Chief Reader Report on Student Responses:
2021 AP® United States Government and Politics Free-Response Questions

- Number of Students Scored: 283,353
- Number of Readers: 1,122
- Score Distribution:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exam Score</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%At</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>33,939</td>
<td>12.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>32,752</td>
<td>11.6</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>76,081</td>
<td>26.9</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>73,067</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>67,514</td>
<td>23.8</td>
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- Global Mean: 2.62

The following comments on the 2021 free-response questions for AP® United States Government and Politics were written by the Chief Reader, Stella Rouse, University of Maryland. They give an overview of each free-response question and of how students performed on the question, including typical student errors. General comments regarding the skills and content that students frequently have the most problems with are included. Some suggestions for improving student preparation in these areas are also provided. Teachers are encouraged to attend a College Board workshop to learn strategies for improving student performance in specific areas.
What were the responses to this question expected to demonstrate?

- The Concept Application question expected students to describe course concepts using real-world scenarios. In this scenario they were given a celebrity quote from an Instagram post that was connected to the course concept of voting rights and voter turnout. Students were expected to recognize structural barriers to voting such as restrictive voter registration laws and procedures. Students were also expected to understand the course concept of federalism with regard to voting laws and procedures for states versus the federal government. Finally, students were expected to understand how candidate campaigns could be altered to impact voter behavior and the influence of media, specifically social media, on candidate campaigns.

- This question expected students to describe a structural barrier to voting. Students were expected to reference the scenario in order to derive the structural barrier. Students were also expected to explain how the voter registration process differs across states and could be impacted by federalism. Finally, students were required to explain how candidates might adjust their campaign with new media types/sources.

How well did the responses address the course content related to this question? How well did the responses integrate the skills required on this question?

It was challenging for students to apply knowledge of course content in the context of the provided scenario. In part A many students described a structural barrier but did not reference the scenario in their response. Or students were able to reference the scenario, but they either did not make clear or misinterpreted the structural barrier. Common student responses suggested that the structural barrier was voting in general, a lack of voter turnout, or age. An alternative response only generally provided a scenario reference by simply stating, “In the scenario ...” rather than specifically mentioning the content of the scenario. Both of these types of responses did not earn a point because students were expected to correctly identify the structural barrier as voter registration and to specifically reference the scenario provided. In part B students needed to demonstrate a more sophisticated understanding of the voter registration process. The knowledge required for part B included an understanding of federalism and how states can differ in their voting laws and procedures with regard to voter registration. For example, because of federalism states can pass their own voting laws and procedures, which could cause some states to implement stricter voter registration requirements than other states. In part C students needed to connect the scenario to how candidates might change their campaign strategies. Students were generally successful in this task, and they showed an ability to explain how candidates could adjust their campaign strategies based on the scenario provided.

What common student misconceptions or gaps in knowledge were seen in the responses to this question?

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Part A: Assuming that a structural barrier is age, voter turnout, or access to social media and/or not specifically referencing the scenario by mentioning something in the content.</td>
<td>“The structural barrier ... is having to register to vote ... the scenario references this in the end of Swift’s statement when she writes, ‘But first you need to register.’”</td>
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• Part B: Not understanding that the response needs to explain the differences in voter registration (not just voting processes) across states.

• “Registering to vote can be an obstacle in some states rather than others because different states have different requirements on voting and registration.”

• Part C: Not specifically mentioning the type of media (i.e., social media) or the voting demographic (i.e., youth) to be targeted. Students confused seeking endorsements from celebrities with endorsing celebrities.

• “[Candidates] may appeal more to the younger audience, such as using social media to outreach more, express more concern for public education, or more concern for student loans/debts.”

Based on your experience at the AP® Reading with student responses, what advice would you offer teachers to help them improve the student performance on the exam?

• Teachers should focus on the skill of applying political concepts and processes from the course to scenarios in context. When the prompt says “referencing the scenario” students must specifically reference the scenario in context. Simply stating “in the scenario” in their response is not enough. Students needed to reference items like Taylor Swift, Instagram post, 18- to 24-year-olds, young voters, young adults, etc. It needs to be clear that the student has read and understood the context of the scenario provided.

