

Mark Scheme Winter 2008

GCE

GCE Government & Politics (Unit 4/6500)



These instructions should be the first page of all mark schemes

General Marking Guidance

- All candidates must receive the same treatment. Examiners must mark the first candidate in exactly the same way as they mark the last.
- Mark schemes should be applied positively. Candidates must be rewarded for what they have shown they can do rather than penalised for omissions.
- Examiners should mark according to the mark scheme not according to their perception of where the grade boundaries may lie.
- There is no ceiling on achievement. All marks on the mark scheme should be used appropriately.
- All the marks on the mark scheme are designed to be awarded. Examiners should always award full marks if deserved, i.e. if the answer matches the mark scheme. Examiners should also be prepared to award zero marks if the candidate's response is not worthy of credit according to the mark scheme.
- Where some judgement is required, mark schemes will provide the principles by which marks will be awarded and exemplification may be limited.
- When examiners are in doubt regarding the application of the mark scheme to a candidate's response, the team leader must be consulted.
- Crossed out work should be marked UNLESS the candidate has replaced it with an alternative response.

Question Number	Indicative content
1	Candidates should demonstrate an understanding of the
	operation of open and closed primaries, as follows:
	• Closed Primaries: Only voters who have declared their affiliation to a party can participate in this form of primary. In most States, people are asked to declare an affiliation when they register to vote and may, as a result, participate in any closed primary for the party they support. In some States, people are allowed to declare their affiliation at the polling station when they arrive to vote. Then they cast their vote for their preferred choice. Thirteen States use this form of primary, with another thirteen using a modified form of closed primary in which independents are allowed to vote in at least one party's primary.
	 Open Primaries: Anyone can vote in this form of primary, including people who have not declared a party affiliation. On arriving at the polling station, voters are given two ballot papers, one for each of the main parties. Voters have to decide which party's primary they wish to participate in and return the ballot paper they do not wish to use. Then they cast their vote for their preferred choice. Twenty States use this form of primary.
	 Advantages of closed primaries include: Only people who have demonstrated some commitment to the party can influence who will be the candidate at the general election These people are likely to be better informed of the merits of the candidates than the wider electorate Thus the party is somewhat protected from "raiding", by supporters of one party who cross over and vote for a weak candidate of the opposing party
	 Advantages of open primaries include: A higher level of participation is possible Candidates are more likely to reflect the views of the wider electorate, not just those of the party activists This, in turn, opens the process to outsiders, without an existing track record, to have a realistic chance of running for office.
	In making judgements, consider the following:
	Understanding of the how open and closed primaries operate (AO1)
	 Evaluation of the advantages of closed primaries (AO2) Evaluation of the advantages of closed primaries (AO1)

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 3		A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation. Arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of vocabulary. A comprehensive demonstration of knowledge and excellent contextual awareness with detailed evidence and examples. To level answers must include at least some analysis of both open and closed primaries. Analysis displays a sophisticated awareness of differing viewpoints and clear and full evaluation of the issues. Some use of political vocabulary with an excellent standard of written
		communication.
Level 2	7-12	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner. Use should be made of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication. Answers which analyse only the advantages of only one type of primary, even if it is comprehensive, cannot rise above this level. A good demonstration of knowledge of political processes and some of the relationships between them. Sound comprehension of the context of the question, with some good examples. Analysis displays an awareness of differing viewpoints and good attempts at evaluation. A reasonable level of written communication with some use of political vocabulary
Level 1	1-6	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication. A limited demonstration of knowledge of political institutions and processes and some of the relationships between them. Superficial contextual awareness of part of the question may be evident, with limited examples. Limited analysis with some awareness of differing viewpoints and basic attempts at evaluation. Conclusions may have limited relevance to the preceding discussion. A basic level of written communication with occasional use of political vocabulary.

Question Number	Indicative content
2	Candidates should demonstrate an understanding that the reason why interest groups seek to influence the judiciary is that, in practice, the Constitution of the USA means whatever the Supreme Court says it means. Consequently, if a pressure group successfully influences the Court to adopt its views it can effectively shape the framework within which all public policy operates. Such an outcome is desirable for all pressure groups, but is particularly important to minority groups which do not have sufficient representation in the elected branches of government to effect far-reaching change.
	 The methods used by interest groups include: Influencing appointments to the Federal judiciary Bringing test cases to court. Submitting Amicus Briefs Influencing the climate of legal opinion, through the submission of articles to scholarly legal journal arguing in favour of the causes they support
	All points made should be supported with brief references to cases.
	In making judgements, consider the following:
	 Understanding of the methods used by pressure groups to influence the judiciary (AO1) Examples of successful influence brought to bear on the judiciary (AO1) Evaluation of why it is important for pressure groups, particularly those representing minorities, to influence the judiciary (AO2) Evaluation of the effectiveness of the methods used by pressure groups (AO2)

