

Version 1.0



**General Certificate of Education
June 2010**

Government and Politics GOV3C

Politics and Power

Unit 3C

Mark Scheme

Mark schemes are prepared by the Principal Examiner and considered, together with the relevant questions, by a panel of subject teachers. This mark scheme includes any amendments made at the standardisation meeting attended by all examiners and is the scheme which was used by them in this examination. The standardisation meeting ensures that the mark scheme covers the candidates' responses to questions and that every examiner understands and applies it in the same correct way. As preparation for the standardisation meeting each examiner analyses a number of candidates' scripts: alternative answers not already covered by the mark scheme are discussed at the meeting and legislated for. If, after this meeting, examiners encounter unusual answers which have not been discussed at the meeting they are required to refer these to the Principal Examiner.

It must be stressed that a mark scheme is a working document, in many cases further developed and expanded on the basis of candidates' reactions to a particular paper. Assumptions about future mark schemes on the basis of one year's document should be avoided; whilst the guiding principles of assessment remain constant, details will change, depending on the content of a particular examination paper.

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Set and published by the Assessment and Qualifications Alliance.

CRITERIA FOR MARKING AS/A2 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Introduction

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

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

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

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

At A2, generally speaking, there is no unambiguously 'right' or 'wrong' answer to the 30-mark questions. Answers will be judged on factors such as quality of the argument, depth of knowledge and understanding, a synoptic grasp of the subject, appropriateness of the examples and internal logic of the discussion. Where candidates are presented with a proposition to be discussed they may support it, reject it or adopt a balanced position.

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

Using a levels-of-response mark scheme

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

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

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

Levels mark schemes can produce regression to the mean, which should be avoided. A candidate's script should be considered by asking 'Is it:

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

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

A2 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS
GENERIC MARK SCHEME for questions with a total of 10 marks

Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
AO1	AO2	AO3
<p>Level 4 (4 marks) The candidate demonstrates a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The candidate fully addresses the requirements of the question and provides developed and effective to comprehensive interpretation. The answer also provides clear to accurate evidence and, where appropriate, good to excellent examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p>Level 4 (4 marks) The candidate applies an excellent range of developed concepts and uses appropriate political theory to construct a clear and cogent explanation or argument.</p>	<p>Levels 3–4 (2 marks) The candidate communicates clearly and effectively in a sustained and structured manner, using appropriate political vocabulary. There are few, if any, errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar and the response should be legible.</p>
<p>Level 3 (3 marks) The candidate demonstrates good knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The candidate clearly addresses the requirements of the question and provides sound interpretation and contextual awareness. The answer includes good examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p>Level 3 (3 marks) The candidate applies a good range of developed concepts and uses appropriate political theory to construct a clear and cogent explanation or argument.</p>	<p>The answer has a clear sense of direction, is focused on the question and, where appropriate, has a conclusion which flows from the discussion.</p>
<p>Level 2 (2 marks) The candidate demonstrates limited knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The candidate makes a limited attempt to address the requirements of the question and provides little to partial but reasonably effective interpretation. Answers offer limited evidence and few or inaccurate examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p>Level 2 (2 marks) The candidate applies a limited range of concepts and makes limited use of political theory or ideas in developing an explanation or argument.</p>	<p>Levels 1–2 (1 mark) The candidate communicates explanations or arguments with limited clarity and effectiveness using limited political vocabulary. The answer may lack either a clear focus on the question or a sense of direction.</p>
<p>Level 1 (1 mark) The candidate demonstrates little knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The candidate makes little attempt to address the requirements of the question and provides little interpretation. Answers offer little evidence and few or inaccurate examples to illustrate points.</p>	<p>Level 1 (1 mark) The candidate applies few concepts and makes little use of political theory or ideas in developing an explanation or argument.</p>	<p>There are frequent errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar and legibility may be a problem. A conclusion, where appropriate, may be offered but its relationship to the preceding discussion is modest or implicit.</p>
<p>0 marks No relevant response.</p>	<p>0 marks No relevant response.</p>	<p>0 marks No relevant response.</p>

A2 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS
GENERIC MARK SCHEME for questions with a total of 30 marks

Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
A01	A02	A03
<p>Level 4 (10–12 marks) The candidate demonstrates a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them. A synoptic approach is fully developed, drawing appropriately on knowledge, perspectives and examples from a wide range of studies in government and politics. The answer fully addresses the requirements of the question and demonstrates excellent contextual awareness. The answer includes excellent examples to illustrate points made. The answer includes detailed and comprehensive interpretations or explanations as well as accurate evidence and relevant examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p>Level 4 (10–12 marks) The candidate displays excellent awareness of the implications and demands of the question. There is an excellent and sustained focus on the specific question asked. There is clear and full evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour which displays a sophisticated awareness of differing viewpoints and recognition of issues. Appropriate parallels and connections are clearly identified, together with well-developed comparisons. A wide range of concepts is used and developed.</p>	<p>Level 4 (6 marks) The candidate communicates structured and sustained arguments, explanations and conclusions with clarity. Excellent use is made of political vocabulary to construct cogent and coherent arguments and explanations. The response should be legible, with few, if any, errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar. The answer has a clear sense of direction, culminating in a conclusion that flows from the preceding discussion.</p>
<p>Level 3 (7–9 marks) The candidate demonstrates sound knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them. A synoptic approach is well developed, using a range of knowledge, perspectives and examples gained elsewhere in the study of government and politics. The answer clearly addresses the requirements of the question and demonstrates sound contextual awareness. The answer includes developed and effective interpretations or explanations and also clear evidence and good examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p>Level 3 (7–9 marks) The candidate displays sound awareness of the implications and demands of the question. There is a clear focus on the question. There is a sound evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour which displays good awareness of differing viewpoints and recognition of issues. There is good recognition of parallels and comparisons. Appropriate concepts are used and developed.</p>	<p>Level 3 (4–5 marks) The candidate communicates arguments, explanations and conclusions well. Good use is made of political vocabulary to construct clear arguments and explanations. The response should be legible but there may be occasional errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar. The candidate produces an answer with a conclusion linked to the preceding discussion.</p>

GENERIC MARK SCHEME for questions with a total of 30 marks (continued)

Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
AO1	AO2	AO3
<p>Level 2 (4–6 marks) The candidate demonstrates outline knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and some awareness of the relationships between them. The answer makes a limited attempt to address the question and demonstrates contextual awareness covering part of the question. An attempt to develop a synoptic approach is made, using a limited range of knowledge, perspectives and examples gained more broadly in the study of government and politics. The answer includes a partial and reasonably effective attempt at interpretation or explanation, with some examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p>Level 2 (4–6 marks) The candidate displays little awareness of the implications and demands of the question, resulting in a restricted focus. There is a limited evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour, which displays a partial awareness of differing viewpoints and issues. There is some recognition of basic parallels and comparisons. Arguments and explanations are undeveloped, with a limited use of concepts.</p>	<p>Level 2 (2–3 marks) The candidate communicates arguments and conclusions adequately, with a limited use of political vocabulary. There are frequent errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar and legibility may be a problem. A conclusion is offered but its relationship to the preceding discussion may be modest or implicit.</p>
<p>Level 1 (1–3 marks) The candidate demonstrates a slight and incomplete knowledge and understanding of political institutions and processes and a limited awareness of the relationships between them. A very limited attempt at synopticity is made, sometimes using superficial or inaccurate knowledge, perspectives and examples cited from elsewhere in their study of government and politics. There is little attempt to address the requirements of the question. There is only superficial awareness, if any, of the context of the question, with little interpretation and few, if any, examples, often inaccurately reported or inappropriately used.</p>	<p>Level 1 (1–3 marks) The candidate displays little awareness of the implications and demands of the question and focus is lacking. Evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour is superficial. Analysis shows little awareness of differing viewpoints and issues. There is little, if any, recognition of parallels and comparisons. Arguments, explanations and use of concepts are superficial and naïve.</p>	<p>Level 1 (1 mark) The answer relies upon narrative that is not fully coherent. There is little or no use of political vocabulary. Errors in spelling, punctuation and grammar may be intrusive and the response may not be legible. A conclusion, if present, is not adequately related to the preceding discussion.</p>
<p>0 marks No relevant response.</p>	<p>0 marks No relevant response.</p>	<p>0 marks No relevant response.</p>

Topic 1 Power in Modern Society**Total for this question: 40 marks****(01) Explain the concept of elitism.****(10 marks)**

