



General Certificate of Education

Government and Politics 1151/2151

**GOVP1 People, Politics and
Participation**

Mark Scheme

2009 examination – January series

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Dr Michael Cresswell, Director

AS GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

GENERIC MARK SCHEME for part (a) questions (Total: 5 marks)

Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy
AO1
<p>Level 4 (5 marks) The candidate successfully demonstrates excellent 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).</p>
<p>Level 3 (4 marks) The candidate successfully demonstrates good 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).</p>
<p>Levels 2 (2–3 marks) The candidate demonstrates limited 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.</p>
<p>Level 1 (1 mark) The candidate demonstrates little knowledge and understanding of political data, concept(s) or term(s). The candidate may illustrate his/her answer with evidence/example(s) of little relevance.</p>
<p>0 marks No relevant response.</p>

AS GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS
GENERIC MARK SCHEME for part (b) questions (Total: 10 marks)

Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
AO1	AO2	AO3
<p>Level 4 (4 marks) The candidate demonstrates an excellent knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes.</p> <p>The candidate deploys relevant knowledge and understanding to fully address the requirements of the question and produces accurate and/or relevant examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p>Level 4 (4 marks) The candidate applies an 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, in a structured and sustained manner, making excellent or good use of appropriate political vocabulary.</p> <p>There are few, if any, errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar and the response should be legible.</p> <p>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 marks) The candidate demonstrates good knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes.</p> <p>The candidate addresses the requirements of the question and produces examples and/or evidence to illustrate points made.</p>	<p>Level 3 (3 marks) The candidate applies a good range of developed concepts and uses appropriate political theory to construct a clear and cogent explanation or argument.</p>	
<p>Level 2 (2 mark) The candidate demonstrates limited knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes.</p> <p>The candidate makes a limited attempt to address the requirements of the question and produces few or inaccurate examples and/or limited evidence to illustrate points made.</p>	<p>Level 2 (2 mark) The candidate applies a limited range of concepts and makes 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. There are frequent errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar and legibility may be a problem.</p>

		A conclusion, where appropriate, may be offered but its relationship to the preceding discussion is modest or implicit.
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GENERIC MARK SCHEME for part (b) questions (continued)

Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
AO1	AO2	AO3
<p>Level 1 (1 mark) The candidate demonstrates little knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes. The candidate makes little attempt to address the requirements of the question and produces few examples and/or little evidence to illustrate points made.</p>	<p>Level 1 (1 mark) The candidate applies few concepts and makes little use of political theory or ideas in developing an explanation or argument.</p>	
<p>0 marks No relevant response.</p>	<p>0 marks No relevant response.</p>	<p>0 marks No relevant response.</p>

AS GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

GENERIC MARK SCHEME for part (c) questions (Total: 25 marks)

Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
AO1	AO2	AO3
<p>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.</p> <p>The candidate's answer includes relevant evidence and/or examples to substantiate and illustrate points made.</p>	<p>Level 4 (7–8 marks) 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>Level 4 (5–6 marks) The candidate communicates clear, structured and sustained arguments and explanations making excellent use of appropriate political vocabulary. The response should be legible with few, if any, errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar. The candidate produces answers with a clear sense of direction leading towards a coherent conclusion.</p>
<p>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.</p> <p>The answer provides evidence backed up by clear examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p>Level 3 (5 – 6 marks) 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 recognition of issues. Parallels and connections are identified, together with some sound comparison.</p>	<p>Level 3 (3–4 marks) The candidate communicates arguments and explanations making good use of appropriate political vocabulary. The response should be legible but there may be occasional errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar. A conclusion is linked to the preceding discussion.</p>

