



General Certificate of Education

**Government and Politics
5151/6151**

GOV5 The Politics of the USA

Mark Scheme

2007 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.

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CRITERIA FOR MARKING AS/A2 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Introduction

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)

	Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
	AO1	AO2	AO3
	<p>Levels 3–4 (2 marks) 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>Levels 3–4 (3–4 marks) 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>Levels 3–4 (2 marks) 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>Levels 1–2 (1 mark) 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>Levels 1–2 (1–2 marks) 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>Levels 1–2 (1 mark) 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)

	Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
	AO1	AO2	AO3
	<p>Level 4 (5–6 marks) 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>Levels 3 – 4 (3–4 marks) 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>Levels 3–4 (2 marks) 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>Level 3 (3–4 marks) 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>Levels 1–2 (1–2 marks) 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>Levels 1–2 (1–2 marks) 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>Levels 1–2 (1 mark) 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 (c) (Total: 20 marks)

	Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
	A01	A02	A03
	<p>Level 4 (7–8 marks) 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>Level 4 (7–8 marks) 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>Level 4 (4 marks) 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>Level 3 (5–6 marks) 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>Level 3 (5–6 marks) 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>Level 3 (3 marks) 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)

	Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
	AO1	AO2	AO3
	<p>Level 2 (3–4 marks) 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>Level 2 (3–4 marks) 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>Level 2 (2 marks) 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>Level 1 (1–2 marks) 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>Level 1 (1–2 marks) 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>Level 1 (1 mark) 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)

	Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
	AO1	AO2	AO3
	<p>Level 4 (13–16 marks) 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>Level 4 (13–16 marks) 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>Level 4 (7–8 marks) 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>Level 3 (9–12 marks) 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 developed and effective interpretations or explanations and also clear evidence and good examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p>Level 3 (9–12 marks) 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>Level 3 (5–6 marks) 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)

	Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
	AO1	AO2	AO3
	<p>Level 2 (5–8 marks) 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>Level 2 (5–8 marks) 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>Level 2 (3–4 marks) 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>Level 1 (1–4 marks) 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. 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>Level 1 (1–4 marks) 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>Level 1 (1–2 marks) 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 differences between *primaries* and *caucuses*.
(8 marks)

It will be recognised that both are involved in the delegate selection and nomination process of the candidates for the parties. Primaries are state wide elections (can be open or closed primaries) under State law where voters express their preferences for a nominee from a wide field of candidates for the 2 parties. Each state has their own rules for the conduct of primaries but they are highly democratic devices. The first and most significant primary is New Hampshire but the majority of states now use primaries in candidate selection (where they tend to be 'front-loaded'). By contrast caucuses are party meetings of activists held in a minority of states (the first being Iowa) and therefore are less democratic than primaries. At the highest level candidates should recognise because of the different kinds of voter the **outcomes** of the processes are different in term of candidate selection. Comparison must be made for higher level marks.

- (b) Using the extract and your own knowledge, suggest reasons for the rising costs of presidential election campaigns.
(12 marks)

Here candidates should refer to the extract where the LENGTH of the campaign is suggested, (the 'permanent campaign') the importance of the SWING STATES and the need for media exposure such as the Great Debates and the preparation needed for these. Also the fact that the presidential campaign is a NATIONAL campaign and candidates have to campaign throughout the states but with emphasis on the SWING STATES where large amounts of money needs to be spent persuading the voters. The expense of running the NNC's could also be legitimately included.

Outside the extract candidates could refer to the expense of media campaigning ('paid' cf 'free' media) especially advertising, the need for the technology demanded by modern campaigning techniques, the need for armies of pollsters, media advisers, political consultants, etc.

Campaigning in a country like the US with its massive diversity (therefore different appeals to different voters in different places) and size (therefore need for huge transport costs) and the need to win the Electoral College vote.

