE.**

- Using the abbreviations given in your Candidate Pack, fill address into boxes provided. If your address does not fit, see item 2 below.

<table>
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**2.** If the address gridded above is not complete enough for delivery of your grade report, please fill in this oval and print your complete address below.

**3. PHONE NUMBER**

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<th>Area Code</th>
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**4. SCHOOL YOU ATTEND**

- Make sure you have correctly entered your School Code and filled in the appropriate boxes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Code</th>
<th>School Name, City, and State</th>
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<tbody>
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</table>

**5. COLLEGE TO RECEIVE YOUR AP GRADES**

- Using the College Code list in the AP Candidate Pack, indicate the one college that has accepted you and that you plan to attend.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>College Code</th>
<th>College Name and Address</th>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>College Name</th>
<th>City</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</table>
Two hours and twenty-five minutes are allotted for this examination: 45 minutes for Section I, which consists of multiple-choice questions; and 100 minutes for Section II, which consists of four mandatory essay questions. Section I is printed in this examination booklet. Section II is printed in a separate booklet.

SECTION I
Time — 45 minutes
Number of questions — 60
Percent of total grade — 50

Section I of this examination contains 60 multiple-choice questions. Therefore, please be careful to fill in only the ovals that are preceded by numbers 1 through 60 on your answer sheet.

General Instructions

DO NOT OPEN THIS BOOKLET UNTIL YOU ARE INSTRUCTED TO DO SO.

INDICATE ALL YOUR ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS IN SECTION I ON THE SEPARATE ANSWER SHEET. No credit will be given for anything written in this examination booklet, but you may use the booklet for notes or scratchwork. After you have decided which of the suggested answers is best, COMPLETELY fill in the corresponding oval on the answer sheet. Give only one answer to each question. If you change an answer, be sure that the previous mark is erased completely.

Example:

Chicago is a

(A) state
(B) city
(C) country
(D) continent
(E) village

Sample Answer

A [ ] B [ ] C [ ] D [ ] E [ ]

Many candidates wonder whether or not to guess the answers to questions about which they are not certain. In this section of the examination, as a correction for haphazard guessing, one-fourth of the number of questions you answer incorrectly will be subtracted from the number of questions you answer correctly. It is improbable, therefore, that mere guessing will improve your score significantly; it may even lower your score, and it does take time. If, however, you are not sure of the best answer but have some knowledge of the question and are able to eliminate one or more of the answer choices as wrong, your chance of getting the right answer is improved, and it may be to your advantage to answer such a question.

Use your time effectively, working as rapidly as you can without losing accuracy. Do not spend too much time on questions that are too difficult. Go on to other questions and come back to the difficult ones later if you have time. It is not expected that everyone will be able to answer all the multiple-choice questions.
The inclusion of social science source material in this examination is not intended as an endorsement by the College Board or Educational Testing Service of the content, ideas, or values expressed in the material. The material has been selected by the faculty who serve on the Committee of Examiners. In their judgment, the material printed here reflects various aspects of the course of study on which this examination is based and is therefore appropriate to use to measure the students' skills and knowledge of this course.
Section I
Time—45 minutes
60 Questions

Directions: Each of the questions or incomplete statements below is followed by five suggested answers or completions. Select the one that is best in each case and then fill in the corresponding oval on the answer sheet.

1. Which of the following is an example of checks and balances, as established by the Constitution?

(A) A requirement that states lower their legal drinking age to eighteen as a condition of receiving funds through federal highway grant programs
(B) Media criticism of public officials during an election campaign period
(C) The Supreme Court’s ability to overturn a lower court decision
(D) The requirement that presidential appointments to the Supreme Court be approved by the Senate
(E) The election of the President by the electoral college rather than by direct election
Question: We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. I’m going to show you a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal—point 1—to extremely conservative—point 7. Where would you place yourself on this scale? (Point 4 not shown on scale.)

**MY POLITICAL VALUES ARE . . .**

<table>
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<th>By Income:</th>
<th>Conservative (Points 5-7)</th>
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<td>30%</td>
<td>Less than $5,000</td>
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<td>26%</td>
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<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21%</td>
<td>$50,000 and over</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24% National 36%

2. The graph above supports which of the following statements?

(A) People with higher incomes are more likely to think of themselves as conservative than are those with lower incomes.

(B) Americans with incomes under $10,000 are twice as likely to think of themselves as liberal than as conservative.

(C) A majority of people whose incomes fall between $10,000 and $50,000 think of themselves as conservative.

(D) No income group contains more people who think of themselves as liberal than people who think of themselves as conservative.

(E) People with higher incomes are less likely to think of themselves as either liberal or conservative than are those with lower incomes.

3. A primary election in which voters are required to identify a party preference before the election and are not allowed to split their ticket is called

(A) an open primary

(B) a blanket primary

(C) a closed primary

(D) a runoff primary

(E) a presidential preference primary
4. When selecting a vice-presidential candidate, a presidential nominee is usually concerned primarily with choosing a running mate who
(A) has significant personal wealth
(B) adds balance and appeal to the national ticket
(C) comes from the same ideological wing of the party as the President
(D) can serve as the most important domestic policy adviser to the President
(E) can effectively preside over the Senate

5. The primary function of political action committees (PAC's) is to
(A) serve as fund-raising organizations for challengers
(B) provide members of Congress with unbiased information regarding proposed legislation
(C) consult with the President regarding domestic policy
(D) encourage broader participation in politics among the electorate
(E) raise campaign funds to support favored candidates

DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME AMONG FAMILIES
(percentage share by economic level)

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<th></th>
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<td>11.6</td>
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<td>Highest fifth</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>44.0</td>
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6. Which of the following conclusions about income distribution during the Reagan administration is supported by the table above?
(A) The share of income received by the lowest fifth increased, whereas the share received by the fourth fifth decreased.
(B) The share of income received by the second fifth increased, whereas the share received by the fourth fifth decreased.
(C) The share of income received by the highest fifth increased, whereas the share received by the lowest fifth decreased.
(D) The number of people earning high incomes increased.
(E) The middle class disappeared.
7. Registered voters directly elect which of the following?
   I. The President and Vice President
   II. Supreme Court justices
   III. Members of the Senate
   IV. Members of the House of Representatives
   (A) I only
   (B) IV only
   (C) I and II only
   (D) III and IV only
   (E) II, III, and IV only

8. The role of a conference committee in Congress is to
   (A) hold hearings on proposed legislation
   (B) oversee the actions of the executive branch of the government
   (C) decide which bills should be considered by the full Senate
   (D) conduct hearings that make information available to the public
   (E) reconcile differences in bills passed by the House and Senate

9. Supreme Court justices were given tenure subject to good behavior by the framers of the Constitution in order to ensure that
   (A) justices are free from direct political pressures
   (B) justices remain accountable to the public
   (C) justices are encouraged to make politically popular decisions
   (D) cooperation between the judicial and legislative branches is assured
   (E) Presidents are encouraged to seek younger nominees for the Supreme Court

10. The committee system is more important in the House than in the Senate because
    (A) the seniority system plays no role in the House and therefore committees must play a larger role
    (B) the Constitution mandates the type of committee structure in the House
    (C) committee members are appointed by the President
    (D) the House is so large that more work can be accomplished in committees than on the floor
    (E) the majority party in the House prefers to give priority to the work of the committees

11. The most important source of the Supreme Court’s caseload is
    (A) its original jurisdiction
    (B) its appellate jurisdiction
    (C) instruction from the solicitor general
    (D) the special master’s certification of cases for review
    (E) Congress’ certification of cases for review

12. A President attempting to influence Congress to pass a legislative program might employ all of the following strategies EXCEPT
    (A) using the media to draw attention to the legislative program
    (B) assigning legislative liaisons in the Executive Office of the President to lobby legislators
    (C) denying campaign reelection funds to legislators who oppose the President’s policy stand
    (D) exploiting a partisan majority for the President’s party in both the House and Senate
    (E) reminding legislators of high popularity ratings for the President in public opinion polls
13. Presidents have had the most success in changing the direction of decisions of the federal judiciary by

(A) threatening to ask Congress to impeach specific judges
(B) using the media to build consensus for the President's position
(C) requesting that Congress reduce the term of office that judges may serve
(D) using the appointment process to select judges with judicial philosophies similar to those of the President
(E) pressuring Congress to pass the appropriate legislation to override judicial opinions

14. Which of the following did the most to expand civil rights in the 1950's?

(A) State legislative decisions desegregating public accommodations
(B) State court decisions outlawing poll taxes
(C) The passage of voting-rights legislation by Congress
(D) Executive orders mandating affirmative action
(E) The Supreme Court decision declaring state-mandated school segregation to be unconstitutional

15. Which of the following is true about the right of free speech, as currently interpreted by the Supreme Court?

(A) It protects the right to express opinions even without the actual use of words.
(B) It protects the use of language deemed obscene by the courts.
(C) It allows citizens to disobey laws that they believe to be unjust.
(D) It is protected from infringement by the federal government but not from infringement by state governments.
(E) It cannot be limited in any manner.

16. The importance of Shays' Rebellion to the development of the United States Constitution was that it

(A) revealed the necessity of both adding the Bill of Rights to the Constitution and creating a new system of checks and balances
(B) demonstrated the intensity of antiratification sentiment within the thirteen states
(C) indicated that a strong, constitutionally designed national government was needed to protect property and maintain order
(D) convinced the delegates attending the Constitutional Convention to accept the Connecticut Plan
(E) reinforced the idea that slavery should be outlawed in the new Constitution

17. In a federal system of government, political power is primarily

(A) vested in local governments
(B) vested in the regional governments
(C) vested in the central government
(D) divided between the central government and regional governments
(E) divided between regional governments and local governments

18. Which of the following generalizations about group voting tendencies is true?

(A) Jewish voters tend to vote Republican.
(B) Protestant voters tend to be more liberal than Roman Catholics on economic issues.
(C) More women than men identify themselves as Republicans.
(D) Rural voters are more likely to support Democratic candidates than are urban voters.
(E) African American Democrats tend to support the more liberal candidates within their party.
19. A corporate lobbyist would be LEAST likely to have an informal discussion about a pending policy matter with which of the following?
   (A) A member of the House in whose district the corporation has a plant
   (B) A member of the White House staff concerned about the issue
   (C) A member of the staff of the Senate committee handling a matter of concern to the corporation
   (D) A federal judge in whose court a case important to the corporation is being heard
   (E) A journalist for a major newspaper concerned about the issue

20. Which of the following is a significant trend in the presidential nominating process over the past three decades?
   (A) Replacement of national party conventions by national primaries for each party
   (B) Increasing importance of presidential primaries rather than state conventions
   (C) A sharply declining role for political action committees (PAC’s)
   (D) Decreasing cost of campaigns
   (E) Increasing control by political party leaders over outcomes

21. Congressional standing committees are best described as
   (A) specially appointed investigative bodies
   (B) joint committees of the two houses of Congress
   (C) committees created for each session
   (D) permanent subject-matter committees
   (E) advisory staff agencies

22. All of the following powers are granted to the President by the Constitution EXCEPT
   (A) commissioning officers in the armed forces
   (B) addressing the Congress on the state of the union
   (C) receiving ambassadors
   (D) granting pardons for federal offenses
   (E) forming new cabinet-level departments

23. In which of the following did Congress move to regain powers previously lost to the executive branch?
   (A) Budget and Impoundment Control Act
   (B) Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act
   (C) Presidential Disability Act
   (D) Gulf of Tonkin Resolution
   (E) Persian Gulf War Resolution
### COMPEITITION IN CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS, 1958-1986

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<th>Average Vote Won by Member</th>
<th>Members Reelected by 60% or More</th>
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24. The data displayed in the table above best support which of the following statements?

