



**General Certificate of Education  
January 2012**

**Government and Politics**

**GOVP1**

**People, Politics and Participation**

**Unit 1**

***Mark Scheme***

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 students' 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 students' 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 students' 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 Section 4.2 of the specification.

The schemes of marking reflect these objectives. The mark scheme which follows is of the *levels-of-response* type showing that students 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. Students should be given credit for partially complete answers. Where appropriate, students 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 mark 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.

There are no limits to the areas of knowledge that students may feel able bring to the discussion. Therefore the specification of requirements outlined in the mark schemes can only be indicative. Students are not expected to include all the material presented in order to access the full range of available marks. At the same time they may successfully include material from their particular studies which is not indicated in the scheme.

### **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 students' 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 students' 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 student 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 student'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 students know, understand and can do.

## AS GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

### GENERIC MARK SCHEME for questions with a total of 5 marks

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

**AS GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS****GENERIC MARK SCHEME for questions with a total of 10 marks**

<b>Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select &amp; Deploy</b>	<b>Skills: Analysis &amp; Evaluation</b>	<b>Communication</b>
<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
<p><b>Level 4 (4 marks)</b> The student demonstrates an excellent knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes.</p> <p>The student 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><b>Level 4 (4 marks)</b> The student applies an excellent range of developed concepts and uses appropriate political theory to construct a clear and cogent explanation or argument.</p>	<p><b>Levels 3–4 (2 marks)</b> The student 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><b>Level 3 (3 marks)</b> The student demonstrates good knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes.</p> <p>The student addresses the requirements of the question and produces examples and/or evidence to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 3 (3 marks)</b> The student applies a good range of developed concepts and uses appropriate political theory to construct a clear and cogent explanation or argument.</p>	
<p><b>Level 2 (2 marks)</b> The student demonstrates limited knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes.</p> <p>The student 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><b>Level 2 (2 marks)</b> The student applies a limited range of concepts and makes limited use of political theory or ideas in developing an explanation or argument.</p>	<p><b>Levels 1–2 (1 mark)</b> The student 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.</p> <p>There are frequent errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar and legibility may be a problem.</p>

**GENERIC MARK SCHEME for questions with a total of 10 marks (continued)**

<b>Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select &amp; Deploy</b>	<b>Skills: Analysis &amp; Evaluation</b>	<b>Communication</b>
<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
<p><b>Level 1 (1 mark)</b> The student demonstrates little knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes. The student makes little attempt to address the requirements of the question and produces few examples and/or little evidence to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 1 (1 mark)</b> The student applies few concepts and makes little use of political theory or ideas in developing an explanation or argument.</p>	<p><b>Levels 1–2 (continued) (1 mark)</b> A conclusion, where appropriate, may be offered but its relationship to the preceding discussion is modest or implicit.</p>
<p><b>0 marks</b> No relevant response.</p>	<p><b>0 marks</b> No relevant response.</p>	<p><b>0 marks</b> No relevant response.</p>

**AS GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS****GENERIC MARK SCHEME for questions with a total of 25 marks**

<b>Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select &amp; Deploy</b>	<b>Skills: Analysis &amp; Evaluation</b>	<b>Communication</b>
<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
<p><b>Level 4 (10–11 marks)</b> The student successfully demonstrates accurate knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them, producing an answer that deploys relevant knowledge and understanding to address the requirements of the question and demonstrates significant contextual awareness.</p> <p>The student's answer includes relevant evidence and/or examples to substantiate and illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 4 (7–8 marks)</b> The student evaluates political institutions, processes and behaviour, applying appropriate concepts and theories.</p> <p>The student 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><b>Level 4 (5–6 marks)</b> The student communicates clear, structured and sustained arguments and explanations, making excellent use of appropriate political vocabulary.</p> <p>The response should be legible with few, if any, errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar.</p> <p>The student produces answers with a clear sense of direction leading towards a coherent conclusion.</p>
<p><b>Level 3 (7–9 marks)</b> The student demonstrates generally accurate knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships 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><b>Level 3 (5–6 marks)</b> The student evaluates political institutions, processes and behaviour, applying some concepts or theories.</p> <p>The student 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><b>Level 3 (3–4 marks)</b> The student communicates arguments and explanations, making good use of appropriate political vocabulary.</p> <p>The response should be legible but there may be occasional errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar.</p> <p>A conclusion is linked to the preceding discussion.</p>

