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**General Certificate of Education
June 2010**

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
<p>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.</p>	<p>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.</p>	<p>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.</p>
<p>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.</p>	<p>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.</p>	<p>The answer has a clear sense of direction, is focused on the question and, where appropriate, has a conclusion which flows from the discussion.</p>
<p>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.</p>	<p>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.</p>	<p>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.</p>
<p>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.</p>	<p>Level 1 (1 mark) The candidate applies few concepts and makes little use of political theory or ideas in developing an explanation or argument.</p>	<p>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.</p>
<p>0 marks No relevant response.</p>	<p>0 marks No relevant response.</p>	<p>0 marks No relevant response.</p>

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 difference between interest articulation and interest aggregation. (10 marks)

Candidates should explain that both concepts are central to political representation. *Interest articulation* is the expression of demands upon government. This can be done by individuals and pressure groups and can also be a function of the media. *Interest aggregation* is the process of combining a number of interests of individuals or groups into a politically viable unit. This is most commonly a function of political parties. They may argue that these two functions emerge as a result of the goals of the organisations. Generally pressure groups are concerned to advocate a relatively narrow interest and secure some change in government policy. In contrast, the parties are concerned with getting elected so their goal is to maximise their vote at election time. Hence the desire to widen support must lead to an aggregation of as many interests as possible. However, candidates may note that this attribution of functions is by no means watertight. Certain kinds of pressure groups, such as peak organisations (CBI, TUC), also aggregate interests while some parties, such as UKIP or green parties, pursue narrow policy goals. Some candidates may examine the position of single-issue parties, often fighting local causes.

(02) Discuss why, in a modern democracy, some people participate far more than others. (30 marks)

Answers should open with an introductory discussion in which candidates show recognition that the essential focus of the analysis should be on the extent to which levels of participation may vary between different sections of society. Candidates should demonstrate accurate knowledge and understanding of key terms such as democracy, participation and representative democracy. They may be expected to conduct their analyses by considering aspects such as the following:

- The nature of modern democracy.
- The nature of participation.
- Forms of participation such as voting, referendums, campaigning, party membership, lobbying, demonstrating, pressure-group membership, direct action, party funding, meetings with bureaucrats.
- Measures of participation such as electoral turnout and membership of political organisations.
- Unequal levels of access to government by individuals and groups, resulting from factors such as wealth, position, class, professional status, expertise.
- Problems with representative government such as non-inclusion, party domination and elitism.
- Composition of existing representative assemblies and other forums (eg proportions of ethnic minorities, working class, women, young people, old people, etc).

Candidates should examine and explain the nature of participation and the forms it may take. Their analyses may be illustrated with a large range of examples. In connection with participation through voting, theories of representation may be drawn into the discussion. There may be some analysis of ideology, particularly socialism (equal participation of all), liberalism

(freedom to participate), liberal democracy (participation through the market), and conservatism (participation confined to an elite class 'born to rule').

Candidates will be expected to identify the areas in which democracy can in practice be said to fall short of the ideal of full and equal participation, raising issues such as the preponderance in assemblies and governments of white, middle-class males. They may argue that despite the participatory shortcomings of representative government it offers a viable level of participation.

A conclusion should arise from the foregoing discussion and contain a clear acceptance or refutation of the proposition that in a modern democracy some participate far more than others.

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

Expect some variations from candidates, but the nation-state may be broadly defined in terms such as the following:

- A community within a clearly defined territory.
- Under a legitimate government which is sovereign within its territory.
- Its sovereignty is recognised by other states.
- It has a legal persona which is independent of any individuals or governments.
- There is perpetual succession, meaning that all responsibilities and treaty obligations remain, regardless of changes in government.
- All individuals within the borders are subject to its laws (with exceptions for diplomats).
- The state has the legitimate right to use force against its citizens.

Some candidates may argue that the nation-state is a relatively new concept (ie a nineteenth-century invention). Some may argue that it is now an outmoded concept.

