



**General Certificate of Education
January 2012**

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.

Further copies of this Mark Scheme are available to download from the AQA Website: www.aqa.org.uk

Copyright © 2012 AQA and its licensors. All rights reserved.

COPYRIGHT

AQA retains the copyright on all its publications. However, registered centres for AQA are permitted to copy material from this booklet for their own internal use, with the following important exception: AQA cannot give permission to centres to photocopy any material that is acknowledged to a third party even for internal use within the centre.

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 made.</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>

GENERIC MARK SCHEME for questions with a total of 30 marks

Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
AO1	AO2	AO3
<p>Level 4 (10–12 marks) The 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 topic: 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 Plato, 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. Reference to key pluralist writers (eg Bentley, Truman) should be rewarded as appropriate. 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. Reference to alternative models of the relationship between government, groups and governed (eg Marxist, corporatist) where used for illustrative purposes should be rewarded so long as the focus on the question is maintained. 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 the 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 topic: 40 marks**

(03) Analyse the functions of the executive arm of government.

(10 marks)

Candidates are expected to define the executive arm of government, perhaps making a distinction between the core executive and extended executive. At the heart of the analysis should be a distinction between policy formation and policy implementation, both of which may be seen as functions of the executive. However, they should note that legislation, as such, is not a function of the executive, although there are ways in which the executive may effectively make laws, such as through delegated legislation. Reference to the separation of powers and the relationship of the executive to other powers may be rewarded. Candidates may also detail a more complex catalogue of executive functions such as leadership, agenda setting, resource allocation, public relations, communication, reconciling demands and public management.

(04) 'Excessive executive power is a threat to democratic government.' Discuss. *(30 marks)*

Candidates should demonstrate accurate knowledge and understanding of factors such as some of the following:

- Terms and concepts central to the issue such as executive power, democratic government, 'elected dictatorship', excessive and threat.
- The nature of executive power.
- Types of executive.
- Constitutional features intended to restrict excessive executive power such as federalism, the bureaucracy, the separation of powers, the rule of law, the legislative process and scrutiny by assemblies.
- Executive relationships with the assembly.
- Executive bureaucratic machinery.
- The debate concerning the power of the Cabinet Secretary.
- Executive secrecy and the 30-year rule.
- The debate over leaks and ministerial memoirs.
- The notion of presidentialism and the associated critique of the working of the modern British core executive.
- Problems associated with the media, the activity of news management and the term 'spin doctor'.

Candidates should demonstrate at the outset their recognition that the analysis should seek to assess critically the level of power of the executive in the system of government. Answers may well develop points made in the discussion of question 03. There should be some discussion around the point that, in a democratic system of government, the executive should not have untrammelled power. After this it may be noted that in reality executive power is, in the eyes of many commentators, growing excessively at the expense of the other organs of government. There may be some analysis of the various ways in which this power has increased, covering such areas as the use of the media, the employment of special advisers and 'spin doctors', claims of a terrorist threat, interference with judicial sentencing and party discipline. It is also likely that there are thoughts on the issue of a *de facto* prime ministerial department. Credit is given for examples drawn from past and present, illustrating incidents and controversies. Candidates may make comparisons between the UK and other states, such as the USA.

Conclusions should derive from earlier discussion and come back to the proposition in question, with which candidates may agree or disagree.

The conclusion should centre on an evaluation of the proposition that modern executives are under a threat of domination by officials. Candidates may agree or disagree with the proposition but the position adopted must clearly follow from the previous discussion.

Topic 3 Political Culture**Total for this topic: 40 marks****(05) Explain the concept of deference.****(10 marks)**

Candidates will need to recognise deference as one of the characteristics that constitute a political culture. They may explain that in a deferential political culture people will generally trust the institutions of state to operate in the public interest. They may argue that deference is necessary for political stability and that, where there is a crisis of deference, civic unrest and even revolution can ensue. Some may argue that deference is a necessary condition of a capitalist state. On the other hand, some candidates may challenge the virtue of deference, seeing it as conducive to class rule and oppression. They may note that deference can be shown towards a range of institutions besides those of the government, including the courts, the police force, schools, the medical profession and the legal profession. Candidates may note that, in the UK, this characteristic was more prevalent in the mid-twentieth century than today, and may offer explanations for its decline. Some may draw a distinction between political cultures, perhaps by suggesting that those of the USA and France have been less deferential than that of the UK.

(06) Analyse the factors that shape a political culture.**(30 marks)**

Candidates should demonstrate their recognition that the essential focus of the analysis should be on identifying and examining a wide range of influences that shape a political culture.

In the main body of the answer, candidates should introduce and define key relevant terms such as:

- The central concepts of political attitudes, political beliefs, political socialisation and political culture
- Types of political culture such as traditional, secular, participant, subject, parochial and civic
- Relevant aspects of political culture such as ideology, citizenship, deference, patriotism, xenophobia, homogeneity and consensus.

Candidates should identify and critically appraise a range of determinants of political culture. These may include the presence and nature of institutional features such as constitutions, judiciaries, assemblies, electoral systems, public bureaucracies and levels of devolution. They may also examine dominant attitudes such as those towards class and social stratification, religion, gender and race. Important historical landmarks such as wars, revolutions and imperial experience may also be considered as determinants of political culture. Candidates may analyse patterns of immigration, salient political issues, the impact of notable political figures and the presence of ancient traditions and practices (monarchy, aristocracy, church). Climate, geography and natural catastrophes may also be included in the analysis. Relevant comparative material should be rewarded. Agents of political socialisation such as TV, radio, the press, religion, family, peer group, school, and the government itself, should also be considered.

There should be a concluding section that derives from the preceding discussion. However, as with many political issues, there is no unambiguously right or wrong answer to this question. Candidates may assign differing degrees of importance to the factors they identify and analyse. The important discriminator is the extent to which their choices are justified and supported with arguments and examples.

Topic 4 Britain in Europe**Total for this topic: (40 marks)****(07) 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.

(08) '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, and offer evidence from European elections (such as low turnout, and election of UKIP candidates). 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, enlargement and the Eurozone crisis. 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 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

Mark Ranges and Award of Grades

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

Converting Marks into UMS marks

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

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