**GENERIC MARK SCHEME for questions with a total of 25 marks (continued)**

<b>Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select &amp; Deploy</b>	<b>Skills: Analysis &amp; Evaluation</b>	<b>Communication</b>
<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
<p><b>Level 2 (4–6 marks)</b> The student demonstrates basic knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and some awareness of the relationships between them, making a limited attempt to address the requirements of the question.</p> <p>The student may demonstrate contextual awareness covering part of the question, and may produce limited evidence and/or few examples.</p>	<p><b>Level 2 (3–4 marks)</b> The student offers a limited evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour and begins to construct arguments which contain basic explanations.</p> <p>The student shows some awareness of differing viewpoints. There is recognition of basic parallels or limited comparisons.</p>	<p><b>Level 2 (2 marks)</b> The student attempts to develop an argument using basic political vocabulary.</p> <p>There are frequent errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar and legibility may be a problem.</p> <p>Where a conclusion is offered, its relationship to the preceding discussion may be modest or implicit.</p>
<p><b>Level 1 (1–3 marks)</b> The student demonstrates slight and/or incomplete knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and limited awareness of the relationships between them.</p> <p>The student 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><b>Level 1 (1–2 marks)</b> The student 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><b>Level 1 (1 mark)</b> The answer relies upon narrative which is not fully coherent and which is expressed without using political vocabulary.</p> <p>Errors in spelling, punctuation and grammar may be intrusive and the response may not be legible.</p> <p>A conclusion is either not offered or it is not related to the preceding material.</p>
<p><b>0 marks</b> No relevant response.</p>	<p><b>0 marks</b> No relevant response.</p>	<p><b>0 marks</b> No relevant response.</p>

**NB:** whilst there is no requirement for students to make reference to the extract or passage provided when answering questions with a total of 25 marks, the use of such material can be credited on AO1 and AO2, where it is relevant to the question posed. Students may also be given credit for using relevant material drawn from the extracts or passages which accompany other questions on the paper.

**Topic 1 Participation and Voting Behaviour****Total for this topic: 40 marks****(01)** Explain the term *class dealignment* used in the extract.**(5 marks)**

It is likely that the majority of students will define class dealignment as a weakening in the correlation between social class and voting behaviour. The Pulzer quotation is provided in the extract and students may use this to contrast the current situation with that in the 1960s, where there were said to be higher levels of class alignment than at present.

At the higher levels of response, it is likely that students will look to develop their answers by introducing material from their own knowledge. Some may offer evidence in support of the dealignment thesis. Others may suggest reasons for class dealignment (eg changes in occupational structure, the rise of the mass media and issue-voting). Student may also demonstrate their understanding of the term by using the data provided or their knowledge of past elections to highlight the extent to which voters still appeared to be aligned along class lines.

**(02)** Using your own knowledge as well as the extract, consider the link between social class and voting behaviour.**(10 marks)**

This question focuses on the link between social class and voting. Whilst lower-level responses may deal more generally with factors affecting voting behaviour, higher-level answers will address the precise demands of the question more directly.

The extract provides the quotation by Pulzer, along with a table providing data showing voting by social class at the 2010 General Election. At the lower levels of response, students may simply repeat this material in their answers, either verbatim or in edited form. At the higher levels of response, students will evaluate the data provided, arriving at some judgement on the link between social class and voting. In order to achieve the higher levels on AO2, students would normally put the material provided into its proper context by applying their own knowledge. They might compare evidence of class voting in 2010 with the levels of alignment or dealignment seen at previous elections. They might also consider theories of alignment and dealignment in more detail. Students who address the issue of partisan alignment/dealignment should be credited where such discussion is clearly linked to the terms of the question posed.

In order to achieve the higher levels at AO1 and AO2, students will be expected to identify and offer developed discussion of a number of different areas. Answers achieving the higher levels on AO3 will be clearly communicated, using appropriate political vocabulary (eg class alignment and dealignment, working-class Tories, champagne socialists, deviant voters, core support, etc).

**(03)** 'Low levels of turnout at recent UK general elections to the Westminster Parliament result from political apathy alone.' Discuss.

*(25 marks)*

The way in which the quotation is framed invites students to consider political apathy alongside other reasons that might account for low levels of electoral turnout. It is likely that responses at all levels will demonstrate knowledge of the relatively low levels of turnout witnessed at recent general elections. Most will also demonstrate some awareness of what is meant by the term political apathy.

