



**General Certificate of Education
January 2012**

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 students' 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 students' 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 students' 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 students 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. Students should be given credit for partially complete answers. Where appropriate, students 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 students 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 students may feel able bring to the discussion. Therefore the specification of requirements outlined in the mark schemes can only be indicative. Students 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 students' 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 students' 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 student 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 student'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 students 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 student demonstrates a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The student 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 student 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 student 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 student demonstrates good knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The student 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 student 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 student demonstrates limited knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The student 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 student 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 student 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 student demonstrates little knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The student 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.</p>	<p>Level 1 (1 mark) The student 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 student 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 student 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 student 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 student 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 student 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 student 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 student 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 student 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 student 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 student 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 student 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 student 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) Identify the arguments claiming that democracy is the most desirable form of government. *(10 marks)*

Students should outline arguments for democratic government, eg government accountable to the people, basic freedoms, human rights. This will normally involve identification of some of the main features of democratic government, eg elections, as well as some comment on contrasting forms of government such as monarchy, tyranny, aristocracy and oligarchy. At the higher level, examples of systems of government from past or present should be given.

- (02) 'Representative government does little to encourage active citizenship.' Discuss. *(30 marks)*

Students should demonstrate at the outset their recognition that the question centres on the nature and rationale of representative government and the problems thrown up in practice. They should demonstrate understanding of key terms relevant to the issue such as democracy, citizenship, participation and representative government.

Students should consider the principle of participation within a representative democracy and the forms it may take. Such formal means of participation in a representative democracy would include a wide range of activities such as voting, referendums, campaigning, party membership, lobbying and MPs' surgeries. They should also identify the areas in which representative government may be said to fall short of the ideal, raising issues such as party discipline, secrecy, unequal access to power, the preponderance of white, middle-class males in positions of power, electoral system shortcomings and broken manifesto promises. They may focus on the composition of existing assemblies, considering the proportionality of representation in terms of ethnicity, class, profession, gender and age.

Answers should note how participation can go beyond the ballot box and involvement in the parliamentary system to include a range of informal means, such as demonstrating, direct action, pressure group activity, party funding and elitist connections. They may ask whether such informal forms of direct participation are increasing and, if so, whether this is a symptom of failure in the working of a representative democracy. They may also consider direct democracy, the forms it can take and its weaknesses.

Students may argue that, despite its shortcomings, representative government is a necessary feature of the modern state, stressing the positive virtues such as regular elections, the capacity to remove governments and the superior judgement of the representatives compared with the masses. This may lead them to elaborate upon the limitations of the alternative of direct democracy.

At the higher levels, students should offer a theoretical consideration of the concept of liberal democracy and the elitist and Marxist critiques of this form of government. They should also introduce contrasting theories of representation, the difference between representative and delegate roles, and integrate them into their analyses. They may also consider a wide range of representative assemblies, including those of the devolved institutions of the UK. In addition,

they may make comparative reference, particularly to the USA. They should present original and imaginative examples.

Conclusions should arise from the foregoing discussion and include a clear acceptance or refutation of the proposition in question or take an intermediate position.

Many of the above points are amenable to synoptic development. For example, the key concepts covered in Unit 1 can be used to develop the discussion in a coherent manner. Similarly, the issues and content of Unit 2 may be used to enhance the cogency of points raised in the answer. These and any other synoptic elements of answers must be rewarded in accordance with the guidance given in the generic mark scheme.

Topic 2 Globalisation**Total for this topic: 40 marks**

(03) Explain the concept of the nation-state.

(10 marks)

Expect some variations from students, 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 students may draw a distinction between the terms 'nation' and 'state' and/or 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 and under threat from notions such as 'supranationalism' and 'globalisation'.

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

(30 marks)

Students 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 students 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. Students may also discuss advanced concepts relating to the analysis of globalisation, such as hegemony, imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and cultural imperialism.

Students 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 students 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. Students 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. Students may note that a large proportion of the transnationals have UK or US bases.

Although the focus is on TNCs, students 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.

Students 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.

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

Some students 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.

Students 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. Students 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) Explain the difference between revolutionary change and evolutionary change in politics.
(10 marks)

Students are asked to consider the two important forms of change that can take place in politics and which lie at the heart of this perspective on the subject. They should explain that the one characteristically aims for a complete (and often violent) break with the past while the other tends towards continuity, producing only small degrees of change. At the higher levels they may argue that evolutionary changes can eventually amount to large-scale shifts in institutional structures and policy. Some students may refer to the ancient Greek usage of the term 'revolution' to mean a recurring pattern of change. They may also give examples to illustrate arguments.

(06) 'In politics, proposals for reform and change will always come up against calls for tradition and continuity.' Discuss.
(30 marks)

Students should demonstrate at the outset their recognition that the analysis should seek to assess the tension between those advocating change or reform and those offering resistance. They should recognise that this is an issue permeating virtually all political debate. They should show an understanding of the basic concepts at the heart of the question, such as change, reform, tradition and continuity.

There is ample scope for relevant examples and the apt choice of these is one of the important demands of the question. Dimensions of change include policy change, cultural change, constitutional change and institutional change. Areas that could be cited include moves to reform parliament (Lords and Commons), the constitution, the electoral system, provincial and regional assemblies, bureaucracies at various levels, local government systems, the executive and the judiciary. In addition, or alternatively, students may refer to substantive policy areas such as education, foreign policy, economic policy. Students could also examine historical factors, citing reformist movements such as the Chartists, the suffragettes, environmentalists and feminists. It is important that students also recognise the forces for continuity, such as bureaucratic resistance, ancient institutions, public opinion, the media and those (classes and individuals) with vested interests in the *status quo*.

At the higher levels, students should bring in the ideological dimension, looking at conservatism and a range of reformist ideologies such as Marxism. They will also take a deeper analytical view, contrasting real change with apparent change (i.e. window-dressing) and noting that unobserved change may be taking place beneath a surface of continuity. They will also present original and imaginative examples.

Conclusions should arise from the foregoing discussion and should contain a clear acceptance or refutation of the proposition that the issue of reform and change versus tradition and continuity is a ubiquitous feature of politics.

Earlier studies at AS level will provide material for Students to demonstrate a full understanding of the subject. Synoptic references must be fully rewarded in accordance with the guidance in the generic mark scheme.

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

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

(10 marks)

Students 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 unitary nation-state. Students may be expected to offer examples such as elective local government and the devolved assemblies. They may detail characteristics of local and devolved government such as local elections, limited legislative power, an ability to raise revenue and the operation of *ultra vires*. They may also discuss tiered systems, sharing powers and unitary authorities. Some students may 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 students 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)

Students 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 legislative functions, 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 student will be expected to cover all these aspects and some may consider points not mentioned here.

Students 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 part of the United Kingdom. Some students 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 area, differences in the nature and strength of nationalism, electoral factors, and the demands for 'power sharing' in Northern Ireland.

In their analyses, students 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

Mark Ranges and Award of Grades

Grade boundaries and cumulative percentage grades are available on the Results Statistics page of the AQA Website: <http://www.aqa.org.uk/over/stat.html>.

Converting Marks into UMS marks

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

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