



## General Certificate of Education

# Government and Politics 5151/6151

*GOV2 Parties and Pressure Groups*

## Mark Scheme

*2005 examination – June series*

Mark schemes are prepared by the Principal Examiner and considered, together with the relevant questions, by a panel of subject teachers. This mark scheme includes any amendments made at the standardisation meeting attended by all examiners and is the scheme which was used by them in this examination. The standardisation meeting ensures that the mark scheme covers the candidates' responses to questions and that every examiner understands and applies it in the same correct way. As preparation for the standardisation meeting each examiner analyses a number of candidates' scripts: alternative answers not already covered by the mark scheme are discussed at the meeting and legislated for. If, after this meeting, examiners encounter unusual answers which have not been discussed at the meeting they are required to refer these to the Principal Examiner.

It must be stressed that a mark scheme is a working document, in many cases further developed and expanded on the basis of candidates' reactions to a particular paper. Assumptions about future mark schemes on the basis of one year's document should be avoided; whilst the guiding principles of assessment remain constant, details will change, depending on the content of a particular examination paper.

# Government and Politics

## CRITERIA FOR MARKING AS/A2

### Introduction

The AQA's revised Government and Politics specification has been designed to be objectives-led in that questions are set which address the assessment objectives published in the specification. The assessment objectives for A Level and AS are the same, but the weightings are different at AS and A2. Details of the weightings are given in paragraphs 7.2 and 8.4 of the specification.

The schemes of marking reflect these objectives. The mark scheme which follows is of the *levels of response* type showing that candidates are expected to demonstrate their mastery of the skills required in the context of their knowledge and understanding of Government and Politics. Mark schemes provide the necessary framework for examiners but they cannot cover all eventualities. Candidates should be given credit for partially complete answers. Where appropriate, candidates should be given credit for referring to recent and contemporary developments in Government and Politics.

Consistency of marking is of the essence in all public examinations. It is therefore of vital importance that assistant examiners apply the marking scheme as directed by the Principal Examiner in order to facilitate comparability with the marking of other options.

Before scrutinising and applying the detail of the specific mark scheme which follows, assistant examiners are required to familiarise themselves with the general principles of the mark scheme as contained in the Assessment Matrix.

### Using a levels of response mark scheme

Good examining is about the **consistent** application of judgement. Mark schemes provide a framework within which examiners exercise their judgement. This is especially so in subjects like Government and Politics which in part rely upon analysis, evaluation, argument and explanation. With this in mind, examiners should use the Assessment Matrix alongside the detailed mark scheme for each question. The Assessment Matrix provides a framework ensuring a consistent, generic source from which the detailed mark schemes are derived. This supporting framework ensures a consistent approach within which candidates' responses are marked according to the level of demand and context of each question.

Examiners should initially make a decision about which Level any given response should be placed in. Having determined the appropriate Level the examiners must then choose the precise mark to be given within that Level. In making a decision about a specific mark to award, it is vitally important to think first of the mid-range within the Level, where that Level covers more than two marks. Comparison with other candidates' responses to the same question might then suggest whether the middle mark is unduly generous or severe.

In making decisions away from the middle of the Level, examiners should ask themselves questions relating to candidate attainment, including the quality of language. The more positive the answers, the higher should be the mark awarded. We want to avoid 'bunching' of marks. Levels mark schemes can produce regression to the mean, which should be avoided. A candidate's script should be considered by asking "Is it:

- precise in its use of factual information?
- appropriately detailed?
- factually accurate?

- appropriately balanced or markedly better in some areas than others?
- generally coherent in expression and cogent in development (as appropriate to the level awarded)?
- well presented as to general quality of language?"

The overall aim is to mark positively, giving credit for what candidates know, understand and can do.

