

## General Certificate of Education

# **Government and Politics 6151**

GOV7 Ideas in Contemporary British Politics

# Mark Scheme

## 2006 examination - June series

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.

## 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 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.

## **GENERIC MARK SCHEME for Question 1 part (a) (Total: 8 marks)**

Knowledge and Understanding:	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
Recall, Select & Deploy	,	
AO1	AO2	AO3
Levels 3–4 (2 marks) The candidate demonstrates a good to excellent knowledge and understanding of political data, concept(s) or term(s). Where appropriate, the candidate produces accurate and/or relevant examples to	Levels 3–4 (3–4 marks) The candidate applies a good to excellent range of developed concepts and uses appropriate political theory to construct a clear and coent explanation or argument.	Levels 3–4 (2 marks) The candidate communicates clearly and effectively using appropriate political vocabulary. The answer has a clear sense of direction, is focused on the question and, where appropriate, has a conclusion which flows from
Levels 1–2 (1 mark) The candidate demonstrates limited knowledge and understanding of political data, concept(s) or term(s). The candidate produces few or inaccurate examples and/or limited evidence to illustrate points made.	Levels 1–2 (1–2 marks) The candidate applies a limited range of concepts and makes little or limited use of political theory or ideas in developing an explanation or argument.	the discussion.  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. A conclusion, where appropriate, may be offered but its relationship to the preceding discussion is modest or implicit.

## **GENERIC MARK SCHEME for Question 1 part (b) (Total: 12 marks)**

Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
AO1	AO2	AO3
Level 4 (5–6 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.	Levels 3–4 (3–4 marks) The candidate applies a good to excellent range of developed concepts and uses appropriate political theory to construct a clear and cogent explanation or argument.	Levels 3–4 (2 marks) The candidate communicates clearly and effectively using appropriate political vocabulary. The answer has a clear sense of direction, is focused on the question and, where appropriate, has a conclusion which flows from the discussion.
Level 3 (3–4 marks) The candidate demonstrates sound 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.		
Levels 1–2 (1–2 marks) The candidate demonstrates slight to basic knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The candidate makes a very limited attempt to address the requirements of the question and provides little to partial and reasonably effective interpretation. Answers offer limited or little evidence and few or inaccurate examples to illustrate points made.	Levels 1–2 (1–2 marks) The candidate applies a limited range of concepts and makes little or limited use of political theory or ideas in developing an explanation or argument.	Levels 1–2 (1 mark) The candidate communicates explanations or arguments with limited clarity and effectiveness using limited political vocabulary. The answer may lack either a clear focus on the question or a sense of direction. A conclusion, where appropriate, may be offered but its relationship to the preceding discussion is modest or implicit.

## GENERIC MARK SCHEME for Question 1 part (c) (Total: 20 marks)

Knowledge and	Skills:	Communication
Understanding:	Analysis & Evaluation	
Recall, Select & Deploy		
AO1	AO2	A03
Level 4	Level 4	Level 4
(7–8 marks) The candidate demonstrates a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them. The answer fully addresses the requirements of the question and demonstrates excellent contextual awareness.  The answer includes excellent examples to illustrate points made.	(7–8 marks) The candidate displays excellent awareness of the implications and demands of the question. There is an excellent focus on the specific question asked. There is a clear evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour which displays a sophisticated awareness of viewpoints and issues.  Appropriate parallels and connections are clearly identified together with comparisons. A wide range of concepts is used.	(4 marks) The candidate communicates arguments, explanations and conclusions with clarity. Excellent use is made of political vocabulary to construct cogent and coherent arguments. The answer has a clear sense of direction, culminating in a conclusion that flows from the preceding discussion.
Level 3 (5–6 marks) The candidate demonstrates sound knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them. The answer clearly addresses the requirements of the question and demonstrates sound contextual awareness. The answer includes good examples to illustrate points made.	Level 3 (5–6 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 viewpoints and issues. There is good recognition of parallels and comparisons. Appropriate concepts are used.	Level 3 (3 marks) The candidate communicates arguments, explanations and conclusions well. Good use is made of political vocabulary to construct clear arguments and explanations. The candidate produces an answer with a conclusion linked to the preceding discussion.

