

GCE 2005  
*January Series*



# Mark Scheme

## Government and Politics (GOV5)

*(A2 Unit 5 – The Politics of the USA)*

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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.

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## CRITERIA FOR MARKING AS/A2 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

### 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.

**A2 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS, EXCLUDING SYNOPTIC UNIT (GOV4,  
GOV5, GOV6, GOV7)**

**GENERIC MARK SCHEME for Question 1 part (a) (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 (2 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates a good to excellent knowledge and understanding of political data, concept(s) or term(s). Where appropriate, the candidate produces accurate and/or relevant examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Levels 3 – 4 (3 – 4 marks)</b> The candidate applies a good to excellent range of developed concepts and uses appropriate political theory to construct a clear and cogent explanation or argument.</p>	<p><b>Levels 3 – 4 (2 marks)</b> The candidate communicates clearly and effectively using appropriate political vocabulary. The answer has a clear sense of direction, is focused on the question and, where appropriate, has a conclusion which flows from the discussion.</p>
	<p><b>Levels 1 – 2 (1 mark)</b> The candidate demonstrates limited knowledge and understanding of political data, concept(s) or term(s). The candidate produces few or inaccurate examples and/or limited evidence to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Levels 1 – 2 (1 – 2 marks)</b> The candidate applies a limited range of concepts and makes little or limited use of political theory or ideas in developing an explanation or argument.</p>	<p><b>Levels 1 – 2 (1 mark)</b> The candidate communicates explanations or arguments with limited clarity and effectiveness using limited political vocabulary. The answer may lack either a clear focus on the question or a sense of direction. A conclusion, where appropriate, may be offered but its relationship to the preceding discussion is modest or implicit.</p>

**A2 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS, EXCLUDING SYNOPTIC UNIT (GOV4,  
GOV5, GOV6, GOV7)**

**GENERIC MARK SCHEME for Question 1 part (b) (Total: 12 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 (5 – 6 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The candidate fully addresses the requirements of the question and provides developed and effective to comprehensive interpretation. The answer also provides clear to accurate evidence and, where appropriate good to excellent examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Levels 3 – 4 (3 – 4 marks)</b> The candidate applies a good to excellent range of developed concepts and uses appropriate political theory to construct a clear and cogent explanation or argument.</p>	<p><b>Levels 3 – 4 (2 marks)</b> The candidate communicates clearly and effectively using appropriate political vocabulary. The answer has a clear sense of direction, is focused on the question and, where appropriate, has a conclusion which flows from the discussion.</p>
	<p><b>Level 3 (3 – 4 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates sound knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The candidate clearly addresses the requirements of the question and provides sound interpretation and contextual awareness. The answer includes good examples to illustrate points made.</p>		
	<p><b>Levels 1 – 2 (1 – 2 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates slight to basic knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The candidate makes a very limited attempt to address the requirements of the question and provides little to partial and reasonably effective interpretation. Answers offer limited or little evidence and few or inaccurate examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Levels 1 – 2 (1 – 2 marks)</b> The candidate applies a limited range of concepts and makes little or limited use of political theory or ideas in developing an explanation or argument.</p>	<p><b>Levels 1 – 2 (1 mark)</b> The candidate communicates explanations or arguments with limited clarity and effectiveness using a limited political vocabulary. The answer may lack either a clear focus on the question or a sense of direction. A conclusion, where appropriate, may be offered but its relationship to the preceding discussion is modest or implicit.</p>

**A2 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS, EXCLUDING SYNOPTIC UNIT (GOV4,  
GOV5, GOV6, GOV7)**

**GENERIC MARK SCHEME for Question 1 part (c) (Total: 20 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 (7 – 8 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them. The answer fully addresses the requirements of the question and demonstrates excellent contextual awareness.</p> <p>The answer includes excellent examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 4 (7 – 8 marks)</b> The candidate displays excellent awareness of the implications and demands of the question. There is an excellent focus on the specific question asked. There is a clear evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour which displays a sophisticated awareness of viewpoints and issues.</p> <p>Appropriate parallels and connections are clearly identified together with comparisons. A wide range of concepts is used.</p>	<p><b>Level 4 (4 marks)</b> The candidate communicates arguments, explanations and conclusions with clarity. Excellent use is made of political vocabulary to construct cogent and coherent arguments. The answer has a clear sense of direction, culminating in a conclusion that flows from the preceding discussion.</p>
	<p><b>Level 3 (5 – 6 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates sound knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them. The answer clearly addresses the requirements of the question and demonstrates sound contextual awareness.</p> <p>The answer includes good examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 3 (5 – 6 marks)</b> The candidate displays sound awareness of the implications and demands of the question. There is a clear focus on the question. There is a sound evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour which displays good awareness of viewpoints and issues. There is good recognition of parallels and comparisons. Appropriate concepts are used.</p>	<p><b>Level 3 (3 marks)</b> The candidate communicates arguments, explanations and conclusions well. Good use is made of political vocabulary to construct clear arguments and explanations.</p> <p>The candidate produces an answer with a conclusion linked to the preceding discussion.</p>

