

AS

# Government and Politics

GOVP1 People, Politics and Participation

Mark scheme

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Mark schemes are prepared by the Lead Assessment Writer and considered, together with the relevant questions, by a panel of subject teachers. This mark scheme includes any amendments made at the standardisation events which all associates participate in and is the scheme which was used by them in this examination. The standardisation process ensures that the mark scheme covers the students' responses to questions and that every associate understands and applies it in the same correct way. As preparation for standardisation each associate analyses a number of students' scripts. Alternative answers not already covered by the mark scheme are discussed and legislated for. If, after the standardisation process, associates encounter unusual answers which have not been raised they are required to refer these to the Lead Assessment Writer.

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.

Further copies of this mark scheme are available from [aqa.org.uk](http://aqa.org.uk)

## **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 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, 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>AO1</b>  |
|---|
| <p><b>Level 4<br/>(5 marks)</b><br/>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<br/>(4 marks)</b><br/>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<br/>(2–3 marks)</b><br/>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<br/>(1 mark)</b><br/>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><br/>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<br/>(4 marks)</b></p> <p>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<br/>(4 marks)</b></p> <p>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<br/>(2 marks)</b></p> <p>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<br/>(3 marks)</b></p> <p>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<br/>(3 marks)</b></p> <p>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<br/>(2 marks)</b></p> <p>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</p>   | <p><b>Level 2<br/>(2 marks)</b></p> <p>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<br/>(1 mark)</b></p> <p>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</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 2 (continued)</b><br/><b>(2 marks)</b><br/>inaccurate examples and/or limited evidence to illustrate points made.</p>   |  | <p><b>Levels 1–2 (continued)</b><br/><b>(1 mark)</b><br/>spelling, punctuation and grammar and legibility may be a problem.</p> |
| <p><b>Level 1</b><br/><b>(1 mark)</b><br/>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</b><br/><b>(1 mark)</b><br/>The student applies few concepts and makes little use of political theory or ideas in developing an explanation or argument.</p> | <p>A conclusion, where appropriate, may be offered but its relationship to the preceding discussion is modest or implicit.</p>  |
| <p><b>0 marks</b><br/>No relevant response.</p>   | <p><b>0 marks</b><br/>No relevant response.</p>  | <p><b>0 marks</b><br/>No relevant response.</p>   |

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

| <b>Knowledge and Understanding:<br/>Recall, Select &amp; Deploy</b>   | <b>Skills: Analysis &amp;<br/>Evaluation</b>   | <b>Communication</b>   |
|---|--|--|
| <b>AO1</b>  | <b>AO2</b>   | <b>AO3</b>   |
| <p><b>Level 4<br/>(10–11 marks)</b></p> <p>The student successfully demonstrates accurate knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationship between them, producing an answer that deploys relevant knowledge and understanding to address the requirements of the question and that demonstrates significant contextual awareness.</p> <p>The student's answer includes relevant evidence and/or examples to substantiate and illustrate points made.</p> | <p><b>Level 4<br/>(7–8 marks)</b></p> <p>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<br/>(5–6 marks)</b></p> <p>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<br/>(7–9 marks)</b></p> <p>The student demonstrates generally accurate knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationship between them, producing an answer that addresses the requirements of the question and demonstrates adequate contextual awareness.</p> <p>The answer provides evidence backed up by clear examples to illustrate points made.</p>  | <p><b>Level 3<br/>(5–6 marks)</b></p> <p>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<br/>(3–4 marks)</b></p> <p>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:<br/>Recall, Select &amp; Deploy</b>  | <b>Skills: Analysis &amp;<br/>Evaluation</b>  | <b>Communication</b>   |
|--|---|--|
| <b>AO1</b>   | <b>AO2</b>  | <b>AO3</b>   |
| <p><b>Level 2<br/>(4–6 marks)</b></p> <p>The student demonstrates basic knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and some awareness of the relationship 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<br/>(3–4 marks)</b></p> <p>The student offers a limited evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour and begins to construct arguments which contain basic explanation.</p> <p>The student shows some awareness of differing viewpoints. There is recognition of basic parallels or limited comparisons.</p> | <p><b>Level 2<br/>(2 marks)</b></p> <p>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<br/>(1–3 marks)</b></p> <p>The student demonstrates slight and/or incomplete knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/ institutions and processes and limited awareness of the relationship between them.</p> <p>The student makes a very limited attempt to address the requirements of the question.</p> <p>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<br/>(1–2 marks)</b></p> <p>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<br/>(1 mark)</b></p> <p>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></p> <p>No relevant response.</p>   | <p><b>0 marks</b></p> <p>No relevant response.</p>  | <p><b>0 marks</b></p> <p>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**