## **GENERIC MARK SCHEME for Question 1 part (c) (continued)**

	Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
	AO1	AO2	AO3
() To continue to the continue	Level 2 (3–4 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. The answer includes simple examples to illustrate points	Level 2 (3–4 marks)  The candidate displays limited 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 partial awareness of viewpoints and issues.  There is some recognition of basic parallels and comparisons with a limited use of concepts.	Level 2 (2 marks) The candidate communicates arguments and conclusions adequately with a limited use of political vocabulary.  A conclusion is offered but its relationship to the preceding discussion may be modest or implicit.
I ( ( ) T s s k c c p a a b a r T a a i i	Level 1 (1–2 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. There is little attempt to address the requirements of the question.  The answer includes few, if any, examples which may be inaccurately reported or inappropriately used.	Level 1 (1–2 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, with little awareness of viewpoints and issues.  There is little, if any, recognition of parallels and comparisons. The use of concepts is superficial and naïve.	Level 1 (1 mark) The answer relies upon narrative, which is not fully coherent. There is little or no use of political vocabulary.  A conclusion, if present, is not adequately related to the preceding discussion.

## GENERIC MARK SCHEME for Questions 2, 3 and 4 (Maximum 40 marks)

	Knowledge and	Skills:	Communication
	Understanding:	Analysis & Evaluation	
	Recall, Select & Deploy AO1	AO2	AO3
1	Level 4	Level 4	Level 4
	(13–16 marks) The candidate demonstrates a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them. 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.	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	(7–8 marks) The candidate communicates arguments, explanations and conclusions with clarity. Excellent use is made of political vocabulary to construct cogent and coherent arguments and explanations. The answer has a clear sense of direction, culminating in a conclusion that flows from the preceding discussion.
	Level 3 (9–12 marks) The candidate demonstrates sound knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them. 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.	Level 3 (9–12 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.	Level 3 (5–6 marks) The candidate communicates arguments, explanations and conclusions well. Good use is made of political vocabulary to construct clear arguments and explanations.  The candidate produces an answer with a conclusion linked to the preceding discussion.

GENERIC MARK SCHEME for Questions 2, 3 and 4 (continued)

Knowledge and		Communication
Understanding Recall, Select & De	· ·	
AO1	AO2	AO3
Level 2 (5–8 marks)  The candidate demonstroutline knowledge and understanding of politic concepts/theories/institution and processes and some awareness of the relation between them. The ansimakes a limited attempt address the question and demonstrates contextual awareness covering part question.  The answer includes a pand reasonably effective attempt at interpretation explanation with some examples to illustrate pande.	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.	Level 2 (3–4 marks)  The candidate communicates arguments and conclusions adequately with a limited use of political vocabulary.  A conclusion is offered but its relationship to the preceding discussion may be modest or implicit.
Level 1 (1–4 marks)  The candidate demonstration slight and incomplete knowledge and understration of political institutions processes and a limited awareness of the relation between them. There is attempt to address the requirements of the question awareness, if any, of the context of the question, little interpretation and any, examples often inaccurately reported of inappropriately used.	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	Level 1 (1–2 marks) The answer relies upon narrative, which is not fully coherent. There is little or no use of political vocabulary.  A conclusion, if present, is not adequately related to the preceding discussion.

### 1 Total for this question: 40 marks

(a) Explain the term *political elite* as used in the extract.

(8 marks)

Those who occupy positions of superiority within society by virtue of qualities of excellence and distinction. For many traditionalists this can be ascribed, although it could also be achieved. This gives them authority over the masses. In the Burkean sense, the elite would have been largely aristocratic, 'born to rule'. It could also include commoners who had made it into the elite through trade, commerce and intelligence/education. Essentially the talent of leadership is not equally distributed – society needs the guidance of the more able.

(b) Using the extract and your own knowledge, explain the key differences between traditional conservative beliefs and values and those held by many Conservatives today. (12 marks)

#### Traditional Conservative beliefs and values:

- Belief in hierarchies and organic social political change.
- Humans are imperfect.
- Love of tradition.
- Opposition to idealistic blueprint/preference for pragmatism.
- Emphasis on the importance of the family and the nation rather than the individual (liberalism) or social class (socialism).
- The Rule of Law is the basis of all freedom.
- Liberty is the highest political end. Individuals need to develop their own personalities and pursue their destinies. Essentially freedom from oppression. It should not embrace the levelling of wealth.
- Government through checks and balances the 'diffusion of power'.
- Protectionist economics to protect national interests.

#### Contemporary Conservative beliefs:

- Greater emphasis on the ability of individuals to make rational choices for themselves.
- The free market is essential as it provides choice and it promotes economic efficiency.
- The pace of change needs to be faster.
- Ideology can improve society (Thatcher's advocacy of New Right principles).
- Greater emphasis on achievement than ascription.
- Desire to achieve an inclusive society.
- There should be limitations on the state's scope and powers but state should be involved in key social areas.
- Divisions over the supremacy of the nation state as evident in divisions regarding Britain's future in the European Union.
- Cameron:
- clear statements on the environment
- happiness more important than wealth
- Championing of diversity.