A. The reelection rate is higher in the Senate than in the House.
B. The average vote won by Senate members surpasses that won by House members.
C. House seats are safer from election turnover than are Senate seats.
D. House members serve more terms than do Senators.
E. More members of the Senate win reelection by 60% or more of the vote than do members of the House.
25. Which of the following actions can Congress take if the Supreme Court finds a federal law unconstitutional?
(A) Appeal the Court’s decision to the District of Columbia’s Court of Appeals.
(B) Formally request the President to veto the Court’s decision.
(C) Remove certain members of the Court and replace them with new members.
(D) Try to amend the Constitution.
(E) Reenact the same law.

26. Which of the following statements about Congress is true?
(A) Members of Congress only occasionally are interested in and pay attention to constituents.
(B) The legislative process is frequently lengthy, decentralized, and characterized by compromise and bargaining.
(C) Lobbyists and political action committees (PAC’s) successfully induce most members of Congress to trade their votes for campaign contributions.
(D) The growth in the size of Congress as an organization is the principal cause of growth in the federal budget deficit.
(E) Debate in both houses is structured by elaborate rules enacted by leaders of the majority party.

27. Which of the following is articulated in the War Powers Resolution?
(A) The President may declare war.
(B) The President must finance any war efforts from a special contingency fund.
(C) The President must bring troops home from hostilities within 60 to 90 days unless Congress extends the time.
(D) The President may not nationalize state militias without congressional consent.
(E) The President may not send troops into hostilities without a declaration of war from Congress or a resolution from the United Nations.

28. In the 1992 election, the membership of Congress was altered significantly by an increase in the number of
(A) conservative Democrats
(B) liberal Republicans
(C) third-party representatives
(D) political independents
(E) minorities and women

29. Discrimination in public accommodations was made illegal in the United States as a direct result of the
(A) Supreme Court decision in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka
(B) Supreme Court decision in Sweatt v. Painter
(C) Civil Rights Act of 1964
(D) Montgomery bus boycott
(E) Voting Rights Act of 1965

30. Most of the individual protections of the Bill of Rights now apply to the states because of the Supreme Court’s interpretation of the Constitution’s
(A) Preamble
(B) necessary and proper clause
(C) supremacy clause
(D) Tenth Amendment
(E) Fourteenth Amendment

31. In McCulloch v. Maryland, the Supreme Court established which of the following principles?
(A) States cannot interfere with or tax the legitimate activities of the federal government.
(B) The judicial branch cannot intervene in political disputes between the President and Congress.
(C) The federal Bill of Rights places no limitations on the states.
(D) The federal government has the power to regulate commerce.
(E) It is within the judiciary’s authority to interpret the constitution.
32. Political socialization is the process by which
   (A) the use of private property is regulated by the government
   (B) governments communicate with each other
   (C) public attitudes toward government are measured and reported
   (D) political values are passed to the next generation
   (E) children are trained for successful occupations

33. Which of the following is the most important influence on the choice made by voters in presidential elections?
   (A) Partisan identification
   (B) Party platform adopted at the national convention
   (C) Vice-presidential running mate
   (D) Endorsement by political incumbents
   (E) Appeal of the candidates’ spouses

34. The advantages of incumbency in congressional elections include which of the following?
   I. Incumbents receive more campaign contributions than do challengers.
   II. Incumbents are able to provide important services for individual voters.
   III. The government provides campaign funds for incumbents.
   IV. The President usually endorses incumbents for reelection.
   V. Most American voters believe Congress does a good job.
   (A) I and II only
   (B) III and IV only
   (C) I, IV, and V only
   (D) II, III, and V only
   (E) III, IV, and V only

35. Which of the following statements about rules of procedure in the House and Senate is correct?
   (A) Debate by a determined minority in either chamber cannot be halted.
   (B) The rules in each chamber are determined by the majority whip.
   (C) The rules are specified in Article I of the Constitution.
   (D) The rules can be changed by the President during a national emergency.
   (E) The House operates more by formal rules, while the Senate operates more on informal understandings.

36. Which of the following procedures results in the removal of the President from office?
   (A) The House and Senate vote for impeachment, and the Supreme Court reaches a guilty verdict.
   (B) The House votes for impeachment, and the Senate conducts a trial and reaches a guilty verdict.
   (C) The House and Senate both vote for a bill of impeachment.
   (D) Only the House votes for a bill of impeachment.
   (E) A criminal court finds the President guilty of “high crimes and misdemeanors.”

37. Interest groups and political parties both promote United States democracy by
   (A) expressing detailed, ideologically distinct programs
   (B) centralizing public authority
   (C) linking citizens to the political process
   (D) increasing domination of the political process by elites
   (E) lobbying members of Congress
38. Which of the following statements accurately describes the selection of the caseload for the United States Supreme Court?

(A) The United States Constitution spells out all of the categories of cases that the Supreme Court must hear.

(B) The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court has the authority to select the cases that the Court will hear.

(C) The Solicitor General in the Department of Justice determines the Supreme Court’s agenda.

(D) The Supreme Court is free to choose the cases it hears with only a few limitations.

(E) The Attorney General screens cases for consideration by the Court.

39. The boundaries of United States congressional districts are usually determined by

(A) the Federal Election Commission (FEC)

(B) the state legislatures

(C) the House Rules Committee

(D) a conference committee of the House and Senate

(E) the director of the United States Census Bureau

40. Public monies are used to help finance which of the following campaigns?

I. Presidential

II. Congressional

III. Gubernatorial

(A) I only

(B) II only

(C) I and II only

(D) II and III only

(E) I, II, and III

41. Diversity of public policy throughout the United States is primarily a consequence of

(A) federalism

(B) separation of powers

(C) innovation within bureaucratic agencies

(D) decentralization in the Senate

(E) lack of party discipline in the House

42. All of the following have contributed to an increase in presidential power in the post-1945 era EXCEPT

(A) tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War period

(B) an increase in public expectations for services from the federal government

(C) economic and domestic problems such as inflation, unemployment, and civil rights issues

(D) increasing United States involvement in international affairs

(E) legislation granting the President the power to impound funds appropriated by Congress

43. One of the formal tools used by Congress for oversight of the bureaucracy is

(A) the line-item veto

(B) authorization of spending

(C) impoundment bills

(D) private bills

(E) senatorial courtesy
44. Decisions reached by the Supreme Court under the leadership of Chief Justice Earl Warren (1953-1969) did all of the following EXCEPT

(A) rule against malapportionment in state legislatures
(B) void state statutes that permitted school segregation
(C) invalidate state abortion statutes
(D) expand the rights of criminal defendants
(E) increase protection for First Amendment freedoms

45. The “Miranda warning” represents an attempt to protect criminal suspects against

(A) unfair police interrogation
(B) biased jury selection
(C) imprisonment without trial
(D) illegal wiretapping
(E) unjustified police surveillance

46. The reserved powers of the state governments can best be described as those powers

(A) not specifically granted to the national government or denied to the states
(B) implied in the Fifth Amendment
(C) listed specifically in the Tenth Amendment
(D) exercised by both national and state governments
(E) granted to states as part of the implied powers doctrine

47. Critical elections in the United States typically have occurred

(A) as a result of a temporary shift in the popular coalition supporting one or both parties
(B) whenever a third party has secured more than fifteen percent of the presidential vote
(C) each time a Republican has been elected President
(D) when voter turnout has declined significantly from the previous election
(E) when groups of voters have changed their traditional patterns of party loyalties

48. When 18 to 21 year olds received the right to vote in 1971, in the 1972 national elections they did which of the following?

(A) Voted overwhelmingly for Republican candidates.
(B) Voted overwhelmingly for Democratic candidates.
(C) Voted overwhelmingly for radical candidates.
(D) Turned out at a lower rate than the rest of the electorate.
(E) Turned out at the same rate as the rest of the electorate.

49. The largest amount of political coverage in newspapers during presidential campaigns is devoted to

(A) day-to-day campaign activities
(B) the platforms of the major parties
(C) candidates’ policy stands on domestic issues
(D) candidates’ stands on foreign policy issues
(E) candidates’ experience and qualifications

50. A state has 11 electoral votes. In a presidential election, the Democratic candidate receives 48 percent of that state’s popular vote, the Republican candidate receives 40 percent of the vote, and an independent candidate receives 12 percent of the vote.

If the state is similar to most other states, how will the electoral votes most likely be allocated?

(A) The Democratic candidate will receive 5 electoral votes, the Republican will receive 4, and the independent will receive 2.
(B) The Democratic candidate will receive 6 electoral votes and the Republican will receive 5.
(C) The Democratic candidate will receive all 11 electoral votes.
(D) The votes will not be allocated until there has been a runoff election between the Democratic and Republican candidates.
(E) The House of Representatives will determine the allocation of the electoral votes.
51. Which of the following is the most accurate statement about political parties in the United States?

(A) Parties increasingly identify themselves with coherent ideologies to attract large blocs of voters.
(B) The percentage of voters identifying themselves as either Democrats or Republicans has been declining since the 1970’s.
(C) National party organizations are generally the strongest party organizations.
(D) It is increasingly difficult for third parties to gain more than two percent of the popular vote.
(E) Most candidates prefer to run as independents rather than as Democrats or Republicans.

52. The congressional power that has been contested most frequently in the federal courts is the power to

(A) establish post offices
(B) coin money
(C) levy taxes
(D) regulate commerce with foreign nations
(E) regulate interstate commerce

53. Which of the following is an accurate statement about committees in Congress?

(A) The work of a committee ends when it submits a bill to the full House or Senate for consideration.
(B) An individual representative or senator can serve on only one committee and one subcommittee.
(C) Membership on key committees such as House Rules and Senate Finance is limited to fixed terms.
(D) Standing committees oversee the bureaucracy’s implementation of legislation.
(E) Committee recommendations tend to have little influence on floor voting.

