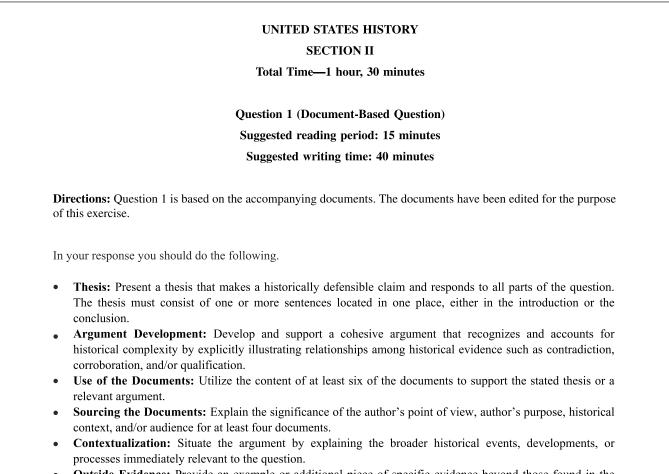
# **Document-Based Question 1**

Note: As explained in the Preface, the instructions shown here are the ones that students will be given beginning with the 2016 AP U.S. History Exam.



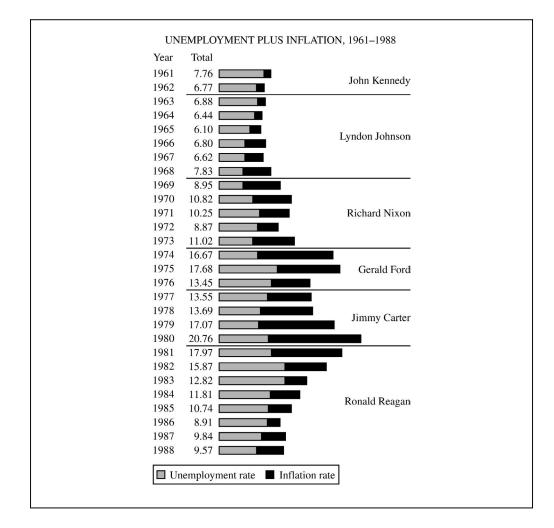
- **Outside Evidence:** Provide an example or additional piece of specific evidence beyond those found in the documents to support or qualify the argument.
- **Synthesis:** Extend the argument by explaining the connections between the argument and one of the following.
  - A development in a different historical period, situation, era, or geographical area.
  - A course theme and/or approach to history that is not the focus of the essay (such as political, economic, social, cultural, or intellectual history).
  - 1. Explain the reasons why a new conservatism rose to prominence in the United States between 1960 and 1989.

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-4-

#### **Background Information**

The graph below is for background information. Analysis of it is not required and will not count toward the required number of documents.



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Source: Barry Goldwater, a Republican senator from Arizona, The Conscience of a Conservative, 1960.

Franklin Roosevelt's rapid conversion from Constitutionalism to the doctrine of unlimited government is an oft-told story.... I am here concerned... by the unmistakable tendency of the Republican Party to adopt the same course. The result is that today *neither* of our two parties maintains a meaningful commitment to the principle of States' Rights. Thus, the cornerstone of the Republic, our chief bulwark against the encroachment of individual freedom by Big Government, is fast disappearing under the piling sands of absolutism....

The root evil is that the government is engaged in activities in which it has no legitimate business. As long as the federal government acknowledges responsibility in a given social or economic field, its spending in that field cannot be substantially reduced.

#### Document 2

Source: Milton Friedman, economist, Capitalism and Freedom, 1962.

We now have several decades of experience with governmental intervention. . . .

Which if any of the great "reforms" of past decades has achieved its objectives? . . .

A housing program intended to improve the housing conditions of the poor, to reduce juvenile delinquency, and to contribute to the removal of urban slums, has worsened the housing conditions of the poor, contributed to juvenile delinquency, and spread urban blight....

The greater part of the new ventures undertaken by government in the past few decades have failed to achieve their objectives. The United States has continued to progress; its citizens have become better fed, better clothed, better housed, and better transported; class and social distinctions have narrowed; minority groups have become less disadvantaged. . . . All this has been the product of the initiative and drive of individuals co-operating through the free market.

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Source: Letter to Nelson Rockefeller, Republican governor of New York, February 6, 1971.

This letter is written to you by a law abiding citizen who feels she is discriminated against in favor of dope addicts and welfare cheats. I am a widow who lives alone, works every day, pays taxes and lives by the rules. I get very little from my taxes when I can no longer walk on the streets and when I am afraid in my own home. . . . Sorry this letter is not typed. My typewriter was stolen.

#### Document 4

Source: Jerry Falwell, television evangelist and founder of the Moral Majority, Listen, America!, 1980.

We must reverse the trend America finds herself in today. Young people between the ages of twenty-five and forty have been born and reared in a different world than Americans of years past. The television set has been their primary baby-sitter. From the television set they have learned situation ethics and immorality—they have learned a loss of respect for human life. They have learned to disrespect the family as God has established it. They have been educated in a public-school system that is permeated with secular humanism. They have been taught that the Bible is just another book of literature. They have been taught that there are no absolutes in our world today. They have been introduced to the drug culture. They have been reared by the family and the public school in a society that is greatly void of discipline and character-building. These same young people have been taught the influence of a government that has taught them socialism and welfarism. They have been taught to believe that the world owes them a living whether they work or not.

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Source: 1980 Republican Party Platform.