**AS GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS (GOV1, GOV2, GOV3)**

**GENERIC MARK SCHEME for part (a) questions (Total: 8 marks)**

	<b>Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select &amp; Deploy</b>	<b>Skills: Analysis &amp; Evaluation</b>	<b>Communication</b>
	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
	<p><b>Levels 3 – 4 (3 – 4 marks)</b> The candidate successfully demonstrates accurate or generally accurate knowledge and understanding of political data, concept(s) or term(s).</p> <p>Where appropriate, the candidate is able to illustrate his/her answer with relevant evidence/example(s).</p>	<p><b>Levels 3 – 4 (2 marks)</b> The candidate provides an appropriate analysis of political data, concept(s) or term(s) showing an awareness of differing viewpoints where appropriate.</p>	<p><b>Levels 3 – 4 (2 marks)</b> The candidate communicates clearly and effectively using appropriate political vocabulary.</p>
	<p><b>Levels 1 – 2 (1 – 2 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates slight or basic knowledge and understanding of political data, concept(s) or term(s).</p> <p>The candidate may illustrate his/her answer with evidence/example(s) of limited relevance.</p>	<p><b>Levels 1 – 2 (1 mark)</b> The candidate provides a superficial or partial analysis of political data, concept(s) or term(s).</p>	<p><b>Levels 1 – 2 (1 mark)</b> The candidate communicates with limited clarity and effectiveness using a limited political vocabulary.</p>

**AS GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS (GOV1, GOV2, GOV3)****GENERIC MARK SCHEME for part (b) questions (Total: 22 marks)**

	<b>Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select &amp; Deploy</b>	<b>Skills: Analysis &amp; Evaluation</b>	<b>Communication</b>
	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
	<p><b>Level 4 (10 – 11 marks)</b> The candidate successfully demonstrates accurate knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationship between them, producing an answer that deploys relevant knowledge and understanding to address the requirements of the question and that demonstrates significant contextual awareness.</p> <p>The candidate's answer includes relevant evidence and/or examples to substantiate and illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 4 (7 marks)</b> The candidate evaluates political institutions, processes and behaviour, applying appropriate concepts and theories.</p> <p>The candidate provides analysis which displays sound awareness of differing viewpoints and a clear recognition of issues. Parallels and connections are identified, together with valid and precise comparisons. The answer includes relevant and convincing interpretations or explanations.</p>	<p><b>Level 4 (4 marks)</b> The candidate communicates clear arguments and explanations using accurate political vocabulary. The candidate produces answers with a clear sense of direction leading towards a coherent conclusion.</p>
	<p><b>Level 3 (7 – 9 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates generally accurate knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationship between them, producing an answer that addresses the requirements of the question and demonstrates adequate contextual awareness.</p> <p>The answer provides evidence backed up by clear examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 3 (5 – 6 marks)</b> The candidate evaluates political institutions, processes and behaviour, applying some concepts or theories.</p> <p>The candidate provides clear arguments and explanations and demonstrates awareness of differing viewpoints and a recognition of issues. Parallels and connections are identified, together with some sound comparison.</p>	<p><b>Level 3 (3 marks)</b> The candidate communicates arguments and explanations using some political vocabulary. A conclusion is linked to the preceding discussion.</p>

**GENERIC MARK SCHEME for part (b) questions (continued)**

	<b>Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select &amp; Deploy</b>	<b>Skills: Analysis &amp; Evaluation</b>	<b>Communication</b>
	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
	<p><b>Level 2 (4 – 6 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates basic knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and some awareness of the relationship between them. He/she makes a limited attempt to address the requirements of the question.</p> <p>The candidate may demonstrate contextual awareness covering part of the question, and may produce limited evidence and/or few examples.</p>	<p><b>Level 2 (3 – 4 marks)</b> The candidate offers a simplistic evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour and begins to construct arguments which contain basic explanation.</p> <p>The candidate shows some awareness of differing viewpoints. There is recognition of basic parallels or simplistic comparisons.</p>	<p><b>Level 2 (2 marks)</b> The candidate attempts to develop an argument using basic political vocabulary. Where a conclusion is offered, its relationship to the preceding discussion may be modest or implicit.</p>
	<p><b>Level 1 (1 – 3 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates slight and/or incomplete knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and limited awareness of the relationship between them.</p> <p>The candidate makes a very limited attempt to address the requirements of the question. Only superficial awareness of the context of the question is evident and the few examples cited are often inaccurately reported or inappropriately used.</p>	<p><b>Level 1 (1 – 2 marks)</b> The candidate makes a partial attempt to evaluate political institutions, processes and behaviour. Arguments offered are superficial. There is very limited awareness of parallels or comparisons.</p>	<p><b>Level 1 (1 mark)</b> The answer relies upon narrative which is not fully coherent and which is expressed without using political vocabulary. A conclusion is either not offered or it is not related to the preceding material.</p>

