



General Certificate of Education

**Government and Politics
1151/2151**

GOV3C Politics and Power

Mark Scheme

2010 examination - January 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.

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CRITERIA FOR MARKING AS/A2 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Introduction

AQA's revised Government and Politics specification has been designed to be objectives-led in that questions are set which address the assessment objectives published in the specification. The assessment objectives for A Level and AS are the same, but the weightings are different at AS and A2. Details of the weightings are given in Section 4.2 of the specification.

The schemes of marking reflect these objectives. The mark scheme which follows is of the *levels-of-response* type showing that candidates are expected to demonstrate their mastery of the skills required in the context of their knowledge and understanding of Government and Politics. Mark schemes provide the necessary framework for examiners but they cannot cover all eventualities. Candidates should be given credit for partially complete answers. Where appropriate, candidates should be given credit for referring to recent and contemporary developments in Government and Politics.

Consistency of marking is of the essence in all public examinations. It is therefore of vital importance that assistant examiners apply the mark scheme as directed by the Principal Examiner in order to facilitate comparability with the marking of other options.

Before scrutinising and applying the detail of the specific mark scheme which follows, assistant examiners are required to familiarise themselves with the general principles of the mark scheme as contained in the Assessment Matrix.

Generally speaking there is no unambiguously 'right' or 'wrong' answer to the B questions. Answers will be judged on factors such as quality of the argument, depth of knowledge and understanding, a synoptic grasp of the subject, appropriateness of the examples and internal logic of the discussion. Where candidates are presented with a proposition to be discussed they may support it, reject it, or adopt a balanced position.

There are no limits to the areas of knowledge that candidates may feel able bring to the discussion. Therefore the specification of requirements outlined in the mark schemes can only be indicative. Candidates are not expected to include all the material presented in order to access the full range of available marks. At the same time they may successfully include material from their particular studies which is not indicated in the scheme.

Using a levels-of-response mark scheme

Good examining is about the consistent application of judgement. Mark schemes provide a framework within which examiners exercise their judgement. This is especially so in subjects like Government and Politics, which in part rely upon analysis, evaluation, argument and explanation. With this in mind, examiners should use the Assessment Matrix alongside the detailed mark scheme for each question. The Assessment Matrix provides a framework ensuring a consistent, generic source from which the detailed mark schemes are derived. This supporting framework ensures a consistent approach within which candidates' responses are marked according to the level of demand and context of each question.

Examiners should initially make a decision about which Level any given response should be placed in. Having determined the appropriate Level the examiners must then choose the precise mark to be given within that Level. In making a decision about a specific mark to award, it is vitally important to think first of the mid-range within the Level, where that Level covers more than two marks. Comparison with other candidates' responses to the same question might then suggest whether the middle mark is unduly generous or severe.

In making decisions away from the middle of the Level, examiners should ask themselves questions relating to candidate attainment, including the quality of language. The more positive the answers, the higher should be the mark awarded. We want to avoid 'bunching' of marks. Levels mark schemes can produce regression to the mean, which should be avoided.

A candidate's script should be considered by asking 'Is it:

- precise in its use of factual information?
- appropriately detailed?
- factually accurate?
- appropriately balanced or markedly better in some areas than others?
- generally coherent in expression and cogent in development (as appropriate to the level awarded)?
- well presented as to general quality of language?'

The overall aim is to mark positively, giving credit for what candidates know, understand and can do.

A2 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS
GENERIC MARK SCHEME for part (a) questions (Total: 10 marks)

Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
AO1	AO2	AO3
<p>Level 4 (4 marks) The candidate demonstrates a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The candidate fully addresses the requirements of the question and provides developed and effective to comprehensive interpretation. The answer also provides clear to accurate evidence and, where appropriate, good to excellent examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p>Level 4 (4 marks) The candidate applies an excellent range of developed concepts and uses appropriate political theory to construct a clear and cogent explanation or argument.</p>	<p>Levels 3–4 (2 marks) The candidate communicates clearly and effectively in a sustained and structured manner, using appropriate political vocabulary. There are few, if any, errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar and the response should be legible. 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 3 (3 marks) The candidate demonstrates good knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The candidate clearly addresses the requirements of the question and provides sound interpretation and contextual awareness. The answer includes good examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p>Level 3 (3 marks) The candidate applies a good range of developed concepts and uses appropriate political theory to construct a clear and cogent explanation or argument.</p>	
<p>Level 2 (2 marks) The candidate demonstrates limited knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The candidate makes a limited attempt to address the requirements of the question and provides little to partial but reasonably effective interpretation. Answers offer limited evidence and few or inaccurate examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p>Level 2 (2 marks) The candidate applies a limited range of concepts and makes limited use of political theory or ideas in developing an explanation or argument.</p>	<p>Levels 1–2 (1 mark) The candidate communicates explanations or arguments with limited clarity and effectiveness, using limited political vocabulary. The answer may lack either a clear focus on the question or a sense of direction. 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>Level 1 (1 mark) The candidate demonstrates little knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The candidate makes little attempt to address the requirements of the question and provides little interpretation. Answers offer little evidence and few or inaccurate examples to illustrate points.</p>	<p>Level 1 (1 mark) The candidate applies few concepts and makes little use of political theory or ideas in developing an explanation or argument.</p>	
<p>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 part (b) questions (Total: 30 marks)

Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
AO1	AO2	AO3
<p>Level 4 (10–12 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>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.</p> <p>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)</p> <p>The candidate displays excellent awareness of the implications and demands of the question. There is an excellent and sustained focus on the specific question asked. There is clear and full evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour which displays a sophisticated awareness of differing viewpoints and recognition of issues. Appropriate parallels and connections are clearly identified together with well-developed comparisons. A wide range of concepts is used and developed.</p>	<p>Level 4 (6 marks)</p> <p>The candidate communicates structured and sustained arguments, explanations and conclusions with clarity. Excellent use is made of political vocabulary to construct cogent and coherent arguments and explanations.</p> <p>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)</p> <p>The candidate demonstrates sound knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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)</p> <p>The candidate displays sound awareness of the implications and demands of the question. There is a clear focus on the question. There is a sound evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour which displays good awareness of differing viewpoints and recognition of issues. There is good recognition of parallels and comparisons. Appropriate concepts are used and developed.</p>	<p>Level 3 (4–5 marks)</p> <p>The candidate communicates arguments, explanations and conclusions well. Good use is made of political vocabulary to construct clear arguments and explanations. The response should be legible but there may be occasional errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar. The candidate produces an answer with a conclusion linked to the preceding discussion.</p>

GENERIC MARK SCHEME for part (b) questions (continued)

Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
AO1	AO2	AO3
<p>Level 2 (4–6 marks)</p> <p>The candidate demonstrates outline knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and some awareness of the relationships between them. The answer makes a limited attempt to address the question and demonstrates contextual awareness covering part of the question. An attempt to develop a synoptic approach is made using a limited range of knowledge, perspectives and examples gained more broadly in the study of government and politics. The answer includes a partial and reasonably effective attempt at interpretation or explanation with some examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p>Level 2 (4–6 marks)</p> <p>The candidate displays little awareness of the implications and demands of the question, resulting in a restricted focus. There is a limited evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour which displays a partial awareness of differing viewpoints and issues.</p> <p>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)</p> <p>The candidate communicates arguments and conclusions adequately with a limited use of political vocabulary. There are frequent errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar and legibility may be a problem. A conclusion is offered but its relationship to the preceding discussion may be modest or implicit.</p>
<p>Level 1 (1–3 marks)</p> <p>The candidate demonstrates a slight and incomplete knowledge and understanding of political institutions and processes and a limited awareness of the relationships between them. A very limited attempt at synopticity is made, sometimes using superficial or inaccurate knowledge, perspectives and examples sited 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)</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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)</p> <p>The answer relies upon narrative which 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</p> <p>No relevant response.</p>	<p>0 marks</p> <p>No relevant response.</p>	<p>0 marks</p> <p>No relevant response.</p>

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

(a) Explain the concept of legitimate power in politics.

(10 marks)

Candidates should explain that there are various forms of political power, ranging from the use of force and terror to office-holding through popular election. They should stress that legitimate power of rulers is based on the consent of the ruled. There may well be some discussion of democracy as the most enduring basis for legitimacy. However, they may also note that seemingly democratic structures may not produce genuine legitimate rule. Equally, they may argue that it is possible for monarchies or theocracies to enjoy the consent of the governed as a result of traditional belief systems. Candidates may give examples of rulers and regimes with varying degree of legitimacy.

