

Mark Scheme (Results) January 2011

GCE

GCE Government & Politics (6GP03) Paper 3C

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January 2011

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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.

No. 1	Explain the factors that limit the electoral impact of minor parties.
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Indicative content (*this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points*)

Factors which limit the electoral impact of minor parties include:

- all US elections use first past the post, which tends to produce a two party system
- many states have restrictive regulations, which make it difficult for candidates to be on the ballot
- many states allow ‘straight ticket’ voting, which encourages voters to cast their votes for one of the main parties in all posts being contested
- federal funds for presidential elections are only available to parties which gained over 5% of the vote in the previous presidential election, and full funding is only available to parties which gained over 25%
- congressional campaigns are expensive and minor parties rarely attract significant levels of finance
- if a minor party’s policies start to have popular appeal, they are likely to be adopted by either or both major parties

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
Level 3 (11-15 marks)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • Good or better ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 2 (6-10 marks)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • Sound ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 1 (0-5 marks)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • Poor ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.

No. 2	Why are ethnic and racial minorities better represented in the House of Representatives than in the Senate?
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Indicative content (*this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points*)

Reasons why ethnic and racial minorities are better represented in the House than the Senate include:

- the nature of Senate elections may mean fewer minority candidates are able to contest them successfully, e.g.
- state-wide campaigns are more expensive
- the Senate is often seen as the more prestigious chamber, and elections tend to be contested by well known politicians with a state-wide profile
- given there is still a majority white population in every state, primary voters may see a white candidate as a 'safer' choice
- additionally - the creation of majority-minority districts has enabled African American representation to rise in the House

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<p>No. 3</p>	<p>Explain the advantages and disadvantages of the use, by the states, of initiatives/propositions.</p>
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Indicative content (*this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points*)

advantages for voters include:

- direct influence over significant issues
- not dependent on legislators to take action

advantages for (wealthy) interest groups include:

- enabled to bypass elected officials and put issues directly to the people
- because issues are often technical, voters may only have limited understanding and be susceptible to persuasion
- will be able to outspend poorly funded opponents

disadvantages for elected officials include:

- may find policies imposed on them which are inadequately financed, difficult to implement or even contradictory

disadvantage for minority groups include:

- may find the ‘tyranny of the majority’ exercised against them

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<p>No. 4</p>	<p>Why has the impact of professional lobbyists on policy-making in the USA been controversial?</p>
<p>Indicative content (<i>this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points</i>)</p>	
<p>Reasons why the impact of professional lobbyists on policy-making in the USA has been controversial include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘The revolving door’ - the frequent interchange of personnel between Congress and the lobbying industry • the dependence of congressmen and senators on lobbyists for specialised knowledge concentrates power in a technical elite • the cost of lobbying means that it is only available to the wealthy, whose position is thereby entrenched 	

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • public knowledge of the extensive role of lobbyists can reinforce the image of ‘the best Congress money can buy’ • the desire of lobbyists for influence and politicians for campaign funds can create the potential for corruption • the lobbying industry is often adept at finding ways around regulation 	
LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
Level 3 (11-15 marks)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • Good or better ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
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No. 5	How influential is the left within the Democratic Party?
Indicative content (<i>this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points</i>)	
<p>Evidence which suggests that the left has been influential include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the base of the party is on the left and has a highly active internet presence • the Congressional Progressive Caucus is the largest group within the congressional Democratic caucus and the former Speaker Nancy Pelosi identifies with many of their causes • within the congressional Democratic caucus, the influence of the left may well rise after the halving of the ranks of the ‘Blue Dogs’ in the 2010 midterms <p>Evidence from the Obama administration which suggests that there are limits to the influence of the left include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • appointment to the administration of members of the political and economic establishment such as Clinton, Gates, Geithner & Summers • failure to include a ‘public option’ in health care reform 	

- failure of 'cap and trade' to advance once passed by the House
- reaffirmation of the Hyde Amendment by President Obama
- nomination of Elena Kagan received a lukewarm reception on the left
- 'surge' of troops in Afghanistan
- failure to close Guantanamo Bay
- the extension of the Bush tax cuts for the very wealthy
- announcement of a two year pay freeze for federal workers
- criticism by Roberts Gibbs of carping by the 'professional left' and by President Obama that left-wing critics of the tax cuts deal were 'sanctimonious'

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
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<p>Level 2 (6-10 marks)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • Sound ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.
<p>Level 1 (0-5 marks)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • Poor ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.

No. 6

'Race-based affirmative action has failed.' Discuss.

Indicative content (*this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points*)

Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)

Affirmative action involves the granting of favourable treatment to minorities in education and employment applications.