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

Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
AO1	AO2	AO3
<p>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.</p> <p>The candidate may demonstrate contextual awareness covering part of the question, and may produce limited evidence and/or few examples.</p>	<p>Level 2 (3–4 marks) The candidate offers a limited 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 limited comparisons.</p>	<p>Level 2 (2 marks) The candidate attempts to develop an argument using basic political vocabulary. There are frequent errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar and legibility may be a problem. Where a conclusion is offered, its relationship to the preceding discussion may be modest or implicit.</p>
<p>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.</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>Level 1 (1–2 marks) The candidate makes a partial attempt to evaluate political institutions, processes and behaviour. Arguments offered are superficial or simplistic. There is very limited awareness of parallels or comparisons.</p>	<p>Level 1 (1 mark) The answer relies upon narrative which is not fully coherent and which is expressed without using political vocabulary. Errors in spelling, punctuation and grammar may be intrusive and the response may not be legible. A conclusion is either not offered or it is not related to the preceding material.</p>
<p>0 marks No relevant response.</p>	<p>0 marks No relevant response.</p>	<p>0 marks No relevant response.</p>

1

Total for this question: (40 marks)

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|-----|---|-----------|
| (a) | Explain the term <i>constituency</i> used in the extract. | (5 marks) |
|-----|---|-----------|

It is likely that most candidates will be able to identify a constituency as a geographical area represented by a single MP. Many will be aware that there were 646 such constituencies at the time of the 2005 General Election. Stronger responses may make reference to the fact that constituencies are divided broadly on the basis of population, as opposed to land area. Some may even make passing reference to the work of the Boundary Commissions in periodically reapportioning parliamentary constituencies.

There is enormous scope for candidates to bring in their own knowledge in answering this question, eg by making reference to types of constituencies not referred to in the extract, eg the multi-member constituencies used under the Single Transferable Vote system or the single national or large regional constituencies used under List systems.

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|-----|--|------------|
| (b) | Using your own knowledge as well as the extract, identify and explain two reasons why turnout at general elections has fallen since 1997. | (10 marks) |
|-----|--|------------|

Most candidates will be able to identify two reasons that are identified in the stimulus material, eg: the issue of 'apathy'; the extent to which the election in question 'matters'; or voter preference for other modes of participation (such as pressure group activity). Candidates must make use of their own knowledge either to identify other factors (eg 'hapathy') **and/or** to provide appropriate examples with which to illustrate those factors drawn from the extract.

The question refers to the decline in electoral turnout since 1997. Candidates may acknowledge that low turnout in 2001 resulted from a range of factors, eg: the sense that Labour was 'bound to win'; 'disillusionment with the performance of New Labour during their first term in office'; the fact that 'the Conservatives were in disarray'; an 'uninspiring campaign'; or the 'lack of a clear choice' between the two parties. Candidates may also make mention of the extent to which unhappiness over Labour's performance between 2001 and 2005 (eg over Iraq, top-up fees, foundation hospitals, etc), allied to the absence of a credible alternative, led to similarly low national turnout in the 2005 General Election.

Some candidates may choose to move beyond the 2001 and 2005 General Elections to make mention of turnout in local elections, UK elections to the European Parliament, or elections to devolved bodies. Such references are perfectly valid and should be fully credited.

In order to achieve the higher levels at AO1 and AO2 candidates will be expected to identify and offer developed analysis of two distinct factors. Answers achieving the higher levels on AO3 will be clearly communicated using appropriate political vocabulary (eg hapathy, differential turnout, disengagement).

- (c) 'The election campaign is now the major factor in determining voting behaviour.'
Discuss. (25 marks)

Responses at all levels are likely to identify the campaign as the interval between the general election being called and polling day itself. Lower level responses are likely to focus on description of the kinds of activities that take place during the campaign (party broadcasts, billboard posters, manifestos/pledge cards, press conferences, rallies, various forms of opinion polling, etc). Higher level responses will consider the extent to which such activities ('the campaign') have the capacity to influence voting behaviour.

Candidates will be expected to make reference to specific campaigns from their own knowledge (AO1) in order to illustrate their answers. Historic examples might include the Conservative's 'Labour isn't working' campaign in 1979 or their focus on tax ('Labour's Tax Bombshell'/'Labour's Double Whammy') in 1992: some may recall the Labour Party's disastrous Sheffield Rally of the same year. Candidates may contrast those campaigns that have failed to capture the imagination (eg William Hague's 'seven days to save the pound' campaign in 2001) with those that have found popular resonance (eg Labour's use of the song 'Things Can Only Get Better' in 1997).