54. The request of recent Presidents for the line-item veto is a challenge to which of the following principles?

(A) Separation of powers
(B) Senatorial courtesy
(C) Eminent domain
(D) Executive privilege
(E) Congressional oversight

55. Which of the following form an “iron triangle”?

(A) President, Congress, Supreme Court
(B) President, House majority leader, Senate majority leader
(C) Interest group, Senate majority leader, House majority leader
(D) Executive department, House majority leader, President
(E) Executive department, Congressional committee, interest group

56. An election involving more than two candidates in which the person who receives the most votes is the winner is called

(A) a majority election
(B) a proportional election
(C) a plurality election
(D) a simple election
(E) an indirect election
57. Cabinet members often do not have a dominant influence on presidential decision-making because
   (A) cabinet members generally maintain close independent ties to Congress
   (B) cabinet members generally view their position only as a stepping-stone to further their own political ambitions
   (C) cabinet members are not permitted to disagree publicly with the President
   (D) presidential goals often conflict with the institutional goals of individual cabinet-level agencies
   (E) only half of all cabinet members can be members of the President’s party

58. A fundamental source of power for the federal bureaucracy lies in its
   (A) role in moving legislation out of sub-committees
   (B) role in mediating interstate conflicts
   (C) ability to convince Congress to fund most projects it supports
   (D) ability to mobilize public opinion in support of legislative initiatives
   (E) ability to set specific guidelines after receiving a general mandate from Congress

59. The establishment clause in the First Amendment does which of the following?
   (A) Guarantees freedom of speech to all citizens.
   (B) Prevents prior restraint of the press.
   (C) Prohibits the setting up of a state church.
   (D) Defines the concept of dual citizenship.
   (E) Allows citizens to enter freely into contracts with other citizens.

60. *Griswold v. Connecticut* and *Roe v. Wade* are similar Supreme Court cases in that both cases are based on the
   (A) rights of gay men and lesbian women
   (B) right of privacy
   (C) right to an abortion
   (D) right to freedom from cruel and unusual punishment
   (E) right of women to equal protection before the law

END OF SECTION I.

IF YOU FINISH BEFORE TIME IS CALLED, YOU MAY CHECK YOUR WORK ON THIS SECTION.

DO NOT GO ON TO SECTION II UNTIL YOU ARE TOLD TO DO SO.
SECTION II
Time — 100 minutes
Percent of total grade — 50

General Instructions

All students must answer all four free-response questions. You should spend approximately 25 minutes answering each of the four questions. All four questions will be weighed equally in determining your score on this section of the test.

Section II of this examination requires answers in essay form. The questions for Section II are printed in the green insert. Use the green insert to organize your answers and for scratchwork, but write your answer in the pink booklet. Number each answer as the question is numbered in the examination. Do not skip lines. Begin each answer on a new page in the pink booklet.

You should write your answers with a pen, preferably one with black or dark blue ink. If you must use a pencil, be sure it has a well-sharpened point. Be sure to write CLEARLY and LEGIBLY. Cross out any errors you make.

No credit will be given for work shown in the green insert.
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

SECTION II

Time—100 minutes

Directions: You have 100 minutes to answer all four of the following questions. It is suggested that you take a few minutes to plan and outline each answer. Spend approximately one-fourth of your time (25 minutes) on each question. Illustrate your essay with substantive examples where appropriate. Make certain to number each of your answers as the question is numbered below.

1. In the 1990's presidential election campaigns have become more candidate centered and less focused on issues and party labels. This change has been attributed both to how the media cover presidential campaigns and to how candidates use the media. Identify and explain two ways in which the media have contributed to candidate-centered presidential campaigns. Identify and explain two ways in which presidential candidates' use of the media has contributed to candidate-centered campaigns.

Your answer should NOT include a discussion of presidential primary elections.

2. National interest groups often target national-level policymaking institutions to achieve their policy objectives. Select one of the following national interest groups.
   • American Association of Retired Persons (AARP)
   • American Medical Association (AMA)
   • National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)
   • National Association of Manufacturers (NAM)

For the group you selected do each of the following.
   a. Identify one major national-level policymaking institution that this group targets.
   b. Describe one resource or characteristic of the group you have chosen AND explain how it influences the choice of the target you have identified in (a).
   c. Describe another resource or characteristic of the group you have chosen AND explain how it influences the choice of the target you have identified in (a).

3. Is Congress effective in exercising legislative oversight of the federal bureaucracy? Support your answer by doing ONE of the following.
   • Explain two specific methods Congress uses to exercise effective oversight of the federal bureaucracy.
     OR
   • Give two specific explanations for the failure of Congress to exercise effective oversight of the federal bureaucracy.
4. Using the information in the pie charts above, identify two budgetary barriers that hinder the creation of new policy initiatives. Explain why each of the barriers you identified persists. Using your knowledge of United States politics, identify one nonbudgetary barrier AND explain how this barrier hinders the creation of new policy initiatives.

END OF EXAMINATION
Section I: Multiple Choice

Listed below are the correct answers to the multiple-choice questions, the percentage of AP candidates who answered each question correctly by AP grade, and the total percentage answering correctly.

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Section II: Free Response

Comments provided by William P. McLauchlan of Purdue University, the Chief Faculty Consultant for AP Government & Politics.

Student Preparation for the Exam

The questions for the United States Government and Politics Examination are designed to reflect and emphasize core areas of substance that introductory college courses require of students. The 1999 questions asked for concepts and specific examples, and although student performance on these questions certainly varied, there was little disagreement that the concepts and tasks asked of the candidates were relevant, important, and appropriate for introductory college courses. There are several general points that can be emphasized about student performance.

- First, candidates must read the question and understand what is asked of them. Without that understanding at the outset, any attempt to answer a question becomes problematic at best. A question may or may not ask the student to identify factors. Some questions may ask the student to take a stand or a position on an issue. The question that asks for "explanations" requires different treatment than one that asks the student to support a "yes" or "no" answer with evidence. Some questions begin by asking for a conceptual outline or framework and then ask the student to apply it to specific cases. It appears as if there is a more careful reading and understanding of the questions by students than used to be the case. However, even in the 1999 examination, there is some evidence that students failed to understand what was asked of them.

- This leads to a second important point about student performance on the examination. Students had very different levels of mastery of the substantive materials required by the exam. In a remarkable number of cases, results from the multiple-choice questions indicated a lack of mastery of elementary factual and definitional materials. Some free-response essays also reflected striking factual limitations or careless or wrong factual statements. Factual errors in multiple-choice questions were often fatal. In essay questions, such errors might or might not be fatal to the student's score on the essay; it depended on how crucial the error was to the student's conclusions and performance on the tasks contained in the question. At the same time, there were many instances where students demonstrated sophisticated and complete mastery of the substantive material required to answer the questions.

- Students are advised to map out their answers in order to present a stronger free-response essay than the student who just starts writing. Outlining their response benefits the students because it can insure systematic and comprehensive attention to each and every part of the question. Students who think they do not have anything to present, or do not know the answer to the question, should think carefully about the concepts, the subject, and the relationships that are the focus of the question. Candidates may well be able to fashion a satisfactory answer to the question if they think about and organize what they do know about the subject, rather than just panic and throw anything they can think of into an essay.

- Managing time is also an important skill for candidates to bring to the AP Government and Politics Examination. While there was some evidence of time management problems in the 1999 U.S. examination, the essays of many candidates reflected careful attention to required tasks. Twenty-five minutes to prepare and write an essay does not give a candidate a great deal of extra time, but the range and scope of the questions (narrower than the previous format) take the time limits into account.

The result of better time management and closer attention to what the question asked was that most students had plenty of time to address the precise tasks of the questions and to present strong and complete responses. These essays clearly exhibited knowledge and skill in the time available. Unfortunately, some candidates' essays demonstrated what happens when they don't have time to convey all they know about the subject. This shotgun approach to writing an essay is perhaps related to the nature of the student's knowledge about the subject as much as their management of time.
Scoring Guidelines, Sample Student Responses, and Commentary

The answers presented here are actual student responses to the four free-response questions on the 1999 AP United States Government and Politics Examination. The students gave permission to have their work reproduced at the time they took the exam. These responses were read and scored by the Question Leaders assigned to each particular question and were used as sample responses for the training of faculty consultants during the AP Reading in June 1999. The actual scores that these students received, as well as a brief explanation of why, are indicated.

General Comments on Question 1

Question 1 asked students to identify and then explain two "ways" the media have contributed to candidate-centered presidential campaigns and two "ways" that presidential candidates' use of the media contribute to candidate-centered presidential campaigns. This means the student needed to identify two ways in which the media contribute to candidate-centered presidential campaigns, and then provide explanations for how each of the identified ways contributes to this kind of campaign. The connection between the media and campaigns was not always clear in the students' essays, and some candidates described the influence without linking it to candidate-centered campaigns.

The student was also asked to identify two ways in which candidates use the media to foster candidate-centered presidential campaigns. This was to be followed by explanations of how candidates' use of the media fosters candidate-centered campaigns. Many students got side-tracked in writing a general essay about media and politics, perhaps because many U.S. government and politics textbooks cover this topic as a full and independent chapter. Such an essay often earned no points, however, because it did not answer Question 1.

