

GCE 2005
January Series



Mark Scheme

Government and Politics (GOV8)

A2 Unit 8 – Synoptic Module

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

The 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 paragraphs 7.2 and 8.4 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 marking 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.

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 SYNOPTIC UNIT – GOV8
GENERIC MARK SCHEME for all questions (Maximum 40 marks)

	Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
	AO1	AO2	AO3
	<p>Level 4 (13 – 16 marks)</p> <p>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>Level 4 (13 – 16 marks)</p> <p>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 the analysis. The candidate constructs cogent and coherent arguments and explanations.</p> <p>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 clear and full evaluation of political institutions, processes, behaviour, arguments and explanations.</p> <p>The candidate demonstrates advanced ability to draw upon relevant material from the whole range of the specification content and uses it to inform the discussion and to construct arguments that cover the subject in the broadest sense.</p> <p>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>Level 4 (7 – 8 marks)</p> <p>The candidate communicates arguments, explanations and conclusions with sophisticated style and complete clarity using a political vocabulary to analyse and synthesise information.</p> <p>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)

	Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
	AO1	AO2	AO3
	<p>Level 3 (9 – 12 marks) 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>Level 3 (9 – 12 marks) 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 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 the 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>Level 3 (5 – 6 marks) 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)

	Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
	AO1	AO2	AO3
	<p>Level 2 (5 – 8 marks) 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. 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>Level 2 (5 – 8 marks) 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 the 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>Level 2 (3 – 4 marks) 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)

	Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
	AO1	AO2	AO3
	<p>Level 1 (1 – 4 marks) The candidate demonstrates slight and incomplete knowledge and understanding of political institutions and processes and limited awareness of the relationships between them. There is a very limited approach to address 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>Level 1 (1 – 4 marks) 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>Level 1 (1 – 2 marks) 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>

Section A: Power

A1

Total for this question: 40 marks

“The study of politics is essentially the study of power in society.” Discuss.

(40 marks)

In this synoptic question there are no narrowly defined 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 accurate knowledge and understanding of factors such as the following:

- Key concepts such as power, influence and authority.
- Forms of power such as office, wealth, tradition and electoral legitimacy.
- Other relevant concepts such as elitism and pluralism.
- The meaning of the term ‘power in society’.
- Examples of positions of power within the state at various levels (e.g. central, provincial, local, federal).
- The nature of political office-holding.
- Alternative views on essence of politics such as ‘the authoritative allocation of values’.
- Forms of power held by those not in formal political office, such as leaders of various types of pressure group, charismatic figures in the media and business, global economic actors, central banks, party donors.
- Power of international and supranational organisations.
- Non-political forms of power such as the use of violence.
- Powers of the new devolved institutions in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.
- Material for comparison from other systems such as the USA and EU.
- The limits of power-holders such as constitutions, laws, the weight of tradition, forces for incrementalism, inertia, existing policy communities and networks, unintended consequences of policies, popular opinion, institutional inertia and bureaucratic resistance.
- Relevant examples from throughout the specification to illustrate arguments.

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 should be 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.

Answers should open with an introductory discussion in which candidates demonstrate a recognition that the essential focus of the analysis should be on the centrality of the concept of power in the study of politics. Key relevant terms such as those indicated above should be introduced and defined.

In the main body of the answer candidates will need to explain the meaning of power in politics and its various sources. An analytical distinction may be made between power as the essence of politics, and other views such as, for example, that it is the study of ‘the authoritative allocation of values’ or groups, institutions or, say, ideology. Examples may be introduced to show how much political activity centres on the acquisition and exercise of power. Examples may also be given to illustrate how power is exercised in various policy arenas (e.g. education, defence, the economy, welfare state, law and order). Various powerful informal political actors may be brought in through examples of non-state actors such as the City, big business and, say, the mass media. Studies of particular incidents and cases may also be discussed to illustrate the nature of the power. Examples may also be historical, calling upon significant events where power was, or was not, central to behaviour (e.g. Suez crisis).

Throughout the discussion there should be recognition of parallels and other links between systems and sub-systems studied throughout the range of the specification. At all times use of comparative analysis will be an asset. Argument should be cogent and coherent and analysis should display awareness of differing viewpoints.