Overseas, our goal is . . . to preserve a world at peace by keeping America strong. This philosophy once occupied a hallowed place in American diplomacy, but it was casually . . . dismissed at the outset by the Carter Administration—and the results have been shattering. Never before in modern history has the United States endured as many humiliations, insults, and defeats as it has during the past four years: our ambassadors murdered, our embassies burned, our warnings ignored, our diplomacy scorned, our diplomats kidnapped. The Carter Administration has shown that it neither understands totalitarianism nor appreciates the way tyrants take advantage of weakness. The brutal invasion of Afghanistan promises to be only the forerunner of much more serious threats to the West—and to world peace—should the Carter Administration somehow cling to power.

#### **Document 6**

Source: Teddi Holt, a homemaker, a member of Georgia Stop ERA, and the national president of Mothers On the March, 1984.

I am pleased that God blessed me with the privilege of being a woman. I have never been envious of the role of men but have had respect for both sexes. There's no doubt that there has been discrimination against women, but that is past history, just as discrimination against blacks is past history in the US....

Just what were we women to be liberated from? These women [feminists] were calling for liberation from the things women like me love most—our husbands, our children, our homes. My cry became: "God, liberate us from the Liberators!"...

We believe that the mothers of this and other nations must stand up for the protection of our homes and our children. In no way are we extremists, unless we be guilty of extreme devotion to our husbands, our children, and our homes. It is our sincere belief that if we do not unite against the threats to the home, if we retire to the convenience and security of our houses and do not speak out, then it will not be long until we, the "keeper at home" (Titus 2.5) will not have a home to keep!

Excerpt from "Women Who Do and Women Who Don't Join the Women's Movement" by Teddi Holt and edited by Robyn Rowland, Copyright © 1984 by Teddi Holt. Reproduced by permission of Taylor & Francis Books U.K.

#### END OF DOCUMENTS FOR QUESTION 1

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# Scoring Guidelines and Notes for Document-Based Question 1

Explain the reasons why a new conservatism rose to prominence in the United States between 1960 and 1989.

# **Curriculum Framework Alignment**

Learning Objectives	Historical Thinking Skills	Key Concepts			
POL-1.0 Explain how and why political ideas,	Targeted:	8.2 III			
beliefs, institutions, party systems, and alignments have developed and changed.	Causation	8.3 II			
<b>POL-2.0</b> Explain how popular movements,		9.1 I			
reform efforts, and activist groups have sought to change American society and institutions.	Additional Skills:				
<b>POL-3.0</b> Explain how different beliefs about the	<ul> <li>Argumentation</li> </ul>				
federal government's role in U.S. social and economic life have affected political debates and policies.	<ul> <li>Analyzing Evidence: Content and Sourcing</li> </ul>				
CUL-1.0 Explain how religious groups and ideas	<ul> <li>Contextualization</li> </ul>				
have affected American society and political life.	> Synthesis				
<b>CUL-3.0</b> Explain how ideas about women's rights and gender roles have affected society and politics.					

# **Scoring Guidelines**

Maximum Possible Points: 7

Please note:

- Each point of the rubric is earned independently, e.g. a student could earn the point for argument development without earning the point for thesis.
- Unique evidence from the student response is required to earn each point, e.g. evidence in the student response that qualifies for the contextualization point could not be used to earn the point for synthesis or the point for sourcing the documents.

# A. Thesis and Argument Development (2 points) Targeted Skill: Argumentation (E1, E4, and C1)

**1 point** Presents a thesis that makes a historically defensible claim and responds to all parts of the question. The thesis must consist of one or more sentences located in one place, either in the introduction or the conclusion.

Scoring Note: Neither the introduction nor the conclusion is necessarily limited to a single paragraph.

**1 point** Develops and supports a cohesive argument that recognizes and accounts for historical complexity by explicitly illustrating relationships among historical evidence such as contradiction, corroboration, and/or qualification.

**0 points** Neither presents a thesis that makes a historically defensible claim and responds to all parts of the question nor develops and supports a cohesive argument that recognizes and accounts for historical complexity.

# B. Document Analysis (2 points) Targeted Skills: Analyzing Evidence: Content and Sourcing (A1 and A2) and Argumentation (E2)

- **1 point** Utilizes the content of at least six of the documents to support the stated thesis or a relevant argument.
- **1 point** Explains the significance of the author's point of view, author's purpose, historical context, and/or audience for at least four documents.
- **0 points** Neither utilizes the content of at least six of the documents to support the stated thesis or a relevant argument nor explains the significance of the author's point of view, author's purpose, historical context, and/or audience for at least four documents.

# C. Using Evidence Beyond the Documents (2 points) Targeted Skills: Contextualization (C3) and Argumentation (E3)

# Contextualization

**1 point** Situates the argument by explaining the broader historical events, developments, or processes immediately relevant to the question.

Scoring Note: Contextualization requires using knowledge not found in the documents to situate the argument within broader historical events, developments, or processes immediately relevant to the question. The contextualization point is not awarded for merely a phrase or reference, but instead requires an explanation, typically consisting of multiple sentences or a full paragraph.

# **Evidence Beyond the Documents**

**1 point** Provides an example or additional piece of specific evidence beyond those found in the documents to support or qualify the argument.

Scoring Notes:

- This example must be different from the evidence used to earn other points on this rubric.
- This point is **not** awarded for merely a phrase or reference. Responses need to reference an additional piece of specific evidence and explain how that evidence supports or qualifies the argument.