• Teachers should focus on the skill of comparing political processes and policies. Students should be able to explain how federalism leads to variation in voting laws and procedures across states.

• Teachers should focus on the skill of describing how political behaviors can change or adapt to new situations and interpretations. Students needed to recognize that candidates would have to shift their campaign strategies to social media, appeal to younger voters, or obtain celebrity endorsements.

What resources would you recommend to teachers to better prepare their students for the content and skill(s) required on this question?

The Course and Exam Description (CED) provides a framework for teaching and learning about the topics that are covered on the exam. The CED addresses the structural barriers to voting in Topic 5.1: Voting Rights and Models of Voting Behavior and Topic 5.2: Voter Turnout. Topic 5.10: Modern Campaigns addresses issues surrounding political campaigns. Understanding these topics is important in order to respond accurately to this FRQ.

In AP Classroom teachers will find a rich collection of resources to support learning about these topics. These resources include formative and summative assessment items for every unit of the course, including practice FRQs for teachers to use as formative assessment pieces. The formative items are scaffolded so that early items represent what students are ready for at the beginning of the school year and later items an increased challenge as teachers progress through the course. AP Classroom also includes topic-specific AP Daily Videos, including Topic 5.1: Daily Video 1, Topic 5.2: Daily Video 1, and Topic 5.10: Daily Video 1, that are related to this FRQ. Topic 5.1: Daily Video 3 discusses a concept application FRQ regarding this topic.

Additionally, the Professional Learning tab in AP Classroom has a skill-based module on teaching the concept application FRQ, Unit 2: Data Analysis and Concept Application.

Finally, the online AP Teacher Community includes a library of instructional resources and a forum for teachers to share instructional ideas regarding these topics.
What were the responses to this question expected to demonstrate?

This question expected students to read and interpret data related to congressional elections in Ohio. Students were expected to describe changes through analysis of data related to these elections. Students were then expected to draw a conclusion about the cause of the difference presented in the data. Finally, this question expected students to read and interpret data related to congressional elections in Ohio. Students were expected to describe changes through analysis of data related to these elections. Students were then expected to draw a conclusion about the cause of the difference presented in the data. Finally, students were expected to explain the political implications of the evidence related to congressional elections.

How well did the responses address the course content related to this question? How well did the responses integrate the skills required on this question?

Student performance in both analyzing data from and applying their knowledge of course content to the provided graphs was very strong. In part A the overwhelming majority of responses correctly identified the Democratic Party as winning the highest percentage of votes and seats in the 1982 House of Representatives elections in Ohio. In part B most responses were also able to describe a change in the data related to the percentage of seats won by Republicans from 1982 to 2012. Part C called for a more sophisticated response, requiring students to draw a causal conclusion based on the presented data showing a major disparity between votes won and seats won by the Republican Party in 2012. The knowledge required for part C included an understanding of how congressional districts are created and that how the lines are drawn within each state may affect the outcome of an election. Correct responses in part C focused on the likelihood that congressional district lines in Ohio had been gerrymandered or drawn in such a way that they gave a distinct advantage to the Republican Party. Part C was one of the more challenging aspects of this prompt in that students needed to apply their understanding of course knowledge to a set of data. Many responses tended to focus on repeating the data points and analyzing the percentage of change, which is not what the prompt required. Part D also required students to apply course content knowledge related to the principle of participatory democracy and explain how the information illustrated in the charts might serve as a challenge to that principle. The knowledge required for part D centered around the students’ understanding that participatory democracy requires valuing the participation of citizens and that institutional processes such as gerrymandering could have an adverse effect on these individual voices. Responses earning the point in part D focused on explaining how the disproportionate number of votes to seats displayed in the 2012 graph served as a challenge to participatory democracy in that Democratic votes did not carry the same value as their Republican counterparts. Other responses focused on the information in the graphs being the cause of decreased efficacy amongst voters, leading to a decline in voting and/or participation by citizens, a definite challenge to the concept of participatory democracy.

What common student misconceptions or gaps in knowledge were seen in the responses to this question?