There should be a concluding section to the answer that derives from previous discussion. This must clearly follow from the discussion and should centre on the proposition that ‘The study of politics is essentially the study of power in society’. Candidates may argue either way: (a) the study of politics is essentially the study of power in society; or (b) that the study of politics is essentially the study of some other factor, such as ideology, institutions or authority. Alternatively they may argue that real power lies outside the state political system, with private global corporations or international associations, for example.

A2

Total for this question: 40 marks

“The structure of elites may be changing, but this does not mean that they are disappearing.” Discuss.
(40 marks)

In this synoptic question there are no narrowly defined 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 accurate knowledge and understanding of factors such as the following:

- Key relevant concepts such as elite, the establishment and social class.
- The sources of elite power (e.g. education, position, wealth and social connections).
- The concept of the contemporary world.
- Theory of elitism.
- Criticism of elite theory and alternative theories.
- Examples of elites such as the medical and legal professions, the army, the judiciary, business and the civil service.
- The structure of the ‘traditional’ elite.
- The structure of the elite in contemporary society.
- Examples of elite relationships with government institutions at various levels, including Whitehall, Westminster and local government.
- Elites in Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales.
- Elites in other systems, particularly the USA and EU.
- Examples of the changing structure of modern elites.
- Examples of the exercise of power and exertion of influence by elites.
- Relevant examples from throughout the specification to illustrate arguments.

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 with 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 should be 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.

Answers should open with an introductory discussion in which candidates demonstrate a recognition that essentially the analysis should seek to assess the changing structure of elites in the contemporary world, and the extent to which elite influence remains. Key relevant terms, such as those indicated above, should be introduced and defined.

In the main body of the answer, candidate may explain the central tenets of elite theory and may refer to elite theorists. They may mention other thinkers, noting the elitist elements in their thought. They may also examine theories of power, such as elitism, pluralism, bureaucratic power, Marxism, institutionalism and, say, public choice. They may dispute the applicability of elite theory in either prescriptive or descriptive terms and perhaps pose a pluralist counter-argument.

They may explore the argument that Britain had been a particularly elitist society, drawing examples from institutions such as the House of Lords, public schools, Oxbridge, civil service recruitment, the military, the church, the City and the boardrooms of big business. They may make a comparison with the USA, perhaps arguing that its political culture has been more open and egalitarian. They may examine contemporary developments, drawing on the extract, to note new patterns of elite structure, with arguments such as that suggesting that Britain has moved some way from being an ascriptive society to an achievement one.

They may look to the provincial systems of Northern Ireland, Wales and Scotland and ask whether devolution gives rise to the formation of new political elites. They may also examine reforms of local government (e.g. elected mayors, cabinet systems) to consider a changing balance of local power. At various points in the discussion, they may make comparison with other systems and may also look at the EU and consider the question of a possible 'Euro-elite'.

The main body of the essay must remain broadly focused on the structure of elites in the contemporary world and the extent to which it may be changing. It does not matter how this part of the discussion is approached, but it is important that it is addressed in one way or another.

Throughout the discussion there should be recognition of parallels and other links between systems and sub-systems studied throughout the range of the specification. At all times use of comparative analysis will be an asset. Argument should be cogent and coherent and analysis should display awareness of differing viewpoints.

There should be a concluding section to the answer that derives from previous discussion. This may argue either that the structure of elites is changing in the contemporary world, or that it is not changing. Again, they may or may not support the assertion that some form of elite power remains.

Section B: Participation and Representation

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

“The problem with representative government is that it can mean different things to different people.”
Discuss. (40 marks)

In this synoptic question there are no narrowly defined 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 factors such as the following:

- The meaning of key terms such as ‘representation’, ‘delegate’, ‘representative government’ and ‘participation’.
- Various alternative views of representation such as delegate representation, Burkean representation and representation of interests. Candidates may use alternatives to these particular terms.
- Theory of the mandate.
- The ideological dimension, particularly the liberal view of representative government.
- Various sections/groups/sub-cultures within society that might claim a right to representation.
- Representative forums (e.g. 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 in terms of such factors as proportions from ethnic minorities, women, young and old people, and the influence of religion, place, class, etc.
- MPs as representatives of interests other than constituents – Register of Members’ Interests.
- Governments as representatives of powerful interests, including those donating to parties.
- Possibilities of corruption and sleaze.
- The machinery of representative government, i.e. various electoral systems.
- The press as the representative of the popular voice.
- Relevant examples from throughout the specification to illustrate arguments.
- Comparative examples from other systems such as the USA and EU.

