

Government and Politics

Advanced Subsidiary GCE AS 3834

Advanced GCE A2 7834

Mark Schemes for the Units

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This mark scheme is published as an aid to teachers and students, to indicate the requirements of the examination. It shows the basis on which marks were awarded by Examiners. It does not indicate the details of the discussions which took place at an Examiners' meeting before marking commenced.

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.

Mark schemes should be read in conjunction with the published question papers and the Report on the Examination.

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2595 Elections, Electoral Systems and Voting Behaviour in the UK

- 1 Using Source A and your own knowledge, describe the main features of the Single Transferable Vote (STV) system of Election. [10]

(Specifications: Electoral systems: eg STV)

	AO1	AO2	AO3
Maximum	8		2
Level 4	7-8		2
Level 3	5-6		2
Level 2	3-4		0-1
Level 1	0-2		0-1

- AO1** Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the STV system of voting. The source gives several clear pointers – preferences in voting – proportionality – scope for minor parties etc. Own knowledge might include factors such as multi-member constituencies – lack of wasted voters – ability to select for reasons other than party affiliation – more/better representation etc. For L4 expect two points from the source and two from own knowledge.

- 2 Using **Source B** and your own knowledge, describe the impact that the mass media might have on voting behaviour. [20]

(Specifications: Voting behaviour; the mass media)

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

AO1 Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the impact of the mass media on voting behaviour. Three points are made in the source – agenda setting – political reputations and the ‘drip-drop’ effect. Proper development of these with recent and relevant examples can get to the middle of L3. There has to be clear evidence of own knowledge to get beyond this and into L4. There is a wide range of possible points for own knowledge – open support of the press – ‘presidentialisation’ – images presented – bias etc. Those who start to imply that the impact might be limited deserve consideration. This topic tends to produce more sweeping generalizations than any other so only reward points which are properly substantiated.

- 3 Using **Sources A and C** and your own knowledge, make out a case **for** reforming the system used in UK General Elections. [30]

(Specifications: UK Parliamentary elections' general elections)

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

AO1 Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of UK general elections. The sources are very useful indeed, be prepared to go to L3 for intelligent use of them but expect to see all three used for L3.

NB the question only asks for the case FOR – do not reward anything in a case against unless it is obviously relevant. The proportionality, favouring minor parties is there in A, such as the absence of proportionality and the 'unfairness' of the system is there in C. Other factors might include issues such as safe seats, wasted votes, two party dominance, falling turnout etc. Again there is wide range of possible factors so do not be prescriptive.

AO2 Clear separation between a list and a case is the requirement for L3 and above. For L4 relevance is expected so do not reward those who go on about the dangers of coalitions. Reward highly those who anticipate the points made by defenders of the system as it is. Look for three to four points properly substantiated for top marks.

- 4 Using **Source D** and your own knowledge, discuss the case for greater use of referendums in the UK. [40]

(Specifications: Referendums)

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

AO1 Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of referendums in the UK and the way in which they have been used. Several points are very clear from the source, the important 'constitutional' issues of Scotland and London, the role of the Northern Ireland one in bringing about peace and impact of the North East one on the Labour Government. There is a wide range of other factors that could be brought in – such as participation and legitimacy, public opinion links, mandates etc.

AO2 The first three questions have been straightforward – particularly 2 and 3, so insist on relevance here. Those who simply give out the standard advantages/disadvantages of the referendum (which have appeared before) should not get more than middle L2 if there is clearly some awareness of the 'importance'. For L3 and above there has to be real evidence of thinking about the merits of greater use and a genuine attempt to discuss it. For L4, there needs to be a formed discussion which clearly indicates thinking about their validity and points each way should be made. Candidates who argue strongly that the case is a very weak one, should be able to reach the highest marks, provided there is evidence of balance there.

2596 Politics of the UK

1 Briefly explain, with two examples of each, what is meant by:

(i) An insider pressure group.

(ii) An outsider pressure group.