# D. Synthesis (1 point) Targeted Skill: Synthesis (C4 or C5)

- **1 point** Extends the argument by explaining the connections between the argument and one of the following:
  - a. A development in a different historical period, situation, era, or geographical area

- b. A course theme and/or approach to history that is not the focus of the essay (such as political, economic, social, cultural, or intellectual history)
- **0 points** Does not extend the argument by explaining the connections between the argument and the other areas listed.

Scoring Note: The synthesis point requires an explanation of the connections to a different historical period, situation, era, or geographical area, and is not awarded for merely a phrase or reference.

**On Accuracy**: The components of this rubric each require that students demonstrate historically defensible content knowledge. Given the timed nature of the exam, the essay may contain errors that do not detract from the overall quality, as long as the historical content used to advance the argument is accurate.

**On Clarity**: These essays should be considered first drafts and thus may contain grammatical errors. Those errors will not be counted against a student unless they obscure the successful demonstration of the content knowledge and skills described above.

# **Scoring Notes**

Note: Student samples are quoted verbatim and may contain grammatical errors.

# A. Thesis and Argument Development (2 points)

a) Thesis

Responses earn one point by presenting a thesis that makes a historically defensible claim that responds to all parts of the question (1 point).

An acceptable thesis would make a historically defensible claim that explains the reasons why a new conservatism rose to prominence in the United States between 1960 and 1989. Claims might stress one of a number of possible intellectual, political, social, or economic strands that contributed to the emergence of the conservative movement. Such emphases might include:

- Reactions against big government
- Opposition to the women's movement or to movements for lesbian, gay, and bisexual rights
- The rise of the evangelical movement
- The belief in a free-market economy
- Calls for law and order, and resistance to perceived judicial activism
- Concerns about economic stagnation, inflation, and interest rates
- Anticommunism
- Anti-tax movement
- Apprehensions about social changes

- Defense of perceived traditional values
- Emphasis on personal freedom
- Escalating militancy of the civil rights movement
- Concerns about the credibility of the national government
- Perceived failure of U.S. foreign policy, military weakness
- Perceived failure of social welfare programs

#### An unacceptable thesis would:

- Fail to make a historically defensible claim about the rise of conservatism in this period
- Fail to explain reasons why a new conservatism rose to prominence
- Simply restate or rewrite the prompt
- Fail to address all parts of the question

# Examples of acceptable thesis:

- "The most important factors that contributed to the birth of the new conservative movement were a desire for more reliance on free-market capitalism, a society oriented toward traditional morals and values, and a government that was strong on both foreign and domestic policy."
- "Many claim that the new conservatism rose to prominence in the U.S. between 1960 and 1989 because of the instability of the economy. However, three more important causes were the left activist influence on politics, the break-up of the traditional family life, and the effects of the counter-culture within society. Therefore, the rise of the new conservatism resulted from the desire for a return to structure and order."

#### Examples of unacceptable thesis:

- A thesis with insufficient specificity that does not make a historically defensible claim, other than a vague and generic assertion: "The period of time from the 1960s to the 1980s saw the rise of a political movement known as the new conservatism. The movement grew due to social, economic, and political tides which existed during the Cold War era."
- A thesis that simply addresses the characteristics of conservatism but fails to explain the causes for the emergence of a new conservatism within the time period: "Conservatives wanted smaller government, lower taxes, and stronger foreign policy."
- A thesis that only addresses one reason for the rise of new conservatism, while the prompt calls for more than one reason: "The political right feared the rise of feminism during the 1970s, which led to the emergence of a new conservatism."

#### b) Argument Development

To earn this point, responses must move beyond a single sentence or a listing of facts in support of the thesis or argument; they must explain the relationship of historical evidence to a complex and cohesive thesis or argument and do so throughout the essay (1 point). Evidence can be related to the argument in ways such as contradiction (e.g., using evidence to address a possible counterargument to the main argument in the essay), corroboration (e.g., combining multiple pieces of evidence to support a single argument), or qualification (e.g., use of evidence to present an argument that is subsequently made more complex by noting exceptions).

#### Unacceptable argument development would include:

- Responses that do not develop a cohesive essay
- Responses that simply parrot the documents or list the documents in order
- Responses that fail to organize documents in any meaningful way
- Responses that do not reconnect the evidence of the essay back to a thesis or argument

#### Example of illustrating contradiction with historical evidence:

 "The main reasons for a rise of conservatism, according to conservatives such as Friedman, were the need for greater individual freedom. However, some religious conservatives did not agree. Falwell (Document 4) and the Moral Majority saw the problem as immoral behaviors and selfishness encouraged by the media. They called for less individual freedom and more respect for authority."

#### Example of illustrating corroboration with historical evidence:

 "The conservative movement arose due to a backlash against the prevalence of liberals and the counter-culture in the period. Holt (Document 6) attacks the rise of feminism; similarly, Jerry Falwell argues that young people have been taught moral ambiguity and introduced to a "drug culture" (Document 4). Other conservatives complained about anti-war and civil rights protests in the 1960s."

#### Example of illustrating qualification with historical evidence:

• "Although the biggest reason for the rise of the conservative movement was public opposition to the expansion of the federal government, conservatives made an exception in this position by advocating more spending on the U.S. military in fighting the Soviet Union."

#### B. Document Analysis (2 points)

#### a) Document Content

Responses earn one point by utilizing the content of at least six of the documents to support the stated thesis or a relevant argument (1 point). Responses cannot earn a point by merely quoting or paraphrasing the documents with no connection to a thesis or argument. (See the document summaries section below for descriptions of document content.)