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 should be 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.

Answers should open with an introductory discussion in which candidates demonstrate a recognition that the essential focus of the analysis should be on the differing ways in which representative government can be interpreted by the various actors, such as MPs, bureaucracies, governments, pressure groups, the media and members of the public. Key relevant terms such as those indicated above should be introduced and defined.

In the main body of the answer candidates may recognise that much political debate is generated by tensions in conflicting interpretations as, for example, when the government appeared to ignore much popular opinion in going to war against Iraq. Some may argue that MPs should represent only their constituents, some that they represent interest groups (including those who sponsor them), some that they represent their party; others may take the Burkean position that they represent only themselves and their statesmanlike view on the issues of the day. They may consider the archaic notion of virtual representation. Candidates may validly interpret the question as asking ‘Does representative government work?’

Analysis may identify various forums where forms of representation exist (e.g. Westminster, Scottish, Welsh and Irish assemblies, US Congress and, say, local councils). They may go beyond the formal institutions of government to examine other bodies with a claim to a representative function, such as the TUC, CBI, NHS trusts, regional councils, etc.

Analysis may include application of the theories of insider and outsider pressure groups insofar as the pressure groups usually claim (a) to represent their members, and (b) seek to be represented in parliament and in the policy communities and policy networks. There may also be analysis of various channels of access to representatives (e.g. lobbying parliament, ministers, civil servants, media, demonstrations and direct action). Analysis of causal factors may include the resources of pressure groups, such as money, connections with the establishment, access to the media, large membership, knowledge and expertise and veto power.

At the heart of the discussion should be an account of the different models of representation and examination of the ways in which different actors use these models. It does not matter how this part of the discussion is approached, but it is important that it is addressed in one way or another.

Throughout the discussion there should be recognition of parallels and other links between systems and sub-systems studied throughout the range of the specification. At all times use of comparative analysis will be an asset. Argument should be cogent and coherent and analysis should display awareness of differing viewpoints.

There should be a concluding section to the answer that derives from preceding discussion. This should focus clearly on the proposition in the question, which may be supported, qualified or refuted.

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

“Many modern political issues are beyond the understanding of most people.” Discuss. (40 marks)

In this synoptic question there are no narrowly defined 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 accurate knowledge and understanding of factors such as the following:

- Modern issues, complexity of issues, falling level of participation and engagement at various levels of government (Westminster, EP, provincial, local, federal).
- Indicators of the state of health of a representative democracy.
- Reasons for voting (consumerist, rational, habitual, patriotic and symbolic).
- Reason for non-voting and non-participation (low level of influence, ignorance, lack of interest, lack of party choice, cost of voting).
- Reasons for lack of interest in politics (lack of civic education, tabloid reporting, individualist culture).
- Arguments for not increasing turnout through electoral reform or ‘dumbing down’ complex issues.
- Elections to various assemblies, including Westminster, the US Congress, local government and the Scottish, Welsh and Northern Ireland assemblies.
- Alternative methods of electing representatives (including the various recent experiments in local government).
- 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, 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 specification to illustrate arguments.
- Comparative examples from other systems such as the USA and EU.

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 with 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 should be 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.

Answers may open with an introductory discussion in which candidates demonstrate a recognition that the essential focus of the analysis should be on the increasingly complex nature of political issues. They should also consider whether this represents a serious problem for democracy and whether it is better to leave complex issues to those who take genuine interest. They should recognise that there is a clear thesis outlined in the extract. Key relevant terms such as those indicated above should be introduced and defined.

In the main body of the answer candidates should show awareness that interest in politics is falling. This may be supported with statistics. Examples to verify this may come from elections to various

representative assemblies including Westminster, the US Congress, local government, European Parliament, and the Scottish, Welsh and Northern Ireland assemblies. There may be some discussion of the concepts of apathy and an analysis of its causes. Candidates may consider the argument that falling turnouts are not a sign of failing democracy, but an indication of contentment.

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, and ask whether these would be worthwhile. Alternative forms of participation, such as direct action and lobbying, may be identified and evaluated as a possible substitute for falling turnouts.