The lower-scoring essays were more general than the question called for, and they focused on media and politics rather than presidential campaigns. To score well, students needed to focus their identifications and explanations on presidential campaigns, rather than campaigns in general.
Question 1 Scoring Guidelines

8 points total

- Two ways MEDIA have contributed to candidate-centered presidential campaigns:
  
  1 point — each identification of a way in which the media have contributed to candidate-centered presidential campaigns (maximum of 2 points)
  
  Note: Must be some linkage to candidate-centered presidential campaigns
  
  1 point — explanation of each way in which the media have contributed to candidate-centered presidential campaigns (maximum of 2 points)
  
  The following are some acceptable ways that the media contribute to candidate-centered presidential campaigns:
  
  - Coverage of candidate’s background
  - Image-centered coverage/personality
  - Talk shows, TV debates
  - Horserace, reporting polls
  - Candidate sound bites
  - De-emphasizing party
  - Feeding frenzy
  - Coverage of convention
  - Investigative reporting/scandals
  - Focus on candidate gaffes
  
- Two ways presidential CANDIDATES’ use of the media has contributed to candidate-centered presidential campaigns:
  
  1 point — each identification of a way in which the candidates’ use of the media has contributed to candidate-centered presidential campaigns (maximum of 2 points)
  
  Note: Must be some linkage to candidate-centered presidential campaigns
  
  1 point — explanation of each way in which the candidates’ use of the media has contributed to candidate-centered presidential campaigns (maximum of 2 points)
  
  The following are some acceptable ways that candidates’ use of the media has contributed to candidate-centered presidential campaigns:
  
  - Negative commercials/mudslinging
  - Attention-getting: public appearances to enhance public attention to individual qualities; timing of candidate activities to make free news coverage
  - Seeking contributions
  - Leaking information
  - Image building: positive ads; hiring consultants; TV debates that focus on individual appearance/qualities; getting on talk shows
  - Candidate creating choreographed opportunities
  - Use of the Internet to disseminate information
  - Sound bites

0 for relevant attempted answer that earns no points
- for blank or off-task answer

Point Distribution Matrix

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39
The president and the media have an important relationship in which the president desires to influence the media and the media simultaneously desire control over the public's information on the president; such conflicting interests have led to overall focus of campaigns on the candidate's values rather than the issues. First, this is seen in the style of the media's campaign coverage since the 1990s. The media has tended to stray from the candidate's policies and platforms and instead focuses various aspects of the president's personality, character, and history. The campaign coverage tends to focus on the day-to-day events of the candidate's campaigns, mentioning more about an candidate's visit to groups of children, workers, etc. than the candidate's political views, promises, and policies. The media as a whole will show the arbitrary aspects of the campaign—the public greetings and addresses—more than it will address actual political content. Further, the media has a both a need and desire to sensationalize the news, for entertainment and creating interest in consumers. As a result, personal facts and histories are critically investigated and brought to the public eye. For example, when the cases of both Bernardine L. Flowers and Paula Jones arose against Bill Clinton's 1992 presidential campaign, the media had a feeding frenzy, emphasizing these stories for their sensational nature. This led to a better portrait of the person as a human, which the candidates are intrigued by.

The presidential candidate himself, of course, also lends to the media's candidate-based nature
Of campaign coverage, The candidate tends to use the media as a campaign enhancer, a tool by which he (or she) may gain great amount of publicity for his (or her) benefit. The candidates will encourage the campaign coordinators will tend to purposely arrange public events or appearances for the media to cover. Such continuous footage of, perhaps a president speaking hands, kissing babies, or playing golf, consequently show the human side of a candidate and tend to overshadow the prevalence of the issues in the campaign. Also, the candidates may use the media to their benefit through negative advertisements. Stations will readily accept ads. The trend tends to be toward negatively portraying the opposing candidates. For instance, the Clinton/Gore 1992 campaign attacked Bush for his personal failings to upshot promises in his 88 campaign. They also attacked his policies as well. The focus tended toward attacking his integrity and honesty as a person. This, of course, taunts Bush's opposing candidate to a goal of so many campaigns today. These focuses on the people and not enough their policies and proposals have lead the notion of the media in campaign to sway more toward a public image of the people themselves rather than their political makeup.

Commentary:

This student did an excellent job of answering all parts of the question. There is a clear identification of the media's efforts to develop candidate-centered presidential campaigns. First, the media's focus on background and personality of candidates is identified and is well explained. The essay also identifies and explains a second example of the media's focus — the use of investigative reporting. The other dimension of the question — candidates' use of the media — is also well developed. The student earns full credit for the identification and explanation of (1) attention getting and (2) negative television ads by candidates. Score = 8.
with the media playing a greater role in presidential campaigns, these elections have become less issue-focused and more candidate-focused. One such reason is the role played by the media, which does a "horse race" journalism that focuses on the activities of the candidate instead of the issues or party labels. The candidates themselves use the media to their advantage, selling themselves instead of their ideals and using the media to discredit their opponents. They have also found that taking too strong a stand on social issues can draw attention away from them, whereas critiques of opposing candidates can be used to their advantage.

Candidates, not party/issue get the spotlight in horse-race journalism. In this type of media, newspapers and news channels report on how well the candidate is faring in different states, by how much they are winning/losing in the polls. Although this makes the voters aware of how others are voting, it draws attention away from the issues of the race and turns it into nothing more than that—a race for the Finnish line.

The media has also discovered that the public doesn't care as much about presidential elections as they do about the actual activities of the candidate. The public would much rather see a candidate "kissing babies" than speaking about their party's platform.

The presidential candidates themselves have also drawn attention away from their issue by selling their personal image. Research has found that with the advent of TV, the public is likely to vote on personal appeal of the candidate without considering their party identification or issues. Therefore, the candidates have been using TV to get recognition, not information, or to discredit their
opponents through mud-slinging or attacking their character—rarely their issues.

The public also holds rather strong opinions on certain issues—such as abortion. If candidates were to concentrate on issues, they are likely to alienate one half or another of their electorate. Therefore, they use the media to draw attention away from specific issues and instead make broad, unspecific promises about their policies. Instead, they try to focus on their personal capabilities and qualifications for president.

In the 1990s, campaigns have drifted farther and farther from issues; party labels for a variety of reasons, mostly reasons associated with the media. Horse race journalism and voter interest in the candidate themselves are two such reasons. Another two reasons are the fact that the candidates have used the media to promote their personal images and avoid hot topics that could lose them their base of support.

Commentary:
This student clearly earns full credit for identifying and explaining horserace journalism as one way the media contribute to candidate-centered campaigns. However, the second media contribution—the focus on candidate image—though identified, is not explained, so it only receives 1 of the 2 possible points. The student receives full credit for the identification and explanation of candidates' use of image manipulation. In addition, the student identifies and explains attention getting as the second way candidates contribute to candidate-centered campaigns. Score = 7.
Student Response 3

The media's increasing role in the coverage of presidential campaigns has turned the races into more candidate-centered by the media coverage of "horse races" and focuses on character and the candidates focus on high-profile speeches and more "glamorous" attitudes. These programs have changed the face of elections in the 1990's from being less focused on a issues and more focused on the candidates themselves.

The media's role in making decisions was candidate-centered has gone through at the rise of "horse races" and focuses on a candidate character. The former media coverage focused on all candidates, and may have given a little time to each; however, now the media may put all their time into two candidates making the primary focus of what the public sees. These "horse races" help determine what the votes see and do, but see, and create their opinions of the candidate. A candidate's entire political stance may be misunderstood if the media well represents him. In addition, the media well exhibited more human-interest stories on the candidate rather than his ideological position. The candidate's gross roots or struggles to get to the point he is at now have more appeal to the public then do his opinion in gaps in the military, for example. By focusing on only
A few candidates, the media is able to manipulate what the election is about. More recently, elections are about the candidate and not his issues.

The candidate himself can also manipulate the media to re-focus a campaign. By making high profile speeches about family values and including his family in the campaign, the candidate seems more real to the voting public. Creating an image for the media of a family man with traditional values, the candidate is looked at from his character and not his political views.

Also, candidates have become more glamorous in recent elections. Instead of coming off as a political nobility candidate, have become sincere and composed and seem like men the public would like to meet and be friends with. These personalities have come off through the media's coverage of elections creating a new outlook for the candidates.

In conclusion, the changing role of the media in the coverage of elections has reinforced the role of election to more candidates and less political elections.

Commentary:
The student receives 1 point for identifying horse race journalism as a media contribution, but there is no explanation of that contribution. The identification and explanation of image as a second way that the media contribute to candidate-centered presidential campaigns earns 2 points. The student receives full credit (2 points) for the identification and explanation of candidate image-creation, but there is no additional identification or explanation of another way candidates use the media. Score = 5.
General Comments on Question 2

Question 2 asked students to select one of the listed interest groups. In part (a) the student was asked to identify a national policymaking institution that one of the listed interest groups targets. Some students failed to select one of the national institutions that makes or develops policy in this country. Parts (b) and (c) of the question then asked the student to describe one resource or characteristic of the selected interest group and to link that resource or characteristic to the group's selection of institution.

Resources and characteristics are different features of interest groups, but a number of students chose to describe instead the general activities of their chosen group. Thus, weaker answers often explained how the group might use the selected resource or characteristic to influence policymaking. These students did not focus on how a resource or characteristic influences the selection of a policy-making institution. Parts (b) and (c) asked how the resource or characteristic of the group structured the group's choice of institution, not how that resource or characteristic was used to influence policymaking.

Question 2 Scoring Guidelines

7 points total

The student must identify the national interest group he/she is discussing

(a) 1 point total for a correct identification of a national policymaking institution that the selected group would target

- The President
- The Legislature (credit given for identifying either the House or the Senate)
- The Judiciary
- The Bureaucracy or a specific agency

If a student identifies a specific agency it should be clearly and substantively connected to the interest group, e.g., AARP focuses on Social Security Administration, Medicare portion of HHS, FDA and specific health remedy; AMA might focus on the FDA or the Dept. of HHS; NAACP might focus on the Dept. of Justice Civil Rights Division or the EEOC. NAM focuses on FTC, Dept. of Commerce, Transportation, Labor (OSHA).

Note: Incorrect answer is a non-national institution or non-policymaking institution.

(b) 3 points total

- 1 point for identifying a characteristic or resource of the selected group. All that is required here is an identification of a relevant characteristic or resource of the group. Note: Candidate may receive 1 point here without earning the point in (a).

- 2 points (maximum) for explaining how the characteristic or resource identified influences the choice of the policymaking institution targeted.

- No points are awarded if a student did not earn the point in (a) for identifying the targeted institution.

- 1 point for only a general explanation that provides some linkage of the characteristic or resource to the choice of target institution.

- 2 points for a specific or full explanation that describes HOW the characteristic or resource influences the choice of target.

(c) 3 points total

- 1 point for identifying a second characteristic or resource of the selected group. All that is required here is an identification of a relevant characteristic or resource of the group. Note: Candidate may receive 1 point here without earning the point in (a).
- **2 points** (maximum) for explaining how the second characteristic or resource identified influences the choice of the policymaking institution targeted.

- **No points** are awarded if a student did not earn the point in (a) for identifying the targeted institution.

- **1 point** for only a general explanation that provides some linkage of the characteristic or resource to the choice of target institution.

- **2 points** for a specific or full explanation that describes **HOW** the characteristic or resource influences the choice of target.

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<tr>
<th>Policymaking Institution</th>
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<th>Second Group Characteristic or Resource</th>
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0 for relevant attempted answer that earns no points
— for blank or off-task answer
NAM is a very important interest group because it has a large membership and a lot of money. Because NAM is made up of many manufacturing corporations, it has a good deal of money that can be used by NAM to promote policy which will help manufacturers. This money is often used to influence members of Congress's campaigns or to take them on trips. The financial support for campaigns is very important to win elections, and NAM often offers this support to the candidates. This relationship with Congress also confers influence about possible legislation after Congress is in session as part of an "iron triangle.