#### Example of acceptable utilization of content to support a thesis or relevant argument:

• Supporting the argument that the new conservatism arose due to reactions against liberal departures from the Constitution: "Beginning in 1960, Republican candidates began to stress the liberal encroachment of all our civil liberties. Goldwater, a Republican senator, acknowledged that Democrats like Roosevelt had defied the constitution that Americans held dear."

# Example of unacceptable utilization of content of a document to support a thesis or relevant argument:

• Misreading the document and failing to connect it to the essay's argument that "traditional values" were a cause for the rise of new conservatism: "Teddi Holt was a homemaker and a member of the growing organization ERA (Equal Rights Association) for women. She held the point of view that women needed to speak out against loss of values and discrimination."

# b) Significance of Point of View, Purpose, Context, and/or Audience

Responses earn one point by explaining the significance of the author's point of view, author's purpose, historical context, and/or audience for at least four documents (1 point). (See the document summaries section below for description of point of view, purpose, historical context, and audience for each document.)

# Example of acceptable explanation of the significance of the author's point of view:

• Explaining how the author's point of view affected the specific language of his or her arguments: "Milton Friedman refuted the idea that welfare programs help solve the problems they are aimed at (Doc 2). As a conservative economist, Friedman makes a case for why capitalism and markets are better than welfare spending."

# Example of unacceptable explanation of the significance of the author's point of view:

• Noting the author's point of view but not explaining its significance for interpreting the document. This often amounts to restating the information in the attribution line; for example, "The Republican Party Platform (Document 5) obviously expresses the conservative view of one political party in that year's presidential election."

# Example of acceptable explanation of the significance of the author's purpose:

• Stating explicitly how the author's purpose in creating the document impacts its content and/or affects its usefulness as a source of historical information; for example, "Jerry Falwell (Document 4) attacks the moral decay and deemphasis of American exceptionalism as the leader of the 'Moral Majority,' for the purpose of inspiring political action to correct the potentially corrupting influences of the media on children."

# Example of unacceptable explanation of the significance of the author's purpose:

• Attributing a purpose or motive to an author but failing to explain its significance, often simply restating the author's argument; for example, "The purpose of the letter to Rockefeller (Document 3) is describing the crime and poverty faced by law-abiding citizens of New York in 1971."

# Example of acceptable explanation of the significance of the historical context of a document:

• Pointing out how contemporaneous developments not specifically described in a document affect the content or source reliability of that document; for example, "A major issue of Carter's presidency was the Iran hostage crisis, where Iranian students stormed the U.S. embassy and took hostages. Carter's lack of response made the U.S. look diplomatically and militarily weak. In the 1980 Republican platform (Doc. 5), the authors allude to the humiliation of the hostage crisis and vow never to show that kind of weakness."

# Example of unacceptable explanation of the significance of the historical context of a document:

• Misattributing the source or content of a particular document or documents to the wrong historical context. The misattribution would often be grounded in an erroneous understanding of chronology; for example, "The context of Document 1 is due to Goldwater's attempt to use this as a platform for his losing presidential campaign against Johnson's Great Society."

# Example of acceptable explanation of the significance of the audience:

• Explaining how the audience affects the document's content or language; for example, "Writing as the leader of the movement 'Mothers on the March," Teddi Holt (Document 6) creates a sense of community with other 'mothers' in her writing by asking them to stand up for their homes and their children."

#### Example of unacceptable explanation of the significance of the audience:

• Making various inferences about the intended audience of individual documents based on parts of the documents' content but without clearly and explicitly stating how the intended audience affects the document's content; for example, "Falwell (Document 4) is a television evangelist who tells his audience that television introduces children to drugs and permissive values."

# C. Using Evidence Beyond the Documents (2 points)

# a) Contextualization

Responses earn a point for contextualization by explaining the broader historical events, developments, or processes immediately relevant to the question (1 point). To earn the point, the essay must situate the thesis, argument, or parts of the argument by accurately and explicitly connecting the rise of new conservatism to broader political, social, or other processes in the U.S. during this time period.

# Examples of acceptable contextualization:

Events, developments, or processes that could be explained as immediately relevant to the rise of new conservatism include:

- Reactions against the perceived permissiveness of the 1960s and 1970s, including the counterculture, antiwar protest movement, feminism, and the sexual revolution
- The Cold War and the ongoing thread of anticommunism in the post-Second World War United States
- Reactions against the perceived excesses of government interventions in the economy and society, such as New Deal or social welfare programs, or the Johnson administration's Great Society agenda
- Concerns about United States economic stagnation, combined with belief in free-market solutions
- Concerns about increased crime and the perceived need for greater law and order
- Population movements out of cities into suburbs and out of the North and East into the South and West

- Reactions against the successes of the civil rights movement and desegregation; move of white Southerners to the Republican Party as part of the "Southern Strategy"
- Reaction against Supreme Court rulings, expanding the rights of the accused
- Perceptions of military weakness following the Vietnam War and a desire to strengthen the United States military
- Emergence of charismatic politicians such as Ronald Reagan

# Example of unacceptable contextualization:

- Setting a historical context outside the time period of the question: "The new conservatism began to rise during the Eisenhower Administration and McCarthy's attacks on Communists in government."
- Attempting to outline a historical context for the rise of conservatism but failing to connect conservatism explicitly to that context; for example, "The rise of the Cold War led many Americans to become more patriotic and defensive of American values and spend more on the military. Conservatives rose to object to perceived attacks on capitalism by liberals and leftists in the 1960s and 1970s."