At the lower levels of response, it is likely that many students will simply accept the statement offered in the question and offer generalised statements in support which are not backed up by evidence drawn from 'own knowledge'. For example, it might be argued that voters 'cannot be bothered' or that they are made apathetic by the fact that 'both parties are the same' and there is, as a result, 'no point in voting'.

It is likely that most responses in Levels 3 and 4 on AO1 and AO2 will address a range of factors that have (or could be said to have) contributed to low turnout. Some students may offer these factors as alternatives to apathy. Others may view many of the factors they identify as causes of such political apathy – and may therefore end up broadly agreeing with the statement offered. Students are likely to make mention of factors such as the apparent convergence in party ideology/policy (the 'end of ideology' thesis), the inequities of the FPTP electoral system (safe seats, 'electoral deserts'), the decline of long-term party identification/attachment (ie partisan dealignment), or a preference for engaging in other forms of political participation (eg through involvement in mainstream pressure groups, direct action or broader social movements). Responses at Level 2 on AO1 and AO2 may consist of little more than lists of factors, with little development and few, if any, examples.

Note that whilst the word 'discuss' might be taken to suggest a need for a degree of balance (ie 'for' and 'against'), students will still be able to achieve the higher levels on AO1 and AO2 where the quality of their response is high but the balance is lacking (ie where they present a cogent and well supported argument in favour of accepting the statement provided).

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 (eg apathy, political participation, abstention/differential abstention, turnout, disengagement, etc).

**Topic 2 Electoral Systems****Total for this topic: 40 marks****(04)** Explain the term *threshold* as used in the extract.*(5 marks)*

At the lowest level of response, students may simply repeat the extract by stating that the style of list system employed in UK elections to the European Parliament does not employ a threshold. However, most students are likely to be able to use their knowledge of electoral systems in order to define a threshold as a minimum proportion of the votes that a party must secure in a given election before it qualifies for any seats. At the higher levels of response, students may be aware of how thresholds are used in the UK (eg the 5% threshold used in elections to the Greater London Assembly) or elsewhere.

Students at the higher levels of response may also look to demonstrate their understanding of the term by commenting on the consequences of using (or not using) thresholds. In this context they may use the extract to point out that even in the absence of a formal threshold it is difficult for smaller parties to win seats in UK elections to the European Parliament. Some students may make reference to the BNP's successes in the 2009 European Parliament elections.

**(05)** Using your own knowledge as well as the extract, outline the likely consequences of adopting the closed regional party list system in elections to the Westminster Parliament.*(10 marks)*

It is likely that responses at all levels will include an outline of the way in which the regional closed-party system works. Such knowledge should be credited, where accurate, under AO1 – even where such material is not explicitly linked to the question posed. Students will not be expected to demonstrate a precise understanding of how the electoral mathematics would work within a regional 'constituency'. Responses that fail to move beyond describing the simple mechanics of the system are unlikely to achieve more than Level 1 on AO2.

Beyond Level 1, students are likely to focus on the likely consequences of the introduction of this form of list system in elections to the Westminster Parliament. Some students may discuss the likelihood of smaller parties being better represented under the system – as compared to their fate under FPTP. Such analysis may be based upon *actual* experience in UK elections to the European Parliament (eg the BNP, the Green Party or UKIP) or take a more theoretical approach, suggesting the *likely* consequence of introducing the system in elections to the Westminster Parliament (eg the end of the 'winner's bonus', safe seats and 'electoral deserts', and improved prospects for smaller parties such as those named above). Other responses may refer to the greater likelihood of coalition government, either based upon the UK experience of the use of list systems (or hybrid systems incorporating a list element) in electing legislators (eg the Greater London Assembly, the Scottish Parliament or the Welsh Assembly).

Some students 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 prospects for proportionality, stable government, good voter choice and a clear MP-constituency link).

In order to achieve the higher levels at AO1 and AO2, students will be expected to address two or more likely consequences of adopting the regional closed-party list in elections to the Westminster Parliament. Answers achieving the higher levels on AO3 will be clearly communicated, using appropriate political vocabulary (eg proportionality, multi-member constituencies, coalition, minority government, MP-constituency link, etc).

