

GCE 2004  
*June Series*



# Mark Scheme

## Government and Politics *A2 Unit 8 - Synoptic Unit (GOV8)*

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*Dr Michael Cresswell Director General*

**A2 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS SYNOPTIC UNIT – GOV8****GENERIC MARK SCHEME for all questions (Maximum 40 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 (13 - 16 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them.</p> <p>The candidate selects material from the full range of the specification subject content with discrimination and shows that he/she clearly understands the links between the various elements. The candidate confidently demonstrates knowledge and understanding of the holistic nature of politics and identifies, and shows advanced understanding of, subsystems contained within the political institutions and processes identified in the specification.</p> <p>The candidate fully addresses the requirements of the question and demonstrates a high level of contextual awareness. The answer includes detailed and comprehensive interpretations or explanations and provides accurate evidence and up-to-date, wide-ranging and imaginatively chosen examples to substantiate and illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 4 (13 - 16 marks)</b> The candidate confidently applies a wide range of fully developed concepts and theories. The candidate demonstrates that he/she fully understands the question and recognises the need for a synoptic perspective in their analysis. The candidate constructs cogent and coherent arguments and explanations. The candidate provides analysis that displays a sophisticated awareness of differing viewpoints and a clear recognition of contemporary issues. Parallels and connections are identified with creativity and imagination, together with well-developed comparisons. There is a clear and full evaluation of political institutions, processes, behaviour, arguments and explanations. The candidate demonstrates advanced ability to draw upon relevant material from the whole range of the specification content and uses it to inform their discussion and to construct arguments that cover the subject in the broadest sense. The candidate may integrate advanced knowledge derived from his/her wider study and appreciation of politics. Although taking a synoptic perspective, the candidate ensures that all material presented is directly relevant to the discussion. The essay shows evidence of imagination and flair.</p>	<p><b>Level 4 (7 - 8 marks)</b> The candidate communicates arguments, explanations and conclusions with sophisticated style and complete clarity, using a political vocabulary to analyse and synthesise information. There is a precise sense of logical progression flowing throughout the essay, leading to a clearly argued conclusion that logically derives from the preceding analysis.</p>

**GENERIC MARK SCHEME for all questions (GOV8) (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 3 (9 - 12 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates sound knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them.</p> <p>The candidate selects material from a good range of the specification content and shows understanding of the links between the various elements. The candidate generally recognises the holistic nature of politics and identifies, and shows sound understanding of, subsystems contained within political institutions and processes identified in the specification.</p> <p>The candidate soundly addresses the requirements of the question and demonstrates a competent level of contextual awareness. The answer includes detailed and comprehensive interpretations or explanations and provides clear evidence and well-chosen examples to substantiate and illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 3 (9 - 12 marks)</b> The candidate applies a good range of concepts and theories, demonstrating a grasp of the question and recognising the need for a synoptic perspective in his/her analysis. The candidate constructs sound arguments and explanations.</p> <p>The candidate provides analysis that displays awareness of differing viewpoints and a recognition of contemporary issues. Parallels and connections are competently identified, together with viable comparisons.</p> <p>There is a clear and reasonably full evaluation of political institutions, processes, behaviour, arguments and explanations.</p> <p>The candidate demonstrates the ability to draw upon relevant material from much of the specification content and uses it to inform their discussion and to construct arguments that cover the subject broadly. The candidate may integrate accurate knowledge derived from his/her wider study and appreciation of politics. Although taking a synoptic perspective, the candidate ensures that material presented is largely relevant to the discussion.</p> <p>The essay shows evidence of advanced study and some use of imagination.</p>	<p><b>Level 3 (5 - 6 marks)</b> The candidate communicates explanations and conclusions within a structured argument, using a political vocabulary to analyse and synthesise information.</p> <p>There is a sound logical progression flowing throughout the essay, leading to a clearly argued conclusion that logically derives from the preceding analysis.</p>

