

Mark Scheme (Results) January 2011

GCE

GCE Government & Politics (6GP04) Paper 4A

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General Marking Guidance

- All candidates must receive the same treatment. Examiners must mark the first candidate in exactly the same way as they mark the last.
- Mark schemes should be applied positively. Candidates must be rewarded for what they have shown they can do rather than penalised for omissions.
- Examiners should mark according to the mark scheme not according to their perception of where the grade boundaries may lie.
- There is no ceiling on achievement. All marks on the mark scheme should be used appropriately.
- All the marks on the mark scheme are designed to be awarded. Examiners should always award full marks if deserved, i.e. if the answer matches the mark scheme. Examiners should also be prepared to award zero marks if the candidate's response is not worthy of credit according to the mark scheme.
- Where some judgement is required, mark schemes will provide the principles by which marks will be awarded and exemplification may be limited.
- When examiners are in doubt regarding the application of the mark scheme to a candidate's response, the team leader must be consulted.
- Crossed out work should be marked UNLESS the candidate has replaced it with an alternative response.

No. 1	To what extent is the Conservative Party united in its approach to the EU?
Indicative content (<i>this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points</i>)	
<p>Candidates should demonstrate awareness that there are three strands of opinion in the Conservative Party in relation to the EU: those who favour playing a positive role in the EU; those who believe that the UK should stay in the EU but resist further integration; and those who would like the UK to leave the EU.</p> <p>The pro-EU strand of the party has been declining in influence, especially at the grassroots. Surveys conducted by party pollsters demonstrate that activists increasingly support withdrawal. The only significant pro-European is Ken Clarke, who has played a substantial role under David Cameron- his statements on Europe are tolerated by the leadership (in part because his is a lone voice).</p> <p>The leadership of the party has demonstrated its Eurosceptic credentials by withdrawing from the Pro-European EPP group in the European Parliament and announcing a policy of a ‘referendum lock’ that would block the transfer of any further powers unless a referendum has been held. A referendum was promised on the Lisbon Treaty to appease the anti-EU strand of the party, but this policy had to be abandoned when ratification of the treaty by all other member states made it’s passing a foregone conclusion. The leadership is also still against joining the Euro, and has stated that negotiating further opt-outs is desirable. However, Cameron has also talked of playing a positive role in Europe, supports further enlargement, and has rejected withdrawal as against the UK’s interests. Neo-liberals within the party support the idea of an EU that exists largely as a free trade area, but one with minimum political integration and little regulation by EU institutions.</p> <p>The anti-EU strand of the party is not represented in the leadership of the party, but has demonstrated its willingness to support UKIP in less important elections, thereby demonstrating that it cannot be taken for granted by the leadership.</p>	

A01	Knowledge and understanding
Level 3 (4-5 marks)	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 2 (2-3 marks)	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 1 (0-1 marks)	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
A02	Intellectual skills
<p>The skills that are relevant to this question are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ability to analyse the influence of pro-European Conservatives • Ability to analyse the influence of other strands of the party in relation to EU issues 	
Level 3 (5-7 marks)	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
Level 2 (3-4 marks)	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
Level 1 (0-2 marks)	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences

A03	Communication and coherence
<p>Level 3 (3 marks)</p>	<p>Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary</p>
<p>Level 2 (2 marks)</p>	<p>Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary</p>
<p>Level 1 (0-1 mark)</p>	<p>Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary</p>

No. 2	What is meant by 'intergovernmentalism', and why has it been a source of controversy?
Indicative content (<i>this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points</i>)	
<p>Candidates should be aware that intergovernmentalism is the principle that policy-decisions should be taken on the basis of debate in which national interests are considered and accommodated. It implies that national governments should be able to veto proposals that they see as threatening their vital national interests.</p> <p>There are contrasting views on the desirability of taking an intergovernmental approach to decision-making in the EU.</p> <p>For Eurosceptics, maintaining/promoting intergovernmentalism is crucial to protect sovereignty and national interests. In contrast, supranationalism and QMV tend to undermine sovereignty.</p> <p>For proponents of increased integration, intergovernmentalism is seen as a hindrance as it forces all EU member states to progress at the pace of the EU's most reluctant members. This has led to periodic proposals for a "two-tier" or "2-speed" EU, which would release some members from the constraints of intergovernmental decision-making.</p>	
A01	Knowledge and understanding
Level 3 (4-5 marks)	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 2 (2-3 marks)	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 1 (0-1 marks)	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates

A02	Intellectual skills
<p>The skills that are relevant to this question are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ability to explain the meaning of intergovernmentalism • Ability to analyse views on the implications of intergovernmentalism 	
Level 3 (5-7 marks)	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
Level 2 (3-4 marks)	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
Level 1 (0-2 marks)	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
A03	Communication and coherence
Level 3 (3 marks)	Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 2 (2 marks)	Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 1 (0-1 mark)	Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary

No. 3

Why has the European Central Bank found it to be so difficult to manage monetary policy within the Eurozone?