**GENERIC MARK SCHEME for Question 1 part (c) (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 (3 – 4 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates outline knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and some awareness of the relationships between them. The answer makes a limited attempt to address the question and demonstrates contextual awareness covering part of the question.</p> <p>The answer includes simple examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 2 (3 – 4 marks)</b> The candidate displays limited awareness of the implications and demands of the question resulting in a restricted focus. There is a limited evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour which displays partial awareness of viewpoints and issues.</p> <p>There is some recognition of basic parallels and comparisons with a limited use of concepts.</p>	<p><b>Level 2 (2 marks)</b> The candidate communicates arguments and conclusions adequately with a limited use of political vocabulary.</p> <p>A conclusion is offered but its relationship to the preceding discussion may be modest or implicit.</p>
	<p><b>Level 1 (1 – 2 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates a slight and incomplete knowledge and understanding of political institutions and processes and a limited awareness of the relationships between them. There is little attempt to address the requirements of the question.</p> <p>The answer includes few, if any, examples which may be inaccurately reported or inappropriately used.</p>	<p><b>Level 1 (1 – 2 marks)</b> The candidate displays little awareness of the implications and demands of the question and focus is lacking. Evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour is superficial, with little awareness of viewpoints and issues.</p> <p>There is little, if any, recognition of parallels and comparisons. The use of concepts is superficial and naïve.</p>	<p><b>Level 1 (1 mark)</b> The answer relies upon narrative, which is not fully coherent. There is little or no use of political vocabulary.</p> <p>A conclusion, if present, is not adequately related to the preceding discussion.</p>

**A2 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS, EXCLUDING SYNOPTIC UNIT (GOV4,  
GOV5, GOV6, GOV7)**

**GENERIC MARK SCHEME for Questions 2, 3 and 4 (Maximum 40 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 (13 – 16 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them. The answer fully addresses the requirements of the question and demonstrates excellent contextual awareness.</p> <p>The answer includes excellent examples to illustrate points made. The answer includes detailed and comprehensive interpretations or explanations as well as accurate evidence and relevant examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 4 (13 – 16 marks)</b> The candidate displays excellent awareness of the implications and demands of the question. There is an excellent and sustained focus on the specific question asked. There is clear and full evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour which displays a sophisticated awareness of differing viewpoints and recognition of issues.</p> <p>Appropriate parallels and connections are clearly identified together with well-developed comparisons. A wide range of concepts is used and developed.</p>	<p><b>Level 4 (7 – 8 marks)</b> The candidate communicates arguments, explanations and conclusions with clarity. Excellent use is made of political vocabulary to construct cogent and coherent arguments and explanations. The answer has a clear sense of direction, culminating in a conclusion that flows from the preceding discussion.</p>
	<p><b>Level 3 (9 – 12 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates sound knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them. The answer clearly addresses the requirements of the question and demonstrates a sound contextual awareness.</p> <p>The answer includes developed and effective interpretations or explanations and also clear evidence and good examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 3 (9 – 12 marks)</b> The candidate displays sound awareness of the implications and demands of the question. There is a clear focus on the question. There is a sound evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour which displays good awareness of differing viewpoints and recognition of issues. There is good recognition of parallels and comparisons. Appropriate concepts are used and developed.</p>	<p><b>Level 3 (5 – 6 marks)</b> The candidate communicates arguments, explanations and conclusions well. Good use is made of political vocabulary to construct clear arguments and explanations.</p> <p>The candidate produces an answer with a conclusion linked to the preceding discussion.</p>



