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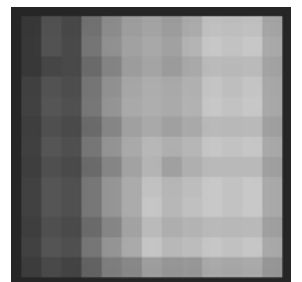
**ADVANCED GCE  
ADVANCED SUBSIDIARY GCE**

**A2 7834  
AS 3834**

# **GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

**COMBINED MARK SCHEME  
AND REPORT FOR THE UNITS  
JANUARY 2005**

**AS/A2**



3834/7834/MS/R/05J

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All Examiners are instructed that alternative correct answers and unexpected approaches in candidates' scripts must be given marks that fairly reflect the relevant knowledge and skills demonstrated.

The report on the Examination provides information on the performance of candidates which it is hoped will be useful to teachers in their preparation of candidates for future examinations. It is intended to be constructive and informative and to promote better understanding of the syllabus content, of the operation of the scheme of assessment and of the application of assessment criteria.

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RECOGNISING ACHIEVEMENT

Mark Scheme 2595  
January 2005

- 1 Using Source A and your own knowledge, describe the impact that opinion polls might have had on voting behaviour in the 2001 UK General Election.

[10]

(Specification: Opinion Polls)

	AO1	AO2	AO3
<b>Maximum</b>	8		2
<b>Level 4</b>	7-8		2
<b>Level 3</b>	5-6		2
<b>Level 2</b>	3-4		0-1
<b>Level 1</b>	0-2		0-1

**AO1:** Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the information available in the source - the effect of the continuous Labour lead - the possible Conservative challenge in March etc. go to the top of L2 for points, which are clearly source related or there is evidence that the Source has been used to stimulate ideas. For L3 and above there has to be obvious 'own knowledge' – there is a considerable range of possible points such as demoralisation, cause of low turnout/voter apathy etc. For L4 expect to see two points, which might have emanated from the Source and two based on own knowledge.

- 2 Using Source B and your own knowledge, describe the differences between the systems used in UK General Elections and in the elections for the Scottish parliament.

[20]

(Specification: UK Parliamentary elections: Scottish Parliament elections)

	AO1	AO2	AO3
<b>Maximum</b>	16		4
<b>Level 4</b>	13-16		4
<b>Level 3</b>	9-12		3
<b>Level 2</b>	5-8		2
<b>Level 1</b>	0-4		0-1

**AO1:** Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the information available in the Sources. Go to the top of L2 for answers based purely on the Source. There are obvious points there - such as the constituency/regional MPs for Scotland-their degree of proportionality in Scotland and the lack of it in the UK etc. For L3 and above there has to be clear knowledge. The range of potential points is huge, candidates who write for example about defending outcomes in terms of coalitions etc, should be rewarded just as much as those who focus on technical/statistical detail. Expect to see 2/3 more developed (than Q1) points for both Source use and own knowledge to get to the top of L4.

Excellent answers, which only pay lip service to one aspect of the answer, can get to L3, but they have to be very good.

**3 Using Source C and your own knowledge, make out a case against the further use of referendums in the UK. [30]**

(Specification: Referendums, proposals for forthcoming referendums, arguments for and against there being held in a representative democracy)

	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
<b>Maximum</b>	12	12	6
<b>Level 4</b>	10-12	10-12	5-6
<b>Level 3</b>	7-9	7-9	4
<b>Level 2</b>	4-6	4-6	2-3
<b>Level 1</b>	0-3	0-3	0-1

**AO1.** Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the issues concerning referenda. Go to the top of L2 for points, which are clearly there in the Source - the sheer importance, the wording of the question and turnout issues. For L3 and above there has to be clear own knowledge - there is a huge range of potential points - the potential complexity of the issues, the fact the UK is traditionally a representative democracy etc.

Expect to see four clear factual points for L4.

**AO2.** Expect candidates to argue a very clear case for the higher levels. Do not reward any of a 'case for'. Look carefully at the standard 'case for and against' referenda essays for relevant arguments. For L4 there should be a real focus on a strong case. Reward awareness of the EURO debate.

**4 Using Source D and your own knowledge, discuss the major changes in voting behaviour in the UK since 1979. [40]**

(Specification: Voting Behaviour; trends; issues concerning class)

	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
<b>Maximum</b>	16	16	8
<b>Level 4</b>	13-16	13-16	7-8
<b>Level 3</b>	9-12	9-12	5-6
<b>Level 2</b>	5-8	5-8	3-4
<b>Level 1</b>	0-4	0-4	0-2

**AO1:** Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the major changes in recent elections. Go to the middle of L2 for sensible use of the Source where there are clear pointers about class and age, but for the upper L2 marks and above there needs to be a serious consideration of a range of other factors. There is a huge range of other factors ranging from the role of the media, targeting of focus groups, education, regional, regional factors, gender etc.

**AO2.** Candidates who focus carefully on the 'discuss' part should be rewarded, and candidates who also focus on why some changes are more 'major' than others should also be rewarded. The ability to rise above the simple list is being looked for here.

Any candidate, who really tries to debate, or argue a case explaining why one factor is more 'major' than another, should be well rewarded.







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RECOGNISING ACHIEVEMENT

Mark Scheme 2596  
January 2005

- 1 (a) Define “citizenship”. [2]
- (b) Briefly explain, giving 2 examples in each case, what is meant by:  
 (i) A civil right  
 (ii) A social right [8]

(Specification: Citizenship: definition; rights)

	AO1	AO2	AO3
<b>Maximum</b>	<b>8</b>		<b>2</b>
<b>Level 4</b>	7-8	-	2
<b>Level 3</b>	5-6	-	2
<b>Level 2</b>	3-4	-	0-1
<b>Level 1</b>	0-2	-	0-1

Award one or two marks accordingly to the clarity of the answer that citizenship concerns the relationship between the individual and the state involving mutual rights and duties. It may also be construed as a matter of nationality.

Allow 3 marks for each right and 2 marks overall for AO3. Civil rights that a citizen can expect as member of the state could include freedom of speech, assembly or movement. Social rights could include the right to healthcare, education or more specifically the minimum wage. Two examples are needed in each case.

- 2 Describe *four* core beliefs in Conservative ideology in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. [20]

(Specification: Political parties; philosophy and ideology)

	AO1	AO2	AO3
<b>Maximum</b>	<b>16</b>	-	<b>4</b>
<b>Level 4</b>	13-16	-	4
<b>Level 3</b>	9-12	-	3
<b>Level 2</b>	5-8	-	2
<b>Level 1</b>	0-4	-	1

There are 10 – 12 minutes for this question so only 2 or 3 sentence for each point required.

- i) Tradition: Conservatives like to keep things the same and therefore will not seek to make legislative changes for example to the constitution or by giving up British identity to be “lost” in the EU.
- ii) Pragmatism means using what is actually there rather than sweeping everything away and starting again so Conservatives will accept many of their predecessors’ reforms while trimming what they see as excessive.
- iii) Strong leadership sees the need for an authoritative lead to defend the nation against enemies abroad or unruly behaviour at home.
- iv) Conservatives defend property as being a strong human right that everyone should be able to acquire and bequeath.
- v) Paternalism follows from property, as Conservatives believe that the more people acquire, the greater is their obligation to society.

Allow 4 marks for each point and award marks accordingly to sophistication of the answer. Reward any examples given.

**3. Critically examine the attempts to extend citizens' rights since 1990. [30]**

*Specification: Citizenship: recent development under the Blair government)*

	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
<b>Maximum</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Level 4</b>	10-12	10-12	6
<b>Level 3</b>	7-9	7-9	4-5
<b>Level 2</b>	4-6	4-6	3
<b>Level 1</b>	0-3	0-3	0-2

For AO1 candidates should be expected to describe some of the following:

- i) The Citizens' Charter
- ii) The incorporation of the Convention of Human Rights
- iii) The Social Chapter
- iv) Extra voting rights for devolved assemblies and elected mayors.  
Reward anyone who points out that the PR systems also extend voters' rights within this context.
- v) Use of referendums
- vi) Freedom of Information Act
- vii) The minimum wage.
- viii) Citizenship classes to increase young people's knowledge and participation.

Give up to L2 for a list and L3 or L4 according to the detail offered.

For AO2 expect some evaluation for and against each point:

- i) The Citizens' Charter told people what they could expect but did not provide extra funding to meet this expectation.
- ii) People now know their rights and the courts have to take notice of them but some rights clash e.g. privacy and freedom of information. Some criticise the Act as allowing "wrongdoers" too much leeway.
- iii) The Social Chapter extends workers rights but puts us further under the EU.
- iv) Extra voting is democratic but fewer people are now voting even in General Elections so it may have produced apathy.
- v) Referendums empower people but the Government controls all aspects of their use. Blair has refused one on the EU constitution.
- vi) Citizenship does increase knowledge but still more young people voted in Big Brother than participated in elections.

L1 and L2 basic or limited evaluation "quite good", "doesn't always work". Award L3 for some detail and L4 where there is some detail and balance.

**4 Discuss the view that political parties are failing to fulfil their roles in British politics. [40]**

*(Specification: Political parties; roles and functions)*

	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
<b>Maximum</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Level 4</b>	13-16	13-16	7-8
<b>Level 3</b>	9-12	9-12	5-6
<b>Level 2</b>	5-8	5-8	3-4
<b>Level 1</b>	0-4	0-4	0-2

For AO1 candidates should describe some of the main roles of political parties:

- i) Aggregation: bringing like minded together to increase participation in politics.
- ii) Communication: each party has a duty to inform its own members and dialogue between the parties increases the general knowledge and awareness of politics by non-involved people.
- iii) Representation: the job of the party is to listen to their supporters' views, form coherent policy from these and take them to Westminster.
- iv) Role of elections: parties make elections meaningful and accessible to the ordinary citizen.
- v) Governing function: the basic role of a party is to gain power and put their policies into effect.
- vi) Policy function: in opposition parties seek to put together a coherent strategy and to criticise the shortcomings of the Government policy.

Give L1 and L2 for a list and L3 and L4 for explanation and example.

At AO2 each role mentioned should be evaluated:

- i) Parties do seek members and new parties start up but they are failing both to increase their membership and to secure the permanent loyalty of their recruits.
- ii) The parties do attract attention to politics but many would argue that it is the personal, the trivial that catches attention and that much of the message is "spun" and therefore fosters cynicism and disbelief.
- iii) Individual representation in this seize of state is not possible but the representation achieved by FPTP is not proportional.
- iv) Parties run both the central and local campaigns without which the electorate would be unable to make a choice but the press can distort voting behaviour.
- v) The British party system gives the executive the power to make policy and implement it but can be criticised as an elective dictatorship.
- vi) Policy is made by the parties but not always in consultation with the grassroots and not always adhered to once in power.

Give L1 or L2 for generalised and unfocused comments and L3 and L4 where there is explanation and detail.



RECOGNISING ACHIEVEMENT

Mark Scheme 2597  
January 2005

**Marks**

The mark for a particular question is obtained by applying the mark scheme and Assessment Matrix as follows:

**Part (a) of all questions in Section A**

	AO1	AO2	AO3
<b>Maximum</b>	<b>16</b>		<b>4</b>
<b>Level 4</b>	13-16		4
<b>Level 3</b>	9-12		3
<b>Level 2</b>	5-8		2
<b>Level 1</b>	0-4		0-1

**Section (b) of all questions in Section A**

	AO1	AO2	AO3
<b>Maximum</b>		<b>16</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Level 4</b>		13-16	4
<b>Level 3</b>		9-12	3
<b>Level 2</b>		5-8	2
<b>Level 1</b>		0-4	0-1

**All questions in Section B**

	AO1	AO2	AO3
<b>Maximum</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Level 4</b>	7-8	7-8	4
<b>Level 3</b>	5-6	5-6	3
<b>Level 2</b>	3-4	3-4	2
<b>Level 1</b>	0-2	0-2	0-1

**Assessment Objective 3**

- There are four marks for AO3 on each part-question in Section A and every question in Section B.
- Two should be used to credit spelling, punctuation and grammar where a full answer is provided.
- Two should be used to credit the ability to identify correctly points and to present an argument clearly where a full answer is provided.
- Where answers are not full, examiners should use their judgement: a very short answer which meets the above criteria should not necessarily be awarded full marks for AO3.

## SECTION A

1. a. Explain what a constitution is. [20]  
 b. Discuss the view that there have been only limited changes to the British constitution since 1997. [20]

[Specification: *The Constitution . . . current debate concerning constitutional reform*]

- (a) **AO1:** Candidates must display a knowledge and understanding of what a constitution is along the lines that:

- it is a fundamental statement of laws;
- covering the power, functions and duties of the various organs of the state;
- and the rights and duties of the individual (in relation to the state and other individuals);
- which usually enjoys a status higher than the ordinary law;
- and is often entrenched.
- A constitution therefore describes functions and sets limits.

- Level 4 answers will clearly focus on explaining what a constitution is, illustrating the above points with examples from the British system of government.
- At lower levels candidates may describe the British constitution rather than explaining what 'a constitution' is in more general terms. 'Sources' and 'principles' are relevant to the extent they illustrate what a constitution.
- Credit candidates who are able to use a range of contemporary examples, including non-British ones.