# b) Evidence Beyond the Documents

Responses earn a separate point for providing an example or additional piece of specific evidence beyond those found in the documents to support or qualify the argument (1 point).

# Examples of specific evidence that could be used to support the stated thesis or a relevant argument could include:

- Antiwar protests
- Assassinations of John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King Jr., Robert F. Kennedy, and Malcolm X
- Black Power movement
- Civil Rights Act (1964)
- Debates over nuclear weapons
- Deregulation of industry
- Détente
- Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)
- Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)
- Reagan's description of the Soviet Union as an "evil empire"
- Iran-Contra
- Iranian Hostage Crisis
- Kent State shootings
- Nixon's "Law and Order" campaign
- Mayaguez Incident

- New Federalism
- Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) oil embargo
- Panama Canal Treaty
- Pentagon Papers
- Reagan's economic policies (Reaganomics)
- Roe v. Wade
- SALT II treaty
- Silent Majority
- Stagflation
- Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)
- Supply-side economics
- Three Mile Island accident and response
- Urban riots of the 1960s
- Vietnam War
- Voting Rights Act (1965)
- War on Poverty
- Watergate
- "Whip Inflation Now" effort

# Example of providing an example or additional piece of specific evidence beyond those found in the documents to support or qualify the argument:

• "The legalization of interracial marriage by the Supreme Court and the increase in numbers of openly gay people, as well as the association of the youth counterculture with experimentation with drugs and sex, provided conservatives like Falwell with evidence of changing social morals."

# Example of improperly providing an example or additional piece of specific evidence beyond those found in the documents to support or qualify the argument:

• Outside the time period of the question, not connected to a specific argument about the rise of conservatism: "The actions of Presidents Truman and Eisenhower created a sense of social security that Americans had come to rely upon."

# D. Synthesis (1 point)

Responses earn a point for synthesis by extending their argument in one of two possible ways (1 point).

a. Responses can extend their argument by explaining the connections between their argument and a development in a different historical period, situation, era, or geographical area (Synthesis proficiency C4). These connections must consist of more than just a phrase or reference.

Possible connections might include: comparing the rise of the New Right to earlier political coalitions such as the one that formed around the New

Deal, comparing the rise of the New Right to the contemporary rise of the New Left, continuing the story of the rise of the New Right to include the Contract with America and the Republican recapture of control of the House of Representatives, and linking the rise of the New Right in this period to the later emergence of the Tea Party.

# Example of synthesis by connecting the argument to a development in a different historical period, situation, era, or geographical area:

• "The rise of a new outlook in response to the troubles of society is similar to what happened during the Second Great Awakening. During that time, many religious people in America were unsatisfied with the way their society had developed. Thus, in both periods, societal developments reinvigorated religious thinking and helped the U.S. return to past ideals."

# Example that did not accurately connect the argument to a development in a different historical period, situation, era, or geographical area:

- Does not fully explain the way the events in the two periods are similar: "The rise of conservatism during this period mirrored that which arose during the changing social conditions and rapid influx of immigrants during the Gilded Age."
- b. Responses can extend their argument by explaining the connections between their argument and a course theme and/or approach to history that is not the main focus of the question (such as political, economic, social, cultural, or intellectual history). Examples of acceptable themes and/or approaches to history would be a thesis stressing political and economic causes leading to the emergence of a new conservatism and then introducing the element of cultural causes in the conclusion (Synthesis proficiency C5). These connections must consist of more than just a phrase or reference.

# Examples of acceptable synthesis by connecting the argument to different course themes and/or approaches to history that are not the main focus of the question:

• Examines the issue from perspective of theme of identity, not just politics: "Although political and social factors were important to the rise of conservatism, the movement can be seen as creating a new form of identity similar to that of ethnic groups that advocated for rights in the 1960s."

# Example that did not appropriately connect the argument to course themes and/or approaches to history that are not the main focus of the question:

• Does not explain how the approach was different from the main focus of the question: "Although the new conservatism mostly arose due to reaction against liberal social programs, it also benefited from public disappointment with politicians in general."

# **Document Summaries**

The following pages present the DBO documents along with the key aspects of each that students might offer in support of their arguments. Also provided are some of the major subjects, concepts, themes, or processes mentioned in the course that students might use to contextualize their arguments.

# **Document 1**

Source: Barry Goldwater, a Republican senator from Arizona, *The Conscience of a Conservative*, 1960.

# Summary of key points explaining content of source or argument made by the author:

- Concern that the Republican Party is adopting the same philosophy as FDR's New Deal
- Neither current political party is the true party of states' rights
- Individual freedom is being usurped by "Big Government"

# Examples of author's point of view:

- The author is a conservative politician.
- He is an advocate of states' rights and limited federal power.

# Examples of author's purpose:

- The author's purpose is to advocate for a smaller federal government and to defend states' rights to make decisions for themselves at a time when the federal government was expanding its authority.
- He is also criticizing the expansion of unwarranted governmental powers and making a case for his upcoming campaign for the presidency.

# Examples of historical context:

- This document was written in 1960, at a time of expanding federal power.
- In particular, federal power was increasingly being used to protect the civil rights of African Americans, and arguments for states' rights were used as defenses of racial segregation.

# Examples of audience:

• The intended audience was fellow conservatives and the voting public.