(04) 'In the contemporary world transnational corporations are more powerful than governments.' Discuss.**(30 marks)**

Candidates should open with an introductory discussion in which they recognise that the question concerns the balance of power under globalisation. They should recognise the growth and power of transnational corporations (TNCs) as a major current debate.

In the introduction candidates should identify and define terms and concepts relevant to the analysis, such as economic, cultural and political globalisation. There may be some discussion on the concept of government power, national autonomy and state sovereignty. Candidates may also discuss advanced concepts relating to the analysis of globalisation, such as hegemony, imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and cultural imperialism.

Candidates should show that they fully understand the nature and organisation of TNCs and recognise their potential for power and influence. They should be able to identify examples of corporations of various kinds, noting different characteristics. In analysing TNCs' power and influence candidates may compare the annual turnovers of the TNCs with the GDP of states. They may argue that TNCs' ability to affect employment levels in particular countries leads to governments competing with each other to attract them. Candidates may consider the argument that the preference of TNCs for low-wage economies, non-unionised workforces and low-taxation regimes can force governments to accommodate them by restricting social expenditure and environmental policies. Candidates may note that a large proportion of the transnationals have UK or US bases.

Although the focus is on TNCs, candidates may well consider other actors in the global arena. They may evaluate the role and power of international economic institutions such as the World Bank, the IMF and WTO, arguing variously about their effects. They may be seen as increasing the domination of the transnationals (pursuing a neo-liberal agenda and reducing non-tariff

barriers, etc). There may be some reference to Britain's 'special relationship' with the USA and the role of the EU.

Candidates may also argue that countervailing forces, such as opposition from anti-capitalist activists, international pressure group movements, NGOs and the United Nations, can act to restrict the power of transnationals by pursuing a human rights or environmentalist agenda. International agreements such as the Kyoto agreement could also be considered.

Candidates may even argue that violence and terrorism against corporations (and western values) can be inspired by anti-capitalist sentiment.

Some candidates may develop the discussion to consider the argument that the national state is an inadequate instrument for governance in the globalised world. They may examine the arguments for, and problems of, some form of world government. Some may see an enhanced role for the United Nations.

Candidates may choose to challenge the assertion in question, to argue that the impact of globalisation is generally overstated. Some may seek a middle road, arguing that, despite global forces, governments retain a significant degree of control over domestic policy. Whichever way the argument is developed, examples must be given to illustrate the points made.

Conclusions should point to a position on the proposition that in the contemporary world transnational corporations are more powerful than governments. Candidates may accept, refute or take a measured position. However, the position must be supported by the earlier analysis.

Topic 3 Change and Continuity**Total for this topic: 40 marks**

(05) Examine the view that constitutions should be entrenched.

(10 marks)

Candidates must explain that constitutions lay down rules by which governments must play and protect the rights and freedoms of citizens. When a government can easily change the rules it has the potential to become totalitarian. Such a situation could be described as unconstitutional government. For this reason most democratic constitutions are entrenched, and can only be modified by an elaborate process requiring widespread consensus. Candidates may give examples of countries with complex constitutional amendment processes. They may note that the UK constitution is not protected in this way and may offer examples of constitutional change, such as the abolition of the metropolitan boroughs and the GLC, occurring with relative ease. However, they may argue that the freedoms of British citizens are largely safe owing to the nature of the political culture. On the other hand they may argue, with examples, that some countries have elaborate constitutions, with legal protections, that in practice are largely ignored by their governments.

(06) 'When in opposition parties promise change, when in office they preserve continuity.'
Discuss.*(30 marks)*

Candidates should open with an introductory discussion in which they recognise that the question concerns the problems of political change against the forces of inertia embedded in the governmental process. Candidates should explain the concepts of change and continuity in politics. They may contrast real change with apparent change (ie window-dressing).