- (b) **AO2:** Candidates must be able to discuss the view there have been only limited changes to the British constitution since the Labour party came to power in 1997. Such a discussion may cover some of the following points:

- The number and range of reforms: House of Lords, devolution including Northern Ireland, *Human Rights Act*, new electoral systems for Europe, Scotland, Wales and London, use of referendums, Bank of England, Freedom of Information Act etc
- The importance (or lack of it) of individual reforms
- The collective impact (or lack of it) of the reforms

- Reward focus and balance. In particular, do not mistake description for analysis.
- Level 4 answers will offer a discussion that is clearly focussed on whether there have been limited changes to the British constitution since 1997 and will make some attempt at a balanced analysis.
- At lower level candidates may provide only one side of the argument or simply describe some of the reforms without much (or any) discussion of their importance.
- Reward any attempt to delineate different points of view.
- Credit candidates who are able to use contemporary examples.

**AO3**

- Two marks should be used to credit spelling, punctuation and grammar where a full answer is provided.
- Two marks should be used to credit the ability to identify correctly salient points and to present an argument clearly where a full answer is provided.
- A very short answer which meets the above criteria should not be awarded full marks for AO3.

2. a. Outline the main features of 'cabinet government'. [20]  
 b. Discuss the view that Britain does not have 'cabinet government'. [20]

[Specification: The Prime Minister and Cabinet: debate over prime ministerial power; Cabinet membership, functions and relationship with PM; collective responsibility]

- (a) **AO1:** Candidates must display a knowledge and understanding of the main features of 'cabinet government' along the lines that:
- It is a system of government which is marked by the existence of a body - the cabinet - which:
    - collectively decides the policies to be put to the legislature;
    - is, individually and collectively, responsible to the legislature for the execution of such policies through the control and co-ordination of the executive departments
  - Traditionally the role of the cabinet in cabinet systems is, therefore:
    - to make policy on matters of general policy rather than detail;
    - to take responsibility for this policy;
    - to plan the business of parliament;
    - to provide oversight and co-ordination of government policy;
    - to provide political leadership for the party in parliament and in the country;
    - to arbitrate in cases of disputes between departments.
  - In cabinet systems, the cabinet is the final determiner of the policy to be submitted to parliament, exercises supreme control of the national executive and co-ordinates government policy. Further, in cabinet systems the PM is chair and *primus inter pares*.
  - Few candidates will note that the existence of a cabinet is not, in itself evidence, that there is cabinet government, but reward this if it occurs. Descriptions of what a cabinet is which do not stress the collective nature of decision-making will not normally reach Level 3.
  - Level 4 answers will clearly focus on the main features of 'cabinet government'.
  - Credit candidates who are able to use contemporary examples.
- (b) **AO2:** Candidates must be able to discuss the view that that Britain does not have 'cabinet government' and may raise some of the following points:
- the views of commentators since Crossman (though the authors will not necessarily be identified) that cabinet government has been replaced by prime ministerial (or even presidential) government.
  - the view of others that, in some circumstances and at some times, cabinet government still exists.
  - Only the best candidates will reject the cabinet/prime ministerial dichotomy in favour of other interpretations, for example the central executive territory or core executive arguments.
  - Reward focus and balance. In particular, do not mistake description for analysis.
  - Level 4 answers will offer a discussion that is clearly focussed on whether Britain does (or does not) have 'cabinet government' and display an awareness of both sides of the argument.
  - Credit candidates who are able to use contemporary examples.

### AO3

- Two marks should be used to credit spelling, punctuation and grammar where a full answer is provided.
- Two marks should be used to credit the ability to identify correctly points and to present an argument clearly where a full answer is provided.
- A very short answer which meets the above criteria should not be awarded full marks for AO3.



3. a. **Outline the main functions of the House of Commons.** [20]  
 b. **Discuss the view that the House of Commons is no longer important in British politics.** [20]

*[Specification: The UK Parliament: functions]*

**AO1:** Candidates must display a knowledge and understanding of the main functions of the House of Commons, and may include some of the following:

- The function of the Commons in:
  - considering and approving legislation;
  - considering and approving the government's proposals to raise (taxes) and spend money;
  - examining and criticising the activities of the government;
  - representing the people and expressing their grievances;
  - sustaining the government and legitimising its activities;
  - acting as a forum for debate on national issues;
  - informing and educating the electorate;
  - providing a recruiting and training ground for ministers.
- Level 4 answers will clearly focus on the main functions of the Commons and display knowledge and understanding of a range of these functions. It is not necessary to include all of those listed above to access the highest levels.
- Credit candidates who are able to use a range of contemporary examples.

(b) **AO2:** Candidates must be able to discuss the view that the House of Commons is no longer important in British politics. They may do so in a number of ways, for example:

- by building on their answer to part (a) and discussing the importance (or not) of particular functions, for example, the impact of party organisation and loyalty upon the Commons legislative and scrutiny functions, but also evidence of rebellions;
- by discussing the importance of the House of Commons more generally, for example, in relation to the power of the executive branch, the decentralisation of power to the regions and the expansion of the responsibilities and power of the European Union.
- Reward focus and balance. In particular, do not mistake description for analysis.
- Level 4 answers will offer a discussion that is clearly focussed on the view that the House of Commons is no longer important in British politics and display an awareness of both sides of the argument.
- Credit candidates who are able to use contemporary examples.

**AO3**

- Two marks should be used to credit spelling, punctuation and grammar where a full answer is provided.
- Two marks should be used to credit the ability to identify correctly points and to present an argument clearly where a full answer is provided.
- A very short answer which meets the above criteria should not be awarded full marks for AO3.

4. a. Describe the main features of the convention of individual ministerial responsibility. [20]
- b. Discuss the view that the convention of individual ministerial responsibility is no longer important in British politics. [20]

[Specification: Delivery of Government Policy through Ministers: individual ministerial responsibility.]

- (a) **AO1:** Candidates must display a knowledge and understanding of the main features of the convention of individual ministerial responsibility including some of the following:
- its status as a 'non-statutory rule';
  - the basic principle that each minister, and not departmental officials, are responsible, or answerable, for the actions of their department, whether taken with the ministers knowledge and consent or not;
  - explanatory, amendatory and sacrificial forms;
  - role responsibility and personal responsibility.
- Better candidates will be clearly understand to whom ministers are responsible (parliament in particular, but also the PM, their party and the electorate) and that ministerial responsibility does not necessarily mean that ministers resign if they make a mistake.
  - Candidates who restrict themselves just to resignation are unlikely to reach Level 4.
  - Credit candidates who are able to use contemporary examples.
- (b) **AO2:** Candidates must discuss the view that the convention of individual ministerial responsibility is no longer important in British politics. They may cover some of the following:
- occasions when the convention has apparently worked, for example, ministers have explained, apologised or resigned for errors e.g. Carrington, Robinson, Mandelson, Morris, Blunkett.
  - occasions when it has not apparently worked, for example, ministers have failed to explain, apologise or resign immediately Currie, Mellor, Mates, Hamilton, Davies, Byers
- Better candidates may be able to distinguish between role responsibility and personal responsibility in this regard.
  - Reward focus and balance. In particular, do not mistake description for analysis.
  - Level 4 answers will clearly focus on the view that the convention of individual ministerial responsibility is no longer important in British politics.
  - Credit candidates who are able to use contemporary examples.

### AO3

- Two marks should be used to credit spelling, punctuation and grammar.
- Two marks should be used to credit the ability to identify correctly the salient points and to present an argument clearly.
- A very short answer which meets the above criteria should not be awarded full marks for AO3.

5. a. Describe the main features of judicial review in the United Kingdom. [20]  
 b. Discuss the view that judicial review in the United Kingdom is ineffective. [20]

*[Specification: Relationship between executive and judiciary: judicial review].*

- (a) **AO1:** Candidates must display a knowledge and understanding of main features of judicial review in the UK, and may include some of the following points:
- the general principle: that the judiciary often has the power to decide whether the action of a public body is lawful or, in some political systems, constitutional;
  - how this principle operates in the UK: that the courts supervise the way in which the government exercises its powers in the sense that, when asked, the courts have the power to review an action of a public body and to decide upon its lawfulness. Courts can decide that, for example, ministers have exceeded their powers, misdirected themselves or not taken an action which they should have done or on the grounds of procedural impropriety.
  - Candidates should know that there is no general right to judicial review - it is at the discretion of the courts - and that judges in the UK do not have the power to challenge the merits of a decision or to declare an act of parliament unconstitutional.
- Level 4 answers will clearly focus on the main features of judicial review in the UK.
  - Credit candidates who are able to use a range of contemporary examples.
- (b) **AO2:** Candidates must be able to discuss the view that judicial review in the UK is ineffective and may cover some of the following:
- access to, time, cost and success rate;
  - limits on the power of the courts to declare an action unlawful (remedies);
  - the government's ability to circumvent court decisions by passing fresh legislation
  - and the nature of the judiciary;
  - but its value a check upon the executive;
  - and in protecting individual rights and liberties.
- Reward focus and balance. In particular, do not mistake description for analysis.
  - Level 4 answers will offer a discussion of whether judicial review in the UK is ineffective and display an awareness of both sides of the argument.
  - Credit candidates who are able to use contemporary examples.

### **AO3**

- Two marks should be used to credit spelling, punctuation and grammar where a full answer is provided.
- Two marks should be used to credit the ability to identify correctly points and to present an argument clearly where a full answer is provided.
- A very short answer which meets the above criteria should not be awarded full marks for AO3.

6. a. Describe the membership and powers of the House of Lords. [20]  
 b. Discuss the view that the United Kingdom no longer needs a second chamber. [20]

[Specification: *The UK Parliament: functions; second chamber.*]

- (a) **AO1:** Candidates must display a knowledge and understanding of the membership and powers of the House of Lords, and may include some of the following points:

- membership:
  - types of peer: hereditary, life, lords spiritual, law lords, lord chancellor;
  - party affiliation and balance including the existence of significant numbers of crossbenchers;
  - demographics (age, gender, ethnicity, class, education, former and current employment).
- powers:
  - legislative powers: initiation, approval, scrutiny, revision/amendment, delay, rejection;
  - powers of scrutiny;
  - judicial powers.
  - Level 4 answers will clearly focus on the membership and powers of the House of Lords.
  - Credit candidates who are able to use a range of contemporary examples.

- (b) **AO2:** Candidates must be able to discuss the view that the United Kingdom no longer needs a second chamber and may cover some of the following points:

- the unelected basis of the House of Lords and its history of obstruction, thwarting the wishes of the popularly elected government (but an unrepresentative government?);
- the view that functions of the second chamber/House of Lords, particularly but not only its judicial functions, could be more effectively undertaken by other bodies;
- the success of other countries with unicameral systems (but they are generally smaller);
- the value of a second chamber/the House of Lords in complementing and supplementing the work of the primary chamber, for example, in the areas of legislation, deliberation and scrutiny and the sheer volume of work that parliament must undertake;
- more generally, the importance of a second chamber/the House of Lords as a constitutional check on the executive, especially when there are large majorities accompanied by strong party loyalty and discipline in the Commons. (But could this be more effectively achieved by having a written constitution?).
  - Reward focus and balance. In particular, do not mistake description for analysis.
  - Although the question refers to the need for a second chamber, the context clearly suggests that this is more than a theoretical discussion and therefore arguments about the need to retain the House of Lords specifically are perfectly valid.
  - Level 4 answers will offer a discussion of whether the view that the UK no longer needs a second chamber and display an awareness of both sides of the argument.
  - Credit candidates who are able to use contemporary examples.

### AO3

- Two marks should be used to credit spelling, punctuation and grammar where a full answer is provided.
- Two marks should be used to credit the ability to identify correctly points and to present an argument clearly where a full answer is provided.
- A very short answer which meets the above criteria should not be awarded full marks for AO3.

**SECTION B****7. Discuss the importance of the *Single European Act, 1986*.****[20]**

*[Specification: The relationship between the United Kingdom and the EU: impact of Single European Act]*

- For **AO1 marks** candidates must display knowledge and understanding of the SEA including:
  - the commitment to the creation of an single (internal) market by 1992;
  - the extension of majority voting (QMV);
  - the introduction of the co-operation procedure;
  - the doubling of the EC regional and social funds to help those areas adversely affected by the changes;
  - the expansion of EC activity into new areas, for example, European political co-operation;
  - the commitment to create a charter of workers' rights;
  - the beginning the process that would eventually led to EMU;
  - bold declarations about the need for greater political co-operation.
- For **AO2 marks** candidates must be able to discuss the importance of the SEA and may include some of the following points:
  - the importance of specific provisions, for example, the single market;
  - more generally, the importance of the SEA in giving fresh impetus to the move towards greater European integration after years of stagnation;
  - the importance of the SEA as a harbinger of the Maastricht and Amsterdam treaties and the expansion of the EC into the EU;
  - the importance of the SEA in strengthening the federal, as opposed to inter-governmental, nature of the EC;
  - the impact of SEA on British politics and the growth of Europhobia.
- Reward focus and balance. In particular, do not mistake description for analysis, but do reward both.
- Candidates who simply describe the contents of the SEA can score highly on AO1, but to achieve good AO2 marks they must also address the issue of importance. Any attempt at such an assessment should be credited.
- Level 4 answers will clearly focus on the importance of the SEA.
- Credit candidates who are able to use examples.