Source: Differential turnout at the 2015 General Election

|   |   |
|---|---|
| 0 | 1 |
|---|---|

 Explain the term '**safe seats**' used in the extract.**[5 marks]**

It is likely that most students will define safe seats as those where the outcome of an election in a given constituency is considered a foregone conclusion as a result of the majority secured by the incumbent party at the previous election. The extract offers some examples of constituencies with relatively small majorities, so it may be that students will make reference to one or more of those seats. Alternatively, they may choose to develop their explanation of the term by introducing examples drawn from their own knowledge. Those at the higher levels of response are likely to link the idea of safe seats to the kinds of two-horse races common under the simple plurality (first-past-the-post) system. They may make the link between apparently uncompetitive seats and differential turnout. At the highest level of response candidates may question the concept of a 'safe seat' when significant movements of voters can see seats which are apparently safe change hands. They may make mention of by-elections and the extent to which even supposedly safe seats can be vulnerable in such contexts.

AO1 = 5 marks

AO2 = 0 marks

AO3 = 0 marks

|   |   |
|---|---|
| 0 | 2 |
|---|---|

 Using your own knowledge as well as the extract, consider the reasons why turnout may differ significantly between different constituencies at general elections to the Westminster Parliament.**[10 marks]**

The extract is entitled differential turnout, so it is likely that students at all levels of response may make reference to that term and what it means in the context of UK elections. The extract suggests that turnout may be lower in safe seats, where voters stay away from the polling station because they feel that their vote will have no effect on the outcome of the contest. Examples may be drawn from candidates' own knowledge or from the extract to support or challenge this view. The evidence presented in the extract is not entirely conclusive, so it is likely that stronger answers will recognise that fact.

Those at the higher levels of response may suggest that the relative demographics of a selection of constituencies may have an impact on turnout. For example, on average, turnout tends to be higher amongst older voters and those in the higher social classes. Thus we might expect to see higher turnout in those constituencies that reflect those demographics.

Other plausible explanations should also be credited. For example, some students may look at the nature or intensity of the campaign in different constituencies, media coverage, the importance of local issues, or the range and quality of candidates 'in play' in a given constituency.

In order to achieve the higher levels at AO1 and AO2, students will be expected to identify and offer developed analysis of two distinct factors. Answers achieving the higher levels on AO3 will be clearly communicated using appropriate political vocabulary, eg safe seats, differential turnout, issue voting, political apathy etc.

AO1 = 4 marks

AO2 = 4 marks

AO3 = 2 marks

**0 3** 'Voting behaviour at UK general elections is shaped more by the personalities of those seeking high office than it is by their policies.' Discuss.

**[25 marks]**

Most candidates are likely to see the reference to 'personality' as an invitation to assess the importance of the personalities and perhaps the presentation of candidates in shaping voting behaviour. The question explicitly invites candidates to weigh the importance of 'personality' against another short-term factor: 'policies' (which candidates may interpret as relating to manifesto pledges). However, it is likely that those at the higher levels of response will widen the focus of their discussion to include 'performance in office' (which may in turn be linked to the concept of retrospective voting).

At the lower levels of response it is likely that candidates will produce generic responses on the theme of voting behaviour, without explicitly discussing the influence of any of the factors identified in the question. Higher-level responses are likely to take one of two forms: some candidates will focus entirely on those factors identified and offer developed analysis of each variable as well as a substantiated judgement as to their relative influence; others will address the factors offered but will then challenge the assumption inherent in the statement ie by suggesting that it is not enough to choose between these two short(er)-term factors when the link between primacy factors and voting behaviour is still so apparent; at least at UK general elections. The difference between this latter approach and the more generic approaches marked at the lower levels of response will be the presence of an explicit rationale for introducing such material in answer to the question posed.

