



**General Certificate of Education
June 2011**

Government and Politics GOV4C

Perspectives on Modern Politics

Unit 4C

Mark Scheme

Mark schemes are prepared by the Principal Examiner and considered, together with the relevant questions, by a panel of subject teachers. This mark scheme includes any amendments made at the standardisation meeting attended by all examiners and is the scheme which was used by them in this examination. The standardisation meeting ensures that the mark scheme covers the candidates' responses to questions and that every examiner understands and applies it in the same correct way. As preparation for the standardisation meeting each examiner analyses a number of candidates' scripts: alternative answers not already covered by the mark scheme are discussed at the meeting and legislated for. If, after this meeting, examiners encounter unusual answers which have not been discussed at the meeting they are required to refer these to the Principal Examiner.

It must be stressed that a mark scheme is a working document, in many cases further developed and expanded on the basis of candidates' reactions to a particular paper. Assumptions about future mark schemes on the basis of one year's document should be avoided; whilst the guiding principles of assessment remain constant, details will change, depending on the content of a particular examination paper.

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CRITERIA FOR MARKING AS/A2 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Introduction

AQA's revised Government and Politics specification has been designed to be objectives-led in that questions are set which address the assessment objectives published in the specification. The assessment objectives for A Level and AS are the same, but the weightings are different at AS and A2. Details of the weightings are given in Section 4.2 of the specification.

The schemes of marking reflect these objectives. The mark scheme which follows is of the *levels-of-response* type showing that candidates 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. Candidates should be given credit for partially complete answers. Where appropriate, candidates should be given credit for referring to recent and contemporary developments in Government and Politics.

Consistency of marking is of the essence in all public examinations. It is therefore of vital importance that assistant examiners apply the mark scheme as directed by the Principal Examiner in order to facilitate comparability with the marking of other options.

Before scrutinising and applying the detail of the specific mark scheme which follows, assistant examiners are required to familiarise themselves with the general principles of the mark scheme as contained in the Assessment Matrix.

At A2, generally speaking, there is no unambiguously 'right' or 'wrong' answer to the 30-mark questions. Answers will be judged on factors such as quality of the argument, depth of knowledge and understanding, a synoptic grasp of the subject, appropriateness of the examples and internal logic of the discussion. Where candidates are presented with a proposition to be discussed they may support it, reject it or adopt a balanced position.

There are no limits to the areas of knowledge that candidates may feel able bring to the discussion. Therefore the specification of requirements outlined in the mark schemes can only be indicative. Candidates 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 candidates' 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 candidates' 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 candidate 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 candidate'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 candidates know, understand and can do.

A2 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS
GENERIC MARK SCHEME for questions with a total of 10 marks

| Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy | Skills: Analysis & Evaluation | Communication |
|--|---|---|
| AO1 | AO2 | AO3 |
| Level 4 (4 marks) The candidate demonstrates a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The candidate fully addresses the requirements of the question and provides developed and effective to comprehensive interpretation. The answer also provides clear to accurate evidence and, where appropriate, good to excellent examples to illustrate points made. | Level 4 (4 marks) The candidate applies an excellent range of developed concepts and uses appropriate political theory to construct a clear and cogent explanation or argument. | Levels 3–4 (2 marks) The candidate communicates clearly and effectively in a sustained and structured manner, using appropriate political vocabulary. There are few, if any, errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar, and the response should be legible. |
| Level 3 (3 marks) The candidate demonstrates good knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The candidate clearly addresses the requirements of the question and provides sound interpretation and contextual awareness. The answer includes good examples to illustrate points made. | Level 3 (3 marks) The candidate applies a good range of developed concepts and uses appropriate political theory to construct a clear and cogent explanation or argument. | The answer has a clear sense of direction, is focused on the question and, where appropriate, has a conclusion which flows from the discussion. |
| Level 2 (2 marks) The candidate demonstrates limited knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The candidate makes a limited attempt to address the requirements of the question and provides little to partial, but reasonably effective, interpretation. Answers offer limited evidence and few, or inaccurate, examples to illustrate points made. | Level 2 (2 marks) The candidate applies a limited range of concepts and makes limited use of political theory or ideas in developing an explanation or argument. | Levels 1–2 (1 mark) The candidate 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. |
| Level 1 (1 mark) The candidate demonstrates little knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The candidate makes little attempt to address the requirements of the question and provides little interpretation. Answers offer little evidence and few, or inaccurate, examples to illustrate points made. | Level 1 (1 mark) The candidate applies few concepts and makes little use of political theory or ideas in developing an explanation or argument. | There are frequent errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar, and legibility may be a problem. A conclusion, where appropriate, may be offered but its relationship to the preceding discussion is modest or implicit. |
| 0 marks No relevant response. | 0 marks No relevant response. | 0 marks No relevant response. |