Candidates should examine the case that, despite warnings from politicians and other commentators, apathy does not necessarily mean a crisis for democracy. They may examine the use of turnout as an indicator of the state of health of a representative democracy. This may lead to a critique of voting systems or even a critique of modern mass democracy. There may be reference to the idea of the ‘tyranny of the majority’ as developed by thinkers in the USA and Britain. The essay should show some awareness of the alleged defects in a mass democracy where the ‘ignorant’ have an equal voice with the informed. It does not matter how this part of the discussion is approached, but it is important that it is addressed in one way or another.

Throughout the discussion there should be recognition of parallels and other links between systems and sub-systems studied throughout the range of the specification. At all times use of comparative analysis will be an asset. Argument should be cogent and coherent and analysis should display awareness of differing viewpoints.

There should be a concluding section to the answer that derives from preceding discussion. This should clearly refute or support the proposition that many political issues are beyond the understanding of most people.

Section C: Political Culture

C1

Total for this question: 40 marks

How can the concept of political culture assist the study of politics?

(40 marks)

In this synoptic question there are no narrowly defined 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 accurate knowledge and understanding of factors such as the following:

- The central concepts of political system and political culture.
- Various types of political culture, such as traditional, secular, participant, subject, parochial and civic.
- Social factors relating to political culture such as class, sexism, racism, xenophobia and geographical divide.
- Historical factors shaping political culture such as revolutions, wars and the growth of political parties.
- Ideological factors such as individualism and collectivism.
- Concepts such as citizenship, deference, homogeneity and consensus.
- Institutions that both define and shape political culture, such as constitutions, judiciaries, monarchy, aristocracy, assemblies, electoral systems, public bureaucracies and levels of devolution.
- Various key attitudes such as those towards class and social stratification, gender and race.
- Relevant related terms, such as 'elite', 'ruling class', 'the establishment', 'underclass'.
- Related factors such as patterns of political recruitment to institutions and political structures.
- Key attitudes, such as the willingness of people to accept the actions and policies of their governments.
- The extent to which people feel they can influence their government.
- The extent to which people feel they can trust their government, safely forego civil liberties, obey the law and show respect for the police.
- Relevant current issues, events and debates.
- Political culture as a causal factor influencing government policy as, for example, in the case of British entry into the Euro zone.
- The current state of popular attitudes and beliefs.
- The position of parties and governments towards society.
- Knowledge of factors that shape popular attitudes and beliefs, such as TV, radio, the press, religion, the family, the peer group, the school and the government itself.
- 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 EU.

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. Candidates may support the idea that the concept of political culture is helpful to the study of politics, reject it, or sit on the fence. Answers will be 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.

Answers should open with an introductory discussion in which candidates demonstrate a recognition that the essential focus of the analysis should be on an explanation of the meaning and value of the concept of political culture.

In the main body of the answer candidates may explain in some detail what a political culture is, showing it to be a complex mix of beliefs, symbols, values and attitudes towards politics. They may give details of different types of political culture and may illustrate these with examples, most likely choosing the UK, the USA and other countries with which they may be familiar.

They may find some way of illustrating the value of political culture to the study of politics. This they may do by identifying causal links between beliefs and attitudes within society and a wide variety of political processes, policies and institutions. They may, for example, argue that government actions can be more prescriptive where people are trusting and deferential. Again they may argue that an ethnically diverse society is more difficult to govern because of conflicting values, norms and religious beliefs. As a further alternative, they may say that the type of rulers a society produces is a function of the political culture as, for example, when they tend to come from a social elite. Alternatively, or in addition, candidates may seek to examine the way in which politicians may themselves influence political culture by seeking to establish a dominant ideology that will, for example, shape people's expectations of their government or determine the degree of inequality society will accept. In addition, they may examine claims by politicians of left and right about political culture – e.g. that Britain is a classless society, that people can influence government policy, that there is no such thing as institutional racism in government institutions. It does not matter how this part of the discussion is approached, but it is important that it is addressed in one way or another.

Throughout the discussion there should be recognition of parallels and other links between systems and sub-systems studied throughout the range of the specification. At all times use of comparative analysis will be an asset. Argument should be cogent and coherent and analysis should display awareness of differing viewpoints.

There may be a concluding section to the answer that derives from the previous discussion. This may argue that political culture is useful to the study of politics but it may also contain reservations about this, or even a refutation.