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 3	13-20	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation. Arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of vocabulary. A comprehensive demonstration of knowledge and excellent contextual awareness with detailed evidence and examples. Candidates will be rewarded for citing recent examples of interest groups using the judicial process, including the use of amicus briefs. Candidates at this level will be able to explain the effectiveness of the various methods of influencing the judiciary, not merely list them. Analysis displays a sophisticated awareness of differing viewpoints and clear and full evaluation of the issues. Some use of political vocabulary with an excellent standard of written communication.

Level 2	7-12	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner. Answers which demonstrate a sound understanding of how interest groups can make use of the judicial system to advance their cause but fail to illustrate their points with examples cannot exceed this level. Use should be made of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication. A good demonstration of knowledge of political processes and some of the relationships between them. Sound comprehension of the context of the question, with some good examples. Analysis displays an awareness of differing viewpoints and good attempts at evaluation. A reasonable level of written communication with some use of political vocabulary.
Level 1	1-6	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication. A limited demonstration of knowledge of political institutions and processes and some of the relationships between them. Superficial contextual awareness of part of the question may be evident, with limited examples. Limited analysis with some awareness of differing viewpoints and basic attempts at evaluation. Conclusions may have limited relevance to the preceding discussion. A basic level of written communication with occasional use of political vocabulary.

Question Number	Indicative content
3	Candidates should demonstrate an understanding that the left wing of the party is not an organised faction, but a grass roots movement which emerged during the 2004 Presidential election campaign, galvanised by the confrontational campaign of Howard Dean, during his run for the Democratic nomination. Often referred to as the "internet left", and led by the website MoveOn.org, which helped raise £40 million, the message of this movement is that there can be no compromise with conservatives and that the way for the Democratic Party to win power is by fighting every conservative policy which threatens hard-won rights such as abortion, civil rights for racial minorities, gay rights etc.
	This faction has demonstrated an ability to raise substantial amounts campaign donations and mobilise thousands of campaign volunteers. In 2004, the movement raised an estimated \$120 million in campaign funds in an effort to remove President George W Bush from office. Although unsuccessful in their goal but contributed in raising the Democrat vote from 50 million in 2000 to 59 million in 2004.
	This level of success has meant that political centre of gravity in the Democratic Party has shifted to the left and that candidates for office, when seeking to raise funds and attract volunteers, have to (at the least) be mindful of views of this faction.
	The continuing influence of this movement was demonstrated by the defeat of Senator Lieberman in the Democratic primary ahead of the 2006 midterm elections. Activists, using the internet to spread their message, generated a wave of support behind a little-known challenger, Ned Lamont, because of Lieberman's support for President Bush's foreign policy. They generated a level of momentum that they were able to play a critical role in defeating a man who, just six years earlier, was chosen to be the Vice-Presidential nominee.
	In making judgements, consider the following:
	 Understanding of the internet-based nature of the faction and its political priorities (AO1) Evaluation of the impact of the faction in 2004 & 2006 (AO2) Evaluation of the changing political balance in the Democratic Party as a result of the "internet left's"
	success in the most recent elections (AO2)

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 3	13-20	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation. Arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of vocabulary. A comprehensive demonstration of knowledge and excellent contextual awareness with detailed evidence and examples. Analysis displays a sophisticated awareness of differing viewpoints and clear and full evaluation of the issues. Some use of political vocabulary with an excellent standard of written communication
Level 2	7-12	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner. Use should be made of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication. Answers which demonstrate an understanding of the achievements of the "internet left" in recent elections, but fail to evaluate the impact on the balance of power within the Democratic Party are unlikely to rise above this level. A good demonstration of knowledge of political processes and some of the relationships between them. Sound comprehension of the context of the question, with some good examples. Analysis displays an awareness of differing viewpoints and good attempts at evaluation. A reasonable level of written communication with some use of political vocabulary.
Level 1	1-6	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication. A limited demonstration of knowledge of political institutions and processes and some of the relationships between them. Superficial contextual awareness of part of the question may be evident, with limited examples. Limited analysis with some awareness of differing viewpoints and basic attempts at evaluation. Conclusions may have limited relevance to the preceding discussion. A basic level of written communication with occasional use of political vocabulary.