- Many students struggled to draw an accurate conclusion that the discrepancy created between votes and seats in 2012 was caused by redistricting or gerrymandering.
- Many students confused the winner-take-all electoral system for presidential elections with the single-member district system of congressional elections.
- Students also struggled to explain why the data presented might serve as a challenge to participatory democracy.
### Common Misconceptions/Knowledge Gaps vs. Responses that Demonstrate Understanding

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<th>Responses that Demonstrate Understanding</th>
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| • Not applying a direction or degree of change when comparing the percentage of seats won by Republicans in 1982 and 2021. | • “In 1982 Republicans won 49% of the seats in the House of Representatives. In 2012 this number greatly increased as Republicans won 75% of seats.”  
   • “In 2012, Republicans increased their number of seats in the House of Representatives by 26%.” |
| • Drawing a conclusion for the discrepancy illustrated between votes won and seats won. Many responses focused on analyzing the statistics alone or attributed the disproportion to the “winner-take-all” system. | • “This proportionate difference between the percentage of votes won and percentage of seats won is likely due to gerrymandering.” |
| • Distinguishing the difference between the democratic process of elections, in which elections are won and lost based on the total number of votes, versus understanding how the value of votes and individual voices may be decreased by processes such as gerrymandering or redistricting. Many responses incorrectly applied the “one man, one vote” principle of *Baker v. Carr*. | • “An individual's vote holds less weight and is unable to influence elections as much. An individual may be discouraged from voting.”  
   • “The Democratic votes that were won were far less than the percentage of seats that were given to the Democrats. Voters may also believe that they are underrepresented and therefore believe that their vote doesn’t matter which could then lead participation in voting to decrease.” |

### Based on your experience at the AP® Reading with student responses, what advice would you offer teachers to help them improve the student performance on the exam?

Teachers should emphasize the application of political concepts and processes from the course to data provided in graphs and charts. Students should be able to recall relevant course information and apply it to provided data. Teachers should also emphasize the difference between congressional/midterm elections and presidential elections. Many students were confused about the differences between the “winner-take-all” system of voting used by states to determine electors to the Electoral College and the single-member district plans for congressional elections. Also, many students misunderstood the “one man, one-vote” principle of *Baker v. Carr* as applying to partisan gerrymandering, rather than strictly referencing the population size of individual congressional districts.

### What resources would you recommend to teachers to better prepare their students for the content and skill(s) required on this question?

The CED provides a framework for teaching and learning about the topics that are covered on the exam. The CED addresses interest groups in Topic 1.2: Types of Democracy. Topic 5.2: Voter Turnout examines political efficacy and Topic 2.3: Congressional Behavior addresses redistricting and gerrymandering. Understanding these topics is important in order to respond accurately to this FRQ.

In AP Classroom teachers will find a rich collection of resources to support learning about these topics. These resources include formative and summative assessment items for every unit of the course, including practice FRQs for teachers to use as formative assessment pieces. The formative items are scaffolded so that early items represent what students are ready for at the beginning of the school year and later items an increased challenge as teachers progress through the
course. AP Classroom also includes topic-specific AP Daily Videos, including Topic 1.2: Daily Video 1, Topic 5.2: Daily Video 1, and Topic 2.3: Daily Video 2, that are related to this FRQ.

Additionally, the Professional Learning tab in AP Classroom has skill-based modules on teaching the Quantitative Analysis FRQ, Unit 2: Data Analysis and Concept Application and Unit 4: Data Analysis.

Finally, the online AP Teacher Community includes a library of instructional resources and a forum for teachers to share instructional ideas regarding these topics.
What were the responses to this question expected to demonstrate?

This question expected students to read a case summary of a nonrequired Supreme Court case (Betts v. Brady) and compare it to a case required in the course (Gideon v. Wainwright). Students were asked to identify the constitutional amendment common to both cases. Students were then expected to explain how the decision in Gideon v. Wainwright relates to the reasoning in Justice Black’s dissenting opinion in Betts v. Brady. Finally, students were expected to explain how the decision in Betts v. Brady demonstrates the principle of federalism.