NAM is also an important interest group because manufacturers are all interested in the same basic things such as tax breaks and reductions on their workers' union. Because their interests are similar, they can form "interest groups" to divide their support. As the interest groups get larger, so does their membership, causing interest to rise. But because NAM does not deal with communities that do not have the full support of its membership behind specific proposals, it is much easier for Congress to successfully pass legislation which NAM desires because these issues are openly debated on congressional records. If legislation is not supported by the corporations in NAM, it will rarely pass through Congress.
In conclusion, NAM is a powerful interest group that is influential in influencing Congress because it holds a money influential corporation that have similar interests with no clear difference to divide them. Their main resources do not necessarily reflect their views as there are many people question the helpfulness of interest groups...

Commentary:
The candidate selects the NAM as the interest group and then identifies Congress as the targeted institution. One group resource selected is “influential membership.” The discussion of this resource earns full credit. The specific explanation of how this resource influences the choice of the targeted institution is developed well. “Money” is also discussed as a resource of the organization, and that identification is awarded 1 point. The specific explanation of that resource is very sound, and this results in full credit. This essay is an example of one that directly treats all the components of the question with specificity. Although the student also indicates that group cohesion is a resource of the NAM, this is not necessary since two other resources are quite adequately treated. Score = 7.
A) The American Association of Retired Persons targets Congress to achieve their policy objectives.

B) One characteristic of this group is the fact that the elderly make up a large percentage of the voting population. Because of this, they have a large say in who gets into office and who stays in office. Also because they are retired, they have more time to find out about the issues. They aren't an uneducated voting block. Congressional candidates must know their platform and how it helps the AARP. Also because of the voting percentage, AARP issues are important to Congress; issues like Medicare and Medical and Social Security.

C) Another characteristic of the AARP is that they tend to be slightly conservative economically and slightly liberal socially. Congress must work with this if they want to be reelected. Congress's decisions must be influenced by the AARP because they are their backers.

Commentary:
The student selects AARP as the interest group and identifies Congress as the targeted institution. That identification clearly warrants a point. "Voter strength" is specified as a resource, and is given full credit. The specific explanation of this resource is very sound. A second resource of AARP, the "time members have," is also identified and that earns 1 point. This is a difficult resource to treat analytically and there is really no discussion of that resource contained in the essay. The last paragraph, focusing on the "conservatism" of the AARP, is not a resource. Score = 5.
Although national interest groups have always had an influence on policy making institutions, their influence was never as great as it is today. An interest group at the forefront of this struggle to achieve policy objectives is the American Association of Retired Persons or the AARP.

The majority of the AARP’s efforts have been concentrated on pushing Congress to implement Social Security reform to allow the retired to keep the benefits they have earned. Currently if Congress were to keep the current Social Security measures in place, then within the next 50 years it is projected that the government would run out of money to pay for their social security. This would be tragic for the economy of the country as well as the overall well being.

The AARP have two main points to use for leverage to pass the bill. First, the elderly make up a large portion of the voting population. And on a social front, if their needs will not be met by an individual running for Congress or for the Presidency, then these individuals will make sure they are not seen in the polls. These people are either elderly or disabled and so they need to retire. They have the right to receive their Social Security benefits after putting so much money into the system for so long. The AARP sticks to this necessity and will not vote for individuals who will not provide for them.
The second point of leverage is that the elderly make up a large portion of America's economy. Most elderly rely on their social security as their only source of income because they have nothing else. If they do not continue to receive their benefits in the future, then they will not be able to buy anything and the economy would suffer severely. Henceforth, by bringing light to this issue by appealing to Congress, the AARP does its best to influence Congress into providing for the retired. Likewise, the campaign of those that will provide the act in clear that the AARP is a National interest group which targets Congress in order to maintain that their constituents will continue to respect benefits of their hard work. If their needs are ignored, then true candidates will not be elected and if the are totally ignored by all candidates then the American economy is doomed.

**Commentary:**

The student identifies a targeted institution of the AARP—Congress. That earns 1 point. "Size" is discussed as a resource of the group and earns a point. The general explanation of that resource earns 1 point under the grading standard, although its substance and its specificity are scattered in the essay rather than contained in a single paragraph. The candidate attempted to use the same resource (size) a second time in a different context. However, this received no credit under the rubric. The essay contains many correct statements, but they are not related to the question and thus earn no points. Score = 3.
General Comments on Question 3

Question 3 asked students to evaluate the regulative role of Congress. Students were asked to evaluate the effectiveness of congressional oversight of the federal bureaucracy. The question presumed that the student knew something about what the federal bureaucracy is, and what constitutes congressional oversight. At the outset of the essay, the student had to decide whether Congress is “effective” or “not effective.” A general discussion of both sides of the issue was not a correct response to the question, nor was a discussion in which the student took one position and then argued the opposite case. The question required that the student take an explicit position, best stated in a thesis sentence. Next, the question asked the student to give two methods or reasons explaining either congressional success or failure in overseeing agencies.

Students were usually familiar with the budgetary and jurisdictional functions of Congress, but they were less sure of the “sunset” legislation and the role of oversight agencies like the GAO and CBO. Some students who chose the affirmative argument that Congress is effective were able to make the budgetary oversight argument and the authorization/reauthorization case with ease. Students who argued that Congress is ineffective generally provided vague arguments about bureaucratic size and complexity. They often had difficulty showing how and why the oversight was not effective. The best essays here discussed the vagueness of enabling legislation, the labor-intensive efforts required of Congress to oversee a technical bureaucracy, and the lack of political payoff for undertaking an investigation of an agency or program. Points were awarded on how well the student explained the various methods chosen to illustrate congressional oversight. Sometimes students used specific examples without giving general principles. Some students focused on the size of the bureaucracy and ignored any discussion of complexity or duplication of effort inherent in large complex public organizations. Neither a discussion of checks and balances nor explanations of how a bill becomes a law were acceptable responses to this question.

Question 3 Scoring Guidelines

5 points total

1 point for taking an explicit position: “Yes, Congress is effective” or “No, Congress is not effective” in providing oversight of the bureaucracy.

If the writer takes the affirmative (Congress exercises effective oversight):

2 points (maximum) for a complete explanation of first specific method Congress uses to exercise effective oversight.

- Award 1 point for a statement showing general understanding of method of oversight.
- Award 2 points for a specific explanation showing How/Why the method is effective.

Methods of effective oversight may include:

- Budget control
- Reauthorization/jurisdiction of agencies

- Setting guidelines for new agencies
- Hearings, committee investigations
- Power to organize/reorganize agency
- “Sunset” legislation
- Congressional support agencies — GAO, CBO
- Iron triangles as a source of information
- Casework as a source of information
- Influence over selection of leadership
- Program evaluation

2 points (maximum) for a complete explanation of a second specific method Congress uses to exercise effective oversight. Use the guidelines above for the first method in awarding 1 or 2 points for the explanation of the method.
If the writer takes the negative (Congress fails to exercise effective oversight):

2 points (maximum) for a complete explanation of the first reason for this failure.

- Award 1 point for a statement showing general understanding of why failure occurs.
- Award 2 points for a specific explanation of How/Why the oversight method is not effective.

Reasons for the failure may include:
- No electoral payoff /political ramifications
- Oversight is labor intensive/hard work
- Lack of technical expertise
- Logrolling
- Lack of budget control
- Enabling legislation is vague
- Interest groups/PACs encourage members to overlook effective administration
- Failure to "use" available powers or ineffective use of them

- Iron triangles/cozy relationship with agencies
- Bureaucratic pathologies (for example, Congress creates opportunities for casework through red tape; firing administrators is difficult)

2 points (maximum) for complete explanation of the second reason congressional oversight fails. Use the guidelines above for the first reason in awarding 1 or 2 points for the explanation of the reason.

Points to remember when scoring Question 3:

- A general discussion of checks and balances is not acceptable and does not receive credit.
- If the thesis contradicts the discussion of reasons or explanations, score the answer that gives the student the most points.

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<th>Position on Effective Oversight</th>
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0 for relevant attempted answer that earns no points — for blank or off-task answer
Student Response 1

The federal bureaucracy is made up of institutions that serve to centralize or regulate some area of policy in the United States. Some members are the Department of Transportation, Defense, State, and Commerce. The Congress is effective in exercising legislative oversight of the federal bureaucracy through their use of finance and congressional mandates.

All money for the United States government is controlled by Congress. Any bill concerning finance must be presented to the House of Representatives first through the President (more accurately, his Office of Management and Budget) approves the government budget the people representatives must approve it. Through central control, the purse strings, Congress effectively oversees the federal bureaucracy. Without money, the bureaucracy cannot function, and if Congress is displeased, they can withhold money, according to the Budget and Impoundment Act, when President Clinton sent troops to Kosovo, the Department of Defense was powerless without money from Congress. If the President requests Congress, Congress can withdraw money, effectively exercising legislative oversight.

Also, important to Congress is legislative oversight in its use of congressional mandates. Even though individual members of the bureaucracy make the actual policy, Congress is the institution that sets the mandates. To the Department of Transportation, who allows speed limits, roads to deteriorate, Congress can set mandates.
that says the reach must be improved. The Department of Transportation will be the final
due to develop the projects and allocate the
money, but the Congress is the driving
impetus behind it. Through mandates, Congress
effectively sets goals for the federal
bureaucracy, and enforces legislative oversight.
Congress is effective in exercising
legislative oversight on the federal bureaucracy
through financial control over the use of
mandates. Without money, the bureaucracy is
downright useless. They are
directive-less. Congress controls them by controlling
both their power and direction.

Commentary:
The student takes the explicit position that Congress is effective in exercising legislative oversight of the federal bureaucracy. The first specific method of effective oversight identified is “the use of finance” by Congress. The writer identifies this as being “all money for the United States government is controlled by Congress” and receives a point for this identification. The explanation of this method as “control of the purse strings,” meaning Congress can withhold funding of a bureaucracy if displeased with its policies, is well developed. The second specific method of oversight identified is “the use of congressional mandates” to define the parameters within which the bureaucracy may then implement actual policy. This part of the analysis demonstrates the candidate’s understanding of this method of oversight by indicating that although the bureaucratic agency may develop the policy, “Congress is the driving impetus behind” agency policy, since the legislature has set the broad goals under which the bureaucracy must function. Score = 5.
Congress has failed to exercise effective oversight of the federal bureaucracy. The growing size of the bureaucracy makes it hard to supervise the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy carries out Congress's policies on a day-to-day basis, making individual decisions on the method of carrying out a policy which can make or break a policy. If a bureau doesn't like a policy or feels threatened by it, the bureau may delay carrying out the policy, or may carry it out in a method contrary to the intent of the policy or law. They interpret the laws.