[10]

(Specifications; Pressure groups, types)

	AO1	A02	A03
Level 4	7-8		2+
Level 3	5-6		2
Level 2	3-4		0-1
Level 1	0-2		0-1

AO1 Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the particular characteristics of both insider and outsider pressure groups. Expect precise and accurate definitions that make clear the differences between the two types.

Look for such factors as:

- the links with government
- access to Ministers
- regular consultation (insiders) as opposed to exclusion from the decision-making framework or philosophic disagreement (outsider).

Award two marks for each definition and one mark for each example.

Up to 2 marks overall for the organisation and presentation of the answer (AO3). Focused answers with accurate presentation should receive 2 marks.

2 Outline the rights and duties of a UK citizen.**[20]***(Specification; citizenship, rights and duties)*

	A01	A02	A03
Maximum	16		4
Level 4	13-16		4
Level 3	9-12		3
Level 2	5-8		2
Level 1	0-4		0-1

Look for a balance in the answer between rights and duties. To access the highest mark bands, both aspects of the question should be addressed. A detailed, wide-ranging answer on one side only of the question may access L3 but no more.

Award marks according to the range and/or depth of the response in the context of an answer that should take candidates about 12 minutes to address.

Rights - political (eg voting/standing in elections), civil (eg right to fair trial), social (rights to education, welfare benefits and health care treatment).

Statutory duties - obeying the law, paying taxes, fighting in wartime if required, jury service.

Other duties - voting in elections, community work, political involvement - parties, pressure groups.

Up to 4 marks overall for the organisation and presentation of the answer (A03). Focused answers with accurate presentation should receive 3-4 marks.

3 Evaluate the steps a citizen might take if they felt they had been unfairly treated by a government department. [30]

(Specification: redress of grievances, through parliament, the Ombudsman, Administrative Tribunals, UK courts, the ECU and the ECHR)

	A01	A02	A03
Maximum	12	12	6
Level 4	10-12	10-12	6
Level 3	7-9	7-9	4-5
Level 2	4-6	4-6	3
Level 1	0-3	0-3	0-2

AO1 Candidates could be expected to include:

- writing directly to the department
- writing to an MP
- asking the MP to contact the Ombudsman
- going to an Administrative Tribunal
- asking the courts for a judicial review
- going to the European Court of Human Rights or European Court of Justice
- approaching the media/press
- seeking assistance from pressure groups
- seeking assistance from political parties.

Mark according to the range and/or detail offered. Reward the use of examples.

For AO2, the options should be evaluated. For example:

- writing to a department gives direct access but may take time
- contacting an MP can produce results through question time or the MP contacting the minister but success may depend on the attitude of the MP and party loyalties
- the Ombudsman can investigate but lacks power to enforce findings
- an Administrative Tribunal is cheaper than a court, is accessible and flexible but is increasingly bureaucratic and availability does not apply to all areas of government activity
- the Court of Human Rights is independent of the UK government but it is slow and expensive
- the media can be effective in defending an individual's rights but will select only those that sell newspapers or make an interesting radio or TV programme.

At levels 3 and 4 there should be some attempt at a balanced answer.

Up to 6 marks overall for the organisation and presentation of the answer (AO3). Focused answers with accurate presentation should receive 4-6 marks.

4 Assess the methods used by pressure groups to achieve success. [40]

(Specification: Pressure groups - examples of and reasons for success)

	AO1	AO2	AO3
Level 4	13-16	13-16	7-8
Level 3	9-12	9-12	5-6
Level 2	5-8	5-8	3-4
Level 1	0-4	0-4	0-2

For AO1, candidates might consider the meaning of 'success' for pressure groups. They are likely to refer to:

- influencing policy/policy-makers
- preventing developments through direct action
- changing public attitudes
- attracting membership
- gaining support/coverage in the media
- winning legal cases
- developing close relations with the government
- or other goals.

Mark according to the range and/or depth offered.

Candidates could focus on methods and should provide detail and examples to illustrate their points. They might suggest that insider groups are more geared to influencing policy whereas outsider groups may have to content themselves with raising awareness and changing social attitudes.