In order to achieve the higher levels on AO2 candidates will need to address the terms of the question more explicitly. Specifically, they will need to demonstrate an awareness that deciding whether or not the campaign is 'the major factor' will necessitate a consideration of other influences on voting behaviour. The best answers will therefore offer a developed analysis of a range of primacy factors (eg social class, party identification, gender, etc) and recency factors (eg issues, manifesto commitments, personalities, etc) ie placing the role of the campaign into its proper context alongside these other variables.

On AO3, particular credit will be given to responses possessing a clear analytical structure. Such higher level responses will often be characterised by a clear sense of direction and by the presence of a conclusion; an explicit judgement substantiated by the discussion that has gone before. Top level responses will also make effective use of appropriate political vocabulary.

2

Total for this question: (40 marks)

- (a) Explain the term *first-past-the-post (FPTP)* used in the extract. (5 marks)

The majority of candidates will identify FPTP as the electoral system used in elections to the House of Commons. Higher level responses may also demonstrate an awareness that the system has historically also been used in a number of other elections in the UK, eg English and Welsh local elections. Candidates may also make reference to the fact that FPTP is known by a number of other names: 'simple majority system'; 'simple plurality system'; or 'simple majority in single member constituencies'.

Higher level responses are likely to offer a brief outline of how FPTP works. Some may even make more complex points, eg noting that a candidate can win a single member constituency under FPTP by securing a single vote more than their nearest rival; there being no need for an absolute majority. Such analysis is worthy of credit where it serves to demonstrate higher levels of understanding.

- (b) Using your own knowledge as well as the extract, outline the likely consequences of adopting the additional member system (AMS) in UK general elections. (10 marks)

It is likely that responses at all levels will include an outline of the way in which AMS works. Such knowledge should be credited, where accurate, under AO1. Candidates will not be required to explain the workings of the *d'Hondt* formula.

Comments relating to the likely consequences of the introduction of AMS in UK General Elections can be credited on AO1 and AO2. Some candidates may discuss the likelihood of smaller parties being better represented under AMS. Such an analysis may be based upon **actual** experience in Scotland, eg the Greens (from the extract) or the Scottish Socialists (from knowledge). Alternatively, candidates may wish to focus on the **likely** consequences in UK general elections (eg improved prospects for parties such as UKIP, the Greens and the BNP – depending on the specifics of the system introduced). Other responses may refer to the likelihood of coalition government, either based upon the extract (which shows the Scottish Parliament under no overall control) or from knowledge (comments on the Labour-LibDem coalition in power in Scotland from 1999). Some candidates will choose to focus entirely on the question of 'fairness'. Others may identify a more comprehensive set of criteria as a means of affording their answers a clearer analytical structure, eg adopting Lord Jenkins's use of measures such as the likelihood of greater proportionality, stable government, better voter choice, and a clear MP-constituency link.

References to theoretical models of how AMS might affect the outcome of UK general elections (eg 'the Essex Model') should be credited, though they have been somewhat overtaken by the actual experience in Scotland, in Wales, and in elections to the Greater London Assembly.

In order to achieve the higher levels at AO1 and AO2 candidates will be expected to address two or more likely consequences of adopting AMS in UK general elections. Answers achieving the higher levels on AO3 will be clearly communicated using appropriate political vocabulary (eg coalition, minority government, top-up, etc).

- (c) Analyse the arguments in favour of retaining the first-past-the-post system for elections to the House of Commons.

(25 marks)

In answering this question candidates can be expected to have at least an outline knowledge of the way in which FPTP has performed at recent general elections, eg the fact that in 2005 Labour was able to secure more than half of the seats (355) with only 35.2% of the popular vote – the lowest share of the vote ever recorded for a winning party - whereas the Liberal Democrats only returned 62 MPs with 22.1% of the popular vote. Such evidence would all be creditable under AO1, though it would need to be related to the question directly in order to score highly on AO2.

Higher level responses on AO2 are likely to be characterised by a far more direct focus on the supposed arguments in favour of retaining the First Past the Post (FPTP) system in UK general elections, eg its tendency to result in strong, single-party majority governments; its simplicity and ease of use; its transparency; the high level of public confidence it enjoys; the strength of the MP-constituency link; or the demerits of many alternative systems. Each theoretical point should be illustrated with appropriate examples, be they recent or more historic.