## Parties and Pressure Groups GOV2

1.

**Total for this question: 30 marks**

(a) Explain the term *party discipline* used in the extract.

(8 marks)

A term which concerns maintaining the cohesion of a party through the activities of the whips referred to in the stimulus. The importance of maintaining party discipline for government to operate effectively, although MPs maintain 'self-discipline' since their futures are tied up with the party's future. Degrees of pressure to maintain discipline – eg two-line, three-line whip, etc. Dissent – examples such as the 'whipless nine' Eurosceptic Conservatives or rebels who enjoyed later success (Churchill, Foot, IDS etc). Other examples might include consideration of the balance of discipline/dissent on Foundation Hospitals or Iraq or the use of a free vote on conscience issues where party discipline does not apply.

(b) 'The leadership or the mass membership?' Analyse where power lies in modern political parties.

(22 marks)

This question may evoke a restatement of Michel or Panebianco, but in all likelihood without citation. Are political parties elitist in nature, or pluralist, or democratic? How is power distributed? Are parties centralised or federalised organisations, etc? Having established an appropriate framework for analysis, candidates should provide evidence which facilitates reaching a concluding judgement. Examples may include the transformation of Labour into new Labour, with great emphasis placed on the leadership, professional managers, and political strategy. The restructuring of the party, with a changing role for the mass party. The impact of OMOV, etc. The Conservative Party, with tensions between the parliamentary leadership and mass party over the choice of leader may provide another or additional example. Efforts to modernise the Conservative Party, internal democracy, the role of conference, are likely to be subjects of discussion or analysis. There is no expectation that candidates have to engage in definitional debate over the nature of power, but there is an expectation that the concept will be used in an operational sense with battle over policy (Iraq), leader (IDS) or even constitution (Clause 4 twice) referred to in support of arguments. Some candidates may include an historic element which, for example, notes an apparent decline in the importance of the extra-parliamentary Labour Party vis-a-vis the party leadership. There may be an examination of means by which leaders assert their authority over mass members. Others might pursue the unorthodox line and argue that (Conservative) party conferences are, in fact, of much greater influence than is immediately apparent (Kelly). Candidates should conclude with a reflective assessment which answers the set question.

2.

**Total for this question: 30 marks**

(a) Explain the term *neoliberal* used in the extract. (8 marks)

The term is associated with Margaret Thatcher in the stimulus, which may lead some candidates into redefining it as ‘Thatcherism’ which is entirely acceptable. Also New Right. It might be recognised as an ideology which promotes individualism, liberty and the free market. It is opposed to socialism, collectivism and egalitarian solutions. Others may focus on economic aspects of the term and provide examples of policies, such as monetarism, privatisation, etc. There is no expectation that students will be familiar with neoliberal thinkers or think tanks although some may be able to identify more neoliberal politicians.

(b) Assess the influence of ideology on any one major political party. (22 marks)

Candidates will need to make clear how they understand the term ideology, at least in operational terms. Terms should be employed with refer to values, attitudes, beliefs, opinions, etc. although no precise definition of ideology is required. Although the set question directs candidates to contemporary party, it is likely that some will include an historical dimension in order to illuminate the contemporary. Candidates may respond within the pragmatism-or-ideology framework.