Candidates will be expected to make reference to specific elections from their own knowledge (AO1) in order to illustrate their answers. Historic examples of recent general elections where personality is said to have played a part might include 1983 (Foot/Thatcher), 1992 (Kinnock/Major), 1997 (Blair/Major), 2010 (Brown/Cameron), and 2015 (Miliband/Cameron). Candidates at all levels of response may refer to the part played by the Liberal Democrat Leader Nick Clegg in the 2010 campaign. In this context candidates may look to assess the extent to which the innovation of televised leader debates over the course of the last two general election cycles has focused attention on personalities as opposed to policies (ie the relatively short-lived phenomenon of 'Cleggmania').

Similarly, when looking at performance in office candidates may refer to historic examples, such as the Conservative 1979 'Labour isn't working' campaign, or to more recent examples, such as Labour's credibility on economic management at the general elections of 1983, 1987, 1992, 2010, and 2015. When assessing the importance of policy proposals candidates may refer to the Conservative's 'Labour's Tax Bombshell'/'Labour's Double Whammy' campaigns in 1992 or the appeal of the LibDem's policy on university top-up fees for voters in the 18-24

age-range at the 2010 General Election.

Note that whilst the word 'discuss' might be taken to suggest a need for a degree of balance (ie 'for' and 'against'), candidates 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 party manifesto, mass media, the campaign, rational choice theory, issue-voting, retrospective and prospective voting, personality politics etc.

NB: though not required, candidates who make relevant references to the importance of 'personality and image' in elections in Northern Ireland should be credited fully.

AO1 = 11 marks

AO2 = 8 marks

AO3 = 6 marks

**Topic 2: Electoral Systems**

Source: The 2016 referendum on UK membership of the European Union

**0 4** Explain the term '**representative democracy**' used in the extract.**[5 marks]**

The majority of candidates are likely to define representative democracy either by contrasting it with direct democracy or by focusing on the way in which voters grant politicians the right to make decisions on their behalf when casting a ballot at an election. Those that take the second approach may well make mention of Edmund Burke or the 'Burkean model' of representative democracy.

Higher level responses will demonstrate a theoretical understanding of the term (e.g. awareness that in a representative democracy those elected will sometimes make decisions contrary to the wishes of the majority of citizens). Some candidates may demonstrate their knowledge by identifying one or more problems with the representative model of democracy and/or making reference to calls for greater use of devices such as referendums, initiatives and recalls.

AO1 = 5 marks

AO2 = 0 marks

AO3 = 0 marks

**0 5** Using your own knowledge as well as the extract, identify **and** explain **two** reasons why the UK government may have decided to hold the June 2016 referendum on UK membership of the EU.**[10 marks]**

The extract refers to the suggestion that David Cameron called the referendum on EU membership as a means of dealing with divisions within his own party. Many candidates are likely to pick up on this reference and some may use it as a way into a discussion of precisely why it might be helpful for UK governments to call referendums at certain junctures.

Some answers may be framed in theoretical terms eg the deficiencies of the traditional form of representative democracy. Others may take a more 'concrete approach' eg by detailing the reasons why named referendums have been held in the past (or have been offered/guaranteed).

In highlighting divisions within the Conservative Party over the EU, the extract might prompt some candidates to identify the desire to diffuse potentially government-ending divisions as a motive for holding a referendum. Though the arguments within Cabinet were well publicised at the time of the EU referendum, the doctrine of collective cabinet responsibility was suspended for the duration of the campaign. Thus cabinet members on either side of the debate were able to campaign, quite vociferously in some case, against one another. Students may draw parallels with the way in which the 1975 referendum served to address divisions within the Labour Party over precisely the same issue. The fact that Cameron had promised a referendum ahead of the 2015 General Election could be used as another reason why he felt as though he had no choice but to schedule the ballot.

