

Mark Scheme (Results)

Summer 2017

Pearson Edexcel GCE in Government & Politics (6GP03) Paper 3C: Representative Processes in the USA



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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.

Question Number	Question
1.	Explain how three policies of the Obama administration could be
	seen as traditional Democratic policies.

Traditional Democratic policies reflect the big government/socially liberal/dovish foreign policy values of the party.

Policies that reflect these values include:

- 'Obamacare' 'big government' tradition attempts to expand healthcare coverage through subsidies for poorer people to buy insurance, greater provision of healthcare by the federal government in particular was an ambition of both FDR and Truman, LBJ started the Medicare and Medicaid programmes, Clinton attempted healthcare reform
- Economic stimulus package 2009 'big government' tradition Democrats have supported government intervention in the economy to boost demand since the New Deal.
- withdrawal from Iraq, Iran nuclear deal, relaxing relationship with Cuba dovish foreign policy - Democrats have been reluctant to project American power abroad and would always prefer to solve international conflict through international organisations
- gun control socially liberal Obama tried to get gun control measures through Congress in 2013, subsequently executive action - FDR tried to create a federal registry of guns and most Democratic presidents since have supported gun control, most recently President Clinton signed a bill banning assault weapons in 1994
- immigration reform socially liberal attempt to pass Dream Act, DACA and DAPA executive orders - Democratic presidents have been active in immigration reform, e.g. LBJ signed the Immigration and Nationality Act in 1965, making more nationalities eligible for entry, and Carter signed the 1980 Refugee Act, rationalising the US treatment of refugees
- minority rights/women's rights socially liberal Lily Ledbetter Act 2009, repeal of 'Don't Ask Don't Tell' - Democratic support for the Civil Rights movement, Carter support for the ERA

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features with:

Some limited knowledge and understanding, some attempt to make a relevant response to the question, but superficial, and only limited development.

A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
Level 3 (11-15 marks)	 knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 2 (6-10 marks)	 knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.
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Question Number	Question
2.	How effective are the different methods pressure groups use to
	influence the executive branch?

Pressure groups attempt to influence the executive branch in order to secure favourable nominations, influence the president's legislative agenda and obtain favourable treatment from the federal bureaucracy.

The methods pressure groups use to influence the executive branch include:

- donations to presidential candidates' campaigns hard to gauge, may secure personal benefit for donor, e.g. award of a post such as ambassador, but seems unlikely by itself to bring about policy outcome
- hiring of professional lobbyists to promote for preferred policies and nominees – lobbyists with the contacts to gain access to the executive branch are likely to be highly effective
- provision of information to officials may succeed in setting up relationships, even leading to 'regulatory capture'
- form (with executive agencies) 'iron triangles' stereotypically seen as highly durable and resistant to even the president himself, but hard to gauge their extent
- pressuring Congress to influence the president's agenda sets up debt with the executive which may secure future policy proposals a sympathetic hearing
- protests one-off protests unlikely to be successful but if sustained campaign reflective of public mood, e.g. anti-war protests of 1960s and 70s, may have influence

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Question Number	Question
3.	Explain the main reasons for low voter participation (turnout) in US elections.

The main reasons for the low turnout in US elections include:

Election procedure/number

- high level of voter mobility complicated/varied (from state to state) registration procedures
- traditional voting day of Tuesday may not be convenient
- large number of elections, voter fatigue
- proliferation of safe seats through gerrymandering
- safe states created by the Electoral College
- protracted nature of caucuses
- length of presidential election campaigns

Attitude of voters to politicians

- disillusionment with 'Washington'/traditional major parties
- effect of relentless negative campaigning
- interest groups more appealing/effective route
- low enthusiasm for midterm elections

Exclusion of voters from process:

- disenfranchisement of ex-felons
- voter ID laws
- culture of voter intimidation in some states

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Question Number	Question
4.	Why has affirmative action failed to end racial inequality?

The reasons affirmative action has failed to end racial inequality include:

- in a succession of cases, the Supreme Court has narrowed the scope of affirmative action schemes
- the nature of black culture may mean that inequality is likely to resist any attempts to alleviate it through government action
- given the longevity and scale of the problem, 50 years is not long enough and affirmative action is too tentative a measure and more drastic action is needed
- the Democratic Party's support has become lukewarm and the Republican Party openly hostile
- it was never the aim of affirmative action to secure equality, just equal opportunity
- public hostility led to the approval of state bans
- continuing racism of some elements of white society means black workers are still denied equal treatment/opportunities
- black students may be placed in classes they are unsuited to and consequently lose motivation and fail to achieve

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Question Number	Question
5.	Explain the current divisions within the Republican Party.

Candidates can legitimately structure their answer either by considering divides over particular policies or divisions between the various factions –candidates may refer to groups within Congress (such as the Tuesday Group and Freedom Caucus) or within the Trump administration (e.g. 'nationalists' like Bannon and 'globalists' like Kushner)

Divides over policy currently include:

- immigration the populist right see immigrants as reducing wages of American workers, and oppose 'amnesty' for immigrants who have entered the country illegally; in contrast, business groups want a supply of cheap labour so support immigration reform and giving legal status to the 11M+ illegals, such as was proposed by the 'Gang of Eight' bill passed by the Senate in June 2013; some senior GOP senators e.g. McCain and Graham were critical of the Trump travel ban
- foreign policy establishment Republicans still see the role US as maintaining world order, and criticise President Obama for taking troops out of Iraq prematurely, whereas the populist right and libertarians advocate a much more isolationist foreign policy, and believe the US should concentrate on protecting its own interests;
- education business groups support Common Core and national standards for schools whereas the populist right oppose Common Core which they see as an attempt by the federal government to impose its own agenda on children
- trade business groups support free trade whereas the populist right oppose anti-free trade agreements e.g. NAFTA, TPP, which they claim export jobs to countries like Mexico and China
- same sex marriage social conservatives still support a heterosexual definition of marriage, whereas business groups believe this damages the image of party
- healthcare the AHCA was criticised by both the Tuesday Group for cutting back too drastically on Medicaid expansion - and Freedom Caucus for retaining a federal role in healthcare

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Question Number	Question
6.	'Pressure groups in the US have too much power.' Discuss.