There is likely to be a focus on one of the major political parties, although examples from third parties should not be rejected. Social Democracy (or socialism) to Third Way and communitarianism with Labour, with appropriate assessments on relevance (New Deal, student top ups, citizenship, measures for anti-social behaviour, etc). Electoral considerations. Alternatively, the legacy of the One-Nation and Thatcherite split may provide the framework for examining the relevance for the Conservative Party in terms of today’s ‘mods’ and ‘rockers’. Some may focus specifically on the issue of Britain in Europe in the context of exploring ideology, whilst others may pursue the authoritarian-libertarian divisions which have split the party on social issues. Led by the stimulus, some may focus on Margaret Thatcher and failed policies such as the poll tax. Regardless, there should be a reflective conclusion which attempts to assess the influence of ideology on a modern party.

**3.****Total for this question: 30 marks**

(a) Explain the term *corporatism* used in the extract.

(8 marks)

The incorporation of external groups into the policy-making process (not necessary to comment on the alleged decline of Parliament). Tri-partism in Britain traditionally seen in terms of labour, management and government, but other alternatives may be commented upon. Some may refer to policy networks, etc. The hostility of Margaret Thatcher to corporatism may be picked up from the stimulus and expanded into her opposition to trade unions in particular and pressure groups generally. The ‘big tent’ consensus of Tony Blair governments may include pressure groups and consult pressure groups, but it is hard to define this as a return to corporatism.

(b) ‘Westminster or Whitehall.’ Assess the relative importance to pressure groups of these access points.

(22 marks)

An opportunity for candidates to consider the behaviour of pressure groups in seeking power-holders and decision-makers. The usual apparent contradiction to be explored is ‘why Westminster if decisions are made in Whitehall?’ Increasing parliamentary contacts, including the House of Lords, in order to get issues or concerns on the political and policy agenda. Availability for consultation for legislation. Yet Whitehall is where power is concentrated and crucial decisions are made. Advantages of insider status. Policy networks may be mentioned. Provision of technical advice; policy influence; role in the implementation of policy. Some students may also introduce other access points in their assessments, such as the media or political parties. Candidates should provide examples to illustrate points made, such as insider group activity or a sympathetic MP pursuing private members’ legislation. Candidates should conclude with a reflective assessment which reaches a judgement, even if it is a variation of a ‘belt and braces’ strategy for pressure groups.

4.

**Total for this question: 30 marks**

(a) Explain the term *direct action protests* used in the extract. (8 marks)

Direct action protest as a strategy for groups to pursue which involves face-to-face confrontation with the forces of political authority (anti-capitalists) or the actual causes of the protest (anti-GM). Alternative strategies may be mentioned. Increasing incidence of direct action protest even by ‘moderate’ groups (NFU influenced by FFA) and sometimes referred to as ‘the new politics’ or in the context of NSMs. Examples may be used to aid explanations, such as the Countryside Alliance, Fuel Protesters and Anti-War Coalition.

(b) ‘Only those without the ability to influence government directly resort to political protest.’ Discuss. (22 marks)

The context for a debate which may be structured by insider/outside distinctions, resources, or the new politics of NSMs. It might, for example, be argued that outsider groups such as those comprising the peace movement were never acceptable to government and so the goal of influencing public opinion could only be pursued by political protest. Yet, it might be argued, another example, the Countryside Alliance was a resourceful organisation which still chose the path of protest. Exploration of reasons why this might have been so. Did the Alliance wield influence on government (original licensed hunts concession), but what of subsequent policy changes? Will the Alliance continue the strategy of protest through ignoring any legislation which prohibits hunting with dogs (the implementation state)? Others might mention other environmental lobbies (prompted by the extract) or the fuel protesters, or animal rights.

Consideration might be given to the use of resources, the impact of the mass media, or declining public trust in parliamentary politics or other aspects of public opinion.

The answer should conclude with a reflective judgement which may be qualified in nature.