

A-LEVEL

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

GOVP2 Governing Modern Britain

Mark scheme

June 2014

Version: 1.0 Final

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

It must be stressed that a mark scheme is a working document, in many cases further developed and expanded on the basis of students' 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 from aqa.org.uk

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 students 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. Students should be given credit for partially complete answers. Where appropriate, students 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.

There are no limits to the areas of knowledge that students may feel able bring to the discussion. Therefore the specification of requirements outlined in the mark schemes can only be indicative. Students 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 students' 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 students' 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 student 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 student'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 students know, understand and can do.

AS GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**GENERIC MARK SCHEME for questions with a total of 5 marks**

Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy
AO1
<p>Level 4 (5 marks) The student successfully demonstrates excellent knowledge and understanding of political data, concept(s) or term(s).</p> <p>Where appropriate, the student is able to illustrate his/her answer with relevant evidence/example(s).</p>
<p>Level 3 (4 marks) The student successfully demonstrates good knowledge and understanding of political data, concept(s) or term(s).</p> <p>Where appropriate, the student is able to illustrate his/her answer with relevant evidence/example(s).</p>
<p>Level 2 (2–3 marks) The student demonstrates limited knowledge and understanding of political data, concept(s) or term(s).</p> <p>The student may illustrate his/her answer with evidence/example(s) of limited relevance.</p>
<p>Level 1 (1 mark) The student demonstrates little knowledge and understanding of political data, concept(s) or term(s).</p> <p>The student may illustrate his/her answer with evidence/example(s) of little relevance.</p>
<p>0 marks No relevant response.</p>

AS 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 student demonstrates an excellent knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes.</p> <p>The student deploys relevant knowledge and understanding to fully address the requirements of the question and produces accurate and/or relevant examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p>Level 4 (4 marks) The student 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 student communicates clearly and effectively, in a structured and sustained manner, making excellent or good use of appropriate political vocabulary.</p> <p>There are few, if any, errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar and the response should be legible.</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 3 (3 marks) The student demonstrates good knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes.</p> <p>The student addresses the requirements of the question and produces examples and/or evidence to illustrate points made.</p>	<p>Level 3 (3 marks) The student 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 student demonstrates limited knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes.</p> <p>The student makes a limited attempt to address the requirements of the question and produces few or inaccurate examples and/or limited evidence to illustrate points made.</p>	<p>Level 2 (2 marks) The student 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 student 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>There are frequent errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar and legibility may be a problem.</p>

GENERIC MARK SCHEME for questions with a total of 10 marks (continued)

Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
AO1	AO2	AO3
Level 1 (1 mark) The student demonstrates little knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes. The student makes little attempt to address the requirements of the question and produces few examples and/or little evidence to illustrate points made.	Level 1 (1 mark) The student applies few concepts and makes little use of political theory or ideas in developing an explanation or argument.	Levels 1–2 (continued) (1 mark) A conclusion, where appropriate, may be offered but its relationship to the preceding discussion is modest or implicit.
0 marks No relevant response.	0 marks No relevant response.	0 marks No relevant response.

AS GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**GENERIC MARK SCHEME for questions with a total of 25 marks**

Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
AO1	AO2	AO3
<p>Level 4 (10–11 marks) The student successfully demonstrates accurate knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them, producing an answer that deploys relevant knowledge and understanding to address the requirements of the question and demonstrates significant contextual awareness.</p> <p>The student's answer includes relevant evidence and/or examples to substantiate and illustrate points made.</p>	<p>Level 4 (7–8 marks) The student evaluates political institutions, processes and behaviour, applying appropriate concepts and theories.</p> <p>The student provides analysis which displays sound awareness of differing viewpoints and a clear recognition of issues. Parallels and connections are identified, together with valid and precise comparisons. The answer includes relevant and convincing interpretations or explanations.</p>	<p>Level 4 (5–6 marks) The student communicates clear, structured and sustained arguments and explanations, making excellent use of appropriate political vocabulary.</p> <p>The response should be legible with few, if any, errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar.</p> <p>The student produces answers with a clear sense of direction leading towards a coherent conclusion.</p>
<p>Level 3 (7–9 marks) The student demonstrates generally accurate knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them, producing an answer that addresses the requirements of the question and demonstrates adequate contextual awareness.</p> <p>The answer provides evidence backed up by clear examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p>Level 3 (5–6 marks) The student evaluates political institutions, processes and behaviour, applying some concepts or theories.</p> <p>The student provides clear arguments and explanations and demonstrates awareness of differing viewpoints and recognition of issues. Parallels and connections are identified, together with some sound comparison.</p>	<p>Level 3 (3–4 marks) The student communicates arguments and explanations, making good use of appropriate political vocabulary.</p> <p>The response should be legible but there may be occasional errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar.</p> <p>A conclusion is linked to the preceding discussion.</p>

