AQA

ASSESSMENT and

QUALIFICATIONS

ALLIANCE

General Certificate of Education

Government and Politics 5151/6151

GOV2   Parties and Pressure Groups

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.

Further copies of this Mark Scheme are available to download from the AQA Website: www.aqa.org.uk

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 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, 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 and 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 and 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 *political leaders* used in the extract.   *(8 marks)*

Candidates should focus on the leadership of political parties, not simply in terms of front bench, wider government or shadow cabinet personnel, but also in terms of senior party positions such as party chairman, party treasurer, etc. Some examples of party leaders should be mentioned. Individuals with informal influence within a party might plausibly be presented as party leaders, particularly if examples are cited. It is anticipated that considerable focus will be placed on the role and function of the party leader. Some candidates might discuss the term in relation to recruitment.

(b)   'Britain's political parties have become weaker over recent decades.' Discuss.
(22 marks)

Candidates are given a number of topics for consideration within the extract – educate, instruct, activate, local organisations, mobilise and involve, non-political activities – which may be assessed in terms of weakness and/or decline. They might add others such as focus groups, opinion polls, etc. Seyd and Whiteley's research, widely quoted in textbooks, will provide some material to support arguments. For example, some candidates might refer to the relative collapse of the Conservative Party in the country, with the average age of remaining constituency members being 67. Others might refer to the declining mass memberships of parties in general or declining electoral support as it affects parties. The declining influence of mass parties might usefully be referred to, with supporting examples. Some candidates might contrast political parties as a means of political participation with pressure groups or new social movements. This approach is entirely legitimate but should be supported by examples. The decline of local government as a recruiting ground for party members might also be mentioned. Although declining electoral support, dealignment and declining partisan attachment may be mentioned as evidence or in the context of an example, this is not a voting behaviour question. Other candidates are likely to challenge the thrust of the set question and argue that political parties are changing rather than declining. The mass party might be set into some historical context and Panebianco's style of argument regarding professional electoral parties rather than mass bureaucratic parties might be pursued. Some might refer to media parties. The conclusion should include some sort of evaluation of the set question quotation.

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

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

A body whose members have responsibility to oversee an election – in this case Labour's electoral college which is responsible for the election of the party's leader and deputy leader – according to the rules regarding the proportions of the share of the vote outlined in the stimulus material. Unlike the two-stage direct election of the Conservative leader, Labour's use of a formal electoral college is more akin to an indirect election, although OMOV determines how support is placed. Labour's electoral college may be described by candidates in terms of a constitutional body of members or an arithmetic device and may well be contrasted with the absence of such a well-defined college in the Conservative Party. Some may refer to changes – such as the relative weighting of votes – which have taken place.

(b)   'The methods parties use to elect their leaders reveal where power is located.' Discuss.
(22 marks)

This question invites candidate to explore the power structure of one or more parties in the context of leadership selection. Whilst some candidates offer mainly descriptive answers of leadership selection on which they draw basic conclusions regarding the set question, others will employ a more theoretical approach and, for example, refer to elitist or pluralist power structures as an explanation or context for their responses. Naturally, there is no single correct analysis or answer. Some might focus on existing arrangements in AO1, others are likely to consider change. Candidates might describe what appear to be superficially distinctive methods from two or more parties, but identify similar structures. Or they might examine the process in one party and draw conclusions which challenge the conventional wisdom. Despite apparently differing processes, both Labour and Conservative procedures might be explored in terms of revealing elitist power structures with the main contenders for high office being drawn from the parliamentary parties. Both parties' procedures result in the absence of radical candidates representing the respective 'ideological' wings of the parties. The election of Tony Blair (nicknamed Tory Blair by some) might be cited as an example, and reasons for the mass party choosing 'moderate' candidate(s) might be referred to in the context of Labour's leadership vote (desire for office, etc). The parliamentary leadership and trade union leadership – arguably where power lies – ensure a leader acceptable to them. The mass membership participates and acquiesces in what might be seen as the 'rigged' process of the electoral college. Others might argue a more pluralist case, pointing out that candidates for leadership have campaigned hard in the regional party and the mass party in order to build up support which gives them credibility in the parliamentary party. The finally elected leader is just as likely to be the party in the country's candidate as the parliamentary party's candidate - Iain Duncan Smith might be cited as an example. In removing him, Conservative MPs had arguably to 'rig' the system so that only one candidate stood as a replacement, thus neutralising the power to of the Tory grassroots. There is likely to be reference to the 'appointment' of Gordon Brown, the Conservative leadership election of 2005, the Liberal Democrats' or other parties' leadership selection processes. Such references should result in a conclusion which responds to the demands of the set question

