AQA

ASSESSMENT and
QUALIFICATIONS
ALLIANCE

General Certificate of Education

Government and Politics 5151/6151

GOV2   Parties and Pressure Groups

Mark Scheme

2007 examination - January 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.

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.

AS GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS (GOV1, GOV2, GOV3)

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

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

AS GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS (GOV1, GOV2, GOV3)

GENERIC MARK SCHEME for part (b) questions (Total: 22 marks)

	Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
	AO1	AO2	AO3
	Level 4 **(10–11 marks)** 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. The candidate's answer includes relevant evidence and/or examples to substantiate and illustrate points made.	**Level 4** **(7 marks)** The candidate evaluates political institutions, processes and behaviour, applying appropriate concepts and theories. 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.	**Level 4** **(4 marks)** 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.
	Level 3 **(7–9 marks)** 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. The answer provides evidence backed up by clear examples to illustrate points made.	**Level 3** **(5–6 marks)** The candidate evaluates political institutions, processes and behaviour, applying some concepts or theories. 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.	**Level 3** **(3 marks)** The candidate communicates arguments and explanations using some political vocabulary. A conclusion is linked to the preceding discussion.

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

	Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
	AO1	AO2	AO3
	Level 2 (4–6 marks) 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. The candidate may demonstrate contextual awareness covering part of the question, and may produce limited evidence and/or few examples.	**Level 2 (3–4 marks)** The candidate offers a simplistic evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour and begins to construct arguments which contain basic explanation. The candidate shows some awareness of differing viewpoints. There is recognition of basic parallels or simplistic comparisons.	**Level 2 (2 marks)** 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.
	Level 1 (1–3 marks) 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. 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.	**Level 1 (1–2 marks)** 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.	**Level 1 (1 mark)** 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.

1   **Total for this question: 30 marks**

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

The stimulus will point candidates towards defining party splits in the context of the extra-parliamentary party, the conference in particular, with an example at hand. Stronger responses might refer to divisions in terms of factions or tendencies and provide general examples such as one-nation Tories v Thatcherites or specific examples such as Hugh Gaitskell's 'fight and fight and fight again' example of 1960 or more recent divisions such as an pensions or Iraq. Conservative party examples might include, for example, the Cameron/Tebbitt split on defining the nature of conservatism. Some candidates might refer specifically to splits within the membership of parliamentary parties.

(b)   'Party conferences of the major parties now seem to be more about public relations than policy.' Discuss.   *(22 marks)*

The stimulus provides some material which candidates might draw upon when constructing their responses. Some might approach answering the set question using an historical narrative which explores the supposed differences in party conferences (top-down/bottom-up) or the alleged similarities (Michels/McKenzie). The 1960s – 1980s with Labour conforming to factional image and Conservatives to united image but with the position changing with the emergence of New Labour and the decline of Thatcherism. Examples should be provided to illustrate general arguments where appropriate. Others might take a more analytical approach which examines the developing nature of political parties and consequent organisational changes. For example, the decline of mass parties (declining membership) and class parties (decline of trade union influence and change to OMOV) and emergence of party leaders who speak over the parties (media, spin doctors) with consequent organisational reforms. Candidates are likely to offer reasons why a positive party image is important and possibly cite Labour in the 1980s as an example of disunity, chaos and inevitable defeat. New Labour's media skills and the current difficulties of the Conservatives with a divided image on the EU and 'nasty party' image on society may be discussed in this context. The decline of policy-making by conference might also be explored – the demands of modern complex government and the nature of conference motions as a basis of policy. The strongest responses might point to examples which contradict the general 'Panebianco' pattern of party development (from mass, class-based parties to professional, electoral-winning parties), the Widdecombe one cited in the stimulus proving an adequate case in point. Credit should be given to references to the Liberal Democrats.

2   **Total for this question: 30 marks**

(a)   Explain the term *constituency party members* used in the extract.   *(8 marks)*

From the stimulus material, candidates should understand that constituency members are found in party structures beyond Westminster. They may define constituency members in terms of their activities, such as local canvassing, candidate selection/leader election and role in wider party at conference. There may be comment on the declining constituency membership of the major parties or specific problems such as the ageing profile of Conservative constituency members.