• The task of comparing the required case to a nonrequired case necessitated that students demonstrate increasingly higher order thinking skills, applying their substantive knowledge of case facts, reasoning and holdings, while integrating comparison skills with other course topics/concepts.

  o It was challenging for students to correctly identify the constitutional amendment common to both cases. The most common misidentified amendment was the Fifth Amendment. Additionally, many students described the right correctly (the right to counsel) without identifying the amendment itself.

  o Most students had a basic understanding of the required Supreme Court case of Gideon v. Wainwright. However, many students had difficulty explaining how Justice Black’s dissent related to the Court’s decision in Gideon v. Wainwright. The majority of students provided a description of the Gideon case and Black’s dissenting opinion in Betts without explaining how Black’s dissent influenced the Court in Gideon, or how the opinions are related. The more advanced students were able to take Black’s dissent and the Gideon decision and intersect the two in a way that demonstrated understanding beyond the information provided within the prompt, for example, showing the connection between an earlier case’s dissenting opinion and how the case that came after relied on that reasoning.

  o Finally, many students did not explain how the nonrequired Supreme Court case relates to other course content, in this case how Betts v. Brady demonstrates the principle of federalism by explaining how Betts did not incorporate the Sixth Amendment, which allowed states to decide whether to provide counsel prior to the Gideon ruling.

How well did the responses address the course content related to this question? How well did the responses integrate the skills required on this question?

Students were proficient at describing the facts of Gideon but struggled with the higher-order task of comparing it with the provided case. This demonstrates knowledge of the required case but also that some students could not demonstrate the skill of being able to apply their knowledge in a comparison because the case facts of Betts were given in the scenario. Many students struggled to identify the constitutional amendment common to both cases, which illustrates an inability to recall the relevant constitutional amendment. Many students also did not explain the relevance of federalism in part C, which likely demonstrates that some students were not successful in applying the concept of federalism to the Betts case, while others did not have an accurate knowledge of the concept of federalism.
What common student misconceptions or gaps in knowledge were seen in the responses to this question?

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<td>• Identifying the Fifth Amendment and providing a right to counsel. Many students were unable to correctly identify the Sixth Amendment. Many students identified the Fourth or Fifth Amendments instead. Some students identified the Sixth Amendment with other amendments, thus failing to solely identify the correct amendment.</td>
<td>• “The constitutional amendment that is common to both <em>Gideon v. Wainwright</em> (1963) and <em>Betts v. Brady</em> (1942) was the 6th amendment.”</td>
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<td>• Most students provided relevant and accurate statements about <em>Gideon v. Wainwright</em>. Some students provided information that was too general such as the denial of a “fair trial or fair representation.”</td>
<td>• “Gideon was arrested after being accused of robbery in the state of Florida. He was denied his right to counsel in which he appealed to the Supreme Court.”</td>
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<td>• Most students were familiar with the required case of <em>Gideon v. Wainwright</em> and provided information that was relevant and accurate. However, many students did not make a connection to Black’s dissent in <em>Betts</em> or explain how it influenced or relates to the <em>Gideon</em> decision.</td>
<td>• “<em>Gideon v. Wainwright</em>, which established the precedent of providing an attorney in state courts as well when the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the petitioner, was decided along the line of reasoning used by Justice Black.”</td>
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<td>• Many students provided general statements describing the concept of federalism and then quoted or paraphrased portions of the prompt that referenced the powers of the state and federal courts. Students often struggled with explaining that <em>Betts</em> did not incorporate the right to counsel which allowed states to afford this right.</td>
<td>• “[B]ut there are cases in which the reserved powers of the states are exercised ... In this decision, the selective incorporation of the 6th amendment did not apply, and the state of Maryland was not required to provide counsel.”</td>
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*Based on your experience at the AP® Reading with student responses, what advice would you offer teachers to help them improve the student performance on the exam?*

- Teachers should emphasize that students read the task carefully and identify one amendment instead of listing more than one. Also, teachers should emphasize that students follow the directions to identify the amendment that is common to both cases instead of the constitutional right.
- Teachers should instruct students to explain how an earlier dissenting opinion can influence or relate to a later majority opinion. Also, teachers should instruct students to explain how opinions are related rather than providing separate descriptions of each opinion.
- Teachers should instruct students to explain the relationship between course concepts with the required or nonrequired case for the task in part C.
- Teachers should emphasize that, while the information within the prompt is important for understanding the concepts presented in the nonrequired case, the response should not repeat information. Strong responses use the information but go beyond what is provided to demonstrate understanding.