Question Number	Indicative content
4	Candidates may be aware that in the USA, turnout is measured as a percentage of all people old enough to vote, the voting age population, regardless of whether they have registered to vote. In most other countries, turnout is measured as a percentage of registered voters. If the USA used this second method, turnout in Presidential elections would be around 85%, well ahead of Britain which used to average around 77% before a slump to around 60% since the turn of the Century.
	Nonetheless, there has been concern in political circles that participation is not higher and explanations have been sought for non-participation so that more people can be encouraged to vote. Issues which candidates could discuss include: • Voter mobility. Almost one-fifth of American voters move to a new location every five years. Many of them may not have met the registration requirements for them to be able to vote or may not have registered to vote in their new location. The "motor voter" act of 1993 was introduced to allow voters to register when they renew or change their address on their driving licence, but does not appear to have made a significant impact. • Voter fatigue. American voters have the opportunity to vote in very many elections at local, State and Federal levels, not only for legislative and executive positions but also for judicial posts, referenda and initiatives, revisions to State Constitutions and such bodies as school boards. For many of these posts there are also primaries held. Voters who find the range of elective positions confusing or who become jaded with the frequency of elections may choose not to participate • State restrictions. Some States limit the participation of adults who have served a prison sentence or suffered mental illness. In 13 States, a felony conviction results in disenfranchisement for life. In the 2000 Presidential election this meant that over 200,000 people in Florida alone were excluded from the electoral process despite have "paid their debt to society". The next four issues could all be classified as "political efficiency": people may choose not to vote if
	 they do not believe that their vote will make any difference. In many districts, one candidate or party is so dominant that the election does not represent a meaningful contest, which does not encourage voting (e.g Senator Edward Kennedy who was first elected in 1962, was not opposed in the 2000 Democratic Primary and won the election with 73% of the vote). American elections, especially at the federal level, are extremely expensive which leads many voters to believe that the eventual victor will be more concerned with meeting the needs of their financial backers than the needs of voters, thereby making voting pointless. Politicians have proved unable to effectively address many

of the issues which are of greatest concern to the poor and vulnerable in American society, such as racial tension and spiralling healthcare costs. The least wealthy Americans are least likely to vote.

 Voters may feel that they make more of an impact through direct participation in groups which campaign for issues which are important to them than by voting. Low participation in elections could be directly related to high participation in Pressure Groups.

In making judgements, consider the following:

- Understanding that a variety of factors hinder voter participation (AO1)
- Evaluation of obstacles to participation (AO2)
- Evaluation of factors which may lead to voters making a rational choice not to participate in elections (AO1)

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 3	13-20	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation. Arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of vocabulary. A comprehensive demonstration of knowledge and excellent contextual awareness with detailed evidence and examples. A comprehensive list of factors is not required to reach this level but candidates must demonstrate an understanding that a range of factors influence the level of turnout in elections. The very strongest candidates, likely to be earning close to full marks, will demonstrate an understanding that non-voting may be due to calculations of political efficiency rather than apathy, inconvenience or fatigue. Analysis displays a sophisticated awareness of differing viewpoints and clear and full evaluation of the issues. Some use of political vocabulary with an excellent standard of written communication.
Level 2	7-12	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner. Answers which list a range of factors but fail to analyse their impact cannot exceed this level. Use should be made of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication. A good demonstration of knowledge of political processes and some of the relationships between them. Sound comprehension of the context of the question, with some good examples. Analysis displays an awareness of differing viewpoints and good attempts at evaluation. A reasonable level of written communication with some use

		of political vocabulary.
Level 1	1-6	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication. A limited demonstration of knowledge of political institutions and processes and some of the relationships between them. Candidates who believe that only one factor influences turnout cannot rise above this level, however well expressed. Superficial contextual awareness of part of the question may be evident, with limited examples. Limited analysis with some awareness of differing viewpoints and basic attempts at evaluation. Conclusions may have limited relevance to the preceding discussion. A basic level of written communication with occasional use of political vocabulary