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

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

The extract provides an example (CBI/TUC) of countervailing groups and reference to ASH might prompt FOREST (Freedom Organisation for the Right to Enjoy Smoking Tobacco). Pro- and anti-abortion groups are another example of countervailing groups which contest the values/attitudes/behavioural inputs of their rivals into the influencing of policy. Rival groups might not exert equal countervailing power in so far as resources might not be matched or the government's ideological preferences will favour one group above the other.

(b) 'Groups representing sectional interests dominate pressure group politics.' Discuss.
(22 marks)

It is sometimes argued that accounts of pressure group politics underpinned by pluralism exaggerates the competition for influence between groups at the expense of near domination by established interests. In many ways this was the unresolved question at the heart of the Dahl-Hunter debate of the 1960s. Question (b) provides candidates with an opportunity to explore contested ideas about the nature of pressure group politics in Britain following the presentation of some perspectives and examples, some implied in the extract. Some candidates will accept the thrust of the set question and employ the familiar insider/outsider framework, possibly citing the CBI, NFU and BMA as examples of influential insider business/sectional interests with associated consumer/cause/promotional groups exhibiting many more outsider characteristics. They might argue that some sectional interests dominate other sectional groups within a capitalist society, citing the demise of trade unions as an example. Others might argue the countervailing power case and support with examples such as Greenpeace's victory over Shell's Brent Spar. Supporting debate might consider related issues such as resources. A minority of candidates might approach the question through a consideration of policy networks or the longer term behaviour and influence of new social movements – citing, for example, conservative business practices which have radically changed over the course of time through the impact of the feminist movement. Some responses might be example-led, such as the FBU's conflict with employers over pay and conditions with the outcome either generalised to support or challenge the thrust of the set question. Better responses will be argument-led, underpinned by concepts, with examples cited in support. There should be an assessment that responds to the demands of the set question.

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

(a)   Explain the term *lobbying* used in the passage.   *(8 marks)*

Candidates are likely to portray this in terms of letter-writing, phoning, emailing or a face-to-face meeting with elected representatives in order to draw attention to and seek support for their cause or interest. Some may refer to 'the Lobby' in Westminster whilst others may pick up on the reference to councillors, who are more likely to visit their concerned constituents. Professional lobbyists may also be included as an example. Supporting arguments might focus on publicity, the policy-making process, or prompted by the stimulus, the efficacy of lobbying compared with direct action.

(b)   Consider reasons why many pressure groups still seek support for their causes in
          Parliament.   *(22 marks)*

The stimulus contains the proposition that lobbying MPs is never a successful strategy for pressure groups as a means of changing policy, which prompts the set question of why so many therefore continue with pursing Westminster contacts. This provides candidates with an opportunity to construct an answer which can be largely, but not entirely, outside the insider/outsider framework. Indeed, the question contrasted with the stimulus seems important in so far as parliamentary lobbying has increased over recent years. Some might see Parliament in terms of MPs as well as their Lordships and the usefulness of such contacts for publicity or simply a 'belt and braces' strategy which also includes contacts in Whitehall. Some might see Parliament as an important pressure group target for reasons of legitimacy/accountability. For some groups, contact in Westminster and Whitehall (the NFU) are augmented by aspects of direct action (Farmers for Action). Groups which capture the mood of the moment may even anticipate favourable policy changes. Some might include a consideration of resources in their responses, pointing out that some groups may not be equipped to access the Euro-route or have influential contacts in the media so consequently have little choice but to fall back on conventional lobbying. The nature of the cause or interest might or might not be appropriate for Parliament as a target with, for example, local or devolved government being the appropriate target. If the cause or interest lacks public sympathy, then elected representatives at every level might be deemed inappropriate targets for influence. Other resources, such as finance, may prompt consideration of professional lobbyists. Candidates should present a conclusion which draws upon the material selected and is addressed at answering the set question.