**GENERIC MARK SCHEME for all questions (GOV8) (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 (5 - 8 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates an outline knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and some awareness of the relationships between them.</p> <p>The candidate selects material from a limited range of the specification content and shows incomplete understanding of the links between the various elements.</p> <p>The candidate shows a limited grasp of the holistic nature of politics and little understanding of subsystems contained within the political institutions and processes identified in the specification. The answer includes a partial but reasonably effective approach to address the requirements of the question.</p> <p>The candidate demonstrates a limited but useful level of contextual awareness. The use of examples is limited and the choice is not entirely appropriate.</p>	<p><b>Level 2 (5 - 8 marks)</b> The candidate uses a restricted range of partly developed concepts and theories, demonstrating a limited grasp of the question, and is not entirely clear about the need for a synoptic perspective in analysis.</p> <p>The candidate constructs only embryonic arguments and explanations.</p> <p>The candidate provides analysis that displays some awareness of differing viewpoints and a limited recognition of contemporary issues. There is a recognition of some basic parallels and connections together with some limited comparisons. There is a simplistic attempt to evaluate political institutions, processes, behaviour, arguments and explanations.</p> <p>The candidate draws upon material from a limited range of the specification content. This may be used in a general way to inform their discussion and to construct arguments. It is not always clear that a synoptic perspective is being taken and not all material presented is strictly relevant to the discussion. Where a synoptic perspective is offered, there is a tendency towards a series of disjointed points of unequal relevance and a lack of logical progression.</p>	<p><b>Level 2 (3 - 4 marks)</b> The candidate communicates arguments, explanations and conclusions adequately, with a straightforward narrative and/or explanation, using a limited political vocabulary.</p> <p>A conclusion may be offered, but its relationship to the preceding discussion is modest or implicit. The answer is loosely structured.</p>

**GENERIC MARK SCHEME for all questions (GOV8) (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 1 (1 - 4 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates slight and incomplete knowledge and understanding of political institutions and processes and a limited awareness of the relationships between them. There is a very limited approach in addressing the requirements of the question.</p> <p>The candidate demonstrates a low level of contextual awareness and there is little understanding of the concept of synopticity. Few examples are introduced and these are often inaccurately reported or inappropriately used.</p>	<p><b>Level 1 (1 - 4 marks)</b> The discussion is not adequately supported by the use of concepts and theories. Arguments and explanations are not well constructed and there is virtually no attempt to apply a synoptic perspective. Analysis shows little, if any, awareness of differing points of view and very few parallels and connections are used to establish comparisons.</p> <p>Evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour is superficial and naïve. Arguments and explanations are undeveloped.</p>	<p><b>Level 1 (1 - 2 marks)</b> The answer relies upon narrative that is not fully coherent, with little or no use of political vocabulary.</p> <p>The conclusion is not adequately related to the preceding discussion.</p>

**June 2004****Unit GOV8 – Synoptic Unit****Section A: Power****A1****Total for this question: 40 marks**

“In a pluralist society power is said to be dispersed. However, it is not dispersed evenly.” Discuss.  
(40 marks)

**Knowledge and Understanding**

In this synoptic question there are no limits to the areas of knowledge that a candidate may feel able to bring to the discussion. Hence, any specification of knowledge requirements can only be indicative. Where the question is in the form of a proposition to be discussed, candidates are not expected to include all the material indicated below. On the other hand, they may successfully include material not indicated here.

Candidates should demonstrate knowledge and understanding of the following:

- The nature of political power and the forms it may take.
- Knowledge and understanding of theories of power, particularly elitism and pluralism.
- The principle of the separation powers.
- A wide range of competing sources of political power, such as public opinion, the broadcasting media, the press, trade unions, protest groups, voluntary associations, the churches, the owners and controllers of capital, the financial institutions, the professions, multinational corporations, the EU, international political and security associations, and the impact of the global economy.
- Up-to-date examples to illustrate arguments.
- Theories relating to the disposition of power within society.
- Relevant examples from throughout the specification to illustrate arguments.
- Developments in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland.
- Comparative examples from other systems such as the USA and the EU.

**Skill/Analysis**

As with the knowledge and understanding category, the synoptic nature of the essays leaves open a wide range of approaches to analysis and the following skills specification is indicative rather than definitive.

As in many political issues, there is no right or wrong answer to this question. The question is in the form of a proposition to be discussed, and candidates may support the statement, reject it, or sit on the fence. Answers are judged on factors such as the quality of the argument, the depth of knowledge and understanding, the degree of synopticity, the appropriateness of the examples and the internal logic of the discussion.

Candidates should recognise that the analysis should centre on problems with the pluralist interpretation of power.

They should analyse the concept of power and related concepts, such as authority.

They may apply theories of power and, in particular, the theory of pluralism.

They may include analysis of variations such as neo-pluralism and hyper-pluralism.