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

“In today’s world political cultures are increasingly subject to forces of change.” Discuss. (40 marks)

In this synoptic question there are no narrowly defined 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 factors such as the following:

- Key relevant terms and concepts such as ‘establishment’, ‘elite’, ‘today’s world’, ‘society’, ‘modern state’, ‘traditional political culture’.
- Types of political culture.
- Changes taking place in society.
- Social values, attitudes and norms.
- Remaining traditions within society.
- Institutional structures and changes.
- The position of ethnic minorities in politics and public life.
- The concept of racism and its political implications.
- Problems of policing racial unrest.
- Examples of statements made by public figures on the possibility (or otherwise) of a state sustaining more than one political culture.
- Xenophobia as a feature of political culture.
- The socio-economic position of women and their role in politics and public life.
- The feminist movement and its various manifestations and achievements.
- The concepts of sexism.
- Geographical cleavage such as the North-South divide.
- Scottish, Welsh and Irish nationalism and associated cultural issues.
- Class as a factor fragmenting political culture.
- Open and closed class systems.
- Political movements and forces representing the various sub-groups referred to above.
- Public opinion polls, attitude survey data and the impact of the mass media.
- Changing patterns of deference within society.
- Constitutional issues, such as rights to freedom of speech and association in the light of threats to social order.
- The ideological dimension, such as conservative values of nationhood and traditions versus liberalism.
- Violence and tension within society as a result of the various cultural divides.
- The issue of illegal immigration and asylum-seekers.
- The impact on political cultures of globalisation and technological development.
- Relevant examples from throughout specification to illustrate arguments.
- Developments in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland.
- Comparative examples from other systems such as the USA and EU.

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 will be 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.

Answers should open with an introductory discussion in which candidates demonstrate a recognition that the essential focus of the analysis should be on the forces tending to threaten more traditional political cultures.

In the main body of the answer candidates may establish an outline definition of what they would wish to define as traditional political culture in order to examine the extent to which changes may be discerned. In this they may take some guidance from the extract. However, they may with equal validity choose to do this differently, perhaps by taking a different time period from that used in the extract. They may offer some detailed analysis of those factors influencing political culture, such as a country's history, the prevailing ideology, its social system, its institutions, and its mass media. They may also detail a range of forces leading to change in political cultures, such as decreasing deference, a more politically sophisticated citizenry, increased political confidence amongst ethnic communities, environmental concerns, a more dominant presence of women in politics and the workplace, waves of immigration and global events. They may introduce some discussion of the political tensions arising from these forces and offer examples from various parts of the specification. They may also offer illustration from other countries, particularly from the USA and the EU. They may also look for points of comparison within the UK, focusing on Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. They may well cite the work of Almond and Verba and go on to ask whether their schema is appropriate to today's world. It does not matter how this part of the discussion is approached, but it is important that it is addressed in one way or another.

Throughout the discussion there should be recognition of parallels and other links between systems and sub-systems studied throughout the range of the specification. At all times use of comparative analysis will be an asset. Argument should be cogent and coherent and analysis should display awareness of differing viewpoints.

There may be a concluding section to the answer that derives from previous discussion. This may support the assertion that in today's world political cultures are increasingly subject to forces of change, may refute it or may adopt some intermediate position.

Section D: Continuity and Change

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

“No political system can be regarded as stable without a high degree of continuity.” Discuss.
(40 marks)

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 factors such as the following:

- The basic concepts of change and continuity.
- The ideological dimension, particularly ideologies of conservatism and of change.
- Pressures for change within institutions.
- Pressures for change from society.
- Pressures for change in the informal patterns of politics, such as pressure group activity, patterns of consultation, relations between politicians and officials, ways of informing the public, conventions within the constitution.
- Forces for continuity.
- The conservative critique of revolution and arguments for stability and organic change.
- Real change contrasted with apparent change (i.e. window-dressing).
- The range of institutions and political structures such as constitutions, national, provincial and regional assemblies, electoral systems, bureaucracies at various levels, local government systems, executives and judiciaries.
- The critiques of the institutions and practices.
- Changes that have been proposed, have taken place and have been resisted.
- Reasons why changes have been implemented or resisted.
- Examples of change and resistance to change in UK politics and in other systems, particularly the USA and the EU.
- 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.

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 with 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 should be 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.

Answers should open with an introductory discussion in which candidates demonstrate a recognition that the focus of the analysis should be on the importance of stability in a political system. Key relevant terms such as those indicated above should be introduced and defined.