Candidates should also draw a distinction between the functions of oppositions and governments, noting that the former can call for policies without the responsibility for implementing them. They may consider the instruments for promising change and reform in electoral politics (manifestos and campaigning). Candidates may look at the politics surrounding change and continuity as, for example, when politicians promise one or the other as a basis for winning the support of particular individuals and groups.

Candidates should identify and analyse pressures for change in the informal patterns of politics, such as pressure group activity, patterns of consultation, relations between politicians and officials, and media campaigns. They should analyse the responses of government and opposition parties to these.

Candidates should be aware that once in office, parties encounter various obstacles to reform, such as cost, bureaucratic obstructionism, adverse media coverage, financial restraints, unforeseen circumstances, backbench revolts, Lords' opposition, faintheartedness and political expediency. They may apply theories such as disjointed incrementalism and its advocacy of piecemeal reform.

Candidates may consider the ideological stance of parties. The conservative view that change should be organic may be contrasted with the reformist ideals in liberalism and socialism. However, they may also note that not all Conservative governments have been ideologically conservative and not all Labour and Liberal governments have been reformist. The influence of the New Right, neo-liberalism and the Third Way may be cited.

All arguments should be supported with examples of changes proposed by opposition parties that have either taken place or been resisted. Conclusions should clearly evaluate the appropriateness of the statement that when in opposition parties promise change but when in office they preserve continuity. Any position is acceptable, but must be derived from the preceding analysis.

Topic 4 Territorial Politics**Total for this topic: 40 marks**

(07) Explain the differences between a unitary state and a federal state. (10 marks)
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Candidates should recognise that a unitary state is one that is centralised under a government that holds original power. Such a state may devolve certain powers to local authorities or regions but these can be reclaimed or modified at the behest of the central government. For example, Thatcher was able to abolish the metropolitan counties, and Northern Ireland has seen its devolved powers suspended on several occasions. In contrast, a federal state is one where the power of the central government is gained as a result of a relinquishing of power by the territorial divisions (states). These retain their own laws, which cannot be changed by the central government, and they can always reclaim their autonomy from the centre. Candidates may note that, despite devolution, the UK is a unitary state while the USA is a federal one. Some may note that relinquishing power to the EU can be seen as a move towards federalism.

(08) 'Scottish and Welsh nationalism have been shaped largely by historical factors.' Discuss. (30 marks)
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Candidates should recognise that the question is asking them to analyse the nature and determinants of two forms of nationalism. At an early point they should define the concept of nationalism itself. Analysis should focus on the nature of historical explanation and an identification of factors judged by the candidate as significant. Candidates will need to examine and contrast the particular natures of Welsh and Scottish nationalism and then consider the extent to which events in their histories have been influential. Candidates may argue that there have been stronger nationalistic sentiments in Scotland than in Wales.

In the case of Scotland, candidates may focus on factors such as former statehood, the fact that it was never forcibly subdued, the 1707 Act of Union, long-standing independent legal and educational systems, religious influences, the rise of the SNP, North Sea oil and, most recently, devolution. In the case of Wales, candidates may focus on factors such as the conquest by Edward I, the Anglicisation of the culture (including the substantial elimination of the Welsh language, industrialisation and English immigration), religious influences, the formation of Plaid Cymru, and recent devolution. Some candidates may look for similarities in the two cases, such as a rise in nationalism within the UK and the possibility of contagion from one movement to the other.

Candidates are expected to make their own judgements on the historical time scale. The important thing is that they are able to justify their choice in terms of significant events. However, the analysis should come to the present day.

Candidates may argue variously that historical factors are significant, not significant or of declining significance. They may also conclude that they are more significant in one of the cases than the other. Alternatively, they may argue that other, more contemporary, factors are of greater importance. Some may look at the political cultures of the two countries and some may consider the importance of significant figures and personalities in influencing events. However, in this case, historical factors must still be considered in order to justify discounting them.

The conclusion should arise from the foregoing discussion and will reject, accept or modify the proposition that Scottish and Welsh nationalism have been largely shaped by history.

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