GENERIC MARK SCHEME for questions with a total of 25 marks (continued)

Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
AO1	AO2	AO3
<p>Level 2 (4–6 marks) The student demonstrates basic knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and some awareness of the relationships between them, making a limited attempt to address the requirements of the question.</p> <p>The student may demonstrate contextual awareness covering part of the question, and may produce limited evidence and/or few examples.</p>	<p>Level 2 (3–4 marks) The student offers a limited evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour and begins to construct arguments which contain basic explanations.</p> <p>The student shows some awareness of differing viewpoints. There is recognition of basic parallels or limited comparisons.</p>	<p>Level 2 (2 marks) The student attempts to develop an argument using basic political vocabulary.</p> <p>There are frequent errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar and legibility may be a problem.</p> <p>Where a conclusion is offered, its relationship to the preceding discussion may be modest or implicit.</p>
<p>Level 1 (1–3 marks) The student demonstrates slight and/or incomplete knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and limited awareness of the relationships between them.</p> <p>The student makes a very limited attempt to address the requirements of the question. Only superficial awareness of the context of the question is evident and the few examples cited are often inaccurately reported or inappropriately used.</p>	<p>Level 1 (1–2 marks) The student makes a partial attempt to evaluate political institutions, processes and behaviour. Arguments offered are superficial or simplistic. There is very limited awareness of parallels or comparisons.</p>	<p>Level 1 (1 mark) The answer relies upon narrative which is not fully coherent and which is expressed without using political vocabulary.</p> <p>Errors in spelling, punctuation and grammar may be intrusive and the response may not be legible.</p> <p>A conclusion is either not offered or it is not related to the preceding material.</p>
<p>0 marks No relevant response.</p>	<p>0 marks No relevant response.</p>	<p>0 marks No relevant response.</p>

NB: whilst there is no requirement for students to make reference to the extract or passage provided when answering questions with a total of 25 marks, the use of such material can be credited on AO1 and AO2, where it is relevant to the question posed. Students may also be given credit for using relevant material drawn from the extracts or passages which accompany other questions on the paper.

Topic 1 The British Constitution**Total for this topic: 40 marks****(01)** Explain the term ‘conventions’ as used in the extract.**[5 marks]**

At a basic level of response, students should show knowledge and understanding that conventions constitute one of the sources of the British constitution. Students may describe them as unwritten rules. They should be able to give examples of conventions. At higher levels of response, they may explain that conventions are found in most constitutions but are particularly significant in that of Britain, owing largely to its uncodified nature. They may explain variously that conventions can evolve over time, that some may be adhered to more strongly than others and that new ones can evolve. Students are not expected to cover all the above points in order to score maximum marks.

AO1 = 5 marks

AO2 = 0 marks

AO3 = 0 marks

(02) Using your own knowledge as well as the extract, identify **and** explain **two** ways in which the British constitution regulates ‘the conduct of government’.

[10 marks]

For AO1, at a basic level of response students should recognise that regulating the conduct of government is a key purpose of a constitution. The two ways they identify may be drawn from many possibilities, such as the following:

- the timing and conduct of elections
- Parliamentary control over the executive
- individual ministerial responsibility
- the obligation of the monarch to accept prime ministerial advice in the exercise of the royal prerogative
- the prevention of political interference with the judiciary
- the exercise of the rule of law.

At higher levels of response, students may stress the importance of this regulatory function in democratic system of government.

For AO2, at a basic level of response students should explain how the two ways they have chosen operate. Examples should be given. At higher levels of response, they may be expected to take a deeper view of the working of their chosen examples in practice. This may well take the form of a critique. They may, for example, argue that the effective control over the royal prerogative gives the prime minister excessive power, that Parliament does not effectively hold the executive to account, or that parliamentary sovereignty contradicts the rule of law.

Where more than two ways are presented, reward the best two, but no extra credit should be given for the additional points.