Evidence pressure groups in the US have too much power includes:

- the cost of US elections and the constant need of politicians for funds means they are highly receptive to the views and wishes of donors, sometimes at the expense of those who elected them
- the fragmented nature of the US system creates multiple access points for pressure groups, enabling them to exercise considerable power
- some groups such as the NRA and AIPAC are commonly viewed as having a significant and disproportionate impact on policy
- conservatives criticise groups' use of the courts to impose their liberal values, e.g. gay rights
- groups can form iron triangles which exert disproportionate power on policy and can even resist the president
- the proliferation of lobbyists and the high price their services command suggest the right kind of pressure is highly effective, the 'revolving door' gives wealthy groups an advantage
- wealthy groups can hijack the initiative process

Evidence that pressure groups do not have too much power includes:

- 'more activity, less clout' compared to a unitary system such as the UK, there may be more pressure group activity but competing groups have a self-cancelling effect
- many groups lack the financial means to secure influence with the elected branches of government
- levels of influence have declined with the emergence of two ideologically coherent parties, which, compared to the 'umbrella parties' of the 50s and 60s, now have their own programmes to advance
- lobbying regulations and campaign finance regulations all impose limitations on pressure group power

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A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:

A01	Knowledge and understanding
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good to excellent knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Very poor to weak knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.
A02	Intellectual skills
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good to excellent ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations.
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Limited to sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations.
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Very poor to weak ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations.
A02	Synoptic skills
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good to excellent ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and clear insight into how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions.
<i>Level 2</i> (5-8 marks)	Limited to 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)	Very poor to weak 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)	Good to excellent ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.	
Level 2 (4-6 marks)	Limited to sound ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.	
Level 1 (0-3 marks)	Very poor to weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.	

7. To what extent was candidate personality, rather than campaign finance or policies, the deciding factor in the outcome of recent presidential elections?	Question Number	Question
	7.	campaign finance or policies, the deciding factor in the outcome

Evidence that the personalities of the candidates are a significant factor in the outcome of presidential elections includes:

- in 2000, GW Bush was seen by voters as someone 'to have a beer with', in contrast to the less relaxed Al Gore
- in 2008, the unflustered and youthful persona of Barack Obama played well with some voters set against the quite often flustered and more elderly persona of John McCain

2016

personality

Clinton

- experience in Senate and as secretary of state
- tough e.g. overcame humiliation of husband's infidelity
- cold/unlikeable, calculating/insincere prepared to say anything to anyone
- secretive/untrustworthy reinforced by email and Benghazi 'scandals'
- corrupt she and her husband used office to enrich themselves

Trump

- experience business success, 'deal-maker'
- authentic 'gaffes' make him seem like an ordinary person
- coarse/vulgar/sleazy 'Billy Bush tapes'
- self-pitying e.g. endless complaining about a rigged system
- undisciplined. e.g. often attacked other Republicans

policy

Clinton

• lack of core message/signature policies – vagueness of 'Stronger Together'

Trump

- repeated core message of 'Make America Great Again'
- signature policies build wall, deport illegals, abolish Obamacare, bring jobs back from abroad
- contradictions in policy pronouncements e.g. re reducing budget deficit through cutting taxation and increasing spending apparently unimportant

money

Clinton

fund-raising machine, outspent Trump

Trump

 boast that using own money added to appeal for supporters, media fascination and blanket coverage meant HRC advantage probably little significance A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

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Question Number	Question
8.	'Neither major party adequately represents minority voters.'
	Discuss.

Evidence that neither major party adequately represents minority voters could include:

- failure of immigration reform under both Presidents Bush and Obama
- continuing inequality between the majority and minority populations, in terms of poverty, unemployment, graduation etc
- welfare reform and expansion of the prison population under President Clinton disproportionately affected minorities
- failure to tackle police mistreatment of minority suspects
- lukewarm support or outright hostility of both parties for affirmative action
- Republican voter ID laws seem designed to exclude minority voters

Evidence that the major parties do adequately represent minority voters could include:

- the civil rights and anti-poverty programs of the 60s and the affirmative action programs of the 60s and 70s
- increasing numbers of minority politicians
- programmes such as the Affordable Care Act, which disproportionately help minorities
- attempts to redress racial inequality by President Obama through e.g. the Fair Sentencing Act
- DACA and DAPA issued

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SUMMARY A2 MARKING GRIDS

These grids should be used in conjunction with the fuller Level descriptors.

PART A - SHORT QUESTIONS (15 marks)

	Excellent	15
Level 3	Very good	13-14
	Good	11-12
	Sound	10
Level 2	Basic	8-9
	Limited	6-7
	Weak	4-5
Level 1	Poor	2-3
	Very poor	0-1

PART B - ESSAY QUESTIONS (45 marks)

AO1 / AO2 / Synopticity		
Level 3 (Good to excellent)	9-12	
Level 2 (Limited to sound)	5-8	
Level 1 (Very poor to weak)	0-4	

AO3		
Level 3 (good to excellent)	7-9	
Level 2 (Limited to sound)	4-6	
Level 1 (Very poor to weak)	0-3	