They may discuss the concept of polyarchy.

They assess the claims of some pluralists that all interests within society enjoy opportunities for influence, etc.

They may recognise that some neo-pluralists do not subscribe to views of the more egalitarian pluralists.

They consider the analyses of the elite theorists who challenge the ideas of the pluralists.

Analysis should present examples of pressure groups, interests and individuals that enjoy varying degrees of influence.

They analyse the resources of various interests and their channels of access to government.

The conclusion should arise from the foregoing discussion and should refute or support the proposition that, in a pluralist society, power is not dispersed evenly.

There should be a clear and full evaluation of political institutions, processes, behaviour, arguments and explanation. Candidates demonstrate an ability to draw parallels and make comparisons across the whole range of the specification studied and to use these in constructing arguments and discussions that cover the subject in the broadest sense.

**A2****Total for this question: 40 marks**

“The image and personality of political leaders are increasingly significant factors in determining their effective power.” Discuss. *(40 marks)*

**Knowledge and Understanding**

In this synoptic question, there are no limits to the areas of knowledge that a candidate may feel able to bring to the discussion. Hence, any specification of knowledge requirements can only be indicative. Candidates are not expected to include all the material indicated below. On the other hand, they may successfully include material not indicated here.

Candidates should demonstrate knowledge and understanding of the following:

- Definitions of key relevant terms including personality, charisma, image, authority.
- Max Weber’s theory of charisma as one of the key sources of authority.
- Ways in which political figures can communicate with the public at large.
- The clash that can occur between rational decision-making and decision-making by a single dominant figure.
- The electoral impact of a leader’s personality.
- Modern electioneering styles.
- Examples of political figures of past and present with or without strong personalities (may come from all points within the political system, including Westminster politics, Scottish, Welsh or Northern Ireland politics, local government and the world of interest group politics).
- Examples of events where strong figures were able to exert power (e.g. war, elections, leadership battles).
- Comparative material, particularly US presidents.
- Danger of charismatic figures in politics, such as dictators, the death of cabinet government, the cult of personality and populism.
- Modern trends in politics, including an emphasis on presentation, public relations, news management and ‘spin doctoring’.
- The increasing role of figures, such as the Prime Minister’s press secretary, or director of communications, in enhancing the power of the office.
- Role of the news media in promoting personality politics.
- Trend towards the involvement of personalities from outside politics (films, pop music, theatre, fashion and sport).
- Relevant examples from throughout the specification to illustrate arguments.
- Developments in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland.
- Comparative examples from other systems such as the USA and the EU.

**Skill/Analysis**

As with the knowledge and understanding category, the synoptic nature of the essays leaves open a wide range of approaches to analysis, and the following skills specification is indicative rather than definitive.

As in many political issues, there is no right or wrong answer to this question. The question is in the form of a proposition to be discussed, and candidates may support the statement, reject it, or sit on the fence. Answers are judged on factors such as the quality of the argument, the depth of knowledge and understanding, the degree of synopticity, the appropriateness of the examples and the internal logic of the discussion.

Candidates should recognise that the essential analysis should consider the factor of personality (or charisma) in the exercise of political power.

There may be analysis of Max Weber's theory of the sources of authority.

The analysis may focus on a number of key power-holders and assess the impact of their personalities on events.

Differing leadership styles may be identified and examined.

Examples are chosen from political figures of past and present to illustrate those who have charisma and those who may be thought to lack it.

Such figures may come from all points within the political system, including Westminster politics, Scottish, Welsh or Northern Ireland politics, local government and the world of interest group politics.

There may also be a comparative perspective, particularly of the USA and the EU.

The analysis may consider the dangers of charismatic figures in politics, such as demagoguery, dictatorship, the death of cabinet government, the cult of personality and populism.

Candidates may note the trend towards the involvement of personalities from outside politics (films, pop music, theatre, fashion and sport).

Analysis also examines certain modern trends in politics, including an emphasis on presentation, public relations, news management and 'spin doctoring'.

There may be some assessment of the increasing role of figures, such as the Prime Minister's press secretary in enhancing the power of the office.

There may also be analysis of the news media in modern politics, noting the trend towards personality politics.

The conclusion should arise from the foregoing discussion and should contain an assessment of the proposition that the image and personality of leaders is increasingly a significant factor in their effective power.