AO1 = 4

AO2 = 4

AO3 = 2

(03) 'Neutrality and independence are central features of the British judiciary.' Discuss. **[25 marks]**

For AO1, at a basic level of response answers should demonstrate knowledge and understanding of the concept of 'the British judiciary'. Some may merely define this as the judges. Students should also show knowledge and understanding of the terms 'neutrality' and 'independence'. Weaker answers may have trouble in making a distinction between the two. At the higher levels of response, this distinction will be clearly explained. At this level, students may also offer a more complex definition of the judiciary, in terms of its functions and structure, with some account of the various levels of the hierarchy. They may also point out that the judiciary is one of the arms of government under the separation of powers.

For AO2, at a basic level of response students should discuss the terms 'neutrality' (judges interpret the law without regard to their personal or political views) and 'independence' (constitutionally separate from Parliament and the executive). They may explain the constitutional importance of the two.

At the higher levels of response, students may be expected to identify and analyse features intended to guarantee judicial neutrality and independence. They may argue that neutrality is secured through adherence to the principle of the rule of law under which all citizens are regarded as equal, regardless of factors such as gender, race, class and political affiliation. In the case of independence, they may cite the principle of the separation of powers and argue that this is safeguarded by features such as the following:

- judges hold office during good behaviour so cannot be removed from office because of their judgements
- higher judges are barred from membership of Parliament
- judicial salaries are met directly from the Consolidated Fund so cannot be controlled
- the sub judice rules prevent politicians influencing the courts by speaking whilst cases are being tried
- a clear separation is imposed by the creation of the Supreme Court under the 2005 Constitutional Reform Act.
- Creation of the Judicial Appointments Commission to oversee senior appointments.

At these higher levels of response, students may analyse the extent to which judicial neutrality and independence can be undermined in practice.

In a critique of neutrality, students may consider socio-economic characteristics of the judiciary such as class background, education, gender and race. They may be expected to examine the extent to which judges are said to differ from the demographic norm, being largely male, white, and the product of elite education.

In the case of independence, the critique may argue that this can be undermined in various ways, such as politicians openly criticising judges over their decisions and their sentencing policies, and complaining of increased judicial activism, often driven by a tabloid agenda. Students may also consider the operation of the 1998 Human Rights Act which can be said to have brought judges into the political arena.

Students are not required to cover all the above points in order to obtain maximum marks. They may also make points not included here and, if relevant, these should be duly credited.

For high-level marks there should normally be a clear conclusion. In this, students may adopt various positions. Some may, for example, argue that judges are, or are not, neutral or independent. Others may suggest they are independent but not neutral. Alternatively, they may take a more nuanced position, suggesting that the position varies with circumstances. Any position taken is acceptable; the important requirement is that it is coherently derived from preceding discussion.

AO1 = 11

AO2 = 8

AO3 = 6

Topic 2 Parliament**Total for this topic: 40 marks****(04)** Explain the term 'shadow cabinet' used in the extract.**[5 marks]**

At a basic level of response, students should demonstrate knowledge and understanding that the opposition front bench in the House of Commons comprises what is often termed a government in waiting. They should explain that this is what is meant by the term 'shadow cabinet'. They may also explain that this comprises 'shadow ministers' with designated titles such as 'shadow chancellor'.

At the higher levels of response, students may explain that this system is a peculiar feature of a British Parliament, partly a product of a two-party system where, notwithstanding the 2010 government, peacetime coalitions are unlikely. They may argue that the holding of shadow portfolios can enable politicians to gain expertise, allowing them to perform effectively in parliamentary debate, and may prove valuable in actual government. However, students may also note that, for political reasons, shadow ministers do not necessarily take over the same portfolio in government. They may offer examples. Students are not required to cover all the above points in order to score maximum marks.

AO1 = 5 marks

AO2 = 0 marks

AO3 = 0 marks

(05) Using your own knowledge as well as the extract, identify **and** explain **two** arguments in favour of adversarial politics as practised in the House of Commons. **[10 marks]**

For AO1, at a basic level of response students should demonstrate knowledge and understanding of the concept of adversarial politics, which is discussed in the extract. They should identify two arguments for this form of politics from the many available. For example:

- the electorate is presented with a ready-made alternative government with an alternative policy agenda
- there is a unified and coherent opposition
- a single party forming a government makes it possible to fully implement a manifesto
- both sides of debate on all political issues can be heard
- it is difficult for governments to pass policies by stealth
- all policies are regularly subjected to exacting scrutiny
- set-piece debates and occasions such as Question Time provide an element of political theatre that can capture public attention.