**(06)** 'The wider use of referendums would pose a threat to the form of representative democracy traditionally practised in the UK.' Discuss. *(25 marks)*

Responses at all levels are likely to demonstrate understanding of what referendums are, together with a knowledge, however limited, of what representative democracy involves. In so doing, many students will make use of Clement Attlee's judgement on referendums, that they are 'alien to our traditions' or 'the devices of demagogues and dictators'. Students writing at the higher levels on AO2 may even try to explain precisely what Attlee meant and use this as a way into the question.

At the lower levels of response on AO1 and AO2, responses may be overly descriptive or generic in nature. In the case of the former, students may simply run through a pre-learnt list of generalised arguments 'for' and 'against' referendums – or simply describe UK referendums past or proposed – without making any real attempt to address the precise terms of the question posed (ie by focusing such material on the question of whether the use of referendums undermines the notion of representative democracy).

Higher-level responses on AO1 and AO2 will be characterised by a more precise focus on the terms of the question, specifically an assessment of the way in which representative democracy is supposed to operate in the UK and the way in which referendums can be said to undermine the relationship between the electorate and those elected. In taking this approach, students may refer to the Burkean model, arguing that referendums interfere with the 'contract' between the people and their elected representatives, either by requiring politicians to surrender their mandate to govern to the masses on specific issues, or by allowing politicians to duck their responsibility to govern by going to the people on issues which are overly contentious or threaten splits in the governing party.

The best answers are likely to look at the reasons why referendums have been held (and proposed) in the UK, and consider the extent to which such devices threaten or enhance the operation of our representative democracy in such circumstances. In this context, it is likely that many students will want to make mention of the UK-wide referendums on continued membership of the EEC (1975) and the adoption of the AV system for elections to the Westminster Parliament (2011), as well as the proposed referendums in respect of the EU constitution and joining the euro. It is possible that some students may wish to make reference to the use of referendums at local level in the UK in recent years. They might also discuss the advantages of the citizen-led initiatives that operate in many US states – as a possible direction in which the UK might move if the decision was taken to make 'wider use of referendums'.

Note that whilst the word 'discuss' might be taken to suggest a need for a degree of balance (ie 'for' and 'against'), students will still be able to achieve the higher levels on AO1 and AO2 where the quality of their response is high, but the balance is lacking.

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 (eg referendums, Burkean model, indirect/representative democracy, mandate, legitimacy, accountability, etc).

**Topic 3 Political Parties****Total for this topic: 40 marks****(07)** Explain the term *electoral college* as used in the extract.*(5 marks)*

The extract refers to the fact that the Labour Party uses an electoral college in electing its leader and it is therefore likely that most students will repeat this point. At the lower levels of response, it is likely that students may focus entirely on the results of the 2010 leadership contest set out in the table, without making any real attempt to explain the term more fully. Such answers may focus on the use of a series of ballots (or ‘rounds’) in the election process and the nature of the preferential system employed in such contests.

At the higher levels of response, students are likely to use their own knowledge to explain the composition and workings of Labour’s electoral college in more depth. References may be made to the fact that the college comprises three equally weighted ‘sections’ (MPs/MEPs, individual party members, and affiliated organisations). They may also mention the introduction of one-member-one-vote (OMOV) in the 1990s. At the top level, students may demonstrate their understanding of the term by commenting on some of the issues arising from the party’s use of this electoral college.

NB: as the question asks students to explain the term **as** used in extract it is unlikely that references to the US electoral college will be worthy of any credit.

**(08)** Using your own knowledge as well as the extract, identify **and** explain **two** criticisms of the way in which the Labour Party elects its leaders.*(10 marks)*

The extract provides evidence of two features of the system that might be used as the basis for criticism. Firstly, there is the requirement to secure the nomination of 12.5% of the party’s MPs. Secondly, there is the fact (as shown in the table) that it is possible to win the contest having been behind in every ballot bar the final one. At the lower levels of response, students may simply repeat one or both of these points without considering why such features could be seen as problematic. Such responses are unlikely to move beyond Level 2 on AO2. Higher-level responses will evaluate the material provided and use it to address the precise terms of the question.

In order to secure the higher levels on the mark scheme, students would normally be expected to use their own knowledge in addition to any material lifted from the extract. Such knowledge may be used to develop points drawn from the extract (as above) or introduce additional criticisms of the system which are not mentioned in the extract. For example, the extract does mention the fact that the electoral college is divided into three equal voting sections (MPs/MEPs, individual members, affiliated organisations). Students may use their own knowledge to criticise this tripartite system (eg that Ed Miliband won despite trailing his brother David in section 1 (MPs/MEPs) and 2 (party members)). Students may also criticise what happens when only one candidate is nominated, as in the case of Gordon Brown in 2007.