**AO3**

- Two marks should be used to credit spelling, punctuation and grammar where a full answer is provided.
- Two marks should be used to credit the ability to identify correctly points and to present an argument clearly where a full answer is provided.
- A very short answer which meets the above criteria should not be awarded full marks for AO3.

**8. Discuss the constitutional impact that membership of the European Union has had on the United Kingdom. [20]**

*[Specification: The relationship between the United Kingdom and the EU: debate about future development of EU (federalism; EMU; enlargement).]*

- For **AO1 marks** candidates must display knowledge and understanding of the constitutional impact that membership of the EU has had on the UK and may cover some of the following:
  - what is meant by 'constitutional impact', essentially the impact upon the power, functions and duties of the various organs of the state and the rights of the individual;
  - the impact of the *European Communities Act, 1972*, the *Single European Act* and the treaties of Maastricht, Amsterdam, and Nice on UK constitutional arrangements and the rights of the individual .
- For **AO2 marks** candidates must be able to discuss the constitutional impact that membership of the EU has had on the UK
- Candidates may address some of the following points:
  - membership of the EU has, arguably, reduced the sovereignty (supremacy) of parliament: the agreement of parliament is not required for EU legislation; EU law is superior to UK law; the existence of a higher constitutional authority; parliament has, in a sense, bound its successors;
  - More broadly, membership of the EU has reduced the sovereignty (independence) of the UK: significant policy making power has passed to the EU; the principle of QMV; EU policy, once agreed, must be executed.
- However:
  - some aspects of the EU are intergovernmental rather than supranational, for example, defence and foreign policy;
  - the UK has opted out of EMU;
  - it is possible parliament can repeal the 1972 *European Communities Act*, and for the Crown (on government advice) to annul the 1993 *Treaty of Maastricht*;
  - the view that sovereignty has not been lost, but 'pooled'.
- Reward focus and balance. In particular, do not mistake description for analysis, but do reward both.
- Level 4 answers will clearly focus on the constitutional impact that membership of the EU has had on the UK.
- Credit candidates who are able to use contemporary examples.

**AO3**

- Two marks should be used to credit spelling, punctuation and grammar where a full answer is provided.
- Two marks should be used to credit the ability to identify correctly points and to present an argument clearly where a full answer is provided.
- A very short answer which meets the above criteria should not be awarded full marks for AO3.



RECOGNISING ACHIEVEMENT

Mark Scheme 2694  
January 2005

**1 Assess the extent to which recent presidential elections have led to criticisms of the Electoral College. [30]**

*(Specification: Presidential Elections: the Electoral College)*

**AO1:** Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the Electoral College which may include: allocation of votes per state; winner-takes-all principle; the casting of votes by Electors; the need for an overall majority of electoral votes to win the presidency; the process in the case of deadlock in the Electoral College. Look for up-to-date examples and the knowledge of some recent presidential elections.

**AO2:** Expect candidates to assess a range of criticisms of the Electoral College which may include: rogue Electors; presidents elected on a minority of the popular vote; presidents elected having lost the popular vote; the Electoral College's tendency to exaggerate the winning margin of some presidents; unfairness to national third parties. Reward candidates who also point to the strengths of the Electoral College in preserving the voice of the small states.

**2 Examine the claim that the differences *within* the two major parties are greater than the differences *between* them. [30]**

*(Specification: Political parties: philosophy and ideology; organisation; Congress: party cohesion)*

**AO1:** Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the two major parties. This may include: philosophy, history and ideology; policy similarities of and differences between the two major parties; levels of party cohesion in Congress. Candidates may also display knowledge and understanding of: candidate centred elections; the federal structure of government; typical voters of each party. Reward candidates who display knowledge and understanding of organisation at the national and/or state level.

**AO2:** Expect candidates to examine a range of differences *within* the two major parties as well as a range of differences *between* them. Regarding the former this is likely to focus on differences from region to region, for example the conservative South and the liberal North-east leading to differences within the two major parties especially on social and moral issues. Regarding the latter this is likely to focus on such divisive issues as: tax cuts; levels of welfare spending; crime and punishment; civil liberties; the role of the federal government; the Iraq war. Reward candidates who examine the party decline/renewal arguments.



**3 Analyse the factors likely to lead to success for pressure groups in Washington. [30]**

*(Specification: Pressure Groups: roles and functions; types; methods used; examples of and reasons for success or failure)*

**AO1:** Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of pressure groups and this may include: a definition; roles and functions: types; methods used. Candidates will also display knowledge of the institutions of 'Washington' namely Congress, the presidency and the bureaucracy, as well as the federal courts especially the Supreme Court. Reward candidates who illustrate their answers with a good range of well-worked examples both of success and failure.

**AO2:** Expect candidates to analyse a range of factors that are likely to lead to success for pressure groups in Washington. These may include: knowledge; size of membership; money; public education, mobilisation and support; media coverage; topicality; insider status and contacts; the 'revolving door' syndrome; 'iron triangles'; *amicus curiae* briefs to the Supreme Court.

**4 Examine the reasons why most amendments proposed to the American constitution have failed to be passed. [30]**

*(Specification: The Constitution; Philadelphia Convention; amendments; separation of powers and checks and balances. The Supreme Court: issues concerning judicial review)*

**AO1:** Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the Constitution in general and of the amendments and the amendment procedures in particular. This may include: the framing of the Constitution at the Philadelphia Convention; the Bill of Rights; the role of both Congress and the states in the formal amendment process; the amendments passed subsequent to the Bill of Rights; proposed amendments which failed to be passed and ratified such as those regarding women's rights, balanced budgets, flag desecration, school prayers, etc.

**AO2:** Expect candidates to examine a range of reasons why most amendments to the American Constitution have failed to be passed. These may include: the difficulties posed by the amendment process; the way many Americans regard the original document as somewhat sacrosanct; previous experience (especially over the matter of prohibition); the vague wording of parts of the Constitution and the Supreme Court's power of judicial review making formal amendment often appear unnecessary.

**5 Contrast the power and prestige of Senators and members of the House of Representatives. [30]**

*(Specification: Congress: functions; membership; election; the legislative process; oversight of the executive)*

**AO1:** Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the Senate and the House of Representatives. This will include: election; terms of office; career patterns; the legislative process; scrutiny of the executive branch; role in foreign policy, budget, constitutional amendment and impeachment. Reward candidates who illustrate their answers with a good range of up-to-date examples.

**AO2:** Expect candidates to contrast the power and prestige of Senators and House members in a balanced manner. They will point out that in some areas, Senators are more prestigious and powerful (represent the entire state; 6-year terms; career path to the vice presidency and the presidency; powers to confirm appointments and ratify treaties). But in other areas, they will point out that there is little if any difference between the powers of the members of the two Houses – especially in terms of the legislative process.

**6 Examine the claim that ‘the presidency is not a powerful office’. [30]**

*(Specification: The Presidency: powers of the President: theories of presidential power; relations with Congress. The Constitution: separation of powers and checks and balances)*

**AO1:** Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of both the powers of the president and of theories of presidential power. The former may include the president’s power to: propose, sign and veto legislation; submit the annual budget; act as chief executive and commander-in-chief of the armed forces; nominate officers to the executive and judicial branches of the federal government; negotiate treaties; pardon; act as a party leader. The latter may include theories concerning the so-called ‘imperilled’ presidency as well as the ideas of such scholars as Richard Neustadt.

**AO2:** Expect candidates to present a well argued and balanced answer in which the claim is both justified and questioned. In justifying the claim, candidates are likely to focus on: checks and balances especially by Congress and especially in domestic policy; presidents who lack a popular mandate; presidents who lack party control of one or both houses of Congress; difficulties of executive branch co-ordination. In questioning the claim, candidates are likely to focus on: the ‘imperial presidency’ thesis; theories of congressional decline; the presidency in times of crisis and emergency; presidents who have won office by a landslide; the president as the commander-in-chief of the armed forces.

**7 Discuss the claim that the Supreme Court has too much power for an unelected body. [30]**

*(Specification: The Supreme Court; membership and appointment; issue concerning judicial review; accountability and democratic control)*

**AO1:** Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the Supreme Court. This will include: current membership; the appointment process include the role of the president and the Senate; the power of judicial review including recent examples of the Court's 'power' to declare Acts of Congress and actions of the executive branch unconstitutional as well as their power over the laws and actions of state governments. Reward candidates who use a good range of up-to-date examples.

**AO2:** Expect candidates to discuss the claim in a balanced fashion putting forward both a 'yes' and 'no' answer. In the former category, candidates are likely to discuss: the lack of democratic checks; judicial activism; the Court's significant effect on American government and society in recent decades, including the outcome of the 2000 presidential election. In the latter category, candidates are likely to discuss the checks on the Court by: Congress; the president; public opinion; pressure groups, etc.

**8 Examine the process used for selecting the candidates of the two major parties for the 2004 presidential election. [30]**

*(Specification: Presidential Elections: nominating process)*

**AO1:** Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the process for selecting major party presidential candidates in general and of 2004 in particular. This may include: the 'invisible primary'; primaries and caucuses; 'front loading'; the role of money; the media; National Party Conventions. Candidates should draw their examples primarily from the 2004 nomination cycle though references may be made to other recent cycles.

**AO2:** Expect candidates to analyse the presidential candidate selection process in a balanced fashion putting forward both its merits and demerits. In terms of merits, candidates may focus on: the open, participatory and democratic nature of the process; the number of ordinary voters who participate; the choice of candidates available in the Democratic Party race. In terms of demerits, candidate may focus on: the length of the process; the expense involved; low and unrepresentative turn-out in primaries and caucuses; the lack of 'peer review'; the lack of choice in the Republican Party race; whether or not the process tests those qualities required to be a successful and competent president. Reward candidates who suggest possible reforms.





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RECOGNISING ACHIEVEMENT

Mark Scheme 2695  
January 2005

**NB These marks apply to all the questions in this unit.**

LEVELS	AO1	AO2	AO3
1	0-3	0-3	0-1
2	4-6	4-6	2-3
3	7-9	7-9	4
4	10-12	10-12	5-6

**1 Assess whether political parties are an essential element of democracy. [30]**

*Specification: the nature of political representation and different views of what should be represented in a political system; forms of participation including political parties and group politics; political ideology.*

AO1 Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the concepts of democracy, representation and participation, including political parties. They should explore the meaning of democracy and political representation and how the two concepts have been defined. There should be knowledge of the arguments for and against the prohibition of anti-democratic parties. Knowledge should be illustrated with appropriate examples, including references to relevant political theorists, e.g. Mill, Michels.

AO2 Candidates should examine some of the following: the nature of democracies with special reference to forms of participation and representation; the tension between the party government and democratic government; various ideological perspectives on party government.

**2 Discuss how governments best gain and maintain their authority. [30]**

*Specification: power and authority; the meaning of legitimacy; the differences between them and how they can be bestowed on government; political and ideology.*

AO1 Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the concept of authority and how it can be bestowed on government. They should explore the meaning of power, authority and legitimacy and how they have been defined. There should be knowledge of different bases of authority, e.g. charismatic, traditional and legal/rational and of different political systems, e.g. traditional and revolutionary as well as democratic. Reward knowledge of how authority can be maintained, e.g. referendums, ideology and use of propaganda. Knowledge should be illustrated with appropriate examples, including references to relevant political theorists, e.g. Weber, Rousseau.

AO2 Candidates should examine some of the following: the essential difference between authority and legitimacy; the various contexts in which governmental authority can be gained and maintained, e.g. peace and war, revolution and election; different ideological perspectives on power and authority.

**3 Discuss the changing interpretations of liberalism. [30]**

*Specification: the meaning of political ideology; the principal elements of liberalism.*

- AO1 Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the concept of liberalism, including the key elements of the concept; the importance of the individual and his or her liberty, the place of reason and rationality, a mechanistic view of the state, a limited role for the state. There should be knowledge of how its meaning has changed over time, e.g. from classical liberalism in the nineteenth century to New Liberalism at the turn of the century and a leap across to the New Right in the late twentieth century. Knowledge should be illustrated with appropriate examples, including references to relevant political theorists, e.g. Locke, Mill, Berlin, Hobhouse, Hayek.
- AO2 Candidates should examine some of the following: the interrelationship between the different interpretations of liberalism; the extent to which the various interpretations of liberalism are contingent on time and place; the extent to which the different interpretations of liberalism contain certain core conservative values.

**4 Contrast the rights of the citizen with the rights of the state. [30]**

*Specification: view of the rights and duties of the individual and the state including the relationship between them; political ideology.*

- AO1 Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the concept of rights. They should explore the meaning of rights of the individual and rights of the state and how they have been defined. There should be knowledge of different forms of individual rights and state rights, the justifications for both and the possible relationships between them. Knowledge should be illustrated with appropriate examples. These will include references to relevant political theorists, e.g. Rousseau, Locke, Berlin, Rawls.
- AO2 Candidates should examine some of the following: the balance between the rights of the citizen and the rights of the state; different contexts with which rights exist, e.g. war and peace; ideological perspectives on the concept of rights.