At higher levels of response, students may be expected to show knowledge and understanding of particular examples associated with their chosen arguments.

For AO2, at a basic level of response students should outline their chosen arguments. At higher levels of response they may be expected to expand the arguments to a more sophisticated level. It is also likely that they will recognise possible weaknesses in their arguments. They may, for

example, say that Prime Minister's Question Time lacks depth and descends into point scoring and 'Ya Boo' politics, or that oppositions lack adequate knowledge for effective criticism of government policies.

Where more than two arguments are identified, reward the best two, but no extra credit should be given for the additional ones. Students are not required to cover everything in this mark scheme in order to score maximum marks. They may also make points not included here and, if relevant, these should be duly credited.

AO1 = 4

AO2 = 4

AO3 = 2

(06) 'The principal role of backbench MPs in the House of Commons is to support their parties, not to exercise their personal judgements or air their consciences.' Discuss. **[25 marks]**

For AO1, at a basic level of response students should demonstrate knowledge and understanding of the term 'backbenchers'. Some may do no more than explain that they sit in the benches behind the party leaders. At the higher levels of response, students may be expected to show knowledge and understanding of the various roles of backbenchers and contrasting theories of representation. There should also be understanding of the predominance of party discipline in the House of Commons and perhaps some reference to the mechanics of discipline, including the role of the party whips.

For AO2, at a basic level of response students should explain why backbenchers are expected to support their parties. They should note that this may sometimes place them under strain if they feel unsympathetic over particular policies, or if their constituents are opposed. At the higher levels of response, students may be expected to recognise that the question is opening up the debate over the representative role of MPs. Students may argue that modern politics is essentially about party government and opposition. They may note that most MPs owe their electoral success to the party label. In addition, there is the commitment to the party manifesto to which they have subscribed. Some may debate whether the system could function without party discipline.

At the higher levels of response, examples should be given illustrating the pressures on MPs, such as issues surrounding the invasion of Iraq and policies on the welfare state and education. Students may be expected to analyse the situation under the 2010 coalition government, when both Liberal Democrat and Conservative backbenchers expressed frustration when 'party support' effectively meant 'coalition support'. The higher-level responses may also consider the case of the parliamentary mavericks who have chosen to 'air their consciences' on various issues. They may give examples of individuals such as George Galloway or of larger-scale rebellions such as those of Conservative Eurosceptics and the opponents of House of Lords reform.

Students are not required to cover all the above points in order to score maximum marks. They may also make points not included here and, if relevant, these should be duly credited. Comparative reference is not required but may be rewarded if made in a relevant way.

For high-level marks, there should normally be a clear conclusion. In this, students may take various positions. They may, for example, argue that the principal role of backbench MPs is indeed to support their parties rather than exercise judgement or air their consciences. Alternatively, they may conclude that this reduces them to lobby fodder and leads to executive dictatorship. They could argue that a government's backbenchers can constitute the only effective opposition. Alternatively, they may take an intermediate stance, arguing that the position changes according to circumstances (such as size of majority). Any conclusion is acceptable provided that it is coherently derived from the preceding analysis.

AO1 = 11
AO2 = 8
AO3 = 6

Topic 3 The Core Executive**Total for this topic: 40 marks****(07)** Explain the term ‘cabinet reshuffles’ used in the extract.**[5 marks]**

At a basic level of response, students should demonstrate knowledge and understanding of the British cabinet and of the fact that its composition is formed through prime ministerial appointment. (At higher levels of response some students may explain that, constitutionally speaking, appointment is made by the monarch acting on the advice of the prime minister, but such information is not essential for a high-level mark.) Students should explain that reshuffles can entail some ministerial dismissals, some new cabinet members being brought in and some moving from one portfolio to another. At higher levels of response, students may explore the political implications of the use of cabinet reshuffles. They may cite significant examples from past reshuffles (eg Macmillan’s ‘night of the long knives’) and from more recent cabinets.

AO1 = 5 marks

AO2 = 0 marks

AO3 = 0 marks

(08) Using your own knowledge as well as the extract, explain why a prime minister’s power to hire and fire government members is ‘a mixture of freedom and constraint’. **[10 marks]**

For AO1, at a basic level of response students should demonstrate knowledge and understanding of a prime minister’s powers to hire and fire government members. They should also understand the concepts of freedom and constraint in this context. At higher levels of response, students should give examples.