**GENERIC MARK SCHEME for Questions 2, 3 and 4 (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 (5 – 8 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates outline knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and some awareness of the relationships between them. The answer makes a limited attempt to address the question and demonstrates contextual awareness covering part of the question.</p> <p>The answer includes a partial and reasonably effective attempt at interpretation or explanation with some examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 2 (5 – 8 marks)</b> The candidate displays little awareness of the implications and demands of the question resulting in a restricted focus. There is a limited evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour which displays a partial awareness of differing viewpoints and issues.</p> <p>There is some recognition of basic parallels and comparisons. Arguments and explanations are undeveloped with a limited use of concepts.</p>	<p><b>Level 2 (3 – 4 marks)</b> The candidate communicates arguments and conclusions adequately with a limited use of political vocabulary.</p> <p>A conclusion is offered but its relationship to the preceding discussion may be modest or implicit.</p>
	<p><b>Level 1 (1 – 4 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates a slight and incomplete knowledge and understanding of political institutions and processes and a limited awareness of the relationships between them. There is little attempt to address the requirements of the question.</p> <p>There is only superficial awareness, if any, of the context of the question, with little interpretation and few, if any, examples often inaccurately reported or inappropriately used.</p>	<p><b>Level 1 (1 – 4 marks)</b> The candidate displays little awareness of the implications and demands of the question and focus is lacking. Evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour is superficial.</p> <p>Analysis shows little awareness of differing viewpoints and issues. There is little, if any, recognition of parallels and comparisons. Arguments, explanations and use of concepts are superficial and naïve.</p>	<p><b>Level 1 (1 – 2 marks)</b> The answer relies upon narrative, which is not fully coherent. There is little or no use of political vocabulary.</p> <p>A conclusion, if present, is not adequately related to the preceding discussion.</p>

**1****Total for this question: 40 marks**

(a) Using the extract, explain the term *party identification*. (8 marks)

Political concept related to ‘inherited party ties’ and political socialisation into identification with either the Democrats or the Republicans. Concept also of party alignment (could also mention de-alignment when party identification weakens), e.g. southern voters identification with the Democratic Party until the de-alignment following the 60s. Party identification can be strong or weak. Voters without a party identification or alignment are referred to as independents. Voters with a party identification are the ‘core voters’ of a party and can **usually** be relied on to turn out to vote.

(b) Using the extract and your own knowledge, explain the increasing significance of primary elections in the selection of presidential candidates. (12 marks)

Growth of primaries since 1968 (extract). Partly related to McGovern-Fraser reforms. Primaries existed since progressive movement reforms of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, but increased as part of ‘democratisation’ of the parties and their selection procedures for the presidential nomination. Primaries give power to ‘ordinary voters’ (extract) and reduce the power of the “political machines” (extract). Related to increasing education and ‘sophisticated voters’ (extract). Growth related to criticisms of the earlier processes of caucus selection, dominated by selection, by party activists in ‘smoke-filled rooms’ and ‘party bosses’. Process seen as undemocratic. Increasing use of primaries related to their democratic features and their use to the parties in identifying who can win and weeding out the weaker candidates who can’t (evidence from past primaries such as the 2000 or 2004 season). Forces potential presidential candidates to travel the country from New Hampshire in February through Super Tuesday primaries in the South, through to California in March campaigning for votes.

Primaries have numerous criticisms attached to them, but they are very democratic devices, give ‘momentum’ to candidates and show the parties who can win and where.

(c) Discuss the view that American political parties are simply “bland and empty labels”, weakly organised and increasingly irrelevant. (20 marks)

This question invites candidates to analyse and evaluate the main characteristics (both ideological and organisational) of US political parties. There is much debate today about whether the Democrats and Republicans are as weak and unideological as they are sometimes portrayed, and therefore there is plenty of opportunity to challenge this statement or to accept it. Evidence can be found on both sides of this debate. Evidence that the US parties **are** “bland and empty” would include their ‘catch all nature’, their often centrist and ‘fudged’ positions and the fact that many of their functions, such as candidate selection and finance have been weakened. There are strong arguments that the US parties are organisationally weak compared to European parties lacking leaders and a mass membership base.

However, the quote may be challenged and there is growing evidence that US political parties are becoming more ideological with the Democrats, particularly after the loss of its 'southern wing', becoming the more 'liberal party' with liberal positions on such things as gun control, abortion and affirmative action. The Republicans are also now seen as the more ideologically 'conservative party' with more coherent and consistent positions on the issues mentioned above and also economic ones such as fiscal caution and a dislike of government intervention.