Question Number	Indicative content
5	Candidates should demonstrate a clear understanding of the mechanisms introduced to limit campaign expenditure and loopholes used to evade them. Candidates should be able to demonstrate awareness of the concerns surrounding the high cost of elections, the Federal Election Campaign Acts (1971-79) which introduced measures to address these concerns, the mechanisms they introduced, including caps on donations, matching funds, and PAC's. Candidates may explain why these mechanisms have not proved effective which, may include • the Buckley v Valeo decision, to exempt a candidate's personal wealth from regulation • the ineffectiveness of the FEC, including weak sanctions for breaking the rules • and should certainly include an explanation of soft money and its impact.
	Additionally, candidates should demonstrate an understanding of the forces which drive up the cost of elections, which may include • the front-loading of Presidential primaries • the development of the invisible primary • the increasing sophistication and professionalism of campaign teams • and will certainly include an explanation of soft money and its impact.
	Candidates should demonstrate awareness that the most recent reforms of the Bi-partisan Campaign Reform Act (2002), which banned soft money, has not led to a reduction in campaign donations as intended, and credit should be given for awareness of recent fund-raising strategies decircumvent the restrictions of the BCRA, including the emergence of 527 groups and strategies for "bundling" hard-money contributions. In making judgements, consider the following:
	 Understanding of why campaign laws have been introduced and how they operate (AO1) Evaluation of the weaknesses of the campaign finance regulations (AO2) Evaluation of the factors which drive up the cost of elections (AO1)

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 3	13-20	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation. Arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of vocabulary. A comprehensive demonstration of knowledge and excellent contextual awareness with detailed evidence and examples. Analysis displays a sophisticated awareness of differing viewpoints and clear and full evaluation of the issues. Some use of political vocabulary with an excellent standard of written communication. Candidates at this level will demonstrate knowledge of the provisions of the BCRA and be able to explain its role in the 2004 presidential election campaign.
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Level 2	7-12	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner. Use should be made of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication. A good demonstration of knowledge of political processes and some of the relationships between them. Sound comprehension of the context of the question, with some good examples. Answers at this level may well be aware recent developments in campaign finance reform, including the BCRA but may not be able to effectively evaluate its impact. Analysis displays an awareness of differing viewpoints and good attempts at evaluation. A reasonable level of written communication with some use of political vocabulary.
Level 1	1-6	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication. A limited demonstration of knowledge of political institutions and processes and some of the relationships between them. Superficial contextual awareness of part of the question may be evident, with limited examples. Limited analysis with some awareness of differing viewpoints and basic attempts at evaluation. Conclusions may have limited relevance to the preceding discussion. A basic level of written communication with occasional use of political vocabulary.

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Question Number	Indicative content
6	Candidates should recognize that the issue remains controversial because there are (at least) two mutually incompatible viewpoints on why some racial groups, most notably African Americans, continue to fare less well than other groups.
	From, one point of view, the principles of the Constitution to "establish Justice and secure the Blessings of Liberty" have never been applied on a colour-blind basis, and that those racial minorities which have been actively pushed to the margins of society continue to be lack the means, as a direct consequence of racial discrimination, to access the opportunities available to other racial groups who were not subject to similar discrimination.
	Furthermore, it is argued that racial discrimination is not only a feature of the past and that Civil Rights groups continue to have to fight a variety of measures which combine to push African Americans to the margins of society in ways which hark back to the days of <i>Jim Crow</i> . These would include use traffic enforcement as a justification to investigate African Americans and other minorities in numbers far out of proportion to their presence on the road (racial profiling); sentencing laws which penalise users of crack cocaine, who are overwhelmingly black, more harshly than users of powder cocaine who are overwhelmingly white (mandatory minimums) and the loss of the right to vote, for life, of people who have committed serious crimes, such as the selling of crack cocaine (disenfranchisement).
	In sum, this viewpoint argues that the USA began as institutionally racist, has done too little since to eliminate racism from society and continues to foster racial discrimination.
	The opposing viewpoint, while acknowledging that not all people have been treated equally, argues that the inclusive language of the Constitution has provided openings for previously excluded groups to make demands on the conscience of the nation and that it is now possible for all to play a full role in the mainstream of society. If previously marginalized racial groups fail to play a full role in society, therefore, they should examine whether they have done enough to take advantage of the opportunities that American society offers.
	Candidates may wish to examine these viewpoints through analysis of the arguments deployed by each side on the best approach to enhance the inclusion of all racial groups. Those who argue that racism has never been properly addressed, and is an ongoing problem, advocate the continuation and extension of affirmative action programmes as the best means of ensuring meaningful equality of opportunity for all. Those who argue that there are no longer any meaningful barriers to full participation in

society oppose affirmative action and argue that they should either be abolished or replaced with forms of support which are not race-conscious.