Also, the bureaucracy is technically part of the executive branch, and have administrative responsibilities. Congress cannot fire or hire high-level bureaucrats; that's the president's job. Bureaucrats will protect their jobs first and carry out policy. Second, civil servants in the bureaucracy is a more long-term
job than that of a congressional representative or senator, and they are more immune to changing political trends, slower to change their way of doing their job.

Commentary:
The candidate explicitly states that Congress has failed to exercise effective oversight of the federal bureaucracy. The first specific reason for that failure the writer identifies is the “growing size of the bureaucracy.” This earns credit as an identification. The explanation for this reason deals with vague legislation enabling the bureaucracy to interpret the law in a way that may be “contrary to the intent of the policy or law.” The point made in the explanation is correct, but it is unrelated to the reason — size. The student earns full credit for the other reason for ineffective control — “Congress can’t fire or hire high-level bureaucrats” — that is contained in the essay. The explanation of this reason is sound. Score = 4.
When Madison wrote our Constitution he had strong feelings about the separation of powers and a system of checks and balances on the legislative, executive, and judicial. Richard Neustadt described the national government as having separate institutions sharing power. According to Madison “ambition must be made to counteract ambition” and so at times we are left with gridlock. The Congress checks and adds to the power of the executive branch.

The Congress is forced to check the power of the presidency for the fact that “an enlightened statesman may not always be at the helm.” When Reagan was caught impounding a large deal of money, the Congress passed the Impoundment Budget and Impoundment Act to ensure that the President does not take away the congressional power to declare war. Congress passed the War Powers Act. This limited the executive branch of government to send in troops for 60 days. If Congress has not yet declared war the president may leave the troops in for 30 more days. If at this time there is still been no congressional declaration of war the President must pull the troops out.
Congress has created the General Accounting Office as a check on the federal bureaucracy as well. The GAO sends out auditors to various sights and checks if the President is implementing certain programs properly. The CRS or Congressional Research Service also allows Congress to look into any matter they feel necessary if the national government is in a state of divided government and the Congress and Executive Branches are run by different parties. Then the Executive has a great check. Congress is then careful of all Presidential actions which seem disagreeable to them.

Congress does not however have a say in theogue. Executive agreements made by the nation's President. Senate must confirm treaties, but has no power over these executive agreements. Frequently, these agreements deal with some sort of trade and Congress had no influence.
If a president does not like a bill given to him by Congress, he is able to use a pocket veto. By doing this, the president simply ignores the bill and does not sign it. Although the Supreme Court has ruled line-item veto unconstitutional due to the fact that it supplies the president with too great an amount of power, the pocket veto is acceptable.

The Congress is not able to oversee all of the actions which the federal bureaucracy makes, but does effectively control some forms of the executive branch, making sure to keep our world as Madison would have liked it.

Commentary:
The writer clearly takes the position that Congress is effective in its oversight of the federal bureaucracy. Interestingly, this position is taken in the last paragraph of the essay. The essay indicates a general understanding of a method of oversight by citing the use of the General Accounting Office by Congress to check the federal bureaucracy. However, there is no explanation of how or why this leads to effective oversight. This is an example of an unfocused essay that deals tangentially with some general elements of the oversight question but is an undirected response to the specifics of the question. Score = 2.
General Comments on Question 4

Question 4 directed students to five pie charts illustrating aggregate U.S. government spending at different time periods. Candidates were expected to read and interpret these charts and to incorporate information from them into the first part of their answers. Students were asked to extract (identify) from the charts two budgetary barriers that hinder the creation of new policy initiatives and then to explain why each barrier persists. They were NOT required to identify trends in doing this. Generally, students were able to make the identifications requested, but they often failed to identify barriers clearly and thus did not earn credit. Each identified barrier was to be explained in terms of its persistence. Students were sometimes unable to explain why these circumstances continued.

The last part of the question required general knowledge of United States politics: identify a non-budgetary barrier to the creation of new policy initiatives, and explain how this barrier hinders the creation of new policy initiatives. Candidates could earn credit in this portion of the essay without having satisfactorily answered the budgetary portion of the question since they were separate from each other. The usual responses for this third part of the question were some variation of "checks and balances," interest group influence or competition, or "partisanship." All were adequate approaches to this portion of the question. The most common mistakes in this portion of the essay were discussions of budgetary rather than nonbudgetary problems (unexpected natural disasters, wars, etc., which required budgetary resources, and intergroup/interparty/interagency competition for fiscal resources). Generally, it was in the extended discussions of barriers (why budgetary ones persist and how nonbudgetary ones hinder new policy initiatives) where candidates failed to earn points.

Question 4 Scoring Guidelines

9 points total

Budgetary Barriers

1st barrier: identification = 1 point

Budgetary barriers are:

- Entitlements
- Interest payments
- Limited discretionary spending available
- Mandatory spending

Explanation of why barrier persists (2 points maximum)

- 1 point if explanation includes only a general discussion of the barrier
- 2 points if explanation is complete about WHY the barrier persists

2nd barrier: identification = 1 point

(see list above for 1st barrier)

Explanation of why barrier persists (2 points maximum)

- 1 point if explanation includes only a general discussion of the barrier
- 2 points if explanation is complete about WHY the barrier persists

Nonbudgetary Barrier

Identification of barrier = 1 point

Some possible examples of nonbudgetary barriers are:

- "Not my programs" orientation toward budget cuts or siphoning money to new programs
- Interest group influence/competition that maintains status quo
- Lack of strong party system
- Incremental spending
- Budgetary "walls"
- Partisanship
- Multiple access points for hindering new programs (legislative "process" limitation)

Explanation of how this barrier hinders creation of new policy initiatives (2 points maximum)

- 1 point if explanation is only a general discussion of the barrier
- 2 points if explanation is complete about HOW this barrier hinders creation of new policy initiatives
**Point to remember when scoring Question 4:**

- This question does **NOT** ask for treatment of change over time; therefore, the identification of barriers does **NOT** require recognition of growth in entitlements or debt service over time.

**0** for relevant attempted answer that earns no points

— for blank or off-task answer

### Point Distribution Matrix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Budgetary Barrier</th>
<th>Second Budgetary Barrier</th>
<th>Nonbudgetary Barrier</th>
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<td>Identification</td>
<td>Explanation of Persistence</td>
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</table>
New policy initiatives are very difficult to enact because of the declining in discretionary spending, the pie charts depict a declining trend in percentage of spending. When faced with the problem of balancing the budget, discretionary spending is the first option that is cut. Any new initiative has to originate in the discretionary portion that is constantly decreasing. Thus, funding for new programs can only originate because of further cuts in other discretionary programs that currently receive cuts, such as the various highway, forestry, and other environmental programs.

One other reason is that mandatory and entitlement spending has drastically increased. Entitlements, such as the Social Security program are constantly growing because the number of people that qualify for these programs constantly grows also. Entitlement spending also cannot be restricted without a severe political backlash from those who are or will qualify to be entitled to receive benefits, veterans, the elderly etc. The other component of mandatory spending. Net interest has also drastically enlarged. In the 1963 - 1993, the percentage of spending has more than doubled. Net interest. The result of payments on the national debt also cannot be reduced unless the amount of national debt we hold is proportionally decrease. If the national debt increases, the net interest payments also rise. This is the foundations for its elimination of our debt to leave more room for other types of spending. This is
reflected in the projected budget which shows a slight decline in the national debt and thus the Net Interest payments. Mandatory Spending, however, still engulfs more of the budget as a percentage.

In recent politics, however, many problems have arisen with the introduction of new policies. One example is President Clinton's middle/lower class tax cut versus the GOP capital gains tax cut. This classic case of the have's versus the have nots is progressed further into disarray by the fact that we now have a democratic president and a republican congress. The differing ideological standpoints add gridlock to the apportionment of the scarce available funds and complicate the implementation of them. As the two parts grapple until compromise is reached, precious few available discretionary dollars will sit in vain as a result of the budget crisis.

Commentary:
Although not a perfect essay, this candidate begins with a general discussion of the reduction in discretionary spending (a budgetary barrier) and follows with a specific explanation of the persistence of entitlement spending. This segment of the essay is sufficiently complete to earn full credit for one budgetary barrier and explanation. Net interest is identified as another budgetary barrier. Again, there is enough explanation of its persistence to earn full credit. Gridlock between Congress and the President is identified as a nonbudgetary barrier. It is explained as a hindrance to the creation of new policy initiatives. Score = 9.
“Money makes the world go around” is an old saying yet true. The US’s mandatory spending has increased steadily since 1963, and this hinders the creation of new policy initiatives while some portions of mandatory spending have gone down, others have increased, thus superseding the decrease and leading to an overall increase in mandatory spending, thus hindering the creation of new policies. In order to implement new policy, a government needs money. However, when there is no money, then there can be no new policies. Since 1963, there has been a steady rise in the amount of money spent on the net interest. This is the interest owed on the national debt. As we fail to pay the interest, or charge more on our national credit card, our interest payments grow and thus the mandatory spending. Because more money is being fed to just pay interest payments on the national debt, the US is unable to create new policy initiatives due simply to the fact that all the money the government gets is spent on mandatory spending, including the absurdly large interest payments owed on the national debt.

There has also been a dramatic increase in entitlement spending. In 1963, entitlement spending was only 22.7%, whereas discretionary spending ruled at 70.4%. In the forthcoming century, the national budget mandatory spending is
predicted to be over half of the mandatory spending, S 58.2. This is S 58.2% of the 70% spent by the government. As one can see, entitlements have risen dramatically and with them the cost on the federal government. Entitlement spending is over four times as much as the interest payments on a multibillion dollar debt. Because the federal government is spending so much of its money on entitlements, the government lacks the money to create new policy initiatives. The problem persists because discretionary and entitlement spending go hand in hand. As one decreases, the other increases. Truly, there is no safe way of reducing entitlements and discretionary spending at the same time. Even if the government did, more money would be spent towards the debt payment. The fact that entitlement spending has increased hinders the creation of new policy initiatives.

There are, however, other nonbudgetary barriers which hinder the creation of new policy initiatives. Among these is simple political jargon; politicking if one will. There are many factors that must be considered in order to start new policy initiatives in the world of politics. For example, in Congress, the Democrats and Republicans may disagree and voting would be done purely on party lines. A bill under consideration might be one to create new policy, but should these factions disagree, the entire process is
hindered as much as if the government had no money at all.

Mandatory spending has hindered the United States’s efforts in creating new policy initiatives. By increasing the amount we must spend every year, the US cannot implement its new policies. Also, factions such as political parties are non-budgetary hinderances toward the formation of new policy initiatives as well.