Students may choose to concentrate instead on the way in which referendums can be used to focus the mandate. Candidates are likely to use their own knowledge to illustrate this point by deploying examples of actual or promised referendums (eg the 1975 vote on UK membership of the EEC or the guarantee of a referendum ahead of the UK adopting the Euro). Candidates may also note that such devices are routinely used to ‘ratify’ major constitutional changes (eg Scottish Devolution 1997). In this context they may note that all UK referendums to date have related either to the division of power between different tiers of government (regional/national/European) or to other constitutional issues (eg electoral reform). Such arguments would all suggest that there is a clear precedent for holding a referendum regarding any change to the UK’s status in relation to the EU. The referendum also helped to diffuse the electoral threat posed by UKIP.

In order to achieve the higher levels at AO1 and AO2 candidates will be expected to identify and offer developed explanation of a number of points relating to the question posed. Answers achieving the higher levels on AO3 will be clearly communicated using appropriate political vocabulary eg referendum, mandate, legitimacy, representative democracy, direct democracy, participation, accountability etc.

NB: those candidates who make reference to the reasons for (or frequency of) referendums in other named countries can be credited where such discussion is clearly linked back to the question posed eg as a way of identifying the reasons why the UK government may have chosen to hold the referendum in question.

AO1 = 4 marks

AO2 = 4 marks

AO3 = 2 marks

**0 6** ‘The use of referendums in the UK since 1975 has done little to enhance democracy.’  
Discuss.

**[25 marks]**

Responses at all levels are likely to demonstrate understanding of what referendums are, together with a knowledge, however limited, of how such devices have been used in the UK in recent years. Many candidates will refer to Clement Attlee’s oft-cited views on referendums (eg that they are devices ‘alien to our traditions’ or ‘the devices of demagogues and dictators’); some may try to explain precisely what Attlee meant and why he took this position. Much of this can be credited on AO1, with the latter, more analytical point worthy of greater credit on AO2.

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, candidates may simply describe referendums past or proposed without any real attempt to address the precise terms of the question. In the case of the latter, candidates may simply reproduce generalised arguments both ‘for’ and ‘against’ referendums without examples or analysis.

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 specific referendums held since 1975 could be said to have ‘enhanced’ or undermined democracy. Such a

discussion is likely to focus on issues such as legitimacy, with students considering the extent to which those referendums identified have delivered in terms of the question posed, the fairness of the campaign, the number of citizens entitled to have their say and the level of turnout. When dealing with the last two points it is likely that candidates will make reference to the fact that most English voters did not have the opportunity to vote in a referendum between 1975 and 2011 – and that turnout at those ballots which have been held has been decidedly patchy.

It is likely that candidates may also wish to refer to the referendums that have **not** been held since 1975 as a means of demonstrating whether or not the ‘use of referendums’ has enhanced or undermined democracy. In this context candidates may refer to the ‘non-referendums’ on electoral reform, UK adoption to the Euro or UK ratification of the Lisbon Treaty. It is possible that some candidates 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.

Note that whilst the word ‘discuss’ might be taken to suggest a need for a degree of balance (ie ‘for’ and ‘against’), candidates 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 Electoral Commission, legitimacy, turnout, threshold, initiatives, direct democracy, representative democracy etc.

AO1 = 11 marks

AO2 = 8 marks

AO3 = 6 marks

**Topic 3: Political Parties**

Source Labour Party leadership elections

**0 7** Explain the term '**one person one vote**' used in the extract.**[5 marks]**

Candidates are likely to take 'one person one vote' as being the same as 'one member one vote' and that need not be a barrier to students achieving the top level on the mark scheme. That said, it is possible that some students at the top level of response will recognise that, according to the Labour Party rules at least, a 'person' need not be a regular 'member' of the party.

One person one vote is the principle that the value of each person entitled to vote in a given contest or on a specific policy proposal should carry equal weight. The Labour Party traditionally allowed the leaders of trades unions to cast a 'bloc vote' on behalf of the entire membership of their organisation. The power of this block vote was first reduced and then removed in Labour leadership elections under the new rules used for the first time in 2015. The true one person one vote system adopted in 2015 replaced the electoral college used in earlier Labour Party leadership elections. It is possible that some students may question whether it is wise to give each person an equal say when the leader must be able to command the support and confidence of the parliamentary Labour Party – though this would be covered in Q02.