Indicative content (*this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points*)

Candidates should demonstrate awareness that the consequences of the ECB's decisions are wide-ranging, despite its narrow remit:

- The ECB is responsible for maintaining EU-wide inflation at 2%, and setting monetary policy to achieve this goal
- The ECB should maintain its independence from political influence or pressure

It has been successful in both these goals, resulting in the Euro becoming a world-class currency.

However, other consequences of this success have not always been positive. For example:

- With different economic cycles, the ECB's 'one size fits all' interest rates have not always been helpful to all the countries in the Eurozone
- Several member states have been unable to keep their budget deficits within the agreed limits of euro membership
- The lack of flexibility imposed by a single interest rate has led to uncompetitive economies suffering rapid unemployment in the recent economic downturn
- The goal of monetary stability has also made it difficult for member states and the ECB to react quickly to the international financial crisis- the 2008 crisis saw individual member states introducing measures to combat the crisis rather than turning to the ECB

Stronger candidates may make reference to the role the ECB played in the Irish economic collapse in 2010.

A01	Knowledge and understanding
Level 3 (4-5 marks)	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 2 (2-3 marks)	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 1 (0-1 marks)	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
A02	Intellectual skills
<p>The skills that are relevant to this question are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ability to analyse the strengths of the ECB • Ability to analyse the problems arising from the politics of the ECB 	
Level 3 (5-7 marks)	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
Level 2 (3-4 marks)	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
Level 1 (0-2 marks)	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences

A03	Communication and coherence
Level 3 (3 marks)	Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 2 (2 marks)	Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 1 (0-1 mark)	Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary

No. 4	Why has it been so difficult to reform the Common Agricultural Policy?
Indicative content (<i>this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points</i>)	
<p>Candidates should demonstrate an awareness of past and possible reforms e.g. subsidy reform, removal or price supports, changes in intervention strategy, free trade.</p> <p>Reasons discussed may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Members have retained a veto over key decisions, so can block change • Many states have a vested interest in certain aspects of the policy so are resistant to change • Members are often wary of alienating their own agricultural interests so tend to fight to protect their own interests rather than look at the impact of CAP on the EU overall • Farmers in some states have become dependent on CAP, leading to fears of economic collapse in the agricultural sector if too many subsidies were withdrawn/replaced • 	
A01	Knowledge and understanding
Level 3 (4-5 marks)	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 2 (2-3 marks)	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 1 (0-1 marks)	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates

A02	Intellectual skills
<p>The skills that are relevant to this question are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ability to analyse factors that have made reform of the CAP difficult 	
Level 3 (5-7 marks)	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
Level 2 (3-4 marks)	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
Level 1 (0-2 marks)	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
A03	Communication and coherence
Level 3 (3 marks)	Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 2 (2 marks)	Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 1 (0-1 mark)	Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary

No. 5	To what extent have new members of the EU since 2004 been fully integrated into the Union?
Indicative content (<i>this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points</i>)	
<p>Candidates should demonstrate awareness of the 10 new members in 2004 and also the more recent accession of Bulgaria and Romania in 2007. Candidates are also expected to understand that the term ‘transition states’ refers to arrangements for new member states, which are supposed to last no longer than 7 years, to aid that adjustment to the EU.</p> <p>The entrants of 2004 and after were considerably poorer than existing members. This has meant:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Substantial subsidies for the poorer regions of the new states • Exemption from the benefits of CAP • Restrictions on freedom of movement for workers, especially from Eastern Europe to northern Europe • All new entrants are obliged to join the Euro when their economies meet key requirements (and four have already done so) <p>However, they have all become full members from the outset in terms of application of EU rules and regulations and the provisions of the single market.</p> <p>More able candidates may also show awareness that the new states are also subject to additional safeguards and sanctions to ensure they meet these requirements. For example, the Czech Republic in 2008 was subject to an official complaint by the European Commission (and the possibility of financial sanctions) when it failed to introduce into law an anti-discrimination directive. Similarly, 500 million euros of EU funding was withheld from Bulgaria in July 2008 because of the poor use of funds- the funding was restored after the Bulgarian government took corrective action.</p>	

A01	Knowledge and understanding
Level 3 (4-5 marks)	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 2 (2-3 marks)	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 1 (0-1 marks)	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.
A02	Intellectual skills
<p>The skills that are relevant to this question are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ability to explain the term ‘transitional states’ • Ability to analyse the extent, nature and significance of transitional arrangements 	
Level 3 (5-7 marks)	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
Level 2 (3-4 marks)	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
Level 1 (0-2 marks)	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences

A03	Communication and coherence
Level 3 (3 marks)	Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 2 (2 marks)	Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 1 (0-1 mark)	Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary

No. 6

'Membership of the EU has fundamentally transformed the UK constitution.'
Discuss.

Indicative content (*this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points*)

Candidates should demonstrate awareness that there are competing views on the extent to which EU membership has affected the UK constitution.