For AO2, at a basic level of response students should identify and explain the nature of the freedoms and constraints on a prime minister. Freedoms, for example, mean that the choice can be made from all party (or coalition) MPs, members of the House of Lords and even from outside Parliament, through by-elections and the awards of peerages. Constraints may include the following:

- certain MPs with strong support from other MPs or in the country cannot easily be omitted (or sacked)
- rivals defeated in a leadership contest may require a consolation prize
- some members may be inherited from a previous administration
- loyalty must often be rewarded
- those who might be considered potential trouble-makers cannot be left on the backbenches
- some cabinet members can be seen as too strong to be sacked or moved.

At higher levels of response, students may be expected to analyse particular examples, such as Thatcher’s inheritance of the ‘wets’ from Heath’s front-bench team and Blair’s continuing inclusion of Gordon Brown. Students are not required to cover all the above points in order to score maximum marks. They may also make points not included here and, if relevant, these should be duly credited.

AO1 = 4

AO2 = 4

AO3 = 2

(09) ‘Civil servants advise while ministers decide.’ How true is this of the relationship between Britain’s senior civil servants and their ministers? **[25 marks]**

For AO1, at a basic level of response students should demonstrate knowledge and understanding of the term ‘senior civil servants’. They should also recognise that the question is referring to the classical debate on the balance of power within the core executive, particularly that concerning the relationship between civil servants and ministers. They should recognise the constitutional position, which is as stated in the quotation in the question. At the higher levels of response there may be some reference to other actors in the process, such as ministerial advisers and prominent lobbyists.

For AO2, at a basic level of response students should elaborate on the constitutional roles of ministers and senior civil servants, noting the classic distinction between politics and administration. They should also recognise the traditional advisory function of the senior civil servants, which brings them close to the area of political decision-making and occasions the debate introduced in the question. This should lead to some consideration of the extent to which the formal constitutional position accurately describes the reality.

At the higher levels of response, students may be expected to introduce theories and models associated with the minister–civil servant relationship, such as Weber’s theory of the ‘dictatorship of the official’ and the typology developed by Theakston. They should identify and analyse the respective resources available to all actors in the governmental process. Ministers may, for example, be backed up by special advisers, manifesto promises, popular support, prime ministerial approval and, increasingly, some ability to influence official appointments and promotions. Civil servants have long experience, mutual support across departments, high education, permanence and intimate familiarity with the bureaucratic machinery. Some students may examine the arguments concerning the elitist backgrounds of senior civil servants. These higher-level responses may note that the increasing presence of ministerial advisers tends to cloud the issue. Comparative reference is not required but may be rewarded if made in a relevant way.

Students are not required to cover all the above points in order to score maximum marks. They may also make points not included here and, if relevant, these should be duly credited.

For high-level marks there should be a clear conclusion, in which students may take varying positions. They may, for example, argue that the civil servants do play an advisory rather than a decision-making role or they may argue that in practice they are also making the decisions. Alternatively, they may take a position between the two extremes, arguing that circumstances vary according to factors such as policy area, personalities of the actors or political climate. Any position taken in the conclusion is acceptable; the important requirement is that it is coherently derived from the preceding analysis.

AO1 = 11
AO2 = 8
AO3 = 6

Topic 4 Multi-level Governance**Total for this topic: 40 marks****(10)** Explain the term 'European Parliament' used in the extract.**[5 marks]**

At a basic level, students should show knowledge and understanding of the European Parliament by reference to factors such as the following:

- it is a single-chamber assembly
- it contains members directly elected for fixed five-year terms from all EU member states
- elections are by proportional representation
- it is the only directly elected EU institution
- the number of MEPs from each member state is roughly proportional to population size (some students may offer figures)
- it fulfils various roles and is a co-legislator with the Council of Ministers
- its power has gradually increased since its creation.

Students will not need to mention all the above points in order to access the highest marks, and they may make creditworthy points not mentioned here.

AO1 = 5 marks

AO2 = 0 marks

AO3 = 0 marks

(11) Using your own knowledge as well as the extract, explain why Members of the European Parliament can 'be torn by conflicting loyalties'.**[10 marks]**

For AO1, students should show basic knowledge and understanding of the position and roles of MEPs, such as the way they are elected, their domestic constituencies, their domestic party affiliations, their national affiliations, the political groupings within the EP and the principle of supranationalism with respect to the role of the EP.