(b)   'It is becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish between the policy programmes of the main parliamentary parties.' Discuss.   *(22 marks)*

The stimulus material explores the dilemma faced by parties in pleasing two distinct audiences in terms of devising satisfactory programmes and policies, and this question widens out this theme to provide candidates with an opportunity to consider the policy and possibly concomitant ideological distances which separate the main parliamentary parties. Are the main parties clustering around the centre of a left-right spectrum forming a policy consensus, or are they much more spread across the policy spectrum. It is anticipated that most candidates will explore at least two or more, likely three, examples, with Labour, Conservative and Liberal Democrat comprising the orthodox selection. Some candidates might select nationalist parties and credit should be given. The set question does not demand an analysis of socialism, conservatism and liberalism as sets of abstract values or belief systems. Candidates are instead asked to focus on the contemporary parties as vehicles for expressing policies and make the required assessment on that basis. They may, for example, identify similarities between Conservative, Labour and Liberal Democrat on the virtues of a free market economy but separate the parties on values concerning policies on individual freedom and human rights. It is likely that most candidates will refer to the main policy areas – health, education, the economy, welfare, security. They may refer to a current issue – for example, the 90 day detention issue at the time of writing. They may identify policy divisions within parties as well as/more than divisions between them. There may be reference to the development of catch-all parties, the decline or end of ideology as a basis for policy, the importance of image or attitudes towards the EU. A conclusion should attempt to evaluate the validity of the state presented in the set question.

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

(a)   Explain the term *potential membership* as used in the extract.   *(8 marks)*

The density of membership can be seen as a measure of a pressure group's success since this is a ratio of actual membership to potential membership. For example, many employed people are members of trade unions but many more workers are not. Indeed, the percentage of those in work who are trade unionists is in decline. In this sense trade unions are not particularly successful since those eligible for membership, the target of trade union recruitment, are expanding in numbers. The density of membership has an impact on the 'legitimacy' of a group and the credibility of its claim to speak for all those sharing similar interests.

(b)   To what extent do pressure groups hinder or help the democratic process? *(22 marks)*

This question provides candidates with an opportunity to discuss the contribution pressure groups make to democratic policy-making, with the stimulus passage providing ambivalent material – do they make already powerful groups even more powerful to the disadvantage of weaker groups, or do they provide an additional voice for the disadvantaged to be heard within the political system? Stronger responses will develop and argue with the idea of 'small elite groups' in this context. Some responses will be structured with an elitist/pluralist framework. At the same time pressure groups can themselves exhibit more or less democracy in terms of internal organisation. What are the implications of a bureaucracy/membership split, or a deeply divided membership? Candidates may develop both of these perspectives; the contribution groups make to the external democratic environment as well as their internal democracy, possibly linking both perspectives, or alternatively focus on one perspective in greater depth. Examples should be relevant and possibly a greater variety offered than simply Fathers for Justice and the Countryside Alliance. Candidates should be able to answer in the higher mark bands without entering a detailed debate on the nature of democracy. On the other hand, candidates who rely heavily on reworking or modestly elaborating upon the stimulus material will score in the lower mark bands. Candidates may refer to insider/outsider distinctions in the context of answering the set question, but a pre-learnt insider/outsider essay is unlikely to have sufficient focus to adequately answer the set question.

4   **Total for this question: 30 marks**

(a)   Explain the term *self-interest* as used in the passage.   *(8 marks)*

Candidates should define in political terms 'having a personal share or stake/being a stake-holder'. They may prefer to do this with reference to the stimulus or by reference to an expanded political term such as 'interest group'. Candidates may take their lead from the stimulus extract and explain the term in contrast to altruistic motives for political behaviour.

(b)   'The politics of conventional pressure groups involves compromise; the politics of direct action frequently does not.' Discuss.   *(22 marks)*

The stimulus provides brief conceptual information and reference to a well-publicised case for responses to this question. National political debate compared animal rights extremists with terrorists in the sense that violence was the principal political tool involved and that political negotiation was never an option. The 'success' of direct action violence was lamented in the national press. Textbooks also compare the differing nature and tactics of social movements and pressure/interest groups that provide a basis for responding to the set question. Some candidates will deploy the conventional insider/outsider framework and use that as a basis for answering the set question in terms of insider negotiation on policy detail whilst outsider groups resort to direct action and attempts to influence public opinion. Material may be touched upon to analyse the second proposition in the stimulus quote of the set question which involves extreme Islamist or past IRA political action which is being increasingly cited by candidates, animal rights as in the extract, pro-life campaigns or new social movements such as the peace movement. The first proposition is likely to include references to insider groups such as the BMA, trade unions, Shelter, CBI, RSPB or NFU. Groups such as the Countryside Alliance or Fathers for Justice are frequently given as examples, but may be cited in the context of either argument. Some candidates may refer in an appropriate manner to, or draw upon, different approaches to understanding pressure group behaviour such as pluralism or corporatism, and this should be rewarded. There may be appropriate reference to legislation (Serious Crime and Disorder Act or list of 'unacceptable behaviours') designed to restrict the activities of campaign activists and religious extremists. The conclusion should attempt the required assessment in a manner that is supported by arguments and examples concerning compromising and uncompromising pressure groups behaviour.