There should be a clear and full evaluation of political institutions, processes, behaviour, arguments and explanations. Candidates demonstrate an ability to draw parallels and make comparisons across the whole range of the specification studied and to use these in constructing arguments and discussions that cover the subject in the broadest sense.

## Section B: Participation and Representation

**B1****Total for this question: 40 marks**

“Representative democracy is the denial of true participation.” Discuss.

*(40 marks)*

### Knowledge and Understanding

In this synoptic question, there are no limits to the areas of the knowledge that a candidate may feel able to bring to the discussion. Hence, any specification of knowledge requirements can only be indicative. Candidates are not expected to include all the material indicated below. On the other hand, they may successfully include material not indicated here.

Candidates should demonstrate knowledge and understanding of the following:

- The nature of representative democracy.
- Forms of representative democracy.
- Theories of representation, such as the Burkean view, microcosmic representation, representatives as delegates, representatives as advocates and theory of the mandate.
- The nature of participation.
- Forms that participation can take, such as voting, referendums, campaigning, joining a party, lobbying, demonstrating, joining various types of pressure group, direct action, donating funds to a party, private meetings with civil servants.
- The ideological dimension, particularly liberalism, liberal democracy and of the ethical value of participation.
- Areas in which representative government can be criticised.
- Up-to-date and historical examples, which may be drawn from various sources, such as Westminster, Scottish, Welsh and Irish assemblies, US Congress, local councils, TUC, CBI, NHS trusts, regional councils, etc.
- Composition of existing representative assemblies and other forums (e.g. proportions of black people, women, young people, old people, etc.).
- Relevant examples from throughout the specification to illustrate arguments.
- Developments in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland.
- Comparative examples from other systems such as the USA and the EU.

### Skill/Analysis

As with the knowledge and understanding category, the synoptic nature of the essays leaves open a wide range of approaches to analysis, and the following skills specification is indicative rather than definitive.

As in many political issues, there is no right or wrong answer to this question. The question is in the form of a proposition to be discussed and candidates may support the statement, reject it, or sit on the fence. Answers are judged on factors such as the quality of the argument, the depth of knowledge and understanding, the degree of synopticity, the appropriateness of the examples and the internal logic of the discussion.

Candidates should recognise that the essential analysis should explain the nature of the representative democracy and discuss the problems thrown up in practice.

Theories of representation should be drawn into the analysis, such as the Burkean view, microcosmic representation, representatives as delegates, representatives as advocates, and theory of the mandate.

Analysis should also explain and examine the nature of participation.

There may be some analysis of the ideology of liberal democracy and of the ethical value of participation.

Note should be taken of the wide variety of forms that participation can take, such as voting, referendums, campaigning, joining a party, lobbying, demonstrating, joining various types of pressure group, direct action, donating funds to a party, private meetings with civil servants.

Analysis should identify the areas in which representative government can be said to fall short of the ideal of full participation, raising issues such as party discipline, secrecy, preponderance in assemblies of white, middle-class males and broken manifesto promises.

The analysis may make comparative reference, particularly to the USA and the EU.

The analysis may argue that, despite the shortcomings of representative government, it is a ‘necessary evil’ and offers a viable level of participation.

Alternatively, analysis may stress the more positive virtues of representative democracy, such as regular elections, the ability to remove governments and the superior judgement of the representatives compared with the masses.

The conclusion should arise from the foregoing discussion and should contain a clear acceptance or refutation of the proposition that representative democracy is the denial of true participation.

There should be a clear and full evaluation of political institutions, processes, behaviour, arguments and explanations. Candidates demonstrate an ability to draw parallels and make comparisons across the whole range of the specification studied and to use these in constructing arguments and discussions that cover the subject in the broadest sense.

**B2****Total for this question: 40 marks**

“Falling electoral turnouts show democracy to be in need of revival with improved voting procedures and other forms of participation.” Discuss. (40 marks)

**Knowledge and Understanding**

In this synoptic question, there are no limits to the areas of knowledge that a candidate may feel able to bring to the discussion. Hence, any specification of knowledge requirements can only be indicative. Candidates are not expected to include all the material indicated below. On the other hand, they may successfully include material not indicated here.