Top level responses will ‘analyse the arguments’ in favour of the system as opposed to simply outlining/describing them. Such analysis will involve a critical evaluation of each of the arguments identified. Weaker responses may simply produce a generic, perhaps pre-learnt, response focusing on the arguments for and against electoral reform.

On AO3, particular credit will be given to responses possessing a clear analytical structure. Such higher level responses will often be characterised by a clear sense of direction and by the presence of a conclusion; an explicit judgement substantiated by the discussion that has gone before. Top level responses will also make effective use of appropriate political vocabulary.

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

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|-----|---|-----------|
| (a) | Explain the term <i>ideology</i> used in the extract. | (5 marks) |
|-----|---|-----------|

Candidates should demonstrate an understanding of the term by offering a clear and concise definition. In the case of higher level responses this definition may be especially well framed, eg an awareness that an ideology is a coherent set of ideas, beliefs and values that shapes one's outlook or provides a theoretical basis upon which decisions can be made and policies formulated.

Lower level responses may simply repeat or summarise the material on weakening party ideologies provided in the extract, without comment. Stronger responses are likely to be characterised by the candidate's willingness to illustrate their understanding of the term by identifying one or more ideological tradition (eg socialism, conservatism, liberalism, etc) from their own knowledge.

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| (b) | Using your own knowledge as well as the extract, consider the extent to which the gap between the policies of the Labour and Conservative Parties has been 'greatly reduced' since the mid-1990s. | (10 marks) |
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The time-frame in the question broadly refers to the period dating from Tony Blair's election as leader of the Labour Party (1994) to the present day.

Better responses on AO1 will demonstrate an awareness of the ideological differences between the parties prior to the period in question as a means of providing the assessment over time demanded by the question (ie 'greatly reduced'). References to the 'conservative tradition' and the impact of Thatcherism should be credited as should comments relating to the Labour Party's origins in the trade union movement and socialist societies of the late 19th and early 20th Centuries. The gulf between the manifestos produced by each party at the time of the 1983 General Election provides a good starting point for any analysis of convergence since that time (as suggested by Lord Renard's comments in the extract), though candidates should be credited for 'analysis' as opposed to plain descriptive narrative.

Stronger responses on AO2 will move beyond a broad discussion of ideologies to look at specific policies – as demanded by the question. Such analysis may focus on New Labour's acceptance of the role of 'the market' in public sector provision or the extent to which Labour has shed its reputation as a tax-and-spend party in order to create a perception of 'economic competence' or 'prudence' (the reference to shared 'core economic policies' in the extract). The Conservative Party's move to the centre-ground under David Cameron (eg the emphasis on the environment and the work on social inclusion) could also be offered as evidence of converging policies.

Top level responses may use the extract and their own knowledge to comment on the extent to which parties have become more reactive (ie led by public opinion) as opposed to proactive (eg rooted in ideology – offering leadership and vision). Better responses may also question the extent to which such changes are more to do with the fundamentals of 'policy' or with 'spin' and the process of managing public perception/expectations.

Answers achieving the higher levels on AO3 will be clearly communicated using appropriate political vocabulary (eg Thatcherism, neo-liberal, third way, etc).

- (c) 'UK political parties no longer perform the role of representing the interests of their members, nor do they provide genuine opportunities for political participation.' Discuss. (25 marks)

Candidates may approach this question in a number of ways. Some may choose to focus on the various roles performed by political parties, putting participation and representation (mentioned in the question) into a broader context. Others may focus **solely** on the issue of internal party democracy. Both approaches should be rewarded fully.

Parties are traditionally said to represent their members by aggregating and articulating their shared concerns and interests. In assessing the extent to which this has ceased to be the case in the UK, candidates are likely to demonstrate an awareness of falling party memberships (eg Conservative Party membership: 2.8 million in 1951; 1.5 million in 1975; and under 300 000 in 2007) and/or refer to the extent to which a narrowing of the ideological gap between the two major UK parties over the last decade has resulted in their being less responsive to the needs of their traditional core support. When exploring the theme of participation, candidates may choose to look at the avenues for participation open to ordinary party members (eg by addressing issues of internal party democracy).