A2 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

GENERIC MARK SCHEME for questions with a total of 30 marks

| Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy | Skills: Analysis & Evaluation | Communication |
|---|--|--|
| AO1 | AO2 | AO3 |
| <p>Level 4 (10–12 marks) The candidate demonstrates a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them. A synoptic approach is fully developed, drawing appropriately on knowledge, perspectives and examples from a wide range of studies in government and politics. The answer fully addresses the requirements of the question and demonstrates excellent contextual awareness. The answer includes excellent examples to illustrate points made. The answer includes detailed and comprehensive interpretations or explanations, as well as accurate evidence and relevant examples, to illustrate points made.</p> | <p>Level 4 (10–12 marks) The candidate displays excellent awareness of the implications and demands of the question. There is an excellent and sustained focus on the specific question asked. There is clear and full evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour, which displays a sophisticated awareness of differing viewpoints and recognition of issues. Appropriate parallels and connections are clearly identified, together with well-developed comparisons. A wide range of concepts is used and developed.</p> | <p>Level 4 (6 marks) The candidate communicates structured and sustained arguments, explanations and conclusions with clarity. Excellent use is made of political vocabulary to construct cogent and coherent arguments and explanations. The response should be legible, with few, if any, errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar. The answer has a clear sense of direction, culminating in a conclusion that flows from the preceding discussion.</p> |
| <p>Level 3 (7–9 marks) The candidate demonstrates sound knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them. A synoptic approach is well developed, using a range of knowledge, perspectives and examples gained elsewhere in the study of government and politics. The answer clearly addresses the requirements of the question and demonstrates sound contextual awareness. The answer includes developed and effective interpretations or explanations and also clear evidence and good examples to illustrate points made.</p> | <p>Level 3 (7–9 marks) The candidate displays sound awareness of the implications and demands of the question. There is a clear focus on the question. There is a sound evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour, which displays good awareness of differing viewpoints and recognition of issues. There is good recognition of parallels and comparisons. Appropriate concepts are used and developed.</p> | <p>Level 3 (4–5 marks) The candidate communicates arguments, explanations and conclusions well. Good use is made of political vocabulary to construct clear arguments and explanations. The response should be legible but there may be occasional errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar. The candidate produces an answer with a conclusion linked to the preceding discussion.</p> |

GENERIC MARK SCHEME for questions with a total of 30 marks (continued)

| Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy | Skills: Analysis & Evaluation | Communication |
|--|---|---|
| AO1 | AO2 | AO3 |
| <p>Level 2 (4–6 marks) The candidate demonstrates outline knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and some awareness of the relationships between them. The answer makes a limited attempt to address the question and demonstrates contextual awareness covering part of the question. An attempt to develop a synoptic approach is made, using a limited range of knowledge, perspectives and examples gained more broadly in the study of government and politics. The answer includes a partial and reasonably effective attempt at interpretation or explanation, with some examples to illustrate points made.</p> | <p>Level 2 (4–6 marks) The candidate displays little awareness of the implications and demands of the question, resulting in a restricted focus. There is a limited evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour, which displays a partial awareness of differing viewpoints and issues. There is some recognition of basic parallels and comparisons. Arguments and explanations are undeveloped, with a limited use of concepts.</p> | <p>Level 2 (2–3 marks) The candidate communicates arguments and conclusions adequately, with a limited use of political vocabulary. There are frequent errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar, and legibility may be a problem. A conclusion is offered but its relationship to the preceding discussion may be modest or implicit.</p> |
| <p>Level 1 (1–3 marks) The candidate demonstrates a slight and incomplete knowledge and understanding of political institutions and processes and a limited awareness of the relationships between them. A very limited attempt at synopticity is made, sometimes using superficial or inaccurate knowledge, perspectives and examples cited from elsewhere in their study of government and politics. There is little attempt to address the requirements of the question. There is only superficial awareness, if any, of the context of the question, with little interpretation and few, if any, examples, often inaccurately reported or inappropriately used.</p> | <p>Level 1 (1–3 marks) The candidate displays little awareness of the implications and demands of the question, and focus is lacking. Evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour is superficial. Analysis shows little awareness of differing viewpoints and issues. There is little, if any, recognition of parallels and comparisons. Arguments, explanations and use of concepts are superficial and naïve.</p> | <p>Level 1 (1 mark) The answer relies upon narrative that is not fully coherent. There is little or no use of political vocabulary. Errors in spelling, punctuation and grammar may be intrusive and the response may not be legible. A conclusion, if present, is not adequately related to the preceding discussion.</p> |
| <p>0 marks No relevant response.</p> | <p>0 marks No relevant response.</p> | <p>0 marks No relevant response.</p> |