Candidates should demonstrate knowledge and understanding of the following:

- Falling turnouts at various levels of government (Westminster, EP, provincial, local, federal).
- Turnout as an indicator of the state of health of a representative democracy.
- Reasons for voting (consumerist, rational, habitual, patriotic, symbolic).
- Elections to various assemblies, including Westminster, the US Congress, local government, and the Scottish, Welsh and Northern Ireland assemblies.
- The concept of apathy and its possible causes.
- Alternative methods of voting (including the various recent experiments in local government).
- Systems of PR.
- Alternative forms of participation, such as canvassing, joining a party, forming a party, voting, standing at election for national assembly or local council, serving on NHS trusts, as school governors, on regional councils.
- Informal means of participation, such as publicity seeking, lobbying, demonstrating, joining various types of pressure group, trade union membership and leadership, direct action, donating funds to a party, private meetings with civil servants.
- Relevant examples from throughout the specification to illustrate arguments.
- Developments in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland.
- Comparative examples from other systems, such as the USA and the EU.

**Skill/Analysis**

As with the knowledge and understanding category, the synoptic nature of the essays leaves open a wide range of approaches to analysis and the following skills specification is indicative rather than definitive.

As in many political issues, there is no right or wrong answer to this question. The question is in the form of a proposition to be discussed, and candidates may support the statement, reject it, or sit on the fence. Answers are judged on factors such as the quality of the argument, the depth of knowledge and understanding, the degree of synopticity, the appropriateness of the examples and the internal logic of the discussion.

The analysis should note that electoral turnout is often taken as an indicator of the state of health of a representative democracy.

Candidates should recognise that the essential analysis should centre on the debate about the state of representative democracy today, and the various reform proposals.

Analysis should show awareness that turnouts are falling.

Examples to verify this may come from elections to various assemblies, including Westminster, the US Congress, local government, European Parliament, and the Scottish, Welsh and Northern Ireland assemblies.

There should be some discussion of the concept of apathy and an analysis of its causes.

Analysis may consider alternative/improved methods of voting in terms of various electronic means and/or fundamental reform of the system, such as the introduction of PR.

Alternative forms of participation should be identified and evaluated, there should be some consideration as to whether these are an adequate substitute for falling turnouts.

Candidates may argue that falling turnouts are not a sign of failing democracy, but an indication of contentment.

The conclusion should derive from the foregoing discussion and should clearly refute or support the proposition that falling electoral turnouts show democracy to be in need of restoration with other forms or participation.

There should be a clear and full evaluation of political institutions, processes, behaviour, arguments and explanations. Candidates demonstrate an ability to draw parallels and make comparisons across the whole range of the specification studied and to use these in constructing arguments and discussions that cover the subject in the broadest sense.

## Section C: Political Culture

C1

Total for this question: 40 marks

“Political culture sets limits on what governments can do.” Discuss.

(40 marks)

### Knowledge and Understanding

In this synoptic question, there are no limits to the areas of knowledge that a candidate may feel able to bring to the discussion. Hence, any specification of knowledge requirements can only be indicative. Candidates are not expected to include all the material indicated below. On the other hand, they may successfully include material not indicated here.

Candidates should demonstrate knowledge and understanding of the following:

- Concepts such as citizenship, deference, homogeneity and consensus.
- Relevant terms such as elite, ruling class, ‘the establishment’, ‘underclass’, elitism and egalitarianism.
- The concept of political culture.
- Institutions that both define and shape political culture, such as constitutions, judiciaries, monarch, aristocracy, assemblies, electoral systems, public bureaucracies, history, levels of devolution and geographical divide.
- The ideological dimension of political culture, including dominant ideology, other competing ideologies, values and norms.
- The attitudinal dimension of political culture, including attitudes towards government, authority, style of media.
- Attitudes towards the political system itself, and willingness of people to accept the actions and policies of their governments.
- The extent to which people feel they can influence their government, trust their government, safely forgo civil liberties, obey the law and show respect for the police.
- Relevant current issues, events and debates.
- Influence of political culture on government policy as, for example, in the case of British entry into the Euro zone, foxhunting, student financing, etc.
- Level of expectation from the political system.
- Social attitudes, such as sense of community, racism, sexism, xenophobia.
- Contrasting types of political culture (e.g. traditional, secular, participant, subject, parochial and civic).
- Current state of popular attitudes and beliefs.
- Methods of ascertaining popular beliefs and attitudes, such as social surveys, opinion polls and focus groups, and of the problems associated with these.
- Knowledge of the forces that shape popular attitudes and beliefs, such as TV, radio, the press, religion, the family, the peer group, the school and the government itself.
- Developments in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland.
- Comparative examples from other systems, such as the USA and the EU.