In making judgements, consider the following:

- Understanding that some racial minorities have been on the margins of US society, and why. This may take the form of an explanation of Affirmative Action programmes and their purpose (AO2)
- Evaluation of the arguments that political authorities have a constitutional and moral responsibility to redress the effects of past discrimination and combat continuing discrimination. This may take the form of analysing the arguments in favour of Affirmative Action (AO2)
- Evaluation of the arguments that responsibility for making the most of the opportunities offered by US society rests with individuals and communities, not political authorities or wider society. This may take the form of analysing the arguments against Affirmative Action (AO2)

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 3	13-20	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation. Arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of vocabulary. A comprehensive demonstration of knowledge and excellent contextual awareness with detailed evidence and examples. Candidates at the top of this level may be analyse the terms of the current debate and not rely entirely on the arguments for/against affirmative action as a means of resolving racial conflict. Analysis displays a sophisticated awareness of differing viewpoints and clear and full evaluation of the issues. Some use of political vocabulary with an excellent standard of written communication.
Level 2	7-12	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner. Use should be made of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication. A good demonstration of knowledge of political processes and some of the relationships between them. Sound comprehension of the context of the question, with some good examples. Analysis displays an awareness of differing viewpoints and good attempts at evaluation. A reasonable level of written communication with some use of political vocabulary.

Level 1	1-6	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication.
		A limited demonstration of knowledge of political institutions and processes and some of the relationships between them. Superficial contextual awareness of part of the question may be evident, with limited examples. Limited analysis with some awareness of differing viewpoints and basic attempts at evaluation. Conclusions may have limited relevance to the preceding discussion. A basic level of written communication with occasional use of political vocabulary.

Question Number	Indicative content			
7	Candidates should demonstrate awareness that three distinct strands of opinion dominate the modern Republican Party.			
	Candidates should be aware of the growing impact of the highly conservative religious right in the Republican Party and the parallel growth of social issues on the Republican agenda, especially abortion, gay rights, school prayer and immorality in the media. This trend was given a major boost by the result of the 2004 Presidential election when 22% of voters gave "moral values" as their main motivation for voting with an overwhelming majority backing President Bush. Candidates may legitimately include the "neocons", who promote democratic values in foreign policy, in this group.			
	They should also recognise that fiscal conservatives, who place tax cuts and a balanced budget at the top of their agenda, are also influential in the party, although less so than social conservatives.			
	There are also prominent Republicans who adopt a moderate position on many social issues, notably Arnold Schwarenegger and Rudy Guliani, who support abortion rights and express no strong views on gay rights. Linked to this group, in the Senate there is a small group of RINOs (Republican In Name Only) who represent the remnants of the liberal wing of the party. The influence of this group appears to be declining.			
	Candidates should analyse the impact of each of these groups to support their conclusions.			
	In making judgements, consider the following:			
	 Understanding of the policies of Social Conservatives (AO1) Evaluation of their influence within the Republican Party (AO2) 			
	 Understanding of the policies of Fiscal Conservatives (AO1) Evaluation of their influence within the Republican Party (AO2) Understanding of the policies of moderate/liberal 			
	Republicans (AO1) • Evaluation of their influence within the Republican Party (AO2)			

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 3	13-20	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation. Arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of vocabulary. A comprehensive demonstration of knowledge and excellent contextual awareness with detailed evidence and examples. Candidates must be able to outline the policies of at least two factions within the Republican Party and be able to evaluate their influence to reach this level. The very strongest candidates will be able to analyse the impact of all three factions. Analysis displays a sophisticated awareness of differing viewpoints and clear and full evaluation of the issues. Some use of political
		vocabulary with an excellent standard of written communication.
Level 2	7-12	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner. Use should be made of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication. A good demonstration of knowledge of political processes and some of the relationships between them. Sound comprehension of the context of the question, with some good examples. Analysis displays an awareness of differing viewpoints and good attempts at evaluation. Candidates who are able to name prominent figures from different factions of the party but are unable to identify the policies they support or the influence they wield are unlikely to exceed this level. A reasonable level of written communication with some use of political vocabulary.
Level 1	1-6	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication. A limited demonstration of knowledge of political institutions and processes and some of the relationships between them. Superficial contextual awareness of part of the question may be evident, with limited examples. Candidates who use dated examples or generalisations to argue that the Republican Party is still a broad churches, with little internal cohesion, are unlikely to rise above this level. Conclusions may have limited relevance to the preceding discussion. A basic level of written communication with occasional use of political vocabulary.