Topic 1 Participation and Representation**Total for this topic: 40 marks**

(01) Explain the various forms that political participation can take.

(10 marks)

Candidates should normally offer a definition of political participation, noting that it can take a wide variety of forms of varying intensity. They should identify and analyse various forms of participation. These could range widely and candidates will not be expected to cover all possibilities. However, they could range from voting, writing to politicians, writing to newspapers and blogging to joining pressure groups, joining parties, canvassing, demonstrating, lobbying politicians or even becoming politicians as well as newer forms of participation such as social movements. Some candidates may consider related factors such as channels of access, resources and degrees of effectiveness of the various forms.

(02) 'Neither representative nor democratic.' How justified is this comment on representative democracy as it operates today?

(30 marks)

Answers should demonstrate candidates' recognition that the essential focus of the analysis is on the practical working of representative democracy today. Key relevant terms such as 'representation' and 'democracy' should be introduced and defined. In particular, there should be a clear exposition of the nature of representative democracy. They may also introduce other concepts deemed relevant to the question, such as political parties, elected representatives and representative government. Representative, or indirect democracy may be compared and contrasted with direct democracy.

In analysing the working of representative democracy today, candidates may discuss the roles of elected representatives, executive scrutinisers, publicisers, debaters and legislators. It is likely that they will consider theories of representation such as the Burkean view, microcosmic representation, representatives as delegates, representatives as advocates and the theory of the mandate.

Candidates may consider the role of political parties within representative democracy. They may discuss the view that parties are mainly concerned with maximising votes rather than with any particular programme, ideology or intention to represent. Some candidates may consider party convergence on the centre ground. They may cite party manifestos as evidence. There could be some comparison with more traditional class-based, identification with political parties.

There could also be some discussion on the way in which elected assembly members sometimes represent, and argue the case for, certain interest groups such as unions, professional associations and voluntary societies. Examples may be offered showing how and why parties adopt the strategies they do. The weakness of elected assemblies before the power of executives may also be featured as part of the critique of representative democracy.

Some candidates may consider representation in terms of reflecting the social make-up of a population in macrocosmic terms and comment on the extent to which ethnicity and gender are mirrored. Some may go further to consider sections of society such as the disabled, the gay community and those below current voting age. A related critique could centre on electoral systems and their strengths and weaknesses.

Candidates may also develop the argument that parties must win power before they can achieve anything real in terms of policy, so that strategy must be one of continuing compromise over their basic ideologies. Some candidates may argue that various forms of direct action can be more democratic than any form of representative democracy. This may lead to a consideration of instruments such as referendums and recalls.

There may be candidates who seek to reject the proposition in the question. They may, for example, consider the range of parties with no serious expectation of gaining power, such as the BNP, UKIP and the Greens. The use of comparative analysis will be an asset. There should be a concluding section that clearly derives from the preceding discussion.