### Skill/Analysis

As with the knowledge and understanding category, the synoptic nature of the essays leaves open a wide range of approaches to analysis and the following skills specification is indicative rather than definitive.

As in many political issues, there is not right or wrong answer to this question. This question is in the form of a proposition to be discussed and candidates may support the statement, reject it, or sit on the fence. Answers are judged on factors such as the quality of the argument, the depth of knowledge and understanding, the degree of synopticity, the appropriateness of the examples and the internal logic of the discussion.

Candidates should recognise that the essential analysis should centre on the basic question of how political culture influences government and policies.

Candidates should identify and apply a wide range of fully developed concepts and theories relating to political culture.

They should use detailed political vocabulary to analyse and synthesise information on beliefs and attitudes in a political system.

Analysis should identify causal links between beliefs and attitudes within society and a wide variety of political processes, policies and institutions studied throughout the entire range of the specification.

They recognise parallels and other links between systems and sub-systems studied throughout the range of the specification.

They identify paradoxes and anomalies in governmental attitudes towards society and note the extent to which practice departs from rhetoric.

They use well-chosen examples from within the entire range of the specification and from current events and issues, to illustrate arguments.

They discuss factors such as voting behaviour and the effect of the media on attitudes and beliefs.

They examine how beliefs and attitudes shape the governmental systems and policy.

They also note how governments try to shape beliefs and attitudes.

They make sophisticated use of comparative analysis.

In a clear conclusion, deriving from the foregoing discussion, candidates offer a view on the extent to which a political culture sets limits on what governments can do.

There should be a clear and full evaluation of political institutions, processes, behaviour, arguments and explanations. Candidates demonstrate an ability to draw parallels and make comparisons across the whole range of the specification studied and to use these in constructing arguments and discussions that cover the subject in the broadest sense.

**C2****Total for this question: 40 marks**

“Class, as the dominant social cleavage in politics, has been undermined by numerous forces.”  
Discuss. (40 marks)

**Knowledge and Understanding**

In this synoptic question, there are no limits to the areas of knowledge that a candidate may feel able to bring to the discussion. Hence, any specification of knowledge requirements can only be indicative. Candidates are not expected to include all the material indicated below. On the other hand, they may successfully include material not indicated here.

Candidates should demonstrate knowledge and understanding of the following:

- The central concept of class as a key feature of political culture.
- The concept of social forces.
- Such features as changing attitudes to class from the 1960s, voting patterns and partisan dealignment, race riots, attitudes to authority, a more aggressive tabloid press, increased resort to direct action by outsider pressure groups, more assertive attitudes from ethnic minorities.
- Features of society and political culture that indicate the presence or absence of these factors.
- Changes that have taken place in the post-war era in British politics and in the politics of other countries.
- Changes in the class background of MPs, reform of the House of Lords, the declining power of trade unions.
- Changing degrees of respect for institutions, such as the monarchy, the House of Lords, the aristocracy, the judiciary, the school and the police.
- Shifts in the ideological centre of politics and the widespread embrace of neo-liberalism and individualism, and the rise of those from lower-class backgrounds.
- Related social forces, such as the changing role and power of women in society and greater assertiveness from ethnic minorities.
- Areas where class remains a dominant part of political culture, such as the aristocracy, the public school system, recruitment to establishment positions (civil service, media, law).
- Claims (often by politicians) that society is becoming classless.
- Relevant examples from throughout the specification to illustrate arguments.
- Developments in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland.
- Comparative examples from other systems, such as the USA and the EU.

**Skill/Analysis**

As with the knowledge and understanding category, the synoptic nature of the essays leaves open a wide range of approaches to analysis and the following skills specification is indicative rather than definitive.

As in many political issues, there is no right or wrong answer to this question. This question is in the form of a proposition to be discussed, and candidates may support the statement, reject it, or sit on the fence. Answers are judged on factors such as the quality of the argument, the depth of knowledge and understanding, the degree of synopticity, the appropriateness of the examples and the internal logic of the discussion.

Candidates should recognise that the central issue in the question relates to the extent that the political system (or systems) studied have in fact been dominated by class and whether they can be expected to remain so.

Candidates confidently apply a wide range of fully developed concepts and theories relating to the concept of class in society.

They use political vocabulary to analyse and synthesise political information and construct cogent and coherent arguments and explanations.