(b) 'The holding of governmental office is no guarantee of political power.' Discuss.

(30 marks)

Candidates should recognise that the analysis must centre on the contrast between the formal power structure of the state and the political reality of the exercise of power. The focus of the question is on the complex issue of where power in society lies. Candidates may introduce and define key concepts such as power, authority, influence and political interest. They may also be expected to utilise some central theoretical perspectives such as the various forms of pluralist, elitist and Marxist analysis.

Candidates may discuss the nature of governmental office and identify positions of office in the state at various levels. They may also consider pathways to office such as election, tradition and patronage. These may be critically questioned.

Candidates will also be expected to identify forms of power held by those not in formal political office, such as leaders of various types of pressure group, party donors, charismatic figures, the media, business, transnational corporations, global economic actors, central banks, and NGOs and international organisations. They may also consider the power of those prepared to resort to disruptive behaviour, from moderate forms of direct action to violence and threats of violence. Candidates can also focus on the limits on office-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 to illustrate arguments should be drawn from a range of political systems. Examples should aim to show how governments can sometimes be thwarted in their exercise of power by various political forces. These may be drawn from any policy arena (eg education, defence, the economy, welfare state, law and order). The examples may also be historical (eg poll tax).

The conclusion must clearly follow from the previous discussion and should centre on an evaluation of the proposition that although politicians may win office, they may not necessarily win power.

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

(a) Outline the case for collective decision-making in government. <i>(10 marks)</i>

Candidates will need to demonstrate an understanding of the nature of a collective system of decision-making. They may define this as cabinet government. They should then present the arguments for such a system, noting factors such as wide-ranging discussion before action, an opportunity for various positions to be considered, a wider representation of interests within society, representation of the views of departments within the bureaucracy, a sharing of political responsibilities, a clear allocation of portfolios with individual responsibility and a curb on the totalitarian possibilities within presidential systems.

(b) 'Different political leaders, who have held the same office, have used their powers differently.' Discuss. <i>(30 marks)</i>

Candidates should recognise that the analysis must centre on the power of political leaders and its flexible, or elastic, nature. They must consider the extent to which holders of the same office have employed their resources in different ways and to differing extents.

Candidates will be expected to draw upon, and develop further, material they have studied at AS level. They may choose the position of the British prime minister as a focus for analysis and for their practical examples. However, some may bring in comparative material on the basis of their own wider knowledge.

There may be some discussion on the actual position of leadership and perhaps an historical consideration of the way it has evolved. Candidates may note the way in which the position is gained and the security of tenure afforded once it is.

Candidates will be expected to detail and evaluate the sources of power provided by the leadership position. They may refer to factors such as the constitution, support from colleagues, control of the elected assembly, legitimacy through popular election, patronage, an ability to shape the political agenda, support within the bureaucracy from officials, special advisers and think-tanks, party leadership, access to the media, media coverage, and an opportunity to perform on an international stage. Candidates will need to consider the effectiveness of these sources of power and authority and note the extent to which different leaders have made use of them.

Candidates should also note factors which affect a leader's capacity to use the available powers. These will broadly include political circumstances (such as war, media hostility or the state of the economy) and personality of the leader (introducing factors such as charisma, powers of oratory, media skill, popularity and negotiating skills).

It is of course particularly important that examples be given, showing how different leaders have operated, and considering significant events and circumstances during their tenures. In their analysis candidates may decide to place political leaders into categories such as strong, weak or vacillating.

The conclusion must clearly follow from the previous discussion and should centre on an evaluation of the proposition that, despite having held the same office, political leaders use their powers differently.

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

(a) Examine the main agents of political socialisation. (10 marks)

Candidates are required to demonstrate an understanding of the process of political socialisation. They should then identify factors such as TV, radio, the press, religion, the family, the peer group and the education system. They may take a Marxist-type view that the state itself is an agency of socialisation, aiming to create a dominant ideology that ensures social compliance and control. Candidates may argue that the relative importance of these is ever-changing.

(b) 'No political system can be fully understood without reference to its political culture.' Discuss. (30 marks)

Candidates should recognise that the analysis must focus on the utility of the concept of political culture as a tool of the political scientist. They will be expected to consider the existence of causal links between beliefs and attitudes within society and a wide variety of political processes, policies and institutions. Candidates may introduce and define the central concepts of political system and political culture. They may discuss various types of political culture, such as traditional, secular, participant, subject, parochial and civic. They may also consider social factors relating to political culture, such as sexism, racism, religion, xenophobia, geography, ideology, deference, homogeneity and consensus.