For AO2 students should, at the basic level of response, recognise that MEPs are subject to conflicting pressures arising from the different representative roles mentioned above.

At more advanced levels of response, students may apply their own knowledge, noting factors such as the following:

- in the internationalist environment in which the EP operates, they become subject to a pan-European culture
- they can form relationships with colleagues from various other countries and become aware of domestic debates, pressures and priorities within these countries
- they may develop a more supranational perspective on a range of political issues and are sometimes accused of 'going native'
- their responses to the different perspectives can lead to tensions with their Westminster colleagues and their party leaders
- the Eurosceptic branch of the media can criticise their position and influence public opinion
- Conservative MEPs often experience more difficulty in accommodating themselves to the European environment than those in some other parties
- UKIP members are in a particularly contradictory position.

Students may offer examples of situations in which MEPs have suffered conflicts of loyalty.
Students will not be expected to cover all the above points in order to access the higher levels.

AO1 = 4

AO2 = 4

AO3 = 2

(12) 'Rather than satisfy the nationalists, the devolution settlements for Scotland and Wales have led to demands for even greater independence.' Discuss. **[25 marks]**

For AO1, at a basic level students should show knowledge and understanding of the following:

- the devolution settlements to Wales and Scotland
- the powers reserved for Westminster (areas such as foreign policy, defence, central economic affairs, social security matters and the constitution)
- the differences in the powers given to each nation.

At higher levels of response, students may note relevant factors such as the electoral systems introduced in the devolved assemblies and opinion poll findings on greater independence.

For AO2, students should be expected to analyse the pattern of developments within both nations. They may be expected to detail the ways in which policies have differed from those of England (such as student tuition fees, care for the elderly and prescription charges) and consider whether these have led to demands for greater independence. It is likely that students will consider developments in the two countries separately.

In the case of Scotland, students may note the rise in the fortunes of the SNP under AMS. They may argue that election results demonstrate increasing support for further independence. They may note that the SNP moved first to become a minority government, and then to achieve an overall majority (with 65 seats) in the 2011 elections, making its leader Alex Salmond the first minister. With this victory came the pledge to hold a referendum on complete independence. Students would be expected to cite relevant public opinion poll findings to add to the electoral evidence.

At the higher levels of response, students may discuss the establishment of the Calman Commission, which recommended (in 2009) further devolution, with control of some indirect taxes and the opportunity to legislate in reserved areas.

In the case of Wales, students may be expected to note points such as the following:

- the call for independence was never as strong as that in Scotland
- consequently, the degree of power offered in the devolution settlement was less
- initially Plaid Cymru, the party most committed to independence, remained outside the Labour-led coalition
- in the 2007 Assembly elections Plaid Cymru came second (with 15 seats), entering into a coalition with Labour
- this survived until the 2011 elections, when Labour secured an overall majority.

Students may note that calls for greater independence may have developed in Wales for reasons such as the following:

- the impact of devolution was not as great as in Scotland and some attributed this to the lack of comparable powers
- the Liberal Democrats argued for similar tax-varying powers while Plaid Cymru called for complete independence

- in 2004 a report from the Richard Commission called for increased legislative powers.

Students at the higher levels of response may note that the Government of Wales Act (2006) created a Welsh Assembly Government, an executive body distinct from the National Assembly for Wales (the Welsh legislature). This created an institutional structure mirroring that in Scotland. In a 2011 referendum, popular support was gained for the Assembly assuming primary legislative powers over a range of new areas.

Overall, it is likely that students will conclude that devolution has indeed led to calls for greater independence. However, some may cite opinion poll results to argue that the enthusiasm lies more with the 'political class' than ordinary people. At the higher levels of response, students may argue that the demands have not been at the same level in each case, with Scotland showing the greater enthusiasm. They may note that the Welsh referendum drew only a 35 per cent turnout. Any conclusion will be acceptable providing it is supported by the preceding analysis.

AO1 = 11

AO2 = 8

AO3 = 6

ASSESSMENT OBJECTIVES GRID

AS Assessment Objective	Marks allocated by Assessment Objective 5-mark question	Marks allocated by Assessment Objective 10-mark question	Marks allocated by Assessment Objective 25-mark question	Total Marks by Assessment Objective
AO1	5	4	11	20
AO2	0	4	8	12
AO3	0	2	6	8
Total	5	10	25	40