Candidates offer definitions of key terms, such as class and social differentiation. They also define the classes within society (as upper, upper middle, lower middle, working, underclass, etc.).

They may apply a Marxist definition of class.

They may also stress links between class and other social factors, such as race, gender and geographical location.

They identify a skilfully chosen set of variables relating to class in society drawn widely from the relevant parts of the specification and from current political debates. They analyse the extent to which they may be under challenge.

Candidates analyse the extent to which changing voting patterns are influenced by class, examining factors, such as class dealignment, declining working class and upward mobility.

They may argue that other factors are more significant, such as consumer voting, the feel-good factor, the economy. They may apply rational choice theory.

They analyse variables, such as changing attitudes to class from the 1960s, race riots, attitudes to the police, a more aggressive style of media treatment of politicians and public figures, a more aggressive tabloid press, increased resort to direct action by pressure groups, more assertive attitudes from ethnic minorities, the rise of 'youth culture', violence in society, violence in Northern Ireland.

They examine the shift in the ideological centre of politics and the widespread embrace of neo-liberalism and individualism, and the rise of those in lower-class backgrounds in various sectors.

They may make sophisticated comparisons with developments in the US.

Candidates analyse claims that society is becoming classless.

The conclusion should arise from the foregoing discussion and rejects, accepts or modifies the proposition that class, as a dominant social cleavage in politics, has been undermined by numerous forces.

Candidates may examine the counter-argument, that class remains a dominant part of political culture, giving examples, such as the aristocracy, a bipartite schools system, recruitment to establishment positions (civil service, media, law).

There should be a clear and full evaluation of political institutions, processes, behaviour, arguments and explanations. Candidates demonstrate an ability to draw parallels and make comparisons across the whole range of the specification studied and to use these in constructing arguments and discussions that cover the subject in the broadest sense.

## Section D: Continuity and Change

**D1****Total for this question: 40 marks**

“Despite much talk of reform by politicians, continuity is the dominant factor in most political development.” Discuss. (40 marks)

### Knowledge and Understanding

In this synoptic question, there are no limits to the areas of knowledge that a candidate may feel able to bring to the discussion. Hence, any specification of knowledge requirements can only be indicative. Candidates are not expected to include all the material indicated below. On the other hand, they may successfully include material not indicated here.

Candidates should demonstrate knowledge and understanding of the following:

- The key concepts of change and continuity.
- A range of institutions and political structures where change and continuity may be observed, such as constitutions, national, provincial and regional assemblies, electoral systems, bureaucracies at various levels, local government systems, executives and judiciaries.
- A range of policy areas where change and continuity may be observed, such as foreign policy, education, health, home affairs, defence, economic management and social security.
- Pressures for change within institutions and their sources.
- The critiques of the institutions and practices that lead to calls for change.
- Pressures for change in the informal patterns of politics, such as public opinion, pressure group activity, media, forms of consultation, relations between politicians and officials, ways of informing the public, global events and conventions within the constitution.
- Patterns of changes that have been proposed, have taken place or have been resisted.
- Reasons why changes have been implemented or resisted.
- The ideological dimensions to the question, such as radical liberalism, conservatism and various forms of revolutionary thinking.
- Comprehensive evidence and up-to-date examples to substantiate and illustrate points made.
- Developments in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland.
- Comparative examples from other systems, such as the USA and the EU.

### Skill/Analysis

As with the knowledge and understanding category, the synoptic nature of the essays leaves open a wide range of approaches to analysis and the following skills specification is indicative rather than definitive.

As in many political issues, there is no right or wrong answer to this question. This question is in the form of a proposition to be discussed, and candidates may support the statement, reject it, or sit on the fence. Answers are judged on factors such as the quality of the argument, the depth of knowledge and understanding, the degree of synopticity, the appropriateness of the examples and the internal logic of the discussion.

Candidates should recognise that the central point of analysis in the question is to address the ever-present conflict between change and continuity in most political developments.

They clearly show that they appreciate the difference between real change and apparent change.

They argue convincingly that political forces of conservatism operate to defuse the momentum for change in both structures and policy.

They develop logical arguments, such as the fact that Britain has an unwritten, and hence apparently flexible, constitution; there is much continuity with the past, including the preservation for centuries of the monarchy and aristocracy.

They may contrast this with the USA where a written constitution and complex amendment process have nevertheless seen some important changes.

They use constitutional, institutional and policy examples to illustrate their analyses.