**Commentary:**

Net interest is identified as a budgetary barrier and there is a complete explanation of why this barrier persists. Entitlements are identified as another budgetary barrier to the creation of new policies. However, the discussion is descriptive in nature and is therefore incomplete. It is given partial credit (a 1-point explanation). The identification of checks and balances earns credit, but the explanation is tied to party differences rather than policy initiation. This is a general discussion so it does not earn full credit. Score = 7.
Student Response 3

The United States government strives to meet the best for its people and their dreams. Part of the reality for accomplishing goals is the actual budget. Often times, the government works to create new policy initiatives. Unfortunately, sometimes barriers exist that block the goal to try to become greater. The government does try to implement these barriers and strive to attain the desired policy initiatives.

The government encounters barriers throughout the years as it tries to become the best for itself and its citizens. As the years have gone by, entitlement spending has increased. Entitlements are uncontrollable. Once initiatives such as Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security are implemented, no one may stop easily. Since these initiatives programs continue to increase, the overall spending on entitlements continue to increase. The average life expectancy rate has increased throughout the years to stimulate higher costs of entitlement spending. In addition to the higher life population rates that caused higher entitlement spending, the discretionary spending has decreased. The United States has only a certain amount of available funding. With the increase of uncontrollable spending, the controllable spending has decreased. Payments have been made to lower the national debt to continue but are not as large as desired because entitlement spending is so great. The government needs to continue to pay for certain necessities in order to ensure a sustainable government.
The government cannot forego its spending on certain things, even if the spending is controllable. Payments will always be a barrier, whether controllable or uncontrollable.

Although budgetary barriers hinder new policy initiatives, nonbudgetary items may become a barrier as well. For example, if Congress becomes split up into many arguing factions, the process of creating new initiatives will be greatly hindered. Even though the Congressmen do not directly represent the money side of the budget, they have a lot to do with the budget. If they argue all of the time and refuse to compromise, nothing will be accomplished and the budget will remain in disarray. This does not usually occur, but it could and is easily probable to occur. Even though nonbudgetary initiatives may seem to be insignificant to the creation of new policy initiatives, they may effect the government in many ways than one.

It is important to continue to create new policy initiatives for the United States. Nonbudgetary and budgetary barriers may greatly effect the work of the government. Through careful skill and cooperation, however, the government can continue to bring barriers to our society through its hard work and determination for excellence.

Commentary:
The student explicitly identifies entitlements as a budgetary barrier and gives a good explanation of persistence of this barrier, so this portion of the answer earns full credit. There is a brief reference to attempts to pay off the debt as mandatory spending and that is given credit for identification. However, there is no explanation of the persistence of this barrier. Factions in Congress are correctly identified as a nonbudgetary barrier, and the essay presents a general explanation of how they hinder the creation of new policy initiatives. As a result, this segment of the essay earns partial credit. Score = 6.
Chapter IV  Statistical Information

- Table 4.1 — Section II Scores and AP Grades
- How AP Grades Are Determined
- Table 4.2 — Scoring Worksheet
- Table 4.3 — Grade Distributions
- Table 4.4 — Section I Scores and AP Grades
- College Comparability Studies
- Reminders for All Grade Report Recipients
- Reporting AP Grades
- Purpose of AP Grades

Table 4.1 — Section II Scores and AP Grades
These are the score distributions for the total group of candidates on each free-response question from the 1999 AP U.S. Government Exam.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Question 1</th>
<th>Question 2</th>
<th>Question 3</th>
<th>Question 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of Students</td>
<td>% At Score</td>
<td>Number of Students</td>
<td>% At Score</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>2,706</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>3,042</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>2,996</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,933</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>6,631</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>5,668</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>5,500</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>8,362</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>11,406</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>8,702</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>8,214</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>6,278</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>7,833</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>12,328</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3,736</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>6,577</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>6,277</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Response</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1,882</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Candidates: 56,772  56,772  56,772  56,772
Mean: 3.60  2.78  2.51  2.88
Standard Deviation: 2.20  2.07  1.63  2.31
Mean as % of Maximum Score: 45  40  50  32
How AP Grades Are Determined

Students could have received 0 to 60 points in Section I and 0 to 60 points in Section II of this exam. However, these scores are not released to the student, school, or college. Instead, these raw scores are converted to grades on an AP 5-point scale, and it is these grades that are reported. This conversion involves a number of steps, which are detailed on the Scoring Worksheet on the facing page:

1. **The multiple-choice score is calculated.** To adjust for random guessing, a fraction of the number of wrong answers is subtracted from the number of right answers. This fraction is 1/4 for five-choice questions (as on the U.S. Government Exam), so that the expected score from random guessing will be zero.

2. **The free-response score is calculated.** When the free-response section includes two or more parts, those parts are weighted according to the value assigned to them by the Development Committee. This allows the committee to place more importance on certain skills to correspond to their emphasis in the corresponding college curriculum.

3. **A composite score is calculated.** Weighting also comes into play when looking at the multiple-choice section in comparison to the free-response section. In consultation with experts from the College Board and ETS, the Government & Politics Committee decided that Section I and Section II each should contribute 50% to the total score. The maximum composite score was 120.

The Scoring Worksheet on the facing page details the process of converting section scores to composite scores for this exam.

4. **AP grades are calculated.** The Chief Faculty Consultant sets the four cut points that divide the composite scores into groups. A variety of information is available to help the CFC determine the score ranges into which the exam grades should fall:
   - Distributions of scores on each portion of the multiple-choice and free-response sections of the exam, along with totals for each section and the composite score total, are provided.
   - With these tables and special statistical tables presenting grade distributions from previous years, the CFC can compare the exam at hand to results of other years.
   - For each composite score, a roster summarizes student performance on all sections of the exam.
   - Finally, on the basis of professional judgment regarding the quality of performance represented by the achieved scores, the CFC determines the candidates’ final AP grades.

See Table 4.3 for the 1999 AP U.S. Government Exam grade distributions.

If you're interested in more detailed information about this process, please see the "Technical Corner" of our website: www.collegeboard.org/ap. There you'll also find information about how the AP Exams are developed, how validity and reliability studies are conducted, and other nuts-and-bolts data on all AP subjects.
Table 4.2 – U.S. Government Scoring Worksheet

Section I: Multiple Choice

\[
\left( \frac{\text{Number correct}}{\text{Number wrong}} \right) \times \frac{1}{4} \times 1.0000 = \text{Multiple-Choice Score} \\
\text{(Round to nearest whole number. If less than zero, enter zero)}
\]

\[\text{Weighted Section I Score}\]

Section II: Free Response

Question 1 \(\frac{\_}{\text{(out of 8)}} \times 1.8750 = \text{(Do not round)}\)

Question 2 \(\frac{\_}{\text{(out of 7)}} \times 2.1429 = \text{(Do not round)}\)

Question 3 \(\frac{\_}{\text{(out of 5)}} \times 3.0000 = \text{(Do not round)}\)

Question 4 \(\frac{\_}{\text{(out of 9)}} \times 1.6667 = \text{(Do not round)}\)

Sum = \(\text{Weighted Section II Score} \text{(Do not round)}\)

Composite Score

\[
\text{Weighted Section I Score} + \text{Weighted Section II Score} = \text{Composite Score} \text{(Round to nearest whole number.)}
\]

AP Grade Conversion Chart
U.S. Government 1999

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composite Score Range*</th>
<th>AP Grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>86-120</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-85</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49-69</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27-48</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-26</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The candidates' scores are weighted according to formulas determined in advance each year by the Development Committee to yield raw composite scores; the Chief Faculty Consultant is responsible for converting composite scores to the 5-point AP scale.
Table 4.3 — Grade Distributions

More than 65% of the candidates earned an AP grade of 3 or higher.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examination Grade</th>
<th>Total Group</th>
<th>Number of Students</th>
<th>Percent at Grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Extremely well qualified</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5,999</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Well qualified</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12,086</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualified</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19,236</td>
<td>33.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possibly qualified</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13,892</td>
<td>24.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No recommendation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5,559</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Number of Students: 56,772
Mean Grade: 2.98
Standard Deviation: 1.13

Table 4.4 — Section I Scores and AP Grades

This table gives the probabilities that a student would receive a particular grade on the 1999 AP U.S. Government Exam given that student's particular score on the multiple-choice section.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Multiple Choice</th>
<th>AP Grade</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49 to 60</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 to 48</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 to 39</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 to 28</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>68.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 to 16</td>
<td>73.7%</td>
<td>26.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
<td>24.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
College Comparability Studies

The Advanced Placement Program has conducted college grade comparability studies in various AP subjects. These studies compare the performance of AP Exam candidates with that of college students in related courses who have taken the AP Exam at the end of their course. The college students are given a mini-version of an AP Exam that contains a subset of questions on the exam.

The scores obtained by the college students and the grades they received in their course are used to help determine the appropriate AP grade for the AP students taking a particular examination. In general, comparability studies indicate that the lowest AP 5 is equivalent to the average A in college, the lowest AP 4 is equivalent to the average B, and the lowest AP 3 is equivalent to the average C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AP Grade</th>
<th>Average College Grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To ensure comparability of grades from year to year and to maintain a certain level of difficulty, some multiple-choice questions from previous AP Exams will be included on each new examination.

Reminders for All Grade Report Recipients

AP Examinations are designed to provide accurate assessments of achievement. However, any examination has limitations, especially when used for purposes other than those intended. Presented here are some suggestions for teachers to aid in the use and interpretation of AP grades.

- AP Examinations in different subjects are developed and evaluated independently of each other. They are linked only by common purpose, format, and method of reporting results. Therefore, comparisons should not be made between grades on different AP Examinations. An AP grade in one subject may not have the same meaning as the same AP grade in another subject, just as national and college standards vary from one discipline to another.

- AP grades are not exactly comparable to college course grades. However, the AP Program conducts research studies every few years in each AP subject to ensure that the AP grading standards are comparable to those used in colleges with similar courses.

- The confidentiality of candidate grade reports should be recognized and maintained. All individuals who have access to AP grades should be aware of the confidential nature of the grades and agree to maintain their security. In addition, school districts and states should not release data about high school performance without the school’s permission.

- AP Examinations are not designed as instruments for teacher or school evaluation. A large number of factors influence AP Exam performance in a particular course or school in any given year. As a result, differences in AP Exam performance should be carefully studied before being attributed to the teacher or school.

- Where evaluation of AP students, teachers, or courses is desired, local evaluation models should be developed. An important aspect of any evaluation model is the use of an appropriate method of comparison or frame of reference to account for yearly changes in student composition and ability, as well as local differences in resources, educational methods, and socioeconomic factors.