(c) Discuss the view that in recent years British Conservatism has lacked ideological coherence. (20 marks)

Candidates would be expected to point out that, historically, Conservatism has rejected political blue prints in favour of pragmatism.

#### Yet:

- The Thatcher years were characterised as ideological. The New Right featured as a coherent ideological body who significantly influenced Conservative thinking and actions helping to produce what came to be called 'Thatcherism'.
- Since the Conservative Party's defeat in 1997 there appears to be less coherence and certainty about direction and policy.
  - i. 1997 in an attempt to be more inclusive and more in touch with mainstream public opinion 'compassionate Conservatism' was promoted.
  - ii. 1998 'Thatcherism is dead'.
  - iii. 1999 'The Common Sense Revolution' moves the party back to the Right.
  - iv. 2000 Clear splits between the Social Libertarians grouped around Portillo and the Social Authoritarians typified by Widdecome.
  - v. In 2001, following the party's electoral defeat, the party is described as 'nasty, exclusive, angry and backward-looking, by such prominent Tories as Stephen Norris.
  - vi. IDS initially appeared right wing but some of his utterances and policies appear to promote inclusivity and the need for a strong public sector, particularly in the areas of education and health, despite being an economic libertarian. Extreme right-wingers such as the Monday Club purged from the Party. Yet by the autumn of 2002, IDS declares he would not support the Government's opposition to Clause 28 and, by late 2003, IDS issues the 'Prague Declaration' endorsing the Thatcherite critique of Europe. Thatcher claims to be 'puzzled by party's direction'.
  - vii. On becoming leader, Howard declares he would 'lead from the centre'. In early 2005, Michael Portillo declares "They try to be all things: liberal and illiberal, big spending and tax cutting, centralising and individualistic". There would appear to be little ideological coherence here.
  - viii. Cameron's drift leftwards.

### 2 Total for this question: 40 marks

'New Labour's interpretation of equality, market economics and social justice owes little to traditional socialism.' Discuss. (40 marks)

#### Traditional Socialism and 'equality':

• Commitment to 'equality of outcome'. Any inequality is deemed to be bad and remediable through government action. Everyone has the right to start off in life with the same chances as anyone else; the strong should not exploit their advantage and impose themselves on the weak.

### Tony Blair's views on 'equality':

• Unlike socialist/social democrats it is not egalitarian. He seeks to ensure minimum standards and equality of opportunity, rather than on redistribution and equality of outcome.

#### Traditional Socialism and market economics:

• Total rejection of capitalism (in theory if not always in practice). Socialism is about collective ownership by the people 'of the means of production, distribution and exchange' (old Clause IV). Socialism means production to satisfy human needs and it means direct control and management of industries and social services by the workers through democratic government.

#### Tony Blair and economics:

- Blair accepted the free market.
- Blair has not reversed the Conservative privatisation programme.
- Blair has made controversial use of Public-Private Partnerships and the Private Finance Initiative to fund public sector investment.
- Blair has not restored the unions to the position they enjoyed with previous Labour governments with regard to economic planning.
- New Clause IV endorsed a 'dynamic economy'.
- New Labour has effectively embraced the economic side of Thatcherism: tax cuts, low inflation, a market economy, encouragement of entrepreneurial activity.

### Traditional Socialism and Social Justice:

- Who should get what in society? The Left has traditionally favoured an approach based on 'needs', whereas the Right advocated a system based on 'rights'.
- Traditional Socialists contend that large accumulations of wealth, juxtaposed by poverty and ill-health, are not justifiable; wealth should be redistributed in society and, indeed, between nations.
- But even some left-wingers agree that some economic inequality is necessary to make the economic system work.

### Blair and Social Justice:

- Blair has emphasised co-operative self-help. Much of his thinking on social justice provided the central core of New Labour's 'Third Way'.
- The government's job is to help people to get together to help themselves. This approach emphasises self-help, self-reliance and self-improvement. The aim is to create a society which promotes individual initiative and endeavour.
- Unlike Old Labour, Blair sees the State as suffering from many failings. The government's role is therefore to help people to find solutions that are mutually advantageous: it is not the State's role to impose those solutions or to provide them, but to underpin, facilitate and regulate them.
- People need the opportunities to succeed. The unemployed, young people, single parents, the disabled, etc are to be given the opportunity to achieve their potential through education, training and the like, 'a hand up not a hand out'.