Similarly, there is much evidence today of the parties strengthening organisationally as well as ideologically, with a greater role being taken by the National Committee rather than the 50 state parties, and the parties playing a greater role in the election process.

Candidates may accept or reject the quote to a greater or lesser extent, but their answers will be graded according to the strength of their arguments, evidence and examples. Candidates may legitimately use evidence from the 2004 presidential election in their answer for evidence supporting or contradicting the statement from either the platforms of the candidates or the organisational changes of the parties.

**2****Total for this question: 40 marks**

Critically assess the methods by which pressure groups seek to achieve their objectives in the American political system. *(40 marks)*

The focus of this pressure group question is clearly on methods used by these groups to achieve their objectives (gun control, environmental changes, rights for black Americans, tax breaks for big business - the list is almost endless). There are 1000s of groups operating within US politics, but they do use different methods to achieve their aims, and many of these methods open the groups to substantial criticism (hence “critically assess”). It will be up to candidates to identify a variety of methods, such as financing electoral candidates, various kinds of lobbying, achieving access to decision-makers, presenting ‘amicus curiae’ briefs to the Supreme Court or ‘outsider methods’, such as demonstrations and even violence (e.g. some pro life groups). Many methods used by pressure groups are democratic and valuable (e.g. representing peoples views that cannot be expressed through the party and electoral systems). However, there are many strong critiques of pressure group methods and tactics whether it be of their role in electoral finance (PACs) or the ‘Iron Triangles’ of American government.

**3****Total for this question: 40 marks**

“America has the best democracy money can buy.” To what extent, and why, is money the dominant influence on the electoral process in the USA? *(40 marks)*

The quote is there as a prompt to candidates, but there is no agreement that money does in fact swamp the political and electoral processes in the USA. It can be argued with evidence that money is now the over-riding factor influencing electoral success in the US, with attention paid overwhelmingly to candidates fundraising and ‘war chests’ through PACs, soft money and ‘independent expenditures’. It can be argued that money is the key to success, and that the rich candidates usually win (and deter other candidates from entering the race). On the other hand it can be argued that money does not always buy success (Perot, Huffington, Daschle), and that **other factors** can be more significant (ideology, policies, incumbency, image - although good candidates may recognise that the latter characteristics in particular are often related to money). Evidence can be presented showing both sides of the case, although it is recognised today that no modern electoral candidate in the USA can make much of an impact because of the expense of modern elections - travelling, campaign teams, media advertising and the length of the modern “permanent campaign” without raising or having huge amounts of money to spend (the “why” of the question).

Reward reference to recent legislation changing American election finance such as McCain–Feingold and the outlawing of ‘soft money’ and changes in ‘hard money’ e.g. raising of the limit of personal donations to candidates.

Good candidates may refer to the spending of 2004, the money spent by the candidates and the raising of that money and the impact of the 527 committees on the outcome.

4

**Total for this question: 40 marks**

“Democratic overload is the main cause of the very low electoral turnout in the USA.” Discuss.  
(40 marks)

This question invites candidates to consider the debates over the numerous potential causes of the very high abstention found in all elections (primary, mid-term, presidential) in the USA. Various academic studies have isolated several variables which can be used to explain abstention, including the “democratic overload” mentioned in the quote, leading to ‘voter fatigue’ and relating to the large numbers of elections in the USA for hundreds of different positions and, also, the increasing use of initiatives and propositions at state level. Answers may include the arguments over the complex registration process, the mobility of American society, through to more complex arguments surrounding possible high levels of satisfaction with the system (‘Happathy’ arguments!), or high levels of disillusionment and alienation (e.g. the ‘bowling alone thesis’). For the latter explanation candidates would need to identify the reasons **why** voters may be dissatisfied, e.g. the parties positions, the candidates themselves, or the nature of the electoral process dominated by money, image and spin, backed up with evidence from recent elections and their variable turnout.

Reference to the higher turnout of the 2004 election is likely and candidates may know of the many reasons that have been suggested for this increase in turnout including the “Help America Vote Act” of 2002 with its provisions for early voting, earlier registration and ‘provisional ballots’. The circumstances of the election (war), the differences between the candidates and their positions, and the ‘ground war’ activities of the party and candidate organisation in “get out the vote” activities will be known by the better candidates.