Arguments that affirmative action has failed could include:

- on every relevant measure - college graduation, income, poverty, unemployment - the black population continues to lag behind the white population (see for example <http://www.publicagenda.org/citizen/issueguides/race/getfacts>)
- critics of affirmative action would claim that this is at least in part a consequence of affirmative action measures , and that, far from eroding racial divisions, it has entrenched them
- or that the legacy of segregation and slavery is such that it requires that more drastic measures to be overcome
- 40+ years on from its inception, it now has the appearance of a permanent institution, evidence that its aims are unachievable
- lack of political will by the political parties and the restrictions imposed by the Supreme Court meant its failure was inevitable

Arguments that affirmative action has not failed could include:

- precise equality of outcome was never the goal of affirmative action, just making equality of opportunity a reality for minorities
- the effects of centuries of discrimination could never be wiped out over night, but, since its inception, the black middle class has expanded, blacks are more likely to occupy professional jobs, and there is now a black president, unimaginable in the 1960s
- if inequalities remain, it may be the result of other factors which affirmative action cannot address
- it is not a permanent institution - in her judgment in *Grutter v Bollinger* Justice O'Connor stated that in 25 years' time affirmative action would no longer be necessary

A01	Knowledge and understanding
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
A02	Intellectual skills
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
A02	Synoptic skills
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and clear insight into how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Sound ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and a reliable awareness of how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Limited ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and a little awareness of how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions

A03	Communication and coherence
Level 3 (7-9 marks)	Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 2 (4-6 marks)	Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 1 (0-3 marks)	Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary

No. 7	To what extent are mid-term elections merely a referendum on the performance of the President?
Indicative content (<i>this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points</i>)	
<p>Mid-term elections are the elections for the House of Representatives and the Senate which occur half-way through the president's four year term.</p> <p>Evidence that midterm elections are a referendum on the president includes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the president's party has lost congressional seats in all but three mid-terms in the last 100 years • since 1994, mid-terms have arguably become 'nationalised' and elections such as 1994, 2006 and 2010 were all elections in which the president's record was a factor in his party's loss of seats • in 2002, when the Republicans won seats, the response of President Bush to the attacks on New York and Washington, and his domestic agenda of tax cuts, was also arguably a factor <p>Evidence that midterm elections are not merely a referendum on the president includes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • losses by the president's party may be attributable to the absence of the presidential 'coat-tails' which had won the party seats two years before • the record of the congressional leadership may be a significant factor, e.g. the Republicans' campaigns against the 'Pelosi-Reid' agenda in 2010; in 1998 the strategy of the congressional Republican leadership in pursuing impeachment proceedings against the president may have been a factor in Democratic gains • individual candidates' campaigns may have a significant impact on the result, e.g. George Allen in Virginia in 2006 and Christine O'Donnell in Delaware in 2010 • the power of incumbency, which fell below 90% in the House elections in 2010 for only the first time in 30 years 	
AO1	Knowledge and understanding
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates

A02	Intellectual skills
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
A02	Synoptic skills
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and clear insight into how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Sound ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and a reliable awareness of how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Limited ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and a little awareness of how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
A03	Communication and coherence
Level 3 (7-9 marks)	Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 2 (4-6 marks)	Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 1 (0-3 marks)	Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary

No. 8	'Pressure groups define the political issues that dominate US politics.' Discuss.
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Indicative content (*this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points*)

Arguments that pressure groups define the main political issues include:

- parties were traditionally broad coalitions of disparate interests, unable to put together coherent policy programmes for government
- from the 50s onwards, the influence of pressure groups brought new issues to the front of the political agenda, e.g., on the liberal side, civil rights, opposition to the Vietnam War, feminism and environmentalism, and on the conservative side - largely in reaction - 'traditional values' such as opposition to abortion rights and women's equality, and support for the presence of Christianity in education
- the influence of groups such as the Moral Majority and the Christian Coalition was clearly evident in the Reagan and Bush administrations
- liberal groups were instrumental in bringing issues such as gay rights and gun control to the front of the Clinton administration's agenda
- pressure groups continue to be substantial donors to candidates running for office

Evidence which suggest pressure groups no longer have this role include:

- as parties became more ideologically homogenous from the 70s onwards, they have more clearly defined programmes of their own
- presidents typically court the support of pressure groups during election campaigns, but, once elected, their commitment to their causes wanes
- 'values' issues typically associated with pressure groups are often subordinated to issues relating to the economy or foreign policy, which groups may seek to influence but which they do not define
- the influence of the Christian Right faded during the course of the Bush presidency
- the agenda of the Obama presidency - dominated by the stimulus package, health care reform and reform of financial regulation - has only been secondarily influenced by pressure groups
- the Tea Party was a highly visible presence in the 2010 midterms, but lacked a clear policy agenda and has had little influence post-election

A01	Knowledge and understanding
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
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