Responses which identify and evaluate other roles commonly assigned to political parties (eg electioneering, policy formation, political recruitment, governing) should be credited on AO1 and on AO2, where such discussion is clearly related back to the terms of the question posed. If focusing on the role of electioneering, for example, candidates could make mention of the enhanced role played by the media and media manipulation ('spin') in the modern campaign: the rise of sophisticated internal party-polling; the use of focus groups; and commercial marketing strategies (eg references to Labour's operation at Millbank Tower).

On AO3, particular credit will be given to responses possessing a clear analytical structure. Such higher level responses will often be characterised by a clear sense of direction and by the presence of a conclusion; an explicit judgement substantiated by the discussion that has gone before. Top level responses will also make effective use of appropriate political vocabulary.

4

Total for this question: (40 marks)

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|-----|--|-----------|
| (a) | Explain the term <i>outsider groups</i> used in the extract. | (5 marks) |
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Most candidates will be able to define outsider groups as those who do not have privileged access to ministers or senior civil servants and will therefore seek to achieve their goals by mobilising public opinion and exerting external pressure upon those in high office.

At the higher levels of response, candidates may provide a more developed outline of the insider/outsider typology advanced by writers such as Wyn Grant, eg by providing appropriate examples or by identifying different types of outsiders (potential insiders, outsiders by necessity, or ideological outsiders). Though references to insider groups will be credited where they help to explain the term identified in the question, lengthy discussion of such groups is not required here.

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| (b) | Using your own knowledge as well as the extract, identify and explain two reasons why direct action has been on the increase in recent years. | (10 marks) |
|-----|---|------------|

Lower level responses may simply list examples of direct action protests without making a genuine attempt to address the question of why this mode of protest has become more prevalent in recent years. Such answers may lift examples straight from the extract ('hunt saboteurs, campaigners against live animal exports, roads protesters, Fathers4Justice') or from their own knowledge (eg action against Huntingdon Life Sciences).

Higher level responses will address the terms of the question directly by identifying and explaining two reasons that may explain the rise of such activity. The extract itself identifies three distinct reasons: the belief that such protests 'will lead to more fundamental changes in society than enacting individual pieces of legislation'; 'the failure of pressure groups using more traditional methods'; and 'the rise of new technology'. Candidates will be expected to use their own knowledge to explain such factors and/or introduce factors other than those identified in the extract (eg the sense of disillusionment or disengagement with the parliamentary system, the end of consensus and the rise of single-issue politics, or the ideological convergence between the main UK parties etc).

In order to achieve the higher levels at AO1 and AO2 candidates will be expected to identify and offer developed analysis of two distinct reasons for the growth in direct action. Answers achieving the higher levels on AO3 will be clearly communicated using appropriate political vocabulary (eg civil disobedience, eco-warriors, anti-vivisection groups, etc).

- (c) Evaluate the factors that can result in some pressure groups being more successful than others. (25 marks)

This question demands a relative assessment of the various factors that determine pressure group success. Weaker responses may take the form of one or more mini case-studies of pressure group campaigns which are presented in a narrative as opposed to an analytical style, eg lengthy description of the protests against the Newbury bypass. Responses that are overly theoretical, lacking the necessary factual support, are equally unlikely to achieve the higher levels on AO1 or AO2.

Stronger responses will identify two or more variables that can affect a group's prospects and evaluate each one in turn. Relevant factors may include: group aims; the prevailing political climate; group methodology; group status (insider/outsider); and group resources (human/material/financial).

Higher level responses will combine a theoretical discussion of each factor supported with appropriate examples drawn from the candidates own knowledge. For example, the importance of 'group aims' when taken alongside 'the prevailing political climate' could be illustrated through the example of the ease with which the Snowdrop Petition was able to secure widespread support for a ban on handguns in the wake of the 1996 Dunblane Massacre.

At the top level of response on AO2 candidates will make connections between some or all of the factors they have identified, eg by demonstrating an explicit understanding that a group's status (insider/outsider) may have a bearing on its methods (and vice versa).

On AO3, particular credit will be given to responses possessing a clear analytical structure. Such higher level responses will often be characterised by a clear sense of direction and by the presence of a conclusion; an explicit judgement substantiated by the discussion that has gone before. Top level responses will also make effective use of appropriate political vocabulary.