AO1 = 5 marks

AO2 = 0 marks

AO3 = 0 marks

**0 8** Using your own knowledge as well as the extract, identify **and** explain **two** criticisms of the process by which the Leader of the Labour Party is chosen.**[10 marks]**

The extract offers two features of the system that might be used as the basis for criticism. Firstly, there is the fact that although one does not have to be a fully paid-up member of the Labour Party to vote in the contest, the votes of eligible non-members carry an equal weight to those cast by members. Secondly, that a leader can be elected and kept in post by the eligible voters, even though that individual does not command the support of the parliamentary party (as there is no mechanism for removing the leader by vote of no confidence).

At the lower levels of response, candidates 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. Moreover, in order to secure the higher levels on the mark scheme, candidates 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 electoral college system used previously by the Party. Students might contrast the new system with the old system as a means of identifying weaknesses in the latter. It is likely that

many students will illustrate such points by making reference to Jeremy Corbyn's election as leader in 2015 – and efforts to unseat him in 2016.

Some candidates will seek to put the selection of party leaders into the broader context of internal party democracy (eg by considering policy formation or the selection of parliamentary candidates). 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.

AO1 = 4 marks

AO2 = 4 marks

AO3 = 2 marks

**0 9** Evaluate the extent to which modern UK parties are shaped by ongoing political debates.

**[25 marks]**

It is often said that the emergence of New Labour in the mid-1990s marked the start of a period of ideological convergence in mainstream UK party politics; an 'end of ideology' accompanied by the rise of non-ideological parties that were little more than election-winning machines. The counter-argument would be that the period since the 2010 General Election has in fact seen a return to a more ideological polarised party political landscape; not least with the emergence of the Jeremy Corbyn and his acolytes (the 'Corbynistas').

At the lower levels of response it is likely that candidates will offer a generic and perhaps narrative overview of the supposed decline in party ideology. Such an approach is likely to make reference to the rise of New Labour and, perhaps, the re-working of the other two main UK parties (the Conservatives under David Cameron and the Liberal Democrats under the leadership of Nick Clegg). Such answers are likely to focus largely or entirely on these parties and there may be little explicit consideration of whether or not this process of ideological convergence has been halted or reversed more recently.

At the higher levels of response there is likely to be a more overt attempt to address the precise terms of the question posed. Such discussion may see candidates considering each party in turn (assessing its ideological credentials) or an overview of different areas of policy (eg economic policy, foreign policy etc.) with an attempt to consider the extent to which the parties take different positions in each area – or simply 'window-dress' in an effort to garner electoral support.

The question posed is not framed in a way that need necessarily limit discussion to the three main UK parties alone. As a result, those answering at the higher levels of response may well make reference to the rise of more ideological parties at the margins of UK politics (eg the Green Party, UKIP or the SNP), irrespective of any judgements that they may make regarding the ideological credentials of the big three.

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 Thatcherism, Third Way, New Labour, monetarism/Keynesianism, New Tories, Red Tories, Blue Labour etc.

AO1 = 11 marks

AO2 = 8 marks

AO3 = 6 marks

#### **Topic 4: Pressure Groups and Protest Movements**

Source: Classifying pressure groups

**1 0** Explain the term '**ideological outsiders**' used in the extract.

**[5 marks]**

Most students will be able to identify ideological outsiders as those groups that look to avoid establishing close working relationships with government for ideological reasons. Amnesty International, for example, must avoid becoming too closely associated with any national government if it is to preserve its reputation for impartiality. Those campaigning against globalisation may see government as part of the problem, rather than part of the solution. It is likely that those at the higher levels of response will look to put such ideological outsiders into context alongside other types of outsider groups. Under Grant's insider-outsider typology, there are two further sub-categories of outsider groups that sit alongside ideological outsiders:

- 'Potential insiders': those which might one day gain insider status, but have not yet established good working relationships with those in government
- 'Outsiders by necessity': those groups that are forced to operate as outsiders because they are unlikely ever to achieve insider status – perhaps due to the nature of their cause or as a consequence of their preferred methodology

At the higher levels of response, students are likely to use their own knowledge to identify examples of different kinds of groups. Though references to insider groups will be credited where they help to explain the term identified in the question, lengthy discussion of such groups is not required here.