It is likely that some students will seek to put the selection of party leaders into the broader context of internal party democracy. Whilst such material is creditable as knowledge on AO1, it is unlikely to be sufficiently focused on the terms of the question posed to score highly on AO2.

Answers achieving the higher levels on AO3 will be clearly communicated, using appropriate political vocabulary (eg party conference, affiliated organisations, trade union, one-member-one-vote, preferential voting, etc).

**(09)** ‘UK political parties are now little more than election-winning machines.’ Discuss.  
(25 marks)

In offering the possibility that UK political parties are now simply ‘election-winning machines’, the question opens up two possible areas for debate. Some students may look to focus on the rise of catch-all parties and the decline of the more ideologically-based party politics of earlier decades. Others might take the question as an invitation to examine the roles that political parties play within the political system, thereby addressing the issue of whether electioneering and the task of winning elections has now eclipsed other traditional roles such as providing representation and allowing avenues for political participation. Those students that combine these two broad approaches in a single answer should be credited fully.

Students taking the first approach are likely to focus on the theme of converging party ideology/policy. At the lower levels of response, such discussion may be generalised. At the higher levels on AO1 and AO2, students are likely to refer to the New Labour project and the work that Michael Howard and, more recently, David Cameron have done to ‘detoxify’ the Conservative brand. In essence, therefore, such answers will focus on the themes of party ideology and party re-branding – concluding either that the statement is broadly true, or that the two main parties still serve to represent distinct electoral ‘constituencies’.

Students taking the second broad approach are likely to identify a number of functions performed by political parties (see above), putting the task of winning elections (electioneering) into a broader context. At the lower levels of response, students may write in a generic style – identifying the various functions traditionally performed by political parties without deploying evidence in support or making any attempt to explicitly link such discussion to the terms of the question posed. Higher-level responses on AO1 and AO2 will provide examples and make the necessary links.

Note that whilst the word ‘discuss’ might be taken to suggest a need for a degree of balance (ie ‘for’ and ‘against’), students will still be able to achieve the higher levels on AO1 and AO2 where the quality of their response is high, but the balance is lacking.

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 (eg catch-all party, political recruitment, electioneering, participation and representation, ‘end of ideology’, New Labour, Third Way, New Tories/Camerons, etc).

NB: although students will be able to access the full range of marks focusing only on the Labour Party and the Conservative Party, some students may make mention of the way in which the Lib Dems could be said to have taken more moderate positions under the leadership of Charles Kennedy and, more recently, Nick Clegg, as a way of improving their electoral prospects. Such material should be fully credited.

**Topic 4 Pressure Groups and Protest Movements****Total for this topic: 40 marks****(10)** Explain the term *pluralism* as used in the extract.**(5 marks)**

The extract states that pressure groups play a role in enhancing pluralism and it is likely that responses at all levels will repeat this point. Most students are likely to define the term pluralism by making reference to the ability of those representing different interests and causes to compete freely and fairly for political influence under a democratic system. Higher-level responses may refer to some of the things that aid pluralism (eg the availability of viable access points). Students may make use of their own knowledge to question the pluralist model (eg by commenting on the influence exerted by those groups enjoying insider status). Students may also contrast the pluralist model with the ‘*élite theory*’ advanced by authors such as C Wright Mills (*‘The Power Élite’*).

The extract raises questions regarding the quality of participation provided by UK pressure groups (eg the rise of passive ‘cheque-book’ membership’). Students at all levels of response are likely to make reference to this, with those at the higher levels more likely to make the connection between this material and the nature and health of pluralism in the UK.

**(11)** Using your own knowledge as well as the extract, consider why issues of internal democracy can affect a pressure group’s legitimacy.**(10 marks)**

The extract raises question marks over the quality of participation provided by many pressure groups, introducing the concept of internal democracy. It is likely that students will look to pick up on this theme as a way into the question (ie if many groups are neither representing their members nor directly accountable to them, who are they serving: are they legitimate?)