Candidates should explain that elitism is a theory of political power. Although there are variants on the theory it basically asserts that in any society a small group will tend to take control and govern, or influence government, in its own interests. Some candidates may refer to thinkers such as Pareto, Mosca and Michels as classical elite theorists. They may also consider a Marxist approach, arguing that the real power in society lies with the owners and controllers of capital. Alternatively they may look at the work of C Wright Mills. Some candidates may take a position on the value of the elitist thesis and may question its validity as an explanation of power in society. They may, for example, argue that the real power in a democracy does, or should, lie with the people. They may also consider the arguments that the control of society should lie in the hands of 'Those who know best'. This could also lead into a discussion on the power of modern bureaucracy.

(02) 'In a pluralist democracy a government is little more than a referee.' Discuss. (30 marks)

Answers should open with an introductory discussion in which candidates show a recognition that the essential focus of the analysis is on the nature of government power in a pluralist democracy. They may be expected to recognise the 'referee' allusion as a description of government power in the classical pluralist theory. Some may dwell upon the metaphor, examining its value.

They should offer a clear account of the theory of pluralism in its classical form. This should include points such as the following:

- Elections are only one element in an effective democracy.
- Between elections a process of consultation allows people a continuing voice in government.
- In a democracy all people have the freedom to voice their demands.
- Governments need to work with interest groups for information and co-operation.
- Most individuals are members of several interest groups.
- Larger groups will have more influence than smaller ones.
- Unorganised sections of society will be protected because government will see them as latent groups.
- Particular groups will not dominate because the existence of one group will generate the formation of a countervailing group.

Under such a system governments make policy by weighing up the interests of competing groups and producing outcomes that satisfy the largest number. These are more acceptable to all since all have had the opportunity to voice their demands. Candidates may criticise this model, citing neo-pluralist theories and arguing points such as:

- Groups do not all enjoy equal access to government.
- Groups do not all have equal wealth.
- Some groups are unpopular.
- Large groups are not necessarily more influential, small tightly-knit groups can be very powerful.

- Some groups are more favoured by governments than others.
- Some groups can hold governments to ransom.
- Some groups are better organised for action (say through professional organisations).
- Some groups are unable to act (anomic groups).

Candidates can argue variously that the classical model of pluralism is essentially an accurate portrayal of government power, that the group balance is unequal, with some groups enjoying continuing dominance, or that governments act independently of group pressure. They may argue that different configurations apply in different policy areas, or under different circumstances, or under different governments. Some candidates may explore the normative stance that governments should not listen to groups and should consider only the national interest. All such conclusions will be acceptable providing that they are clearly argued and logically constructed. Throughout the discussion the points must be supported by examples of different groups, policies and governments.

There should be a concluding section that derives from preceding discussion. This must come back clearly to the proposition that in a pluralist democracy a government is little more than a referee.

Topic 2 Executive Power**Total for this question: 40 marks**

(03) How does the concept of the 'core executive' deepen our understanding of the policy process? (10 marks)

Candidates should distinguish the core executive from the extended executive, which broadly encompasses the whole machinery of state. They should explain the core executive as a complex web of institutions, networks and relations surrounding the prime minister, embracing the Cabinet, key cabinet committees, policy units and think tanks, 'spin doctors', the Cabinet Secretariat, Cabinet Secretary, permanent secretaries and other senior officials at the heart of government. They should recognise that the core executive is also enmeshed in complex policy networks (or sub-governments) extending beyond the Westminster/Whitehall village to embrace a range of pressure groups. They may be expected to argue that this view offers a more meaningful tool for the analysis of the way policies emerge in modern government. They may suggest it is a corrective to a view which centres on the activities of the Cabinet and prime minister.

(04) 'Government can only be effective when the executive can dominate the legislature.' Discuss. (30 marks)

Candidates should open with an introductory discussion in which they recognise that the question concerns the relationship of the executive arm of government with the legislature. In the initial stages of the answer candidates may be expected to detail the respective functions of the executive and legislature. Some may outline the principle of the separation of powers, and this may be contrasted with evidence of a fusion of powers. Examples should be used to illustrate arguments. Many of these may be expected to come from areas studied at AS level.

Candidates will need to show that they understand the mechanics of the executive's relationship with the legislature. They may argue that the essential role of the legislature is control and accountability and analyse the instruments available for this such as:

- question time
- scrutiny committees
- legislative debate
- debates on government policy.