**5 Evaluate the main criticisms of civil disobedience. [30]**

*Specification: interpretations, justifications and criticisms of the concept of civil disobedience; political ideology.*

AO1 Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the concept of civil disobedience. They should explore the meaning of the civil disobedience and how it has been defined. There should be knowledge of the different criticisms of the concept. Knowledge should be illustrated with appropriate examples, including references to relevant political theorists, e.g. Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Thoreau.

AO2 Candidates should examine some of the following: the validity of the different arguments against civil disobedience, viz. The primacy of the rule of law, the danger of further disorder and even anarchy; the balance of arguments for civil disobedience; the context within which law is disobeyed; different ideological perspectives on the different social contract theories.

**6 Discuss which single characteristic best defines the concept of the modern state. [30]**

*Specification: the characteristics of the state; political ideology.*

AO1 Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the various features of the state. They will explore the meaning of the state and how it has been defined. There should be knowledge of the different elements of the state, e.g. territoriality, sovereignty; (near) monopoly of violence; universality; compulsory jurisdiction; the form of public and collective institutions. Knowledge should be illustrated with appropriate examples including references to relevant political theorists, e.g. Hobbes, Marx.

AO2 Candidates should examine some of the following: the relative importance of the various elements of the state; the changing nature of the state in the modern world; the impact of the changing context within which states operate on the characteristics of the state, e.g. globalisation; different ideological perspectives on the nature of the modern state.



**7 Discuss the view that legal sovereignty is meaningless without political sovereignty. [30]**

*Specification: the meaning of sovereignty; legal and political sovereignty; the location of sovereignty; different view of the role of the state; political ideology.*

AO1 Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the concepts of legal and political sovereignty. They should explore the interrelationship between the two concepts and where each can be located, e.g. the executive, the assembly, the people. Knowledge should be illustrated with appropriate examples including references to relevant political theorists, e.g. Rousseau.

AO2 Candidates should examine some of the following: the criteria to be used for defining legal and political sovereignty; the extent to which that location is affected by the type of state being considered; different ideological perspectives on the meaning of sovereignty.

**8 Assess the strengths and weaknesses of the concept of the separation of powers. [30]**

*Specification: different types of rule; the separation of powers; political ideology.*

AO1 Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the concept of powers. They will explore the meaning of separation of powers and how it has been defined, e.g. the use of 'power to check power' and the clear distinction between powers of the three branches of government. Knowledge should be illustrated with appropriate examples including references to relevant political theorists, e.g. Madison, Rousseau, Mill.

AO2 Candidates should examine some of the following: the extent to which separation of powers does check the use of power; the likelihood that separation will result in divided and ineffective government; different ideological perspectives on the separation of powers; the practical failure of alternative models of government.





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RECOGNISING ACHIEVEMENT

Mark Scheme 2698  
January 2005

These marks apply to all questions in this unit.

	AO1	AO2	AO3
<b>Level 4</b>	19-24 marks	19-24 marks	10-12 marks
<b>Level 3</b>	13-18 marks	13-18 marks	7-9 marks
<b>Level 2</b>	7-12 marks	7-12 marks	4-6 marks
<b>Level 1</b>	0-6 marks	0-6 marks	0-3 marks

**1. Examine the view that elections are not won or lost during the campaign itself, but in the years before the campaign. [60]**

2595: Campaigns; 2694: Presidential elections (theories of voting behaviour); 2698: Elections: theories of voting behaviour, conduct of election campaigns.

**AO1:** Candidates will show knowledge of elections and campaigns, and theories of voting behaviour that emphasise long term, rather than short-term factors. There may be specific knowledge of the results of recent elections, and the detail of campaigns, including debates, and incidents. There may be knowledge of the drift of opinion polls before and during the campaign. There may be knowledge of the record of governments in office, of the way events have been handled during the years prior to the election itself.

Where appropriate, candidates should draw upon the knowledge of different political systems studied in other parts of the AS and A2 course.

**AO2:** Expect candidates to analyse the view offered. There may be analysis of the relative importance of the campaign itself, based on whether opinion is decided in the years before the election. Expect analysis of the major events encountered by the Government and their contribution to forming public opinion and affecting elections, for example, the collapse of the ERM, the war on terrorism, the attack on Iraq, or the management of the economy and other domestic issues.

Better answers will balance the analysis, offering the view that, on some occasions, campaigns do matter, for example where the contest is close – for example in Britain in 1992, or the USA in 2000. Here, events such as the Sheffield rally in Britain, or the lack of charisma in the Gore campaign might have had an impact. It might be argued that, in a more volatile age, campaigns might matter more.

Reward analysis of the 2004 US presidential race in these terms.

Where appropriate, candidates should analyse relevant features of, and make connections between, different political systems studied in other parts of the AS and A2 course.

**2. Discuss the roles of third or minor parties in different political systems. [60]**

2596: Political parties; 2694: Political parties: role of third parties; 2698: Political parties – multi-party systems.

**AO1:** Candidates will display knowledge of various third parties in different political systems. There may be knowledge of the extent to which third parties figure in the politics of other countries, and the reasons for this – the electoral system, the breadth of ideological debate, regional factors. There may be knowledge of the contribution of third parties to the politics of those systems – as part of a governing coalition, as a splinter from a more established party, representing an ideological shift, or as a group representing regional interests. Where appropriate, candidates should draw upon the knowledge of different political systems studied in other parts of the AS and A2 course.

**AO2:** Expect analysis of the role of third parties in different political systems. There may be analysis of smaller parties' contribution to the ideological debate, for example in the USA where many third parties are more ideological, such as the Green party. There may be analysis of regional or separatist parties where their function is to push for greater devolution or self government. There may be analysis of third parties that contribute to the majority of a governing coalition, such as the Greens in Germany, or the Liberal Democrats in the Scottish Parliament. This analysis might include a study of their impact on the policies of the Government. Where appropriate, candidates should analyse relevant features of, and make connections between, different political systems studied in other parts of the AS and A2 course.

**3. Discuss the extent to which constitutions limit the powers of legislatures. [60]**

2597: The Constitution; 2694: The Constitution, Congress; 2698: Constitutions, Legislatures.

**AO1:** Candidates will show knowledge of constitutions, and particularly those parts of constitutions that specify the powers of legislatures, and limit their areas of competence. There will be knowledge of parliamentary sovereignty in Britain, and the lack of formal limits upon Parliament's powers. There may be knowledge of those parts of the American Constitution which identify the powers of Congress. There may be knowledge of constitutional interpretation by the Supreme Court and cases when the court has ruled that congress has overstepped the limits of its power – *Eichman* 1990, *Lopez* 1995, *ACLU v Reno* 1997 and so on. There may be knowledge of the limits upon the powers of the European Parliament.

Where appropriate, candidates should draw upon the knowledge of different political systems studied in other parts of the AS and A2 course.

**AO2:** Expect candidates to analyse the extent to which constitutions limit the powers of legislatures. There may be analysis of the absence of formal constitutional limits on the power of the British Parliament, but more balanced analysis might include the way in which quasi constitutional commitments now limit the power of Parliament – for example, the ECHR, membership of the European Union, or the Scotland Act. There may be analysis of those parts of the American constitution in which there are limits to the power of Congress. Balanced analysis might include a recognition that, even though it was thought that the powers enumerated in the constitution was an exhaustive list, this has not stopped Congress from adding to them. There might be analysis of the limits in other constitutions.

Where appropriate, candidates should analyse relevant features of, and make connections between, different political systems studied in other parts of the AS and A2 course.

**4. Examine the claim that legislatures should be free from the influence of interest groups. [60]**

2596: Pressure Groups; 2597: The UK Parliament; 2694: Congress, Pressure Groups – implications for the democratic process; 2698: Legislatures, Pressure Groups – the function and power of groups.

**AO1:** Candidates will show knowledge of legislatures, and the kind of influence exerted by interest groups, such as the financing of elections, and lobbying.

They may show knowledge of theories of interest group influence relevant here, such as pluralism, or elitism. There may be knowledge of the useful contribution groups might make to the work of legislatures, such as supplying legislators with information. There may be well worked examples of specific case studies.

Where appropriate, candidates should draw upon the knowledge of different political systems studied in other parts of the AS and A2 course.

**AO2:** Expect analysis of the proposition, suggesting perhaps that groups have too much influence over legislatures, especially where political parties have declined in influence, and no longer insulate the political system from interest group pressure. This might be even more acute in systems in which groups can influence individuals' elections through financial contributions. There might be a claim that the influence of groups is undemocratic.

Better answers will balance the argument with analysis of the more positive contribution groups can make to the work of legislatures, representing minority views, testifying before committee hearings and so on. There might be arguments suggesting that groups supplement the electoral process, and in this way enhance democracy.

Where appropriate, candidates should analyse relevant features of, and make connections between, different political systems studied in other parts of the AS and A2 course.

**5. Critically assess the factors which bring success or failure to chief executives. [60]**

2597: PM and Cabinet, Delivery of government policy; 2694: The Presidency, theories of presidential power; 2698: Executives: power and functions of chief executives, issues concerning the efficient delivery of government policies.

**AO1:** Candidates will show knowledge of the role of chief executives in the delivery and formulation of policy, in the passage of legislation, in providing leadership. There may be knowledge of successful, or unsuccessful chief executives. There may be knowledge of various factors which could be said to bring success to chief executives, for example, a landslide election victory, a big majority in the legislature, political skills, such as an ability to persuade, or provide leadership. There may be knowledge of the constitutional context within which different chief executives operate.

There may be knowledge of factors which bring failure to chief executives, such as poor judgement, an under-performing economy, and events. There may be knowledge of specific case studies of situations in which success or failure was achieved.

Where appropriate, candidates should draw upon the knowledge of different political systems studied in other parts of the AS and A2 course.

**AO2:** Expect candidates to analyse what success or failure in this context means. This might be taken to mean achieving legislative goals, winning support for a policy, creating the conditions for the re-election of the administration. Expect candidates to analyse what is needed to achieve this success, including discussion of the extent to which personal qualities might help or hinder the success of a chief executive. Expect candidates to discuss external factors, such as events, which require chief executives to react, such as the destruction of the World Trade towers, or the collapse of the ERM. Expect candidates to reach a conclusion as to what brings success or failure to a chief executive. There may be some

analysis of the different constraints within plural executives, compared to those upon a singular executive.

Where appropriate, candidates should analyse relevant features of, and make connections between, different political systems studied in other parts of the AS and A2 course.

**6. Assess the factors which influence the level of public participation in modern politics. [60]**

2595: Voting behaviour; 2596: Citizenship; 2694: Presidential Elections; 2698: Elections – issues concerning participation.

**AO1:** Candidates will show knowledge of the various ways in which citizens participate in modern politics – as voters, as party members, as members of interest groups, as candidates in elections and so on. Candidates will also show knowledge of the levels of public participation in politics as shown by the low voting turnout in some elections, or other indicators. There may be knowledge of membership of parties, of pressure groups. Candidates may show knowledge of the merits of participation. There may be knowledge of declining rates of participation in the west, of social atomisation – ‘Bowling alone’. Where appropriate, candidates should draw upon the knowledge of different political systems studied in other parts of the AS and A2 course.

**AO2:** Expect candidates to analyse factors which influence participation in politics. There may be analysis of poor rates of electoral participation, or declining membership numbers of political parties. There may be analysis of measures taken by governments to improve turnout rates, such as internet voting, or referenda. Better candidates may balance the analysis, arguing perhaps that while traditional methods of political engagement have fallen, membership of interest groups and other forms of activism have risen. They may argue that falls in turn-out do not, of themselves indicate disinterest, but perhaps satisfaction. On the other hand, poor rates of participation have led to the success of more extremist politics in some countries- anti-parties, racist movements. Where appropriate, candidates should analyse relevant features of, and make connections between, different political systems studied in other parts of the AS and A2 course.

**7. Contrast the role of judiciaries in different political systems. [60]**

2596: Redress of Grievances; 2697: Judicial Review; 2694: The Supreme Court: issues concerning judicial review; 2698: Civil Rights and Liberties, Judiciaries: political influence.

**AO1:** Candidates will show knowledge of the role and practice of different judiciaries in different political systems. There may be knowledge of the underlying constitutional frameworks in which judiciaries are more or less likely to be activist in dealing with legal cases. There may be well-worked case studies as illustration. Where appropriate, candidates should draw upon the knowledge of different political systems studied in other parts of the AS and A2 course.

**AO2:** Expect candidates to analyse the reasons for different roles of judiciaries in different political contexts. They may mention and develop parliamentary sovereignty as the context in which British courts work, which limits the extent to which courts can elaborate upon or develop existing rights etc. There may be analysis of the concept of judicial review in America, following *Marbury v Madison*, and the involvement of the courts there in political questions. There may be analysis of the activity of European courts, and candidates may develop the impact of the incorporation of the ECHR into British law, or the role of the ECJ. Reward candidates who mention the increasing judicial activism in Administrative Law. Where appropriate, candidates should analyse relevant features of, and make connections between, different political systems studied in other parts of the AS and A2 course.



**8. Evaluate the view that rights and liberties are best defended by active citizenship, and not by institutions. [60]**

2596: Civil Rights and Liberties, Citizenship; 2694: The Supreme Court; civil rights and liberties; 2698: Civil Rights and Liberties, Judiciaries .