# Document 2

Source: Milton Friedman, economist, Capitalism and Freedom, 1962.

# Summary of key points explaining content of source or argument made by the author:

- Few examples from history or past experience of government intervention in the economy working; intervention actually makes things worse.
- The country has made improvements, but it was the product of individuals operating in the free market.

#### Examples of author's point of view:

- The author is a conservative economist, an advocate of free-market policies.
- He intends to criticize government economic programs and to argue that economic gains of the 20th century came from free-markets.

#### Examples of author's purpose:

• The purpose of this document is to critique government programs to support the economy and to advocate for free-market-based economics.

#### Examples of historical context:

- This document was written after three decades of the relative dominance of the New Deal political order, which established a variety of government programs to support individuals and to regulate economy.
- It offers an alternative way to regulate the economy through the money supply, and challenges Keynesian economics.

#### Examples of audience:

• The audience is fellow conservatives, economists, and the reading public.

#### **Document 3**

Source: Letter to Nelson Rockefeller, Republican governor of New York, February 6, 1971.

# Summary of key points explaining content of source or argument made by the author:

- Law abiding citizens are discriminated against.
- Individuals who live by the rules are the ones that receive nothing from the rules.

#### Examples of author's point of view:

- The author claims to be a law-abiding female widow afraid to leave her home, who blames drug addicts and welfare cheats for urban problems and crime.
- She adopts the language of being discriminated against to describe position.

#### Examples of author's purpose:

• The purpose of this document is to request government assistance against urban danger, criticize perceived permissive liberal policies that favor lawbreakers, and attack the perceived failure of the liberal state.

#### Examples of historical context:

- Long-term increase in crime that accelerated in the late 1960s and early 1970s
- Urban unrest of late 1960s
- Changes in inner cities such as "white flight" and influx of African Americans to formerly all-white neighborhoods
- Calls by politicians for "law and order"

# Examples of audience:

• This letter is addressed to New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller, a liberal Republican, and other political leaders who may be able to help.

Source: Jerry Falwell, television evangelist and founder of the Moral Majority, *Listen, America*, 1980.

#### Summary of key points explaining content of source or argument made by the author:

- Dangerous trends in America are taking place.
- There is a fundamental change in morals from previous generations.
- Individuals believe that they are owed something from the government, even if they don't contribute anything.

#### Examples of author's point of view:

- The author is a leader within the conservative evangelical Christian movement.
- He argues that modern young people have lost traditional Christian morality.

#### Examples of author's purpose:

• The purpose of this document is to critique the current moral standing of the United States, criticize the perceived erosion of traditional values in light of new technology and modern values, and motivate political action by the Christian right.

#### Examples of historical context:

- This document was written at the moment of the evangelical Christian movement becoming involved in politics and aligning itself with the Republican Party, and the break of evangelicals with Jimmy Carter (supported by many in 1976).
- It was the aftermath of counterculture in mass media.

#### **Examples of audience:**

• The intended audience is fellow conservative evangelicals and the general public.

#### Document 5

Source: 1980 Republican Party Platform.

#### Summary of key points explaining content of source or argument made by the author:

- The Republican Party's goal is to keep America strong.
- Carter's administration has caused embarrassment for the U.S. around the world and has made America weak.

#### Examples of author's point of view:

- The author is part of the Republican party leadership and presumably supportive of nominee Ronald Reagan.
- There are attacks are on the Carter administration and the document is supportive of vigorous projection of United States power in the world.

#### Examples of author's purpose:

• The purpose of this document is to advocate United States strength in the world, criticize the Carter administration's foreign policy, and articulate

popular positions that will result in the election of Republican candidates in the 1980 elections.

#### **Examples of historical context:**

- This document was written during Ronald Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign against Jimmy Carter.
- Other recent events include Iranian hostage crisis and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

#### Examples of audience:

• The intended audience is Republican Party members, the voting public, and the news media.

# **Document 6**

Source: Teddi Holt, a homemaker, a member of Georgia Stop ERA, and the national president of Mothers On the March, 1984.

#### Summary of key points explaining content of source or argument made by the author:

- Discrimination did exist in the past, but is no longer occurring for women or blacks.
- Women should defend husbands, children, and homes.
- Feminists are wrong in their belief that women should abandon traditional values.

#### Examples of author's point of view:

- The author is a conservative woman an opponent of women's rights movement.
- She is a defender of women as homemakers, mothers, and wives.

#### Examples of author's purpose:

• The purpose of this document is to articulate conservative women's reasons for opposing feminism (e.g., the Equal Rights Amendment) and defending traditional values.

#### **Examples of historical context:**

- The increase in numbers of married women and mothers in the paid workforce
- Decade after the emergence of the women's rights movement
- Aftermath of the failure of the Equal Rights Amendment
- Rise of evangelicalism
- Conservative strength in national elections since 1980

#### Examples of audience:

• The intended audience is conservative women — perhaps attendees of "Mothers on the March" gathering.