- The “Report to AP Teachers,” sent to schools automatically when five or more students take a particular AP Exam, can be a useful diagnostic tool in reviewing course results. This report identifies areas of strength and weakness for each AP course. This information may also help to guide your students in identifying their own strengths and weaknesses in preparation for future study.
Many factors can influence course results. AP Exam performance may be due to the degree of agreement between your course and the course defined in the relevant AP Course Description, use of different instructional methods, differences in emphasis or preparation on particular parts of the examination, differences in pre-AP curriculum, or differences in student background and preparation in comparison with the national group.

Reporting AP Grades

The results of AP Examinations are disseminated in several ways to candidates, their secondary schools, and the colleges they select.

College and candidate grade reports contain a cumulative record of all grades earned by the candidate on AP Exams during the current and previous years. These reports are sent in early July. (School grade reports are sent shortly thereafter.)

Group results for AP Examinations are available to AP teachers whenever five or more candidates at a school have taken a particular AP Exam. This “Report to AP Teachers” provides useful information comparing local candidate performance with that of the total group of candidates taking an exam, as well as details on different subsections of the exam.

Several other reports produced by the AP Program provide summary information on AP Examinations.

State and National Reports show the distribution of grades obtained on each AP Exam for all candidates and for subsets of candidates broken down by sex and by ethnic group.

The Program also produces a one-page summary of AP grade distributions for all exams in a given year.

For information on any of the above, please call AP Services at (609) 771-7300 or contact them via e-mail at apexams@ets.org.

Purpose of AP Grades

AP grades are intended to allow participating colleges and universities to award college credit, advanced placement, or both to qualified students. In general, an AP grade of 3 or higher indicates sufficient mastery of course content to allow placement in the succeeding college course, or credit for and exemption from a college course comparable to the AP course. Credit and placement policies are determined by each college or university, however, and students should be urged to contact their colleges directly to ask for specific advanced placement policies in writing.
Appendix

AP Publications and Resources

A number of AP publications, CD-ROMs, and videos are available to help students, parents, AP Coordinators, and high school and college faculty learn more about the AP Program and its courses and exams. To sort out those publications that may be of particular use to you, refer to the following key:

- Students and Parents  SP
- Teachers  T
- AP Coordinators  A
- College Faculty  C

You can order many items online through the AP Aisle of the College Board Online store at http://cbweb2.collegeboard.org/shopping/. Alternatively, call AP Order Services at (609) 771-7243. American Express, VISA, and MasterCard are accepted for payment.

If you are mailing your order, send it to the Advanced Placement Program, Dept. E-05, P.O. Box 6679, Princeton, NJ 08541-6670. Payment must accompany all orders not on an institutional purchase order or credit card, and checks should be made payable to the College Board.

The College Board pays fourth-class book rate postage (or its equivalent) on all prepaid orders; you should allow between four and six weeks for delivery. Postage will be charged on all orders requiring billing and/or requesting a faster method of shipment.

Publications may be returned within 15 days of receipt if postage is prepaid and publications are in resalable condition and still in print. Unless otherwise specified, orders will be filled with the currently available edition; prices are subject to change without notice.

AP Bulletin for Students and Parents: Free  SP

This bulletin provides a general description of the AP Program, including policies and procedures for preparing to take the exams, and registering for the AP courses. It describes each AP Exam, lists the advantages of taking the exams, describes the grade and award options available to students, and includes the upcoming exam schedule.

Student Guides (available for Calculus, English, and U.S. History): $12  SP

These are course and exam preparation manuals designed for high school students who are thinking about or taking a specific AP course. Each guide answers questions about the AP course and exam, suggests helpful study resources and test-taking strategies, provides sample test questions with answers, and discusses how the free-response questions are scored.

College and University Guide to the AP Program: $10  C, A

This guide is intended to help college and university faculty and administrators understand the benefits of having a coherent, equitable AP policy. Topics included are validity of AP grades; developing and maintaining scoring standards; ensuring equivalent achievement; state legislation supporting AP; and quantitative profiles of AP students by each AP subject.

Course Descriptions: $12  SP, T, A, C

Course Descriptions provide an outline of the AP course content, explain the kinds of skills students are expected to demonstrate in the corresponding introductory college-level course, and describe the AP Exam. They also provide sample multiple-choice questions with an answer key, as well as sample free-response questions. A set of Course Descriptions is available for $100. Course Descriptions are also available for downloading from the AP section of the College Board website (free of charge).
Five-Year Set of Free-Response Questions: $5  T
This is our no-fills publication. Each booklet contains copies of all the free-response questions from the last five exams in its subject; nothing more, nothing less. Collectively, the questions represent a comprehensive sampling of the concepts assessed on the exam in recent years and will give teachers plenty of materials to use for essay-writing or problem-solving practice during the year. (If there have been any content changes to the exam in the past five years, it will be noted on the cover of the booklet.)

Interpreting and Using AP Grades: Free  A, C, T
A booklet containing information on the development of scoring standards, the AP Reading, grade-setting procedures, and suggestions on how to interpret AP grades.

Guide to the Advanced Placement Program: Free  A
Written for both administrators and AP Coordinators, this guide is divided into two sections. The first section provides general information about AP, such as how to organize an AP program at your high school, the kind of training and support that is available for AP teachers, and a look at the AP Exams and grades. The second section contains more specific details about testing procedures and policies and is intended for AP Coordinators.

Released Exams: $20  T
($30 for “double” subjects: Calculus, Latin, Physics)
About every four years, on a staggered schedule, the AP Program releases a complete copy (multiple-choice and free-response sections) of each exam, as in the case of the 1999 Government & Politics Exams. Packets of 10 ($30): For each subject with a released exam, you can purchase a packet of 10 copies of that year’s exams for use in your classroom (e.g., to simulate an AP exam administration).

Secondary School Guide to the AP Program: $10  A, T
This guide is a comprehensive consideration of the AP Program. It covers topics such as: developing or expanding an AP program; gaining faculty, administration, and community support; AP grade reports, their use and interpretation; AP Scholar Awards; receiving college credit for AP; AP teacher training resources; descriptions of successful AP programs in nine schools around the country; and “Voices of Experience,” a collection of ideas and tips from AP teachers and administrators.

Teacher’s Guides: $12  T
Whether you’re about to teach an AP course for the first time, or you’ve done it for years but would like to get some fresh ideas for your classroom, the Teacher’s Guide can be your adviser. It contains syllabi developed by high school teachers currently teaching the AP course and college faculty who teach the equivalent course at their institution. Along with detailed course outlines and innovative teaching tips, you’ll also find extensive lists of recommended teaching resources.

AP Vertical Team Guides  T, A
An AP Vertical Team (APVT) is made up of teachers from different grade levels who work together to develop and implement a sequential curriculum in a given discipline. The team’s goal is to help students acquire the skills necessary for success in AP. In order to help teachers and administrators who are interested in establishing an APVT at their school, the College Board has published three guides: AP Vertical Teams in Science, Social Studies, Foreign Language, Studio Art, and Music Theory: An Introduction ($12); A Guide for Advanced Placement Program Mathematics Vertical Teams Toolkit ($35). A discussion of the English Vertical Teams guide, and the APVT concept, is also available on a 15-minute VHS videotape ($10).
EssayPrep™ SP, T
EssayPrep is available through College Board Online (www.collegeboard.org). Students can select an essay topic, type a response, and get an evaluation from an experienced reader. The service is offered for the free-response portions of the AP Biology, English Language and Composition, English Literature and Composition, and U.S. History exams. The fee is $15 per response for each evaluation. SAT II: Writing topics are also offered for a fee of $10. Multiple evaluations can be purchased at a 10-20% discount. You can access EssayPrep from the CBO home page, or from the individual AP subject pages.

The College Handbook with College Explorer® SP, T, A, C
CD-ROM: $25.95
Includes brief outlines of AP placement and credit policies at two- and four-year colleges across the country. Notes number of freshmen granted placement and/or credit for AP in the prior year.

APCDs®: $49 (home version), $450 (multi-network site license) SP, T
These CD-ROMs are currently available for U.S. History, English Literature, English Language, and European History; the Calculus AB and Spanish Language versions will follow in spring 2000. They each include actual AP Exams, interactive tutorials, and other features including exam descriptions, answers to frequently asked questions, study skill suggestions, and test-taking strategies. There is also a listing of resources for further study and a planner for students to schedule and organize their study time.

Videoconference Tapes: $15 SP, A, C, T
AP conducts live, interactive videoconferences for various subjects, enabling AP teachers and students to talk directly with the Development Committees that design the AP Exams. Tapes of these events are available in VHS format and are approximately 90 minutes long.

AP Pathway to Success (video available in English and Spanish): $15 SP, T, A, C
This 25-minute-long video takes a look at the AP Program through the eyes of people who know AP: students, parents, teachers, and college admissions staff. They answer such questions as “Why Do It?”, “Who teaches AP Courses?”, and “Is AP For You?”. College students discuss the advantages they gained through taking AP, such as academic self-confidence, writing skills, and course credit. AP teachers explain what the challenge of teaching AP courses means to them and their school, and admissions staff explain how they view students who have stretched themselves by taking AP Exams. There is also a discussion of the impact that an AP program has on an entire school and its community, and a look at resources available to help AP teachers, such as regional workshops, teacher conferences, and summer institutes.

What’s in a Grade? (video): $15 T, C
AP Exams are composed of multiple-choice questions (scored by computer), and free-response questions that are scored by qualified professors and teachers. This video presents a behind-the-scenes look at the scoring process featuring footage shot on location at the 1992 AP Reading at Clemson University and other Reading sites. Using the AP European History Exam as a basis, the video documents the scoring process. It shows AP faculty consultants in action as they engage in scholarly debate to define precise scoring standards, then train others to recognize and apply those standards. Footage of other subjects, interviews with AP faculty consultants, and explanatory graphics round out the video.
# AP® Government & Politics

## 1998-99 Development Committee

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Institution/School</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jean C. Robinson, Chair</td>
<td>Indiana University, Bloomington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Lou Langedyke</td>
<td>La Canada High School, California</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karen Coston</td>
<td>Blacksburg High School, Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>David J. Olson</td>
<td>University of Washington, Seattle</td>
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<td>Kerry Haynie</td>
<td>Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey</td>
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<tr>
<td>Barbara Kellum Sampson</td>
<td>Plano West Senior High School, Texas</td>
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<tr>
<td>Donley T. Studlar</td>
<td>West Virginia University, Morgantown</td>
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**Chief Faculty Consultant:** William P. McLauchlan, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana

**Chief Faculty Consultant Designate:** Joseph Stewart, Jr., University of New Mexico, Albuquerque

**ETS Consultants:** Andrea Chronister, Elizabeth Fecko-Curtis, Claire Melican