The Wyn Grant quotation included in the extract puts the question in a different way: ‘we need to be able to ask questions about whom groups represent and how their policies are arrived at’. Students at all levels of response are likely to offer a definition of legitimacy and pick up on the central theme (ie the need to know what ‘drives’ groups so that we can ask the necessary questions when being led down a given path). At the lower levels of response, answers may consist of little more than a re-stating of this basic point. Higher-level responses will offer more analytical development, perhaps by considering some of the examples provided in the extract or introducing examples of their own. In this context, it is likely that students securing higher-level marks on AO2 will make mention of the way in which groups with large memberships are seen as more legitimate – and whether they should be seen in such a positive light even where their members have no real say in formulating group policy. Some students may also contrast the levels of internal democracy seen in the main political parties with that seen in many pressure groups, and draw conclusions regarding the relative legitimacy of political parties and pressure groups.

The nature of the question means that students may well make use of more specialised examples in support of their answers than is commonly seen on this paper. For example, the way in which many pharmaceutical companies use ‘patients’ groups’ to front campaigns to have their drugs approved for use in the NHS.

Answers achieving the higher levels on AO3 will be clearly communicated using appropriate political vocabulary (eg internal pressure group democracy, legitimacy, sectional (interest) and cause (promotional) groups, membership groups, etc).

**(12)** ‘Serpents that strangle efficient government.’ To what extent is this an accurate view of pressure groups in the UK? (25 marks)

The quotation (from Douglas Hurd) should encourage students to assess the operation of UK pressure groups and make a judgement on the specific question of whether or not group activity limits government efficiency. Some students may take Hurd’s remarks as a more general attack on pressure group action and therefore frame their answers around the question of whether or not pressure groups are ‘good’ or ‘bad’ for democracy. Though this is not the question posed, there is clearly some overlap between this question and the broader theme of pressure groups and democracy. Students who take the latter approach are therefore not limited to the lower levels of the mark scheme.

Students at all levels of response are likely to be able to identify arguments both ‘for’ and ‘against’ pressure groups. Some may focus on the extent to which direct action has the potential to create a ‘tyranny of the minority’ or the way in which insider groups are able to ‘subvert’ government policy through their ‘infiltration’ of government departments.

Lower-level responses on AO1 and AO2 are likely to be overly generic (eg ‘there are three main arguments against pressure groups ...’) and lack examples. At the higher levels of response on AO2, it is likely that students will make more of an attempt to get to grips with what is meant by the term ‘efficient government’ and consider whether pressure groups can ever really ‘strangle efficient government’ when it is ultimately down to the government of the day to control the access and influence of such groups. At the highest level of response, students may refer to the hostility towards pressure group activity demonstrated by prime ministers such as Margaret Thatcher and Tony Blair (eg Thatcher’s labelling of the unions as the ‘enemy within’). Such students may also introduce pluralist theory and/or élite theory into the discussion as a way of exploring the view that governments may allow themselves to become ‘captured’ by – or beholden to – powerful interests.

Students answering questions in this topic area (ie Topic 4) in recent years have tended to rely upon an increasingly narrow range of examples in support of the analytical points made (eg Fathers 4 Justice, the BMA, the CBI, the NFU, the Stop the War Coalition, etc). Whilst such examples should be credited, where relevant, particular credit should be given to students who are able to give specific examples of pressure group activity that relates directly to the question posed (ie examples of groups whose activities could be said to limit (or for that matter enhance) the efficiency of government).

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 (eg insider/outsider groups, sectional/cause groups, direct action, issue networks/policy networks, consultation, lobbying, single-issue groups, etc).

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**ASSESSMENT OBJECTIVES GRID**

<b>AS Assessment Objective</b>	<b>Marks allocated by Assessment Objective 5-mark question</b>	<b>Marks allocated by Assessment Objective 10-mark question</b>	<b>Marks allocated by Assessment Objective 25-mark question</b>	<b>Total Marks by Assessment Objective</b>
<b>AO1</b>	5	4	11	20
<b>AO2</b>	0	4	8	12
<b>AO3</b>	0	2	6	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>40</b>

**Mark Ranges and Award of Grades**

Grade boundaries and cumulative percentage grades are available on the Results Statistics page of the AQA Website: <http://www.aqa.org.uk/over/stat.html>.

**Converting Marks into UMS marks**

Convert raw marks into marks on the Uniform Mark Scale (UMS) by using the link below.

**UMS conversion calculator** [www.aqa.org.uk/umsconversion](http://www.aqa.org.uk/umsconversion)