**AO1:** Candidates will show knowledge of rights and liberties in modern political systems. There will be knowledge of the various institutional means by which they are protected, and the effectiveness of their protection in different contexts. There may be knowledge of the concept of citizenship, and the political culture present in some countries. There may be knowledge of contexts where rights and liberties are rooted in different ways. There may be well worked examples, using specific case studies.

Where appropriate, candidates should draw upon the knowledge of different political systems studied in other parts of the AS and A2 course.

**AO2:** Expect candidates to analyse the effectiveness of the protection of rights in different systems. There may be analysis of the concept of citizenship, and contexts in which this is present, such as the USA. There may be analysis of the extent to which this helps to inform people of their rights. There may be comparison with Britain, where citizenship is not yet strongly established, despite recent developments. There may be analysis acknowledging that while a thorough-going concept of citizenship is important, other things may be necessary in the defence of rights, such as legislative vigilance, a bill of rights and an activist judiciary, or an alert and critical popular press.

Where appropriate, candidates should analyse relevant features of, and make connections between, different political systems studied in other parts of the AS and A2 course.





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RECOGNISING ACHIEVEMENT

Mark Scheme 2699  
January 2005

The following assessment matrix will apply to all questions:

	AO1	AO2	AO3
<b>Maximum</b>	24 marks	24	12
<b>Level 4</b>	19-24	19-24	10-12
<b>Level 3</b>	13-18	13-18	7-9
<b>Level 2</b>	7-12	7-12	4-6
<b>Level 1</b>	0-6	0-6	0-3

**1 Discuss the view that ‘democracy is the worst form of government’. [60]**

(Specification: 2595-2597: democracy; module 2695 representation, participation and consent; module 2699: defining democracy and models of democracy)

**AO1** Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of some of the following; the criticisms made of the operation of democracy – these could include the fear of mob rule, tyranny of the majority and populist politics. Criticisms should be accompanied by evidence taken from contemporary politics highlighting issues such as problems with electoral politics, discrimination of minority views and inefficiency of decision making. Comparison with alternative systems (totalitarian states, dictatorships, monarchies etc) is to be expected. Candidates who recognise the incomplete nature of the quote by Churchill and indicate his concerns for other systems should be well rewarded. Weak answers will only have a basic/limited understanding of democracy and are able only to suggest a few, in any, examples of problems in its operation. Better answers should show a good or thorough understanding of the concept allied to informed examples of problems with democratic government. To achieve top marks knowledge of more than one type of democracy should be shown.

**AO2** Expect candidates to outline a range of perspectives on the question including critics such as Plato, de Tocqueville and Hobbes as well as advocates such as Rousseau and Paine. Expect some attempt to distinguish between the different types of democracy and in particular the debate over necessity to limit the extent of democracy in modern representative systems (e.g. radical vs protective democrats). Candidates who approach the question by highlighting the differing ideological perspectives on democracy will need to ensure that they focus on the virtues and vices of the system. Levels 1 and 2 should be awarded for those answers that merely highlight the arguments against democracy. The top two levels should be rewarded for those answers that provide an appreciation of both the virtues and vices of the concept.

**2 Assess the importance of political pluralism to the operation of modern democracy. [60]**

(Specification: 2596: Politics of the UK; 2695 representation, participation and consent; 2699 models of democracy)

**AO1** Candidates will show knowledge and understanding of some of the following: the meaning of political pluralism and how institutions and bodies seek to ensure a plurality of differing interests. Candidates should be able to apply examples of pluralism in practice through evidence of the operations of parties and pressure groups as well as constitutional safeguards providing a separation of powers. Evidence of elitism and centralisation of power should also be included. Examples drawn from moderns British and EU politics should be especially rewarded. Weaker answers will only show a limited/basic understanding of the pluralism with little evidence for its operation in

democracy. Better answers should show a good/thorough understanding of the concept, offering a range of applied examples of its usage, within modern democracy. The best answers should require knowledge of the operation of pluralism in Britain together with knowledge of relevant theory. Further reward those who use examples beyond Britain.

**AO2:** Expect candidates to analyse the extent of pluralism in operation – they may wish to highlight the debate between pluralists, elitists, neo pluralists and Marxists as to the extent of political pluralism in practice. Further reward should be given to those students that highlight alternative models of democracy that centralise power (e.g. peoples' democracies). Students may also seek to analyse how effective pressure groups and/or political parties are in providing a wide input into the decision making process and the extent of a level playing field in their relationship with governments (e.g. insider outsider status, policy communities etc). The bottom 2 levels should be reserved for those students who are only able to evaluate pluralism and identify its operation at a superficial level. Levels 3 and 4 should be given to those that appreciate the differing perspectives upon the concept and analyse the varying degrees of dispersal of decision making across a number of countries.

**3 Evaluate the success of liberal democracy as a political system. [60]**

(Specification: 2695 and 2597 Politics of the UK and Government of the UK; 2695 forms of government; 2699 Liberal democracy)

**AO1** Candidates are expected to show knowledge and understanding of the nature of Liberal Democracy and its merits in guaranteeing individual rights and liberties alongside providing constitutional safeguards, a limited role for citizenship, and a vibrant free market economy. Reference to supporters of Liberal Democracy such as JS Mill and James Madison and ideological support from liberal, modern conservative, and social democratic theories should further be rewarded. Modern evidence to show how liberal democracy has grown in importance with the collapse of alternative systems (Fukuyama thesis) should also be rewarded. Level 1 and 2 answers will seek to only define the term and illustrate its operations with a few, if any, superficial examples. Level 3 and 4 answers will show good/ thorough appreciation of the various attributes of the system and will have well worked examples of its effectiveness at achieving its aims. Level 4 marks should require a range of knowledge beyond the operation of Liberal democracy in Britain only.

**AO2** Candidates are expected to analyse the relative strengths of the system, contrasting it with alternative models such as state dominated Marxism or Fascism. Those students that seek to evaluate the most important aspects of the system should be well rewarded as should those that highlight its flexibility (Westminster style systems through to East Asian models). Candidates that question whether the appeal can ever be universal by considering alternatives and criticisms of the system should further be rewarded. Students who produce only a list of the various elements of liberal democracy should be marked in the bottom 2 levels whereas those that attempt to provide a sophisticated appreciation of the relative appeal of liberal democracy in contrast to other systems should gain access to level 3 and 4.

**4 Assess how effective referendums are at improving democracy. [60]**

(Specification: 2595 Elections and voting; 2695 Representation, participation and consent; 2699 representation and participation in a democracy)

**AO1** Candidates will be expected to show knowledge and understanding of the use of referendums in Britain and other nations. They should provide evidence of their usage as both a tool of popular sovereignty and as assistance to parliamentary sovereignty in Britain and other Westminster style regimes. Consideration should be given to the topics such as apathy in general and secondary elections and a comparison with turnout in referendums such as those for Devolution and locally elected mayors. Students who differentiate between referendums and initiatives, identifying the latter as tools for raising issues of popular concern should be well rewarded. Level 1 and 2 answers will only tend to be able to define what a referendum is and offer a few superficial examples of their usage. Level 3 and 4 answers will require a sophisticated understanding of the purpose of referendums and examples of their relative effectiveness in engaging public involvement. Level 4 marks should only be given to answers that provide examples from a number of different countries.

**AO2** Candidates will be expected to analyse the necessity for public participation supported by theorists such as Rousseau. Consideration should also be made as to the nature of apathy and whether greater participation is actually desirable (see elite theories). Expect also discussion of problems of compatibility between referendums and parliamentary sovereignty, as well as practical issues such as the devising of questions, unequal spending and simplification of issues. Those students who identify criteria for effectiveness and evaluate referendums from a variety of nations should receive level 4 marks if done appropriately.

**5 Examine what, if any, limitations are required upon the exercise of individual liberty. [60]**

(Specification: 2596 Politics of the UK; 2695 rights, liberty and equality; 2699 rights, liberty and democracy)

**AO1:** Candidates will be expected to show knowledge and understanding of what is meant by individual liberty (definitions by Mill, Rousseau etc would be useful), and what limitations are placed upon its operation within various societies – this may take the form of explanations relating to constitutional restraints in liberal democracies through to coercion in dictatorships. Specific examples should be used to illustrate the nature and extent of individual liberty in Britain, the EU and possibly other states. Those students that identify evidence of restrictions imposed by liberal democratic regimes post 9/11 should be well rewarded. Weak answers will only offer a basic/limited understanding of individual liberty as opposed to various other forms of liberty (e.g. civil liberty – Rousseau, positive liberty – Berlin). Also expect only a few vague examples of where necessary to limit individuals actions (lowest marks should go to those that offer general examples not related to politics). Better answers will clearly understand the different types of liberty and offer a range of examples where limitations are seen as necessary for the common good. Further reward should go to those that provide examples extending beyond Britain.

**AO2** Candidates should analyse the necessity for society to limit individuals actions using ideas such as Mill's 'very simple principle', or Rousseau's advocacy of civil over individual liberty. Candidates may allude to the different perceptions upon the role of the state and thus the extent of individual limitations, ranging from libertarianism through to authoritarian conservatism and socialism. Lower level marks should be reserved for candidates who merely list a variety of limitations without any attempt to evaluate the question from an ideological or structured perspective. Top level marks should be reserved for those students who are able to appreciate the balance between dependant upon the ideological standpoint.

**6 Contrast conservative and socialist perspectives on the meaning of citizenship.**

**[60]**

(Specification: 2596 Politics of the UK; 2695 Political Ideology; 2699 Ideology and democracy)

**AO1:** Candidates will be expected to show knowledge and understanding of the principal ideas of the two ideologies towards citizenship. Expect comments on the extent of duties to the state and the degree of entitlements (rights vs responsibilities). The ideas of TH Marshall and also communitarian writers should be well rewarded as should also the views of conservative thinkers such as Hobbes and Burke (reward also reference to New Rights ideas). Modern examples drawn from Britain and the EU should be included (except comments on the emphasis New Labour has placed upon the concept of citizenship and contrasts may be made with the Thatcher/Major governments). Weak answers will only be able to offer vague definitions of citizenship and limited/basic understandings of the central themes relating to conservatism and socialism. Better answers will be able to show good/thorough understanding of a variety of perspectives on citizenship and offer a range of relevant examples. Further reward should be given to answers that illustrate their ideas with reference to both socialist and conservative regimes.

**AO2** Candidates will be expected to evaluate the central differences between the two ideologies. Expect references to the differing emphasis upon duties and rights as well as the extent of state intervention into the lives of their citizens. The best answers will show appreciation of the variation in perspectives within the two broad ideologies (one nation vs new right and social democracy and Third Way versus scientific/revolutionary socialism). Also consideration could be made concerning differing interpretations on human nature between the two ideologies. Weak answers will only be able to point to some basic/ limited differences whereas better answers will show an appreciation of the variations within the ideologies as well as between them.

**7 Examine how far national sovereignty has been undermined by membership of multinational organisations. [60]**

(Specification: 2597 Government of the UK; 2695 the state and sovereignty; 2699 responsible government and democracy)

**AO1** Candidates will be expected to show knowledge and understanding of the concept of national sovereignty and the impact of membership of organisations such as the EU, UN, NATO and World Trade Organisation. Examples should be provided of the loss of decision making of national parliaments, and also 'pooling of sovereignty' on issues relating to defence, security and environment. Expect specific examples of institutions such as the ECJ intervening to overrule national laws. Reference to the Iraq crisis and the role of the UN should be awarded if made relevant. Weak answers will tend to only provide a limited/basic understanding of sovereignty and offer a few, if any, broad examples of involvement in supranational bodies. Better answers will provide a range of examples of the limits upon national sovereignty with the best answers highlighting membership across a range of organisations.

**AO2** Candidates should analyse the threats to national sovereignty and seek to determine if the concept any longer has any relevance in an increasingly politically globalised world. Students may examine the extent of supranationalism vs intergovernmentalism and may seek to evaluate the prospect for federalism and subsidiarity in organisations such as the EU (the debate may be structured as euro sceptics vs euro federalists). Awareness of the potential for increasing democratic deficit should be rewarded. Some candidates may even raise other threats to national sovereignty such as devolution. The weakness of certain international organisations such as the UN may also be discussed. Weak answers will tend to only offer a one sided analysis on the undermining of national sovereignty whereas better answers will provide a more balanced appreciation of the changing relationship between the nation state and international bodies.

**8 Assess the importance of minority views for the operation of democracy. [60]**

(Specification: 2596 Politics of the UK; 2695 representation, participation and consent; 2699 defining democracy and models of democracy)

**AO1** Candidates should show knowledge and understanding of the nature of decision making within democratic regimes. Examples should be given of attempts to protect minority perspectives through constitutional (enshrinement of civil liberties) and electoral safeguards (stipulated majority voting etc). Those students who examine the ability of minorities to express and have their views protected in a variety of different types of democracy (classical, protective and peoples) should be well rewarded. Reward should also be given for those that examine the rule of the largest minority under FPTP. Weak answers will only have a limited/basic appreciation of what can be considered as minority viewpoints and only offer a few examples of how minorities have been discriminated against in modern democracies. Better answers will be able to offer a more sophisticated appreciation of measures to protect minority views in certain types of democracy and offer a range of examples to show democracy as being more than the rule of the majority. Candidates who only offer examples of the importance of minority views in Britain will find it difficult to achieve the highest marks.