**What resources would you recommend to teachers to better prepare their students for the content and skill(s) required on this question?**

The CED provides a framework for teaching and learning about the topics that are covered on the exam. The CED addresses *Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963) and the Sixth Amendment in Topic 3.8: Amendments: Due Process and the Rights of the Accused. Topic 1.7: Relationship Between the States and Federal Government, Topic 1.8: Constitutional Interpretations of Federalism, and Topic 1.9: Federalism in Action examine the concept of federalism. Understanding these topics is important in order to respond accurately to this FRQ.

In AP Classroom teachers will find a rich collection of resources to support learning about these topics. These resources include formative and summative assessment items for every unit of the course, including practice FRQs for teachers to use as formative assessment pieces. The formative items are scaffolded so that early items represent what students are ready for at the beginning of the school year and later items an increased challenge as teachers progress through the course. AP Classroom also includes topic-specific AP Daily Videos that are related to this FRQ.

Additionally, the Professional Learning tab in AP Classroom has a skill-based module on teaching the SCOTUS Comparison FRQ, Unit3: Supreme Court Case Analysis.

Finally, the online AP Teacher Community includes a library of instructional resources and a forum for teachers to share instructional ideas regarding these topics.
What were the responses to this question expected to demonstrate?

- This question expected students to demonstrate an understanding of the concepts of separation of powers and checks and balances, as they relate to the balance of power between the legislative and executive branches. Responses should have also demonstrated an understanding of foundational documents related to the concept of limited government (the Declaration of Independence, The Federalist 51, and The Federalist 70), while taking a position on the topic of the prompt.

- Students were expected to articulate a defensible claim/thesis and establish a line of reasoning; support the thesis with evidence from a foundational document(s) and/or the course concepts; use reasoning to explain why the evidence provided supports the thesis; and respond to an alternative perspective using refutation, concession, or rebuttal. Students were also expected to write in the form of an argumentative essay, demonstrating each of the skills mentioned above.

How well did the responses address the course content related to this question? How well did the responses integrate the skills required on this question?

The different tasks within this question required students to demonstrate several higher-order thinking skills, applying their substantive knowledge about checks and balances, while using the argumentation practice from the course. This type of question requires the content knowledge from the course to be integrated with the practices, and most students were successful in demonstrating some substantive knowledge and a number of the practices associated with the argumentative essay. Most students were successful in providing a correct piece of specific and relevant evidence related to the prompt. Students generally demonstrated an understanding of separation of powers and checks and balances, with most students being able to articulate how these concepts connect to limited government. Although many students struggled with successfully articulating a defensible claim with a line of reasoning, students who were able to do so were also generally able to provide at least one accurate piece of evidence that supported their claim, with most being able to provide a correct piece of evidence from one of the provided foundational documents. Students were least successful in providing multiple pieces of reasoning, particularly the line of reasoning that should have been adjacent to their claim. Students also struggled with describing an alternative perspective.

What common student misconceptions or gaps in knowledge were seen in the responses to this question?

The most common misconceptions for the thesis point included the following: Many students simply restated the prompt without establishing a line of reasoning or providing a thesis that lacked a claim with a value judgment about the balance of power. Many students did not provide a line of reasoning adjacent to the claim. This caused those responses not to earn the C reasoning point that was intended to support their evidence because the line of reasoning had to be used to support the thesis rather than the evidence. A common error was listing the evidence or documents as the line of reasoning. Some students attempted to make a claim that one branch of government had become too powerful without indicating what the appropriate balance of power should be (i.e., stating that the presidency has become too powerful but not indicating what the appropriate balance of power should be).

For the evidence portion of the question, the most frequent errors included the following: Students mixed up foundational documents (e.g., mentioning Federalist 51, but describing Federalist 70, or describing information from the Constitution and attributing it to the Declaration of Independence). Many students struggled with selecting the appropriate document that would support the claim they were making (e.g., using the single, unitary executive in The Federalist 70 to support a
more powerful Congress). Many responses made broad or vague claims about the documents, which could fit as a description for any document in the list of choices.