Alternatively, candidates may argue that the role of the legislature is to support an executive in order for it to enact its election promises. They may argue that party discipline is an essential tool in this. Analysis of the ways in which executives can secure this support may include:

- patronage
- threat of dissolution
- control of the timetable
- curtailment of debate
- whipping systems
- party loyalty.

Candidates may take the line that without executive domination a legislature cannot move forward, that long unrestricted debate can prevent speedy action, that assemblies are talking

shops rather than instruments of policy making. Alternatively, they may argue that executive domination is a threat to democracy, which can reduce assemblies to rubber stamps.

The key to answering the question well is to go beyond the mechanisms of the relationship to a conclusion that assesses the assertion that government can only be effective when the executive can dominate the legislature.

Topic 3 Political Culture**Total for this question: 40 marks**

(05) Explain the difference between a subject and a participant political culture. (10 marks)

Candidates should explain that a subject political culture is seen as one where citizens recognise a central government but are subjected to its decisions, with little scope for dissent or opportunity to influence it. They may note that the term subject has its origins in monarchical systems of government. These have been challenged in the era of European revolutions. In contrast, a participant political culture is one where citizens can voice dissent and feel able to influence the government through demonstrations and consultation. They may note citizenship as being seen as a goal of the great revolutions. Candidates may argue that these are ideal types and may not actually exist anywhere. Alternatively, they may offer examples of actual states and place them in these categories. It is likely that they will note that, in those countries which retain monarchies, the people remain constitutionally subjects rather than citizens. However, they may argue that in practice the norms of liberal democracy and civil rights laws erode the distinction.

(06) 'Class remains the dominant basis for social cleavage in UK political culture.' Discuss. (30 marks)

Candidates should recognise from the outset that the question relates to social homogeneity as a feature of political culture. They should understand that the central issue relates to the extent that the UK political system is dominated by class. Some may see the proposition in question as a challenge to claims that British society is becoming classless. In the initial stages of the discussion they would be expected to explain the central concept of class as a key feature of political culture.

Candidates will offer definitions of key terms such as class and social cleavage. They may also categorise classes within society (upper, upper middle, lower middle, working, underclass, etc). Some may consider a Marxist definition of class. They may also stress links between class and other social factors, such as race, gender and geographical location.

Candidates may go on to consider changing patterns and attitudes, examining factors such as:

- voting patterns and partisan dealignment
- changing degrees of respect for institutions such as the monarchy, the House of Lords, the aristocracy, the judiciary, the school and the police
- shifts in the ideological centre of politics and the widespread embrace of neo-liberalism and individualism and lower-class advancement
- changes in the class background of MPs, reform of the House of Lords
- declining power of trade unions
- a more aggressive style of media treatment of politicians and public figures.

Candidates should then consider alternative bases for social cleavage such as race, gender, religion and age. They should note the extent to which these can influence politics. Here they may cite a range of evidence, such as terrorist threats, race riots, the 'Muslim Parliament', attitudes to authority amongst minorities, increased resort to direct action, more assertive attitudes from women's groups, women in politics.

Those wishing to argue that class remains a dominant part of political culture may cite examples such as the aristocracy, the public school system (perhaps noting that Tony Blair, David Cameron and Nick Clegg attended elitist institutions) and recruitment to establishment positions (civil service, banking, media, law).

The conclusion should arise from the foregoing discussion and will reject, accept or modify the proposition that class remains the dominant basis for social cleavage in UK political culture.

Topic 4 Britain in Europe**Total for this question: (40 marks)**

(07) To what extent does the term 'Eurosceptic' describe a homogeneous group? (10 marks)

Candidates should recognise that opinion amongst both politicians and the public is divided on membership of the EU. They should also appreciate that not all those termed Eurosceptics hold identical views. While some do feel genuine scepticism about membership, for others the term is little more than a euphemism for hostility. Candidates should be able to give examples of various Eurosceptics, including members of the major parties, interest groups and newspapers. They may also be expected to consider the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP). This could lead to questions over various controversies and anomalies, such as the fact that the UKIP seek representation in the European Parliament. Candidates should note the different aspirations of those called Eurosceptics, with some having a moderate reform agenda and others wanting to leave the Union altogether. It is important that candidates recognise that these sentiments can be found throughout the left–right political spectrum, found within the business community and the trade unions and within political parties. Some may note the particular tensions which have existed within the Conservative party.