**AO2** Candidates should analyse the dangers of majoritarianism is repressing minority opinions, especially where entrenched minorities exist (de Tocqueville and tyranny of the majority, and Talmon's critique of Rousseau leading to totalitarian democracy). Attempts to protect minority views as advocated by Mill etc should be rewarded. Those students that adopt an ideological perspective to the question may argue that from a Marxist perspective liberal democracy is only a façade for rule by an economic elite and question the existence of political pluralism. Weak answers will tend only to highlight repression of minority views, or alternatively highlight the need to protect minority perspectives. Better answers will develop a more balanced analysis of the arguments.





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RECOGNISING ACHIEVEMENT

REPORT ON THE UNITS  
JANUARY 2005

### **Chief Examiner's Report**

Overall the entry size for the January 2005 series was similar to that of January 2004, however the entry numbers for all the AS units, 2694 and 2695 continue to rise. This is the last year we will be examining the synoptic papers 2698 and 2699 in January.

The January sitting performs differently to the June sitting for a number of reasons, a number of which were evident in this series. In a June series most candidates have been doing either their AS or A2 units for a year and maturation factors are evident to examiners. However in January it is clear where candidates are still developing the key skills needed to be successful at AS or A2. In January at AS there are clearly retakes from candidates who are now in Year 13. The candidates resitting papers display a different approach to those sitting for the first time and in the main perform better second time around. There are candidates at A2 who treat the exam as little more than a mock in advance of the summer series, while others take it with exceptional seriousness and get outstanding marks. Maintaining the correct standard for AS and A2 can be hard, and it is unfortunate for a candidate who clearly is able, and will certainly do well in the summer, but simply has not covered the specification fully and had time to master the required techniques and as a result does not perform to their potential.

Again there were problems at AS with candidates pitching their answer too high and getting involved in a complex and sophisticated debate in a question, which only had AO1 marks allocated to it. Often it is not lack of knowledge, which keeps the candidates from the high grades, but an inability to utilise it in a way that gets the marks. There needs to be a real awareness of how many marks are allocated to AO3 and while not all of those go to spelling, grammar and punctuation, quite a lot do.

**2595 - Elections, Electoral Systems and Voting Behaviour in the UK  
(Written Examination)**

**General Comments**

Overall the January examination worked well. As always, either there was good use of the Source or a good use of own knowledge - not often both. On the whole source use is getting better. There is a strong case for students getting more of a focus on the actual mark allocation – it should be stressed how AO2 marks can be gained. When looking at awarding AO3 marks, some scripts appeared to contain relevant content but were let down by poor presentation. There were fewer outstanding scripts than we normally get in June - but fewer really poor ones. When question papers are written it is assumed that candidates have been prepared for the whole unit. There is still a tendency for some able candidates to go into too much, often irrelevant, detail. Candidates should contain their answers to questions 1 and 2 and display their analytical and evaluative skills in question 4. Knowledge was usually good - especially on question 3 and 4, but often not used appropriately enough to get the very high marks in those questions. Time spent on examination technique training really will pay off.

**Comments on Individual Questions**

- Q 1     There were some initial concerns that there was insufficient data for the candidates, but we were proved wrong there. It was not an issue with most. There was some excellent comment about how voters might react when faced with statistics such as those in the Source. Some of the best source use came from those whom clearly had not studied the topic at all, as there was not even a glimmer of 'own knowledge' and were forced to rely on common sense. This type of response could not go beyond level 3. There were lots of good points about the bandwagon and boomerang effects and also many about the implications polls might have for tactical voting. Some seemed to find it very necessary to explain how and why other countries banned them, but did not explain the relevance. Some candidates wrote very good essays on the merits and demerits of polls, unfortunately such candidates ran out of time on question 4. Candidates need to focus and contain answers to using the Sources within the question set. Theories of democracy simply do not belong here. Some training on how much time and space to allocate for this sort of question in an exam would help many candidates achieve higher marks.
- Q 2     Examiners are still surprised to discover that the Scottish election system is not being taught - or that candidates had not learned it. There were a surprising number who thought it was a straight PR system and failed to notice what was in the Source. Some were very good on the Scottish system and simply failed to write about the general election system at all. Again there were a lot of totally irrelevant arguments about the merits and demerits of the UK FPTP system. Are coalitions really that dreadful? It did not seem to occur to those who found it necessary to damn coalitions that in fact what was happening in the Scottish executive might actually indicate they were not such bad things after all! There was often too little focus on differences. As always the best way to do well is to go for the two paragraph approach - develop the source first - points such as the two types of seats in Scotland etc second. We saw none who used the pointers about turnout and swing in the footnote of the source. They could all get very descriptive and stayed at L3 as the differences were implicit - not stated.

*Report on the Units taken in January 2005*

- Q 3 Candidates responded positively to this question. It was a pity there was so much focus on the word 'referendum' and too little on the key phrase 'the further use of'. That stopped some candidates getting high into L4. Again a lot of time was wasted on the case 'for' which could have been better used elsewhere. Some failed to get their full marks for failure to spot key words in the source, like 'turnout', and 'wording' - usually those who went on a great length on how wonderfully democratic they were. When only a case 'for' is asked for in a question 3 the best way of managing this sort of question is to go for a two section approach - with the first focusing on the points raised in the Source - such as the low turnout and the wording of the question issues. The second part should be given over to 'own knowledge'. Candidates should be encouraged to adopt this approach as it deters writing at great length on the case 'for'. There was good exemplar material from other countries – Denmark and Ireland being favourites - but it was not always well focused.
- Q 4 This question produced some good responses. There was lots of good Source use here, with candidates picking up on the data from 1997 and 2001 to comment on how it showed changes from 1979 and most picked up the age factor as well - although some did seem surprised that the young had in fact voted for Thatcher. Highly knowledgeable candidates may not have performed well because they ignored the command to 'Discuss'. Many adopted a question 2 approach, with its focus on AO1 marks, and the answers really had to be combed for anything that could be awarded AO2 marks – and often it was kept in low L3 as there was so little explicit comment. Successful candidates adopted a variety of methods to gain AO2 marks - arguing which was the greatest change and why - and why some changes were of less importance - anything that was more than just listing was considered for AO2 marks. There were some very good candidates who played the 'expert' card - with Pippa Norris saying one thing and Curtice saying another. Some centres are encouraging this question to be completed first but examiners report few advantages in this strategy. Quite a lot of candidates ran out of time - invariably they had written at least a side on question 1.

## 2596 - Politics of the UK

### General comments

There was a good spread of answers although it appeared that a notable number of candidates found this a challenging paper. Nearly all candidates attempted all the questions and the vast majority of papers showed an appropriate balance of short answers to the early questions with more time devoted to questions 3 and 4. The instruction to use continuous prose was followed and but standards of spelling, punctuation and grammar were variable, specifically of political words such as Parliament or 'conservative' (lower case) when referring to the party. There also seemed to be a rise in answers that were essentially opinions rather than assessments.

#### 1a) Define 'citizenship'.

A straightforward question that presented few problems. Examiners were looking to see reference to rights and responsibilities and many candidates succeeded in this respect.

#### b) Briefly explain, giving two examples in each case what is meant by:

##### i. A civil right

Usually answered successfully although too many candidates failed to offer the requisite number of examples.

##### ii. A social right

In spite of the fact that the source offered a pointer to 'social rights developing through welfare state and EU', many candidates were unable to offer examples of social rights.

#### 2. Describe *four* of the core beliefs in Conservative ideology in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

The general impression was that students not sufficiently prepared for this standard topic. Low scoring answers were often limited to merely repeating the words in the document with little development of what they meant e.g.

- Paternalism often associated with the rights of fathers.
- Pragmatism - frequently not explained or understood

Strong leadership was often linked to Thatcher and better candidates referred to powers of the party leader. Candidates rightly considered core beliefs beyond those of the Source, such as the proper role of government in society and support for the nation state structure. Too many candidates assumed that the Conservatives have always been anti-EU/EC/EEC.

There was frequent confusion between policy and ideology. Only a few got into one nation Tories and other aspects of ideology that might have been considered.

#### 3. Critically examine the attempts to extend citizens' rights since 1990.

This question often produced good comments on the Human Rights Act and many candidates showed up to date knowledge with reference to the 2001 Anti-terrorism, Crime and Security Act and Belmarsh detainees. There was some confusion over the dates of the Human Rights Act (HRA) – passed in 1998 and fully operational in Oct 2000.

There were conceptual misunderstandings as to whether or not the HRA is entrenched – of course it is not. There were suggestions that it was the Act that created access to the European Court of Human Rights – a possibility that has existed for some time. Candidates also frequently assume that the ECHR is an EU development rather than that of the Council of Europe.

Weaker answers had little range, perhaps referring to only one extension of rights since 1990. Well informed candidates were making reference to the Freedom of Information Act 2000, minimum wage provisions and EU Social Chapter, Citizen's Charter, etc. As

*Report on the Units taken in January 2005*

candidates showed a range of knowledge and understanding, they rose through levels 3 and 4.

Candidates who wrote on the arguments around having a Bill of Rights or general means of seeking redress were not focusing on the question and score modestly as a result.

**4. Discuss the view that political parties are failing to fulfill their roles in British politics.**

A range of quality in answers was very noticeable for this question. Better candidates identified 4/5 roles of parties and assessed the recent performance of parties in these areas. They included well-worked examples. A range of points with attempts to assess, pushed candidates into level 4.

Weaker answers lacked a relevant range of knowledge. Some chose to interpret the question as an opportunity to express their opinions about the government /Iraq policy / top-up fees, etc. without relating this material to party roles.

The specifications make it clear that candidates should understand the roles / functions of parties and pressure groups.



## 2597 - Government of the UK

### General Comments

In last year's report on the January exam, we were able to say that '*the standard of answers to the questions on ... was good with an almost complete absence of candidates who seemed totally unprepared to sit the exam.*' Sadly that was not the case this time. Although there was a relative absence of really poor responses, a large number of candidates did not do themselves justice and the weaknesses identified last year, that is:

- **weak focus** with candidates not answering the question set;
- **an absence of discussion and balance** - the failure to consider both sides of an argument - in part (b);

were again in evidence.

Candidates should be advised:

1. to get to the point straight away - there is no need (or time) for introductions and conclusions;
2. to answer the question.

One of the easiest ways to do this is to use the question itself to create the first sentence of each paragraph (and there should be paragraphs, not just a wall of prose).

For example:

- One function of a constitution is . . .
- One reason for believing that we do not have cabinet government is that . .
- It could be argued that the House of Commons is no longer important in British politics because . .
- The Single European Act was important because . . .

This may seem mechanical and formulaic, but it works.

## **Comments on Individual Questions**

### **1. Constitution/changes to the British constitution since 1997.**

Candidates were asked to explain what a constitution was. The vast majority started with a definition but then rapidly ran out of ideas and resorted to lengthy description of the sources and principles of the British constitution.

The best candidates were able to identify four or five defining features of a constitution and then illustrate these by reference to the UK and other systems. Examiners do not expect AS candidates to have a wide knowledge of such systems and it is perfectly acceptable to use just British examples, but candidates do not have to be overly-familiar with the USA to know that there is a Bill of Rights which sets out a number of the rights of American citizens.

Part (b) clearly required a discussion of the significance of changes made to the constitution since 1997. The vast majority of candidates, however, seemed unaware of the reforms of the last eight years, let alone their importance - or lack of it. Instead they provided answers to questions that had not been asked, for example, discussing the case for and against a written constitution. Even where candidates could identify changes, few were able to discuss their magnitude.

### **2. 'Cabinet government'/does Britain have 'cabinet government'?**

Part (a) of this question required candidates to outline the main features of 'cabinet government', but too many simply wrote about the cabinet as such. Clearly the two are related but knowing that the cabinet is composed of 20+ members does not tell us what 'cabinet government' is: after all, the American president has a cabinet, but there has never been cabinet government in the USA.

In part (b) virtually all candidates were able to aware of the debate over the relative powers of the prime and the cabinet, but few provided the necessary balance by considering the influence that the cabinet still exercises.

### **3. Functions of the Commons/importance of the Commons**

This proved to be a popular question and most candidates were able to identify a range of functions. However, where candidates did find difficulty was describing these functions succinctly and accurately.

In part (b) most candidates were able to why the Commons might have declined in importance, but found it more difficult to say why it remained important, thus providing the necessary balance

### **4. Individual ministerial responsibility/importance in British politics.**

Surprisingly few candidates attempted this question, given its high profile in recent years. Those who did often reached Level 4 because their answers contained a good balance of both knowledge and analysis.

Weaker candidates often failed to distinguish between the role responsibility of ministers and their personal responsibility or assumed that ministers always resigned when their

departments made a mistake. Others confused the individual responsibility of ministers with the collective responsibility of the cabinet.

#### **5. Judicial review/effectiveness of judicial review.**

This question was rarely attempted, and most of those who did so did not know what judicial review was. That said, some centres had clearly prepared for this question and their candidates were able to produce strong answers.

#### **6. Membership and powers of the Lords/need of a second chamber.**

This was a popular question, but surprisingly few candidates could describe both the membership and the powers of the House of Lords well and they frequently devoted 90% of their answer to one or the other. Very few candidates could identify all the varieties of peers or other features of membership such as the presence of a significant number of crossbenchers.