Topic 2 Globalisation**Total for this topic: 40 marks****(03) Explain the concept of neo-colonialism.****(10 marks)**

Candidates should recognise that neo-colonialism is a concept closely associated with the phenomenon of globalisation. In order to explain the concept of *neo*-colonialism they will first have to explain the concept of colonialism itself: essentially the domination of one country by another, traditionally by military might. This may involve settlement in, and rule over, a conquered country by the dominant power. Candidates may cite examples such as the British Empire and its colonies. Candidates may explain neo-colonialism variously but should stress the essential point that it relates to the involvement of the powerful and more-developed countries in the affairs of the less-developed ones. In this the basis for power lies largely in economic relations rather than military force. Multinational corporations, with their bases in the developed capitalisms, are seen as key actors. Some candidates may regard neo-colonialism as a continuation of older forms of colonialism, with the ex-colonies still under the influence of the old colonial powers. They may also argue that the term is frequently employed by critics of globalisation.

(04) 'Governments take credit for their successes but blame globalisation for their failures.' Discuss.

(30 marks)

Candidates should demonstrate their recognition that the essential focus of the answer is on the extent to which globalisation can restrict the actions and policies of nation-states. Relevant terms and concepts such as economic, cultural and political globalisation should be defined. There should be some discussion of the concept of the nation-state, national autonomy and state sovereignty. It may be argued that traditional notions of these are being challenged as a result of globalisation.

Candidates may discuss the way governments traditionally operated with a high degree of autonomy in handling domestic affairs. They may contrast this by considering how global factors place constraints on national action. These may be identified variously as capital flows, the need to attract inward investment, footloose capital, companies seeking low-tax regimes and flexible (non-unionised) labour forces, international obligations, threats of sanctions, opposition from anti-capitalist activists, and violence and terrorism. The operations and influence of multinational and transnational corporations may also be expected to feature in answers.

Candidates may also examine the activities of various international actors and international institutions, such as the World Bank, the IMF, the United Nations, NATO and the WTO. Also relevant is the nature, behaviour and influence of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and global pressure groups with interests in areas such as human rights and the environment. Those deciding to focus on the UK should examine Britain's 'special relationship' with the USA and membership of the EU.

Candidates should provide examples of particular governments and policies that have been influenced or constrained by global factors. They should consider statements made by governments, ministers and other actors on the impact of globalisation on domestic politics. These should focus on the way they may vary between times of prosperity ('the end of boom and bust') and crisis. The positions of opposition parties may also be considered, as may the

media treatment of the political claims. 'Take credit' and 'blame' should normally be addressed specifically for top marks. It is likely that many examples will consider the global banking crisis and government attempts to intervene. The presentation of original and imaginative examples should be rewarded.

Conclusions should clearly derive from the foregoing discussion and contain a clear acceptance or refutation of the proposition that governments take credit for their successes but blame globalisation for their failures. Alternatively, they may take a more nuanced position.

Topic 3 Change and Continuity**Total for this topic: 40 marks****(05) Outline the conservative case for resisting political change.****(10 marks)**

Candidates should recognise that the ideology of conservatism is central to any understanding of change and continuity in politics. In outlining the conservative case for resistance to political change candidates may well refer to Edmund Burke. They may also refer to other conservative writers such as Michael Oakeshott or Roger Scruton. The case they will be expected to outline should include factors such as the advantages of political evolution, the value of the wisdom of past generations, veneration for tradition, the danger of reformist blueprints, the horror of revolution, respect for class division and the desirability of continuity in a political system. Reward also recognition that Conservatives essentially believe in gradual change, rather than total resistance to it.

(06) 'Reforms carried out by governments are often more concerned with style and presentation than with real change.' Discuss.**(30 marks)**

Candidates should recognise that the focus of analysis should be on government reforms of the machinery of government and in substantive policy areas. The issue to be addressed is the extent to which these can be real or merely apparent. It should be recognised that much criticism of governmental action revolves around this duality.

Examples to be examined may come from many areas and candidates will be expected to make their own selections. However these should illustrate perspectives relating to modern examples, in line with the focus of the paper. They may choose to concentrate on institutional reforms to assemblies, bureaucracies, executives, local government and the EU. Alternatively, they may look at policy change in areas such as education, health, foreign affairs and the economy. They may also consider ideological change such as the coming of the New Right, neo-liberalism and the 'third way'. This may lead some candidates to consider change (apparent or otherwise) within political parties. Whatever area is chosen, real change should be contrasted with apparent change (ie window-dressing). 'Style and presentation' are discriminators and should normally be addressed specifically to access top marks.