Candidates may also consider key popular attitudes towards the state, such as the willingness of people to accept the actions and policies of their governments, and the extent to which they feel they can influence government, trust the government, safely forgo civil liberties, obey the law and show respect for the agencies of law and order.

Candidates may then analyse the ways in which institutions reflect political culture. Here they may look at legal systems, constitutions, judiciaries, monarchy, aristocracy, assemblies, electoral systems, public bureaucracies and levels of devolution. They may also argue that these institutions can themselves act to shape political culture. They may consider related factors such as patterns of political recruitment to institutions and political structures. Political culture may also be seen as a causal factor influencing government policy as, for example, in the case of British entry into the euro-zone. Alternatively, candidates may argue that governments and institutions act to shape those beliefs and attitudes that form political culture. Illustrative examples may be drawn from past and current issues, events and debates. There is also scope for comparative examples from systems such as the USA and EU.

The conclusion must clearly follow from the previous discussion and should centre on an evaluation of the proposition that an appreciation of political culture is necessary to a full understanding of a political system.

4**Total for this question: 40 marks****(a) Explain the term 'pooled sovereignty'.****(10 marks)**

Candidates should explain that in a supranational association of states, each will sacrifice a degree of national sovereignty to the collectivity. They should explain that this is often described as 'pooled sovereignty'. They may note that critics of such associations tend to reject this view and describe the relationship as a 'loss of sovereignty'. Candidates will be expected to recognise the EU as the most obvious example of a supranational association. Within this they may note that, in practice, the degree of supranationality varies with the different institutions. Thus the Commissioners swear an oath to renounce national allegiance while the Council often sees members 'fighting their corners'. They may introduce the concept of federalism, perhaps citing the USA. They may also draw a contrast with associations which are more clearly internationalist, such as the UN, where national sovereignty is retained.

(b) 'The people and governments of the UK have never been comfortable with membership of the European Union.' Discuss. (30 marks)

Candidates should recognise the key points in the evolution of the EU that are relevant to the question. These may begin with the UK decision to remain outside both the ECSC in 1951 and the European Community in 1957. They may consider the arguments for these decisions. They may also examine the failed UK applications and the negotiations that finally led to entry. Some may regard the referendum on continued membership as another key element in the debate in question. Candidates may go on to consider a range of events and treaties, including the UK rebate, monetary union, 'opt-outs' from the euro-zone and the Social Chapter, and the progressive expansion of Qualified Majority Voting. Significant treaties might include those of Rome, Maastricht, Amsterdam, Nice and Lisbon.

In addition candidates should consider the positions of various UK governments and leading political figures such as Harold Macmillan, Harold Wilson, Roy Jenkins, Edward Heath, Margaret Thatcher, John Major, Tony Blair, David Cameron and Gordon Brown. Candidates should note the position and significance of the 'Eurosceptics', including figures from both left and right. They may also consider the cross-party and inter-party debates.

Candidates may also report on popular views towards UK membership of the EU as expressed through opinion polls and in the media. They may note the ability of the press to influence debate and discuss the (often partisan) influence of the media 'barons'.

There should be analysis of the reasons for various degrees of Euroscepticism. Here there may be reference to the 'special relationship' with the USA, anti-Europeanism, memories of European wars, the legacy of empire, the Commonwealth, fear of capitalist domination, the Common Agricultural Policy, the single currency, the power of the European Commission, the 'democratic deficit', supranationalism, the Social Chapter, the extension of Qualified Majority Voting and enlargement. Most particularly, candidates will be expected to consider the anxiety over a loss of political sovereignty.

The conclusion must clearly follow from the previous discussion and should centre on an evaluation of the proposition that both people and governments have been uncomfortable with the UK's EU membership.

ASSESSMENT OBJECTIVE GRID

A2 Assessment Objective	Marks allocated by Assessment Objective Part (a) question	Marks allocated by Assessment Objective Part (b) question	Total Marks by Assessment Objective
AO1	4	12	16
AO2	4	12	16
AO3	2	6	8
Total	10	30	40