# **Student Responses**

Sample 1A

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fronth convinced many people that
the government was going too for leading
them to goin the conservatist movement.
Nixon, the next president, had opposite
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decrease welfare spending, he was unable
to ecadicate it completely. Also, the
major scandal & his presidency Watergate,
made many people distrust the coneclitie.
Nixon and LBJ both hand "in period presidencies"

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resp	ect for human like," a reference to the
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and	that abortion was equivalent to murde
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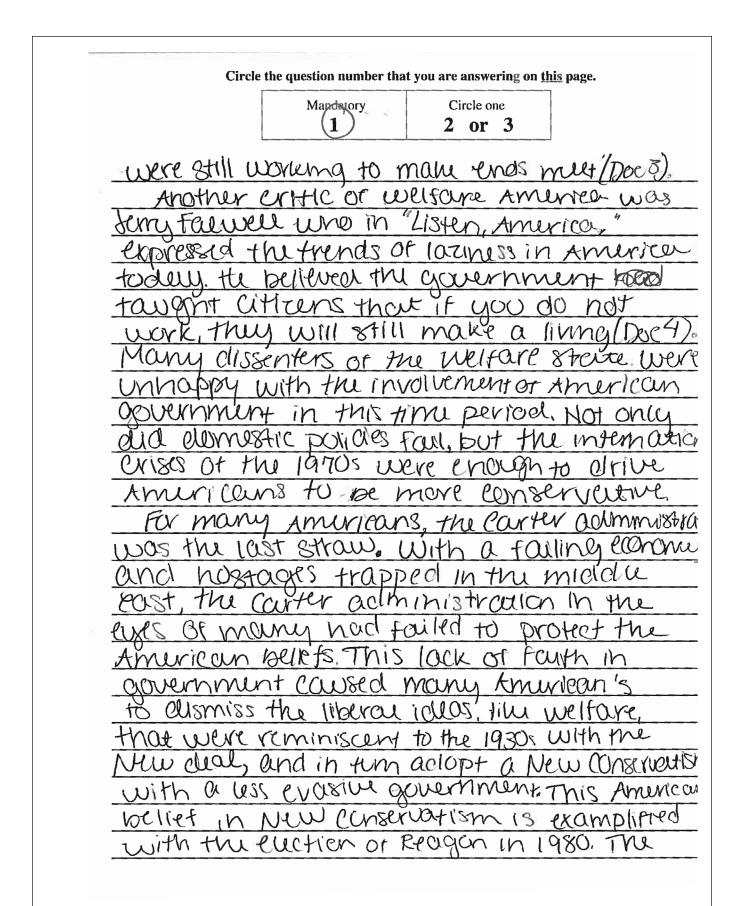
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vrijær iggne æ Carter's presidency. mas
The Iran Hostage Crisis, where Iranian
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ad took hostages. Carters lack of response
and Inability to rescure the hostingues
mode the US look diplomatically and
militorily weak, an affront to the nation.
In the 1960 Republican platform, they alle
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(Doc 5). This frustration with the Weakness

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that the government had failed to make the
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expresses that while government was
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policies, they had not achieved much.
Friedman speaks to the idea that American
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OF government (Due 2).
During the 1960s and 70s, Amuricans saw
their military defeated in Vietnam and
the corruption of his presidency hade been
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# **Scores and Commentary**

Note: Student samples are quoted verbatim and may contain grammatical errors.

# **Overview**

This document-based question asks students to explain the reasons why a new conservatism rose to prominence in the United States between 1960 and 1989. Students must read a set of historical documents and then write an essay that contains a plausible thesis, analyzes the documents and explains their relevance to the question, places the documents and the debate into wider historical context, and synthesizes the information to make a larger argument about U.S. history. This question primarily assesses student understanding of events in Period 8 (1945 to 1980) and Period 9 (1980 to the present), the themes of Politics and Power (POL) and Culture and Society (CUL), and the historical thinking skills of causation, contextualization, argumentation, analyzing evidence: content and sourcing, and synthesis.

# Sample: 1A Score: 6

# A. Thesis and Argument Development (2 points)

a) Thesis (1 point)

The response definitively states its thesis at the end of the first paragraph, making a claim that "Although the rise of new conservatism came partly through economic conservatism, many people were also reacting against political excess and liberal social culture."

# b) Argument Development (1 point)

The response makes a cohesive argument that is corroborated with historical evidence. The essay is arranged chronologically and traces both causes and conservative reactions in a clearly elucidated manner. It moves from LBJ's social programming and rise in executive power to Nixon's use of power and the rise of feminism. It finishes with a look at how the mistakes of the Carter administration gave rise to Reagan's presidency. Evidence from within and outside the documents is used to corroborate each argument.

# B. Document Analysis (2 points)

# a) Document Content (1 point)

The response earns one point for utilizing content from all six documents in support of the argument:

- Documents 2 and 3 are used on page 2 to accurately support conservative opposition to social welfare programs.
- Document 1 is used correctly on page 4 to advance the argument that conservatives viewed the expansive federal government as encroaching on states' rights.

- Documents 4 and 6 are used on pages 7 and 8 to show opposition by evangelicals and some women's groups to the rising feminism movement in America.
- Document 5 is used on page 9 to back the assertion that conservatives were opposed to the weak handling of diplomacy by Carter.

# b) Significance of Point of View, Purpose, Context, and/or Audience (1 point)

The response earns one point by explaining significance in support of the argument (for at least four of the documents):

- On page 2, the significance of Friedman's point of view in document 2 is explained in reference to his role as a conservative economist.
- On page 4, the significance of the historical context of Goldwater's statement is established with the discussion of the federal civil rights laws passed.
- On page 7, the significance of Jerry Falwell's POV in document 4 is explained by connecting his beliefs "as an Evangelic Christian" to the issue of Roe v. Wade.
- On page 8, the significance of Holt's point of view in document 6 is established with reference to conservative women.
- On page 9, the significance of the historical context for document 5, the Republican Party platform of 1980, is established with the introduction of the Iran Hostage Crisis.