In part (b) the examiners interpreted the question broadly to allow candidates to either argue for and against a second chamber or for and against the House of Lords, however, too many candidates presented just one side of the argument, whether it was the second chamber or the House of Lords.

#### **7. Importance of the *Single European Act*.**

The importance of the SEA lies in both its provisions and its longer term significance. Candidates were generally better on its broader importance in the history of the EU than on the detail, indeed few candidates displayed any thorough knowledge of the provisions of the SEA at all which limited their marks.

#### **8. Constitutional impact of the EU on the UK.**

Few candidates took notice of the requirement to focus on the 'constitutional' impact of the EU, often choosing instead to write about the general impact. There were also frequent, lengthy and entirely irrelevant references to the *European Convention of Human Rights* and the *Human Rights Act*. To score highly, candidates needed to be able to discuss the impact of membership on all three branches of government and the rights of the individual in so far as these were affected by recent treaties.

## 2694 - US Government and Politics

### General comments:

There was a great variety in the standard of scripts submitted by candidates in this sitting. Whilst some were outstanding and showed an impressive grasp of the subject, others appeared woefully unable to write answers of the standard expected at this level. Teachers are advised to enter candidates only when they have covered enough of the course to have a reasonable grasp of the subject, and when they can attempt the required number of questions with a reasonable level of competence. Some candidates could attempt only one or two questions.

The examiners have noted a trend in recent years of candidates offering more up-to-date examples with which to illustrate their answers. This is very pleasing – both for examiners and candidates alike. But some candidates still bring only very dated examples to their essays. For example, there were candidates whose answers on the question on the Supreme Court gave no examples within the last 50 years!

The examiners noted with alarm much carelessness in spelling – even when the words were on the question paper. For example, there was a bewildering variety in the spelling of such words as ‘criticism’, ‘electoral college’ (‘colledge’ and ‘collage’ were both evident) and ‘amendment’. As we may well be talking about them for some years to come, teachers might do well to try to tackle ‘Hillary (rather than ‘Hilary’) Clinton’ and ‘Condoleezza Rice’. Examiners do not take kindly to essays which, for example, inform them that the Electoral College has “bin sorted”.

### **1. Assess the extent to which recent presidential elections have led to criticisms of the Electoral College.**

A range of answers but many were very impressive. Too many candidates missed out on AO1 marks when they failed to explain what the Electoral College is and exactly how it works. But there were many well-informed candidates who knew the exact tallies in the Electoral College in both 2000 and 2004. Most candidates could analyse a good range of criticisms levelled at the Electoral College in recent years. Teachers might want to point out to their students, however, that the criticism that the Electoral College often distorts the result of the election was not the case in 2004. Many candidates correctly stated that Bush won the popular vote in 2004 by 3 percentage points but won 34 more Electoral Votes than Kerry. But they incorrectly stated that this showed the Electoral College exaggerating the winner’s margin of victory. In fact, Bush won 51 percent of the popular vote and just 53 percent of the Electoral vote – the best match of popular votes to Electoral votes in modern times.

### **2. Examine the claim that the differences *within* the two major parties are greater than the differences *between* them.**

This was quite a demanding question which a few candidates tackled well. Indeed, there were many candidates who gave impressive examples both of specific policy differences and similarities as well as being able to identify specific politicians of both parties who are illustrative of these differences and similarities. For example, a number of candidates commented on Democrat Senator Zell Miller’s speech at the 2004 Republican National Convention and of Presidents Bill Clinton and George W Bush including a member of the opposite party in their cabinets. There were also a number of answers that examined in detail the geographic/regional differences in ideology which are reflected in the composition of both major parties. A number of candidates discussed the positions of California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger and ex-New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani in the

Republican Party. Others, sadly, wrote answers which were confused and out-of-date. Some even thought that the Solid South (for the Democratic Party) still existed.

**3. Analyse the factors that likely to lead to success for pressure groups in Washington.**

This was a very popular question which produced a huge variety of answers, from the highly competent to the disappointingly vacuous which made no reference to US Politics at all. At the top of the mark range, answers were illustrated with references to a range of pressure groups with analysis focusing on the way such groups can be successful “in Washington” – i.e. in Congress, the federal bureaucracy and the Supreme Court. At the bottom of the mark range, candidates merely referred to “pressure groups” in general without many (or any) specific examples ever being given. They also failed to note that the question specifically focused on Washington. This was either completely ignored, or the phrase “in Washington” was merely used as a generality, leading to answers which clearly lacked specificity.

**4. Examine the reasons why most amendments proposed to the American constitution have failed to be passed.**

This was quite a popular question. There were three potential difficulties which candidates had to overcome. The first was simply mastering the details of the process for amending the US constitution. Whilst many had mastered this with impressive accuracy, others floundered in a sea of fractions – two-thirds of this, three-fifths of that, five-eighths of something else. Any good textbook will take students through this step by step. It needs to be learnt. Second, candidates had to bring to the answer a good range of examples – both of successful and unsuccessful Amendments. Again, some did this impressively; others failed hopelessly. Third, candidates had to understand the role of the Supreme Court and its power of judicial review leading to what might be called “interpretative amendments” being made to the Constitution, thus making formal amendment less necessary. However, some candidates stated incorrectly that the Supreme Court played a key role in “passing” Amendments. Others thought the president had a formal role in the process. As in previous years when this area has been asked, some weak candidates confused the process for amending the Constitution with the legislative process. Misspellings of the word “amendment” were depressingly frequent.

**5. Contrast the power and prestige of Senators and members of the House of Representatives.**

Those few candidates who attempted this question did it quite well though there were a significant minority who maintained throughout their answers that the powers of the two houses were “the same” or “equal”. Clearly such a statement seems to suggest that the candidate has failed to appreciate the importance of the exclusive powers of the Senate, especially in terms of confirmation of appointments and ratification of treaties. There was much confusion about impeachment and the trying of cases of impeachment. Many candidates were confused as to who did what, and what the term “impeachment” means. It was disappointing how few candidates pointed out that the 2004 Democratic presidential ticket was made up of two Senators. Some candidates who wanted to make this point about career prospects insisted on giving Bob Dole (1996) as their example. A number of candidates thought that Senators represented only “half of their state”.

**6. Examine the claim that ‘the presidency is not a powerful office’.**

A surprising and pleasing number of excellent answers were produced to this question. Many discussed knowledgeably the theories of presidential power (e.g. Neustadt, Schlesinger), the differences between domestic and foreign policy, and the way in which such events as 9/11 and the Iraq War have affected presidential power. On the other hand, it was disappointing that some essays were full of Johnson and Nixon, but had little or nothing to say about Clinton or Bush. Some quite frequent factual errors cropped up in this answer. First, candidates failed to distinguish between those people nominated for various posts by recent presidents whose nominations were *withdrawn* (e.g. Bernard Kerrick, Zoe Baird, Kimba Wood) and those who were *defeated* in the Senate (e.g. Robert Bork, John Tower). Second, some candidates attributed the defeat of Robert Bork to “defeat by the Senate Judiciary Committee”. Although Bork did receive a “no” vote from the Committee, this statement as it stands is misleading of course, the full Senate chamber which makes the final decision on the confirmation of appointments. Third, a number of candidates also incorrectly stated that Clinton’s health care reforms were lost in a *Republican*-controlled Congress. They were, of course, lost in a Congress (1993-94) supposedly controlled by his own party. Finally, many candidates stated that Congress can “veto” the president’s proposed bills. This is either a misunderstanding or, more likely, a sloppy use of language.

**7. Discuss the claim that the Supreme Court has too much power for an unelected body.**

The significant determinant in the marks awarded for answers to this question was the range of well-worked and up-to-date examples which candidates were able to use. Some scored highly by using an impressive range of recent Supreme Court decisions; others scored poorly because they used only historic decisions mostly pre-dating the 1960s and some pre-dating the 1900s. Many candidates failed to discuss the democratic accountability already evident on the Supreme Court, especially in terms of the appointment and confirmation process. Some weak candidates stated that the Supreme Court is “elected” by the president.

**8. Evaluate the process used for selecting the candidates of the two major parties for the 2004 presidential election.**

This was rather disappointingly answered by many candidates and there were two principal reasons why many candidates gained low marks here. First, many completely (or virtually) ignored the reference to the 2004 election and wrote answers with no mention at all of Kerry, Edwards, Dean, Gephardt *et al.* Very few candidates had anything to say about the re-nomination of George W Bush. Second, far too many candidates wrote *only* about the primaries and caucuses when the question was wider than that and asked about “the process used for selecting the candidates . . .” thereby requiring at least some examination of the so-called invisible primary as well as the National Party Conventions. Thus there were too many candidates who answered a question about “the pros and cons of primaries” which was not what the Examiner had asked on this occasion. Candidates must avoid merely regurgitating pre-packaged answers and failing to focus on the *specific* question asked.

## **2695 - Political Ideas and Concepts**

### **General Comments**

A significant number of candidates were entered for this module, indicating that centres are able to prepare their candidates effectively with just one term of teaching. The quality of scripts varied greatly with those at the higher end of the mark range displaying the necessary knowledge, understanding and skills of analysis to cope very well with the questions set. Candidates towards the bottom of the mark range lacked the required understanding of the relevant political theories as well as an inability to evaluate and analyse the arguments under discussion. Whereas candidates at the top of the mark range were able to evaluate the validity of differing arguments, those at the bottom either relied on only a single perspective or were very descriptive of the different theories. Candidates would be advised in the future to ensure that their answers do answer the question set, have the relevant knowledge of the appropriate theories and compare and contrast the range of different perspectives upon the issue raised. It was pleasing to see that fewer candidates now fall into the trap of writing large chunks of their answers upon extended factual explanations. A very high percentage of candidates did focus their answers upon political ideas, making only brief reference to factual examples where they believed it was appropriate. Some candidates however still have the unfortunate habit of writing pre-prepared answers on topics similar to those asked, thus not thinking carefully enough about the actual question raised. It is important that candidates do plan their answers in advance of writing and think carefully about the focus of the question asked.

### **Individual Questions**

**1. Assess whether political parties are an essential element of a democracy.**

Many candidates who answered this question focused almost exclusively upon a description of the advantages and disadvantages of political parties. Weaker answers in particular took this approach, with the weakest often producing a description of what political parties do. Those candidates who achieved marks towards the top of the mark range did appreciate the focus upon democracy and were prepared to highlight the distinction between direct and indirect democracies. Candidates mostly focused upon the representative role performed by political parties, although a significant number talked in very general terms about the necessity of representation as opposed to the role played by parties with regard to this function. Some candidates were able to use relevant theory (e.g. Rousseau, Plato, Mill and Burke) in support of their answers.

**2. Discuss how governments best gain and maintain their authority.**

A very popular question with many candidates having a good knowledge of Weber's theory on the different types of authority. Those candidates at the top of the mark range were able to apply Weber's theories to both the gaining and maintaining of authority and were able to draw intelligent conclusions concerning mostly the legitimacy of legal rational authority. Some very good answers questioned the legitimacy of Weber's analysis through the use of Beetham's ideas on the legitimation process. Weaker answers whilst showing an understanding of Weber's ideal types were often descriptive and failed to focus upon gaining and maintaining authority. The weakest candidates tended to confuse authority with power producing confused and often irrelevant answers.

**3. Discuss the changing interpretations of liberalism.**

A very popular question with most candidates having a good understanding of the basic principles of liberalism with also awareness of developments between classical and modern liberalism. Answers at the top of the mark range focused upon the changes from classical to modern liberalism as well as commenting upon the resurrection of classical liberal ideas in neo-liberal economic policies implemented by New Right governments. Weaker answers tended to be descriptive of liberal ideas making only passing reference to the development of modern/ social liberalism and failing to comment on neo-liberal ideas.

**4. Contrast the rights of the citizen with the rights of the state.**

The question requires an appreciation of the basis of the rights of the citizen allied to the obligations that the state can expect. For many candidates they were able to show an appreciation of the range of rights that a citizen might expect, based upon legal and moral perceptions of rights, but lacked real understanding of the obligations that the state can expect in return. Those answers at the top of the mark range displayed a thorough understanding of the basis of a citizen's rights as well as theories on obligation, ranging from natural duty through to contractual obligation.

**5. Evaluate the main criticisms of civil disobedience.**

A very popular question but one that many candidates attempted to answer through a pre-prepared answer on the arguments for and against civil disobedience. Whilst a good answer did require analysis of the arguments against civil disobedience this should have been focused upon the criticisms as opposed to a general description of the views of Thoreau, Gandhi etc. Candidates at top of the mark range did evaluate effectively a range of criticisms ranging from Aristotle, Hobbes, Rousseau and Bell. Weaker answers were descriptive in their usage of criticisms and often contained large passages on unfocused material justifying civil disobedience.