(08) Discuss why the evolution of the European Union (originally the European Economic Community) has not been a smooth process. (30 marks)

Candidates should recognise that the question is asking them to analyse the development of the EU, noting and accounting for periods of progress and *immobilisme* (stagnation).

Candidates should begin by explaining the goals of the integration process, such as the maintenance of peace in post-war Western Europe and/or the creation of a trade area. They should then analyse the pattern of development. They may identify key figures in EU development, such as Jean Monet and Jacques Delors, as well as major reforms and controversies. Candidates will not all be expected to highlight the same material but they should select what they consider to be key events and milestones. Some may make the position of the UK at various times a principal point of focus. No single candidate is expected to detail all the material presented below and some may introduce relevant material not included.

- Establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) (1951) comprising six members. (UK declines membership.)
- Formation of the Action Committee for a United States of Europe under Jean Monet (1954).
- Establishment of Euratom and the European Economic Community (Treaty of Rome 1957) (UK declines membership). EU is to experience a dynamic decade.
- Britain, experiencing relative economic decline, forms the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) with Norway, Denmark, Switzerland, Austria and Portugal (1959).
- Macmillan announces intention to apply for EEC membership. Vetoed by General de Gaulle (1963). This holds back integration process and begins a period of *immobilisme*.
- 'Luxembourg Compromise' agreed (1966).
- Labour government makes second application (1967). Again vetoed by de Gaulle.
- Resignation of de Gaulle (1969) opens a new period of dynamism.
- The Werner Plan (1970) argues for harmonisation of economic and budgetary policy and leads to launch of European Monetary System.
- Heath makes successful application. UK joins EEC (1973). Labour opposes terms of entry.

- Labour holds referendum on continued membership (1974). A 'Yes' vote comes but much UK scepticism remains.
- Paris summit formally recognises the European Council (1974).
- Democracy increases in the Community when elections to the European Parliament (EP) begin (1979).
- Thatcher becomes UK prime minister (1979), opening a new phase of tension as she falls out with other leaders over UK budgetary contribution.
- Portugal and Spain join the Community (1986).
- White paper from President of the Commission, Jacques Delors, *Completing the European Market*, leads to the Single European Act (1986) with programme for social cohesion and a more genuine open market. Thatcher opposes. Co-operation process gives EP more voice in legislation.
- Maastricht Treaty on European Union (1992) promotes integration across a number of fronts and the term European Union assumes wide usage. Programme for a single currency laid down and QMV for economic policy. Co-decision process increases EP power over legislation. John Major secures UK opt-outs. Stormy scenes at ratification in the House of Commons.
- Amsterdam summit (1997) achieves only modest results.
- Member states begin to adopt euro as their currency (1999).
- Nice summit (2001) to reform institutions to make way for enlargement to include East European countries proves fractious. Irish refuse to ratify treaty but do so in a second referendum.
- EU leaders sign a controversial Treaty to Establish a Constitution for the EU (2004). Opposition fears of a federal super-state. UK government is spared embarrassment over ratification when first the French and then the Dutch vote 'No' in referendums.
- An unofficial Action Committee for European Democracy, backed by the Commission, produces a watered-down version, which is no longer called a constitution. This is finally agreed after a fractious European Council summit in which the UK secures various opt-outs. This is signed as the Treaty of Lisbon (2007).
- Governments begin to ratify the treaty but Ireland's voters (the only ones given a referendum) derail the project with a 'No' vote. At a Brussels summit EU leaders ponder the future.

(NB Dates given by candidates may vary owing to different times of summits, treaty signings and treaty enactments.)

The conclusion should arise from the foregoing discussion and will reject, accept or modify the proposition that the evolution of the European Union has not been a smooth process. Differing interpretations will be acceptable providing they are supported with evidence and sound analysis.

ASSESSMENT OBJECTIVE GRID

A2 Assessment Objective	Marks allocated by Assessment Objective 10-mark questions	Marks allocated by Assessment Objective 30-mark questions	Total Marks by Assessment Objective
AO1	4	12	16
AO2	4	12	16
AO3	2	6	8
Total	10	30	40