# C. Using Evidence Beyond the Documents (2 points)

# a) Contextualization (1 point)

In the introductory paragraph, the essay establishes the contextual backdrop to the question's topic of a post-1960 rise in conservatism, maintaining that "During the New Deal and WWII, government capabilities and spending increased." It then links this element to the larger theme of expansion of "liberal social tendencies" in later years, as seen in social welfare programs and increasing executive power.

# b) Evidence Beyond the Documents (1 point)

The essay introduces a number of pieces of evidence outside the documents and links them to the causes for the rise of conservatism. In paragraph two, the essay introduces Medicare, Medicaid, and HUD as examples of rising national spending. Expanding federal power is bolstered by the outside evidence of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution and the civil rights acts.

Evidence for the rising feminist movement, such as the discussion of the ERA amendment and *Roe v. Wade*, is seen on page 7.

# D. Synthesis (0 points)

The response makes no attempts to connect the argument to a development in a different period, situation, or geographical area (Synthesis proficiency C4), or a course theme and/or approach to history that is not the focus of the essay (Synthesis proficiency C5). To earn the point, the student might have traced the analysis of conservatism in the period after 1992 or compared Reagan's rise in the U.S. to Thatcher's rise in Britain.

# Sample: 1B Score: 4

# A. Thesis and Argument Development (2 points)

a) Thesis (1 point)

The thesis is found in the opening paragraph. The student makes a historically defensible claim centering the rise of conservatism on both distrust of government and failures of recent administrations stating, "citizens did not trust big government and the failure of the government both domestically and internationally caused American citizens to vote for more conservative ideas."

# b) Argument Development (1 point)

The essay develops and supports a cohesive argument that the domestic and international failures of the government led to the rise of conservatism. While these failures are not treated discretely in the essay, the evidence of government failure is intertwined with the narrative throughout the essay, corroborating the argument and making an argument with historical complexity.

# B. Document Analysis (0 points)

# a) Document Content (0 points)

While the documents in this essay are utilized correctly to support the stated thesis, the essay does not use document 6 at all. Therefore, the essay does not earn the point.

# b) Significance of Point of View, Purpose, Context, and/or Audience (0 points)

- The essay explains the significance of Goldwater's point of view in document 1 by saying, "Goldwater expresses his and many of Americans' concerns that individual rights were being swept under the rug."
- The essay uses the content of documents 2, 3, 4, and 5 correctly to support its thesis, but it does not explain the significance of the point of view, purpose, context, or audience for any of these documents, therefore earning no points.

# C. Using Evidence Beyond the Documents (2 points)

# a) Contextualization (1 point)

In the second paragraph, the essay explains the rise of conservatism within the broader historical developments of the Cold War. The essay argues that "the government during this time period had been relentless in keeping American citizens safe and the economy from failing." The response then ties the backlash to these policies as a cause for the rise of conservatism.

# b) Evidence Beyond the Documents (1 point)

On the second page, the essay provides evidence beyond the documents to support its thesis. The essay explains, "After the Watergate scandal, Nixon's resignation, and Ford's immediate pardon of Nixon, Americans began to lose faith in their government." That loss of faith is then connected to documents 3 and 4. The evidence the essay provides here is clearly beyond the documents and therefore it earns one point.

# D. Synthesis (0 points)

The response makes no attempts to connect the argument to a development in a different period, situation, or geographical area (Synthesis proficiency C4), or a course theme and/or approach to history that is not the focus of the essay (Synthesis proficiency C5). It could have made a connection to developments in a different time period to earn the point.

# Sample: 1C Score: 1

#### A. Thesis and Argument Development (1 point)

# a) Thesis (1 point)

Though not elegantly stated, the thesis statement is found in the last sentence of the first paragraph, making a claim that provides several reasons for the growth of the conservative movement.

# b) Argument Development (0 points)

The response does not frame the argument around any clear categories of analysis that are then corroborated or qualified with evidence. The essay simply presents the topics of the documents as its organizing framework and extensively quotes from the documents. There is not a sufficient amount of argument development throughout the essay to receive one point.

#### B. Document Analysis (0 points)

# a) Document Content (0 points)

The response did not receive the point for utilizing the content of six of the documents:

- The lengthy quotes in the response illustrate a student not taking ownership of the point or perspective of the document in order to back up his or her assertions.
- On the bottom of page 1, the response awkwardly, though correctly, presents an explanation of the states' rights point made by Goldwater.
- The attempt to clarify the Rockefeller document after the lengthy quote is nebulous and unclear; therefore this does not earn the point for usage.
- Document 6 is not utilized at all.

# b) Significance of Point of View, Purpose, Context, and/or Audience (0 points)

The response does not receive the point for explaining the significance of point of view, purpose, historical context, or audience for four of the documents. The response makes no attempt to explain these issues for any of the documents.

# C. Using Evidence Beyond the Documents (0 points)

# a) Contextualization (0 points)

The response primarily presents ideas that conservatives would support. It does not attempt to situate the topic of the question within any greater historical development, event, or process.

# b) Evidence Beyond the Documents (0 points)

The response makes no attempts at introducing any evidence beyond the scope of the documents.

# D. Synthesis (0 points)

The response makes no attempts to connect the argument to a development in a different period, situation, or geographical area (Synthesis proficiency C4), or a course theme and/or approach to history that is not the focus of the essay (Synthesis proficiency C5). It could have made a comparison to similar developments in a different time period to earn the point.