**6. Discuss which single characteristic best defines the concept of the modern state.**

This question required an understanding of how the modern state can be defined and the features that are required for it to exist. There was also a need to identify the most important feature and justify this choice. Many candidates unfortunately focused their answers upon descriptions of various interpretations of the functions of government and the state. This is only partially relevant to the question set as it fails to show an appreciation of the basis of the modern state. Issues such as sovereignty, territorial integrity, monopoly of coercive force and right to impose punishment for law breakers, tended to be sidetracked in favour of discussions on the role a state should perform, e.g. welfare provider versus night watchman. Answers at the top of the mark range were able to analyse the central characteristics and were able to make informed conclusions upon the most important factors.



**7. Discuss the view that legal sovereignty is meaningless without political sovereignty.**

Most candidates understood the distinction between both concepts, relating their explanations to the distinction between de jure and de facto concepts of sovereignty, and were able to make sensible observations about the operation of legal authority without political/ coercive power to implement decisions. A significant number of weaker answers showed a lack of clear understanding between the two concepts and thus were unable to make a meaningful analysis of the relationship between the two. Answers at the top of the mark range displayed thorough knowledge of the basis of the two theories using effectively the ideas of theorists such as Bodin and Hobbes and evaluate the relationship through application to brief examples drawn from regimes lacking coercive power, and dictatorships appearing to lack legal legitimacy.

**8. Assess the strengths and weaknesses of the concept of the separation of powers.**

Most candidates displayed an effective appreciation of the concept of the separation of powers with reasonable understanding of the strengths and weaknesses. What tended to differentiate top of the mark range answers from weaker ones was the quality of the explanation. Weaker answers tended to be descriptive of the concept only making implicit reference to its attractions and failings, whereas top of the mark range answers clearly outlined the benefits of constitutional checks to prevent despotic government but also the deficiencies in potentially slowing down and even halting the actions of government.

## Unit 2698 – Government and Politics (US Option)

### General Comments

There was a very small entry to this paper. The overall quality of the candidature was not strong, but there were several good scripts and very few very poor scripts; this and other signs suggested that candidates were either retaking the paper, or assaying the paper early in their final year. There were some good, up to date references to topical issues, such as the legal questions surrounding the detainees at Belmarsh, details from the American Election in November, and the saga of the Ukrainian election. This was gratifying, and insofar as the references were relevant, they were rewarded. Notwithstanding the small entry, it was still pleasing that all the questions were attempted. In some cases, the comments that follow will indicate the expectations of the examiner, rather than reflecting the strengths and weaknesses of the candidature, because of the small number of responses.

The better candidates were those who applied critical pressure to terms used in the questions; the weaker candidates wrote formulaic answers, without making use of the prompts in the questions - and consequently never achieved the right focus. This is the last time that 2698 will be offered as a January paper.

#### 1. **Examine the view that elections are not won or lost during the campaign itself, but in the years before the campaign.**

This question attracted the weaker candidates, as questions on electoral behaviour tend to do; this is probably because under-prepared candidates feel it is one area they know something about, and that a few generalisations will suffice. The ones who did well were the ones who focussed their essay on the two horns of the proposition offered - debating the contribution of campaigns against the contribution of long-term factors. Many fell back on other factors, such as age, and sex and socio-economic class, and it was thought that while these should be given credit, the better marks were only available for time devoted to the two issues offered. The Kennedy-Nixon debate featured only once; the 1992 Sheffield Rally seems to have entered political mythology as the defining moment of that election.

#### 2. **Discuss the roles of third or minor parties in different political systems.**

The intention of this question was to ask what roles third and minor parties play (contributions to coalitions, breadth of ideological debate, representing regional interests) in political systems. However, weaker candidates focussed on electoral systems and how third parties are generated. The better candidates were those who specifically looked at those roles. This question was not well done, on the whole.

#### 3. **Discuss the extent to which constitutions limit the powers of legislatures.**

There were few answers to this question. The better answers were those that actually answered the question - how, and the extent to which *constitutions* limit the powers of legislatures. Weaker answers tended to stray into discussing the *institutions* which constitutions say should limit the legislatures - mainly the courts. Of course this was relevant, and credit was given for it, but at times this inclination became more pronounced, and strayed into less relevant areas such as checks on the executive. The powers of the American Congress as specified in Article I were not identified, and there was little on the powers of the European Parliament, both of which areas could have added much to the analysis of better answers.

**4. Examine the claim that legislatures should be free from the influence of interest groups.**

In this question, the focus of the weaker answers was on groups - their tactics, and their effectiveness. Almost all of the answers (rightly) mentioned the impact of PAC money on congressional elections. A few of the better answers approached the question from the point of view of legislatures, and whether they should be free from the depredations of groups. Some of these explored theoretical points such as whether group influence on legislatures is to be welcomed or democratic, and case studies such as the fuel crisis of 2000, were explored within this framework. Curiously, there was no mention of the invasion of the House of Commons by the fox hunt supporters, or campaigners for Fathers4Justice.

**5. Critically assess the factors which bring success or failure to chief executives.**

There were very few answers to this question. Of these, the weaker answers were those that tended to define success in terms of re-election, or popularity, which is rather circular, or rather, tends to mistake effect for cause. Factors bringing success might have included: a landslide election victory, an ability to work with legislatures, political skills such as leadership, or charisma, and external factors, such as the ERM collapse or September 11, which provide a context in which chief executives have to work. Two candidates seemed to think Clinton had been removed from office during the Lewinsky scandal.

**6. Assess the factors which influence the level of public participation in modern politics.**

This question attracted weak and strong answers in equal measure. The better answers were those who explored the reasons for poor participation, and the ways in which governments are trying to respond to low turn-out in elections. Some answers developed the idea that political participation is not declining – it is merely becoming less traditional, as people turn away from parties and form groups.

Weaker answers confused success in elections with the level of participation.

**7. Contrast the role of judiciaries in different political systems.**

There were few answers to this question, but they were usually well done. The better answers explored the constitutional contexts in which judiciaries operate, as a framework for making contrasts. There was some good analysis of the role of the ECHR as it applied to the UK, and of the role of the ECJ as far as it has application to the UK and to European Union. Some extraneous material crept in to the weaker answers - such as the nature of appointments – the better replies were those that kept a focus.

**8. Evaluate the view that rights and liberties are best defended by active citizenship and not by institutions.**

This was not a popular question. It was expected, and quite legitimate that candidates discuss other institutional means of defending rights and liberties, (legislative vigilance, an alert and critical press etc) but the intention was to invite discussion of the awareness of citizenship among the public as another means. It could be argued that this concept is still embryonic in the UK, but new notions of citizenship and awareness of rights are likely to come to the fore in the debate on the merits of the European Constitution.

**Unit 2699 - Political Ideas and Concepts Option  
(Written Examination)**

**General Comments**

Only 22 candidates sat the paper. This is not surprising due to the difficulties of preparing candidates for the synoptic paper in only one term. This is the last time that 2699 will be offered as a January paper. The overall quality of the candidates varied considerably with a significant number lacking the style and understanding required to achieve a good result. At the top of the mark range some candidates displayed a promising appreciation of the demands of the synoptic paper ably combining good knowledge and understanding of political theories relating to democracy, with accurate evidence of their application to modern politics. A good hint for preparing future candidates to assist them to write in a synoptic style is to reward A01 marks for use of factual evidence and understanding of modern politics and A02 marks for analysing contrasting political theories.

**Comments on Individual Questions**

**1. Discuss the view that democracy is the worst form of government.**

Those candidates that attempted this question appeared more prepared to answer a question relating to the benefits of democracy. Few candidates were able to highlight the drawbacks of the system (these might have included dangers of majoritarianism, inefficient government, lack of specialist knowledge and focus on division rather than unity). Whilst it was possible to dispute the assertion in the question, indeed the full quote uses the concept of worst form of government ironically, a significant proportion of the answer required focus upon the drawbacks of democracy. Use of the views of traditional critics of democracy (Plato, Aristotle, Hobbes and de Tocqueville) was well rewarded as was applications to some of the problems of the operation of modern day democracy.

**2. Assess the importance of political pluralism to modern democracy.**

Those candidates who answered the question were largely able to relate their answers to material on political parties and pressure groups. The best answers highlighted the necessity of an inter-play of ideas and a diversity of points of influence to the operation of liberal democracy. Only the very best answers attempted to look at alternate models of modern democracy (developmental and proletarian) to determine the role played by parties and pressure groups. Weaker answers turned the question into a strengths and weaknesses of pressure groups, similar to the style of questions seen set at AS Level.

**3. Evaluate the success of liberal democracy as a political system.**

This was a popular question, however many candidates wanted to answer another title, to what extent is the UK a successful liberal democracy. Whilst the merits of the UK as a liberal democracy can be very relevant to the question, there was a need to consider why liberal democracy has become by far the dominant model of modern democracy, leading amongst others, Fukuyama to argue that it has triumphed over all other political alternatives. This did require an appreciation of the basis of liberal democracy and how issues such as a dynamic capitalist economy, focus upon individual rights, and constitutional restraints upon the power of the government, all play a part in its expansion as a political system.

**4. Assess how effective referendums are at improving democracy.**

A very popular question and one in which many candidates achieve good marks. The most obvious pitfall is to avoid writing a strengths and weaknesses essay on the use of referenda. The actual essay set requires an assessment as to how referendums can aid democracy (this could include improving participation, education of citizenship and holding government decisions to account). The other side to the argument required consideration of the difficulties of using referendums in indirect systems and elitist criticisms of the abilities of the citizenship. Sophisticated answers highlighted that from a direct and developmental perspective of democracy, referendums are very useful, but indirect and protective systems could be undermined by this more direct method of popular involvement in decision making. Many candidates were able to compare the attitudes of theorists such as Rousseau and Mill to popular involvement of the citizenship.

**5. Examine what, if any, limitations are required on the exercise of individual liberty.**

A danger of this question was that it could be answered purely as a 2695 style answer focusing upon the theoretical considerations of the extent of individual liberty (Mill vs. Hobbes vs. Marx). As with all 2699 answers there was the need to relate the theory to modern politics, requiring an appreciation of the extent of encroachment into individual liberty by modern states. Good answers might well have focused upon the legacy of 9/11 and subsequent anti-terrorism legislation, as an example of a change in perception of the extent of individual liberty permitted by the state.

**6. Contrast socialist and conservative perspectives upon the role of the citizen.**

Answers to this question required an appreciation of the differing ideological perspectives on issues relating to obligation and citizenship. Good answers would have highlighted the differing balance between rights and duties of citizenship with a traditional socialist perspective focusing upon broad political and social rights with less emphasis upon duty to the state beyond serving the needs of the community. Conservative theories of natural duty tend to place less emphasis upon the rights of the citizen and more upon the necessity to serve the nation and not to rely upon an over active state. Some good answers did relate the above to modern day notions of active and democratic citizenship and attempted to show how New Labour's approach straddles the two ideological concepts. Some candidates tried to illustrate socialist perspectives by focusing upon New Labour's approach – this fails to fully appreciate the basis of socialist thinking upon citizenship.

**7. Examine how far national sovereignty has been undermined by membership of multinational organisations.**

Only 1 candidate attempted this question, further illustrating that sovereignty is a concept that students struggle to fully understand. Good answers would highlight the threat to internal sovereignty of membership of organisations as diverse as the EU, NATO and UN. There was much scope for discussion of issues relating to globalisation and the decline of the nation state. Weaker answers would have used the question as a device to merely condemn institutions such as The EU.

**8. Assess the importance of minority views for the operation of democracy.**

This question was rarely attempted but provided ample scope to discuss issues relating to political pluralism, majoritarianism and protection of minority rights. Good answers recognised that in most liberal democracies there are constitutional safeguards for minority protection and that often supposed majority governments are in fact coalition of minority opinions. Further Dahl's notion of polyarchy often sees governments held accountable by a constant stream of minority influences.

**Advanced GCE Government and Politics (3834/7834)**

**January 2005 Assessment Session**

**Unit Threshold Marks**

<b>Unit</b>		<b>Maximum Mark</b>	<b>a</b>	<b>b</b>	<b>c</b>	<b>d</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>u</b>
<b>2595</b>	Raw	100	74	66	58	50	42	0
	UMS	90	72	63	54	45	36	0
<b>2596</b>	Raw	100	65	57	49	42	35	0
	UMS	90	72	63	54	45	36	0
<b>2597</b>	Raw	100	75	66	57	48	40	0
	UMS	120	96	84	72	60	48	0
<b>2694</b>	Raw	90	69	61	53	46	39	0
	UMS	90	72	63	54	45	36	0
<b>2695</b>	Raw	90	69	61	53	45	37	0
	UMS	90	72	63	54	45	36	0
<b>2698</b>	Raw	120	80	70	60	51	42	0
	UMS	120	96	84	72	60	48	0
<b>2699</b>	Raw	120	88	78	68	58	48	0
	UMS	120	96	84	72	60	48	0

**Specification Aggregation Results**

Overall threshold marks in UMS (i.e. after conversion of raw marks to uniform marks)

	<b>Maximum Mark</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>C</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>E</b>	<b>U</b>
<b>3834</b>	300	240	210	180	150	120	0
<b>7834</b>	600	480	420	360	300	240	0

The cumulative percentage of candidates awarded each grade was as follows:

	<b>A</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>C</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>E</b>	<b>U</b>	<b>Total Number of Candidates</b>
<b>3834</b>	23.3	32.6	60.5	88.4	93.0	100	43
<b>7834</b>	16.7	50.0	83.3	91.7	100	100	12











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