At the highest level candidates may speculate on the decline of party as a cue for voters (decline in P identification) and the loss of the (unpaid) work of party activists.

For very high marks candidates should give evidence of the INCREASING cost of campaigns compared to the past and suggest REASONS for this increase.

- (c) Critically assess the workings of the Electoral College in the election of the President of the USA. (20 marks)

At the lower level of response there may be a simple and not always accurate description of the way the EC works as a system of indirect election of the president. At the higher level there must be a CRITICAL response and a focus on the PROBLEMS of the EC system used for electing the president. Most candidates should be familiar with the outcome of this system in 2000 where the winner of the POPULAR VOTE (Gore) lost to the winner of the EC vote (Bush) and the controversies that this gave rise to (eg lack of a mandate and political legitimacy) and the Bush V Gore Supreme Court case. In order to explain this outcome it is necessary for candidates to EXPLAIN (to some degree) how the system actually WORKS. This would involve the understanding of how the EC system distorts the popular vote through the 'winner take all' simple plurality system used in the majority of the 50 states. At the higher levels also candidates should explain the way in which the EC distorts campaigning by the need to focus on 'swing' voters in 'swing states' thus leading to the neglect of certain states and certain groups of voters. It could be argued that this could lead to higher levels of ABSTENTION in 'safe' or 'unwinnable' states. Candidates at the higher level of response should also be familiar with the concept of the 'FAITHLESS ELECTOR' and possible consequences of this. There may also be reference to the effects on third parties.

It would be possible for candidates to take an alternative view and present a DEFENCE of the EC system and the fact that because of its constitutional status and its USUAL outcomes (ie producing a clear winner) it is unlikely to change, and although unlikely at the lower levels of response it could be a valid response or indeed, conclusion. Overall marks would depend on the evidence and examples provided by the candidates to back up their 'CRITICAL ASSESSMENT'.

2

Total for this question: 40 marks

'As of today, we have two Republican parties separated only by the issue of abortion.' To what extent is this an accurate description of the two main political parties in the USA today?

(40 marks)

This provocative quote (by the journalist Mark Shields in 1997) is open to EITHER acceptance or challenge, and suggests that the two main US parties are now SO similar in values, beliefs, ideologies and policies that the only issue which provides some differentiation between them is the controversial issue of abortion (ie pro-CHOICE and pro-LIFE views) The challenge to candidates, therefore, is to present a case that this is a CORRECT response to the changing nature of the parties (with evidence) or that it is NOT (with evidence). It is likely that the majority of candidates will respond by challenging the view stated, although they are also invited to discuss the pro-life/pro-choice division between the parties (with MOST Democrats taking the latter position and MOST Republicans taking the former eg social liberals and social conservatives).

As this question can be approached from different angles, many candidates may accept the view in the quote by pointing to the parties centrist 'fudged' position on many issues eg support for low taxes, a free market economy. (Hence the description of two REPUBLICAN parties as these are more right wing views eg Clinton in the mid 1990s stating that 'the days of big government are over' or the majority of the Democrats in Congress voting for the Patriot Act). Candidates may also present evidence relating to agreement on many constitutional provisions and also support for the war with Iraq and the 'war on terror' thus supporting the view of many commentators that, in reality, despite their rhetoric, they are 'two bottles, both empty, but bearing different labels' or 'tweedledum and tweedledee' especially on these economic and foreign policy issues.

However, the majority of responses would be expected to challenge this rather simplistic view of the parties with evidence that there **are** historical differences and many ideological and value differences between the parties (which is why different kinds of VOTERS vote for them) in their approach to the ECONOMY (with numerous examples), HEALTH CARE (with examples) and SOCIAL POLICIES (with examples). Evidence presented at the higher levels of response would demonstrate the different platforms of the parties/candidates in election campaigns and evidence of what different Democratic and Republican administrations have actually DONE when in power. At the higher levels expect terms such as 'activism' or 'restraint' in government, fiscal and social conservatism or liberalism, and discussion of the factionalism and internal divisions of the parties and their 'big tent' nature. The recent divisions relating to the issue of abortion allows candidates to demonstrate their knowledge of the religious dimension of American politics and the controversies caused by this issue since Roe V Wade in 1973. Excellent candidates should recognise ideological divergence in recent years and the greater polarisation of the parties.