In moving to the heart of the discussion, candidates should analyse changes and reforms that have been proposed, have taken place or have been resisted. They may consider reasons why these have been implemented or resisted. In this they should look at the pressures for change or continuity coming from public opinion, the media, and other organisations such as pressure groups. They may note that politicians often speak glibly of change as a basis for winning the support of individuals, the media and interest groups. They should note how forces for change come from various sources such as academics, the media, pressure groups, reformist political movements, changing mores in society and charismatic individuals. Resistance to change may come from forces such as political opposition, bureaucratic obstructionism, the preservation of interests by the privileged, a conservative press and social inertia. 'Style representation' maybe addressed for example, by discussing the introduction of 'placebo policies', the emphasis on government selected targets for assessing the effectiveness of policies, and the work of spin doctors in presenting policies (and ministers) in a favourable light to the media.

Conclusions should arise from the foregoing discussion and contain a clear position on

the extent to which government reforms carried out can be more concerned with style and presentation than with real change. Any position is acceptable, but must be supported by the preceding analysis.

Topic 4 Territorial Politics

Total for this topic: 40 marks

(07) Explain the concept of sub-national governance.

(10 marks)

Candidates should recognise that the term 'governance' means the practice of governing. They should explain that sub-national governance refers to the separate governance of territorial divisions within a nation-state. This may occur within federal systems, where sub-national government may exercise power in its own right, or in unitary systems such as in Britain where power may be derived from the national level of governance. It may be noted that the effect of this in Britain is to retain, at least in theory, the principle of parliamentary sovereignty. Candidates may be expected to offer examples such as elective local government and the provincial assemblies. They may detail characteristics of local government such as local elections, an ability to raise revenue and the operation of *ultra vires*. They may also discuss tiered systems, sharing powers and unitary authorities. Some candidates will include reference to non-elective authorities as examples of local governance. Some may recognise that, within the states forming a federal system, there may also be tiers of local governance. Some candidates may cite reasons for sub-national governance such as bringing power to localities, efficiency and enhancing democracy. They may see local governance as a form of separation of powers (ie a territorial division of powers) and argue that this can be seen as protecting liberty and checking the power of the national government.

(08) The devolution settlements for Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland have little in common.' Discuss.

(30 marks)

Candidates should recognise that the focus of their analysis should be on a comparative analysis of the devolution settlements for Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. They may be expected to construct a framework for analysis by identifying some of the key factors in the devolution settlements. These are numerous and may include tax-raising ability, other forms of funding, electoral systems, powers of the first ministers, size of assemblies, composition of assemblies (in terms of social, gender and ethnic representation), committee systems, assembly opportunities for questioning office-holders, distribution of powers between Westminster and the devolved assemblies, party systems, coalition-forming, stability of coalitions, and relations with Westminster. No candidate will be expected to cover all these aspects and some may consider points not mentioned here.

Candidates may also consider the politics around the working of the new systems, and of course the particular problems of Northern Ireland. They may also discuss the public response in each of the provinces. Some candidates may seek to explain reasons for the differences and similarities between the devolution settlements. This they may do by considering the different paths towards devolution taken by each province; historical factors and the different forms and strengths of nationalism in the various parts of the UK.

In their analyses, candidates should be able to identify points of similarity as well as points of difference between the settlements. For example, while there are differences in electoral

systems there is the broad similarity in that all are based on democratic elections. Again, while each has different powers they are similar in that all powers can be removed by Westminster.

Conclusions should arise from the foregoing discussion and contain a clear position on whether or not the devolution settlements for Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland have little in common. Any position is acceptable, but must be supported by the preceding analysis.

ASSESSMENT OBJECTIVE GRID

| A2 Assessment Objective | Marks allocated by Assessment Objective 10-mark question | Marks allocated by Assessment Objective 30-mark question | Total Marks by Assessment Objective |
|--|---|---|--|
| AO1 | 4 | 12 | 16 |
| AO2 | 4 | 12 | 16 |
| AO3 | 2 | 6 | 8 |
| Total | 10 | 30 | 40 |

Converting Marks into UMS marks

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

UMS conversion calculator www.aqa.org.uk/umsconversion