• Thus 'liberty, fraternity and equality' are replaced with 'community, accountability, responsibility and opportunity'.

The quality of the answer will depend upon the candidate's ability to ascertain the extent to which Blair's interpretation of equality, market economics and social justice differs from the views held by traditional socialists.

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

'The Liberal Democrats no longer occupy the ideological centre ground of British politics.' Discuss.

(40 marks)

- Liberals traditionally viewed as the party of the political centre in the UK, flanked by Labour on the left and the Conservatives on the right.
- Examples of policies to illustrate this, particularly with regards to economics and the State.
- Liberal Democrats also viewed as the centre party following the termination of the Alliance in the late 1980s.
- Under Kennedy, the party appears to have moved in a leftwards direction note policies on spending, taxation, social policy, green issues and human rights.
- Some pundits argue Liberal Democrats are now the party of the left in Britain, given New Labour's rightwards shift.

In the party's 2005 Election Manifesto the Liberal Democrats proposed:

- A 50% top rate of tax: Labour pledged not to raise the top rate of income tax.
- Scrapping the Council Tax: to be replaced by a system of local income tax which would have resulted in middle income families paying more.
- Pensions: free personal care for the elderly plus a guaranteed £105 per week pension for the over 75s to replace Labour's means-tested pension credit proposal.
- Law and Order: desire to rehabilitate offenders and make more use of tough community sentences. Opposition to ID cards. Accused of being soft by both Labour and the Conservatives.
- Housing: the party aimed to provide 100,000 affordable dwellings through a Mutual Homes scheme. Also encouraged councils to build homes to rent.
- Immigration and Asylum: the Liberal Democrats stressed the positive contribution of immigrants. Wished to allow asylum seekers to work so that they wouldn't need to rely on benefits. In comparison, Labour infuriated the Civil Rights lobby by planning for tougher standards for economic migrants and fresh curbs on asylum seekers.
- Iraq: opposition to war a key element of the Liberal Democrat's appeal in 2005. Claimed the Prime Minister was bent on war in 2002 and ridiculed the Tory stance.

#### Skill

3

Comparing past and current policies to arrive at a reasoned conclusion.

4

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

'Green politics has been described as 'new politics' insofar as it does not fit into a conventional ideological framework.' Discuss. (40 marks)

Outline the 'framework of conventional ideological politics'.

- Mainstream ideologies (Liberalism, Conservatism, Socialism) focus on the interests and needs of humankind in general or a particular section of humanity class, nation, race, gender.
- Established ideologies welcome economic growth as a means of satisfying conflicting interests and demands.
- Conventional politics is essentially concerned with short-term problems. Green politics can be seen as 'new' in as much as it rejects the philosophies of the right, left and centre which are seen as 'industrialist' (J Porritt) and 'anthropocentric'.
- Furthermore, the Greens vigorously reject the case for vigorous economic growth and instead advocate a number of basic principles which they feel amount to a wholly alternative view of rationality and mankind's existence, in essence industrialisation versus ecology and this is what makes green politics 'new'. These basic principles include:
  - i. A world approach.
  - ii. Respect for the rights of our descendant.
  - iii. Sufficiency.
  - iv. A conserver economy.
  - v. Sharing resources between groups and nations.
  - vi. Self reliance.

Yet it could also be argued that the Greens have borrowed from other ideologies/political movements and therefore to call them 'new' is something of an exaggeration.

- Anthropocentric/moderate Greens are prepared to work through the usual political channels. Ecological lifestyles can be achieved by national governments pursuing regulatory policies. This approach can be seen to incorporate both neo-liberal and socialist policies and values. Ecocapitalists keep faith with the free market; if green products are demanded, competition will ensure their supply. For liberals, growth is not sacrificed but becomes sustainable. Eco-socialists argue that state governments can take on capitalist multi-national corporations with regulative regimes and a range of social policies to combat the suffering stemming from environmental abuse.
- Authoritarian Greens who call for strong central authority to produce the scale of reform deemed necessary have been described as 'eco-fascist'.
- Utopian Greens –those who advocate 'deep' ecology have borrowed from both anarchism and utopian socialism.

The strength of the answer will depend upon the candidate's ability to establish the extent to which Green thinking can rightly be described as 'new' or original. Conversely, Green politics could be seen as a synthesis of existing ideas and beliefs. In order to arrive at a reasoned conclusion, candidates will need to have marshalled their knowledge to establish the degree to which Green thinking exists outside of the conventional ideological framework.