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

Consider whether the activities of pressure groups help or hinder the operation of a pluralist democracy in the USA. *(40 marks)*

The focus of this question is clearly on what pressure groups DO in a pluralist democracy and whether those activities are helpful or not. It should not become a simple description of PG activities. In a higher level response, candidates should refer to the concept of pluralist democracy and explain what it means in terms of the representation of the diverse views and interests of citizens in the USA to government, who would then take these interests into account when making policy, thereby overcoming some of the problems of electoral representation through the vote and through elected representatives.

At the higher level of response candidates will recognise the 'pluralist' theory versus 'elite' theory of pressure groups and their role and activities. It is possible to approach this question by arguing that pressure groups 'help' democracy (citing arguments to do with the representation of views/interests, the legitimate participation of citizens in political activity and the need for policy-making to take into account a wide range of interests to reflect pluralist views) but pressure groups can also be accused of 'hindering' democracy (citing arguments to do with the fact that not all pressure groups are equal, some groups – corporate or business lobbies for example or the gun lobby – are far more powerful for numerous REASONS (their financial power including PACs, their access to decision-makers – eg Iron triangles and Issue networks) and the 'Revolving Door' compared to other groups/lobbies who LACK these resources and are therefore disadvantaged in this 'pluralist' world of lobbying and lobbyists eg those speaking on behalf of the poor and disadvantaged. Answers will be distinguished by the evidence and examples presented and the understanding of the terms and arguments used in pressure group analysis.

4

Total for this question: 40 marks

'Despite the constant celebration of US democracy and the heroic struggles to extend the franchise, too many Americans do not appear to value the right to vote.' Discuss.

(40 marks)

Candidates should pick up on the well known paradox of American democracy that **DESPITE** the focus on its democratic credentials embedded in its history and language and **DESPITE** the relatively recent Civil Rights struggles for the rights of black Americans to vote the actual voting statistics for **electoral** turnout are among the lowest in the democratic world (although in terms of political participation in other activities the American people rank high) It is in this context that attempts to explain low turn out should be placed. It will be recognised at the higher level of response that there are numerous explanations given for the low turnout in voting by political scientists ranging from the electoral system itself (simple plurality, winner take all) through the characteristics of the party system (weak parties, little choice, lower levels of partisan identification) and the choices of the candidates on offer in specific elections (uninspiring candidates) the 'voter fatigue' caused by the large number of elections ('democratic overload') and the nature of modern American elections ('All style no substance', focus on image and negative campaigning).

Most candidates should also refer to the difficulties of voter registration in the US (despite the recent 'Motor Voter' legislation and the 2002 Help America Vote Act and same day registration seen in the 2004 Election) but recognise that low voter turnout goes much deeper than this into alienation from politics which will be addressed by the stronger candidates attempting to give **REASONS** for this. Some may suggest that it is **SATISFACTION** with the system that leads to abstention rather than dissatisfaction ('Happy' arguments). Expect reference to theories of rational choice at the higher levels of response.

The reference in the quote to 'not appear to' will be picked up by stronger candidates as there is much evidence of 'differential abstention' in the USA with white, middle class voters being much more likely to vote than their black and working class counterparts. It is up to candidates who introduce this into their analysis to explain **WHY** this might be so.

The strength of the answer will also be shown by the evidence and statistics from recent elections suggesting reasons for fluctuations in the turnout of the Voting Age Population.

Candidates at the highest level of response may suggest that, despite low levels of voting, levels of other forms of political participation may be high, eg pressure group activity.