AO1 = 5 marks

AO2 = 0 marks

AO3 = 0 marks

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**1 1** Using your own knowledge, as well as the extract, consider reasons why some pressure groups may have a closer working relationship with government than others.

**[10 marks]**

It is likely that many candidates will choose to start with a brief outline of Wyn Grant's insider/outsider typology using their own knowledge; perhaps also incorporating some of the material provided in the extract. Such knowledge will be credited, where accurate, under AO1, even where it is not explicitly linked to the terms of the question.

The extract suggests that those groups considered 'respectable and legitimate' are more likely to be granted insider status. In contrast, those who use 'noisier', more direct tactics tend to be those who do not have access. Students may discuss whether such tactics are a result of a lack of access, a factor contributing to a lack of access, or combination of the two.

Students may use their own knowledge to identify the way in which some insider groups can become part of long-standing 'policy communities' – with pressure group representatives and public officials within these communities agreeing on many of the main issues in their particular area of policy. It is likely, therefore, that candidates will identify the nature and scope of a group's aims as a key factor in enabling that group to achieve insider status.

Students may well introduce the idea of group specialism or expertise as a factor that is likely to affect group status. At the higher levels of response candidates may argue that groups can easily move from 'outsider' to 'insider' with a change in government or a change in the prevailing public mood. Candidates may also note that in spite of the implied exclusivity of insider status, insiders in fact outnumber outsiders in a ratio of 8:1. In taking such a line candidates may also seek to draw a distinction between core insiders and those whose contact with those in office is less frequent or more sporadic (specialist insiders or peripheral insiders).

Though it is acceptable for answers to vary in terms of balance (ie focusing on the advantages held by insider groups as opposed to the barriers facing outsider groups) higher level responses on AO2 are likely to make at least some reference to both sides of the argument. Answers achieving the higher levels on AO3 will be clearly communicated using appropriate political vocabulary eg core insider, legitimacy, direct action, corporatism, Whitehall, consultation etc.

AO1 = 4 marks

AO2 = 4 marks

AO3 = 2 marks

- 1 2** Evaluate the role of UK pressure groups and protest movements in influencing policy and changing values.

**[25 marks]**

This question focuses on the question of whether pressure groups and protest movements can ultimately have any real influence on government activity. At the very lowest levels of response it is likely that answers are likely to consist either largely or totally of descriptive material relating to individual pressure group campaigns eg lengthy descriptions of the activities of Fathers4Justice or Greenpeace.

It is likely that most candidates will look at factors affecting pressure group success. Such factors may include group aims, status, resources or methods. At lower levels of response on AO1 and AO2 this discussion might be focused more on why some groups might be more successful than others, as opposed to tackling the question of whether groups really have any influence over government policy or societal values. At higher levels candidates are likely to target the idea of influence more directly, perhaps looking to offer some definition of that word. They may identify the ‘unseen’ influence of some core insider groups. They may contrast such influence with the limited impact of those outsider groups who choose (or are forced) to campaign more publicly; groups that arouse widespread interest without having significant influence. Some insider groups, in contrast, go out of their way to avoid arousing obvious interest in their activities, yet clearly have ‘significant influence’ on government policy. Such sophisticated arguments are likely to be present in those answers achieving the top level on AO2.

Top level responses may well draw a distinction between groups that have a more direct influence on specific government policies and those who may shift and shape public perceptions and values in such a way as to indirectly effect change over time. In this way, some candidates may question the assumption that all pressure groups even look to have an influence on policy; citing consumer campaigns and those groups looking to effect a change in the public consciousness (ie values) first and foremost.

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 group status, insider/outsider, direct action, issue networks, consultation etc.

AO1 = 11 marks

AO2 = 8 marks

AO3 = 6 marks