For critics of the EU, membership has:

- Effectively rendered parliamentary sovereignty meaningless, with claims that majority of laws are now passed by the EU rather than Parliament
- The ECJ has replaced the House of Lords/Supreme Court as the highest UK court
- UK democracy has been undermined by policy-making that does not take account of the UK electorate (democratic deficit)
- Each treaty has progressively extended the policy areas over which the EU has competence, thus infringing sovereignty
- British influence has waned over time with the gradual extension of QMV, particularly after the 2004 enlargement

For supporters of the EU, membership has:

- Not fundamentally affected parliamentary sovereignty, as EU regulations are review by Parliamentary committees and the UK can, ultimately, withdraw from the EU
- Only a small minority of judicial rulings are made by the ECJ (the remainder being made in a traditional fashion)
- Elected representatives of the UK contribute to EU policy-making, and on matters relating to tax, foreign affairs and defence the UK has a veto in the Council.
- Sovereignty has been pooled rather than lost, which is in the UK's national interest in an era of growing globalisation

A01	Knowledge and understanding
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
A02	Intellectual skills
<p>The skills that are relevant to this question are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ability to analyse and explain the view that EU membership has changed/undermined the UK constitution • Ability to analyse and explain the view that EU membership has not substantially altered the UK constitution • Ability to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the arguments 	
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences

A02	Synoptic skills
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and clear insight into how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations.
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations.
A03	Communication and coherence
Level 3 (7-9 marks)	Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 2 (4-6 marks)	Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 1 (0-3 marks)	Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary

No. 7	'The European Court of Justice is far too powerful.' Discuss.
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Indicative content (*this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points*)

Candidates should demonstrate an understanding that judges whose judgements have policy-making significance are the focus of debate, some arguing that they undermine democracy while others argue that they play an essential role in the democratic process.

Those who argue that policy-making judges undermine democracy make the following points:

- It is the responsibility of judges to adjudicate
- Elected politicians are responsible for creating and amending the rules of the game whilst judges are referees/umpires who see that the game is played fairly according to those rules
- Referees should not participate in the game and should be scrupulously neutral when making decisions
- Yet ECJ rulings have had a very substantial political impact, including the assertion that EU law is Supreme and the *Nouvelle Frontieres* case (ECJ 1986) that is credited with prompting the Single Market Act

Those who argue that policy-making judges are essential to the smooth working of a modern political system make the following points:

- Without the ECJ there would be no way of enforcing the obligations of the European Treaties
- It allows European citizens to challenge their own government and EU institutions
- It has extended rights that have benefitted individuals and companies
- It allows disputes between member states over laws and treaties to be adjudicated on

The ECJ does conform to the key democratic principle of judicial independence- there is no political pressure, no vested interest in favouring any single party, and is fully representative in that judges are drawn from all over the Union

A01	Knowledge and understanding
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
A02	Intellectual skills

The skills that are relevant to this question are:

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ability to analyse and explain the criticisms of the role played by the ECJ • Ability to analyse and explain the arguments made in defence of the role played by the ECJ • Ability to weigh the evidence 	
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
A02	Synoptic skills
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and clear insight into how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations.
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations.

A03	Communication and coherence
Level 3 (7-9 marks)	Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 2 (4-6 marks)	Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 1 (0-3 marks)	Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary

No. 8

'The success of the Single Market depends on establishing a single European Social Model.' Discuss.

Indicative content (*this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points*)

Candidates should demonstrate awareness that there is a view that the single market needs broadly similar conditions to exist throughout the EU in order for it to operate effectively, while others believe that diverse social and economic conditions are compatible with the single market.

Arguments that a European Social Model is essential to the single market include:

- The view that popular support for single market measures require effective protection for the working age population (benefits, pensions etc). This is not found in Southern & Eastern Europe
- The view that European business can only be effective on the world stage if there are high levels of research and investment, which is only found on an adequate scale in Northern Europe
- The view that incentives for new business and the expansion of business is greatest where government regulation is least, such as in the UK and Ireland
- Unless Europe combines these positive features in one 'model', either the single market will founder because it loses legitimacy or it will be internationally uncompetitive

Arguments that a European Social Model is not essential, and may be a disadvantage, include:

- Different countries have significantly different business 'cultures' and that they may perform less well, rather than better, if they are forced to conform to a single model
- The mooted European Social Model contains contradictions that would make it unworkable (business flexibility & regulations/social obligations)
- Global business dynamics, rather than a theoretical model, will lead to convergence within the single market (survival of the fittest) if that is what is required, rather than an economic/social model
- Economic and social diversity may prove to be an asset, and spur competition within/beyond the single market

A01	Knowledge and understanding
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
A02	Intellectual skills
<p>The skills that are relevant to this question are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ability to explain and analyse the reasons that a European Social Model may be beneficial/desirable to the single market • Ability to explain and analyse the reasons that a European Social Model may not be necessary or beneficial in the single market • Ability to weigh the evidence 	
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences

A02	Synoptic skills
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