Examples should include politics of Westminster, provincial and local levels.

Candidates may offer a comprehensive account of the historical development and change in the institutions they have chosen as examples, and explore their core values.

They give a detailed and perceptive analysis of the pressures for reform from various sources. In addition, they clearly recognise the way in which institutions and structures have shown a capacity to resist change, with examples to substantiate this.

They bring an ideological dimension into their analyses and contrast conservative values and arguments with those of reformist liberalism and/or revolutionary thinking.

They may argue that continuity amidst political turbulence is often taken as a desirable quality.

They identify the ways in which institutions and structures influence, and are influenced by, various other parts of the political system, as studied from the range of the specification.

They use comparative analysis, making reference to levels of government, the EU or the USA.

Candidates produce clearly argued and logical conclusions that should arise from the foregoing discussion and should refute, support or modify the proposition that despite talk of reform or by politicians, continuity is the dominant factor in most political development.

There should be a clear and full evaluation of political institutions, processes, behaviour, arguments and explanations. Candidates demonstrate an ability to draw parallels and make comparisons across the whole range of the specification studied and to use these in constructing arguments and discussions that cover the subject in the broadest sense.

**D2****Total for this question: 40 marks**

“A lengthy period out of office is the best preparation for a reforming government.” Discuss.  
(40 marks)

**Knowledge and Understanding**

In this synoptic question, there are no limits to the areas of knowledge that a candidate may feel able to bring to the discussion. Hence, any specification of knowledge requirements can only be indicative. Candidates are not expected to include all the material indicated below. On the other hand, they may successfully include material not indicated here.

Candidates should demonstrate knowledge and understanding of the following:

- Central terms and concepts such as opposition, a sustained period in opposition and reformist government.
- The meaning of reform in this context.
- The concepts of change and continuity in politics and policy.
- Ideologies of parties disposing them towards change and reform.
- Periods of government that may be identified as reformist, such as the post-war Labour government of Attlee, the Conservative government of Thatcher and the post-1997 Blair government.
- Governments that have failed to make reform or have favoured continuity.
- The experience of other countries, such as the US New Deal era, or the administrations of Kennedy, Reagan and Clinton.
- Parties’ reactions to sustained periods of opposition.
- Internal change of party’s norms, organisation and power structure.
- Constitutional change, policy change and change to the machinery of government.
- Candidates should demonstrate knowledge and understanding of major policy areas and changes that have been made within them.
- Developments in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland.
- Comparative examples from other systems, such as the USA and the EU.

**Skill/Analysis**

As with the knowledge and understanding category, the synoptic nature of the essays leaves open a wide range of approaches to analysis, and the following skills specification is indicative rather than definitive.

As in many political issues, there is no right or wrong answer to this question. This question is in the form of a proposition to be discussed, and candidates may support the statement, reject it, or sit on the fence. Answers are judged on factors such as the quality of the argument, the depth of knowledge and understanding, the degree of synopticity, the appropriateness of the examples and the internal logic of the discussion.

Candidates clearly explain central concepts, such as opposition, a sustained period in opposition and a reformist government.

They may debate the meaning of the term reformist government, noting that the term can sometimes be mere window dressing.

They may also discuss the meaning of reform in this context and consider whether this is easy, possible, difficult and/or desirable.

They analyse the way in which governments may pursue change in certain areas while seeking continuity in others.

They introduce an ideological dimension and consider how the ideologies of parties dispose them towards change and reform.

Candidates analyse periods of government which may be identified as reformist, such as the post-war Labour government of Attlee, the Conservative government of Thatcher and the post-1997 Blair government.

They also analyse those governments that might favour continuity.

They may also make comparative reference to governments of other countries, such as the US New Deal era, or the administrations of Kennedy, Reagan and Clinton.

They analyse the ways in which parties react to a sustained period of opposition, noting how they may reappraise their policies, revamp them or dissolve into internal conflict and turmoil.

The concept of reform is measured in terms of the constitutional change, policy change and change to the machinery of government.

Candidates also analyse the extent to which internal change of a party's norms, organisations and power structure may relate to its capacity to make political change when in government.

The conclusion should come back to the essential issue and refute, support or modify the proposition that a sustained period in opposition is the best preparation for a reformist government.

There should be a clear and full evaluation of political institutions, processes, behaviour, arguments and explanations. Candidates demonstrate an ability to draw parallels and make comparisons across the whole range of the specification.