For the reasoning portion of the question, the most common problems were that the reasoning that students provided for the evidence had to be used to support the claim they made when they didn’t have a line of reasoning attached to their claim. In these instances, because students did not clearly articulate a line of reasoning adjacent to their claim, the readers were directed to use this reasoning as a thesis. Although many students did well with the reasoning portion of the essay, those students who did not earn this point commonly described course concepts like checks and balances, using examples without providing reasoning for how they supported their claim/thesis.

For the alternative perspective portion of the question, common missteps included that students did not provide a description of an alternative perspective before responding to it or did not attempt an alternative perspective at all.

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<td>• A claim was made either without a clear line of reasoning or without a clear line of reasoning adjacent to the claim (i.e., the line of reasoning was found later in the essay, often attached to a piece of evidence).</td>
<td>• “The President should have more power than Congress. If America is in a crisis the President can act much faster than Congress, if he is a unitary executive.”</td>
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<td>• A clear claim with a value judgment was not made and/or there was not a line of reasoning by the student. Instead, students listed documents and/or concepts as their attempt at a line of reasoning.</td>
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<td>• Incorrectly using foundational documents, including using the title of one document with a description of a different document or making vague, general claims about the documents that are not specific to the ideas in the documents.</td>
<td>• “In Federalist 51, Madison argues that to have an efficient government there must be a system of checks and balances.”</td>
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<td>• Using an incorrect document in order to support the claim, for example, using Federalist 70 to support a more powerful Congress.</td>
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<td>• Students described examples of a course concept without having provided a reasoning explanation.</td>
<td>• “The Declaration of Independence produces the foundation and principles upon which the United States was built. To contradict the document that essentially gave birth to an independent country would be to allow the president and executive branch to go unchecked by laws and regulation. The oversight is provided by Congress which is why a legislative branch must be powerful enough to control the executive.”</td>
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<td>• Stating an alternate perspective without providing a description.</td>
<td>• “Some may argue that the appropriate balance of power between the president and Congress is that congress...”</td>
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Based on your experience at the AP® Reading with student responses, what advice would you offer teachers to help them improve the student performance on the exam?

- Emphasize the benefit of beginning the response with a clear thesis that goes beyond restating the prompt and taking a clear position that establishes a line of reasoning. For example, “The executive branch should have more power than the legislative branch because ...”

- Spend time conducting structured, minilessons that break down each section of the argumentative essay: design exercises based around thesis creation, with a heavy emphasis on crafting thesis statements that take a clear position and establish a line of reasoning and create a lesson centered around how to accurately describe the information contained within the foundational documents and practices designed to analyze and explain how the information found in these documents relates to both course concepts and more current events in order to better develop reasoning skills.

- Each section of the essay should be addressed as a separate skill for which students should work toward mastery. After students become comfortable with each section, then classroom practices and assessments can be designed to integrate the various elements of a successful argumentative essay.

What resources would you recommend to teachers to better prepare their students for the content and skill(s) required on this question?

The CED provides a framework for teaching and learning about the topics that are covered on the exam. The CED addresses the powers of Congress in Topic 2.2: Structures, Powers, and Functions of Congress and the powers of the executive in Topic 2.4: Roles and Powers of the President. Topic 1.6: Principles of American Government examines Federalist No. 51 and Topic 2.6: Expansion of Presidential Power examines Federalist No. 70. Topic 1.1: Ideals of Democracy examines the Declaration of Independence. Understanding these topics is important in order to respond accurately to this FRQ.

In AP Classroom teachers will find a rich collection of resources to support learning about these topics. These resources include formative and summative assessment items for every unit of the course, including practice FRQs for teachers to use as formative assessment pieces. The formative items are scaffolded so that early items represent what students are ready for at the beginning of the school year and later items an increased challenge as teachers progress through the course. AP Classroom also includes topic-specific AP Daily Videos related to this FRQ.

Additionally, the Professional Learning tab in AP Classroom has a skill-based module on teaching the Argument Essay FRQ, Unit 5: Argumentation.

Finally, the online AP Teacher Community includes a library of instructional resources and a forum for teachers to share instructional ideas regarding these topics.