In the main body of the answer candidates should explain the concept of continuity in the context of a political system and should examine its importance using arguments such as the need for citizens to have laws and institutions that can be relied upon to be constant over time. This may lead to a discussion on the need for constitutional entrenchment. The ideological dimension may well be introduced with consideration of the doctrines of conservatism that change should be organic rather than revolutionary. They may consider and apply theories such as disjointed incrementalism and its advocacy of piecemeal reform. Countervailing arguments that, for example, change is necessary for a political system to survive in an evolving environment in order to avoid stagnation, may also be expected.

Candidates may look at the political debates surrounding change and continuity as, for example, when politicians speak glibly of change and reform as a basis for winning the support of individuals and groups. This may lead to the ideological dimension and the undermining of continuity, as in the coming of the New Right, neo-liberalism and the Third Way.

Answers may contain examples of continuity from any of the numerous areas covered under the headings in the specification, such as Westminster, Whitehall, local government, devolution, various government policies in education, health and so on. In addition, candidates may consider the need for continuity within political parties and other organisations, such as pressure groups. Candidates may introduce examples from other countries, particularly the USA and the EU. It does not matter how this part of the discussion is approached, but it is important that the desirability, or otherwise, of continuity in a political systems is addressed in one way or another.

Conclusions may clearly evaluate the appropriateness of the statement that a political system cannot be regarded as stable without a high degree of continuity. Any position is acceptable, but must be derived from the preceding analysis.

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

“Change in the nature of parties reflects deeper changes in the political system itself.” Discuss.
(40 marks)

In this synoptic question there are no narrowly defined 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 factors such as the following:

- Key terms and concepts, such as ‘party system’, ‘political system’, ‘traditionalist’ and ‘moderniser’.
- The concept of the political party and its role in politics.
- Major patterns of change in political systems.
- Wider patterns of change affecting the political system, such as globalisation, multimedia developments, the Internet, wars and conflicts.
- Major institutional changes.
- Key ideological shifts.
- Changes in political cultures, including political disengagement, apathy and alienation.
- Key milestones in the developments of major political parties.
- The ideologies of parties and changing ideological patterns.
- Party organisation and changing patterns in areas such as leadership selection, funding, sponsorship, role of the mass membership, candidate selection.
- Examples of cases of reform or modernisation within parties.
- The policy position of parties and the way these change.
- Forces for change within parties, such as the mass membership, the need for electoral success, ideological conflict and personality battles.
- 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.

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 should be 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.

Answers should open with an introductory discussion in which candidates demonstrate a recognition that the essential focus of the analysis should be on the extent to which change in the nature of parties reflects deeper changes in the political system itself. Key relevant terms such as those indicated above should be introduced and defined.

In the main body of the answers candidates may begin by identifying and analysing significant changes that have taken place in politics and society. This will entail the use of a wide range of examples drawn from anywhere in the specification. They may introduce a comparative dimension, looking particularly at the USA and EU.

They may identify and analyse forces for change, such as demographic and social patterns and voting behaviour, including party dealignment, demands for nationalism, the growth of an ethnic vote and so on. They may look at forces such as feminism and racial diversity and their counterparts in the form of sexism and racism. They may also note the importance of ideological shifts in society, such as the growing tide of neo-liberal individualism.

Having established the pattern of change in the wider environment, candidates should identify and explain some key developments within parties. They may also identify key figures associated with these, such as Thatcher and Blair. Candidates may analyse the concepts of traditionalist and moderniser within parties and the extent to which they may be seen to be dominant in various parties; thus, for example, they may note that many within the British parties question the need for change (such as the ‘wets’ and Europhiles in Thatcher’s case and ‘Old’ Labour in Blair’s case). They may also note the operation of all parties in the new UK provincial assemblies.

A key factor in their analysis should be a recognition of a causal link between wider societal and economic change and developments within political parties. The causal link may be accepted, denied or qualified. It does not matter how this part of the discussion is approached, but it is important that it is addressed in one way or another.

Throughout the discussion there should be recognition of parallels and other links between systems and sub-systems studied throughout the range of the specification. At all times use of comparative analysis will be an asset. Argument should be cogent and coherent and analysis should display awareness of differing viewpoints.

There may be a concluding section to the answer that derives from the previous discussion. It may reject or support the contention, or may decide to adopt an intermediate position.