An alternative approach might look at factors behind success in terms of resources, public support, quality of leadership, commitment of membership, affinity with government, etc. Reward candidates who focus on pressure group methods including a range of insider and outsider approaches (contacts with ministers, lobbying parliament, advertising, media stunts, court cases, direct action etc.)

In AO2, analysis of pressure group success might refer to one or other pressure group typology as a structure eg 'insider groups tend to be more successful than outsiders'. Marks can be awarded for range or detail in the information.

For higher mark bands, some balanced evaluation should be offered of the points mentioned, for example:

- insider groups especially will want to influence policy/policy makers. The relative success of some corporate groups is testament to this. Groups that are ideologically at odds with the government will find success harder to achieve
- environmental groups have appeared successful at influencing public attitudes and behaviour (eg in recycling material) but this can be both expensive and long term in nature
- some groups have attracted large or committed membership and thereby brought issues to government/public attention (Fathers4Justice) but efforts can be counter-productive.

Again, reward those who evaluate pressure group methods (eg not all can gain access to ministers, etc.)

Reward the use of examples. At level 3 and 4 there should be developed detail and increasing attempts to produce a balanced answer.

Up to 8 marks overall for the organisation and presentation of the answer (AO3). Focused answers with accurate presentation should receive 5-8 marks.

2597 Government of the UK

General Marking Instructions

When marking, examiners must use both this mark scheme and the Assessment Matrix (Appendix B of the subject specifications).

The Assessment Matrix

Broadly speaking, and depending on the question, examiners should look for:

- a balanced and well-focused answer
- that correctly identifies a number and range of relevant and important factors in detail
- and communicates these clearly in a logical, fluent and coherent style
- containing few, if any, errors of grammar, punctuation and spelling.

Examiners should credit answers that display knowledge and understanding of:

- current examples
- political concepts, theories and language
- other political systems including the EU
- parallels, connections, similarities and differences.

The Mark Scheme

The mark scheme is indicative of the kinds of points likely to be raised by candidates in answering the questions, however, because of the nature of the subject of *Government and Politics*, they cannot be regarded as definitive and the professional judgement and training of individual examiners will inevitably apply.

All substantive issues surrounding the paper will be settled at the standardisation meeting and through the arrangements made by OCR to ensure a consistent approach by all examiners. Examiners should contact the Principal Examiner if they have any concerns about the way an individual script should be marked.

Examiners must refer to the OCR booklet 'Instructions to Examiners' issued in each examination session for details about administrative procedures.

Marks

- the mark for a particular question is obtained by the applying the mark scheme and Assessment Matrix
- the maximum number of marks for each assessment objective is as follows:

	AO1	AO2	AO3	Total
Part a of all questions	8		4	12
Part b of all questions	8	16	4	28
Total	16	16	8	40

Assessment Objective 3

- up to four AO3 marks can be awarded for each part question
- where a full-length answer is provided:
 - two marks should be used to credit the ability to construct clear arguments and explanations and to provide a range of evidence and to communicate these in a clear, structured manner, making use of appropriate political vocabulary
 - two marks should be used to credit spelling, punctuation and grammar
- where answers are short, examiners must use their judgement: a very short answer which meets the above criteria should not necessarily be awarded full marks for AO3.

1 (Specification: Principles of the constitution: Relationship between the legislative, executive and judicial branches.)

(a) Explain what is meant by ‘the separation of powers’. [12]

AO1 [8] AO3 [4]

- candidates must display knowledge and understanding of what is meant by the ‘the separation of powers’, for example, that:
 - it is the constitutional principle that the main functions of government (the legislature, executive and judiciary) should not be concentrated in the hands of one person or institution, but should be distributed in such a way that each branch checks and balances the power of the others
 - it can encompass both the separation of function and the separation of personnel
- to reach Level 4, candidates must be able to outline a number of features of ‘the separation of powers’, but do not expect great depth
- candidates may choose to answer the question as one of general principle or in relation to the UK
- credit candidates who are able to use contemporary examples and those from other countries.

(b) Discuss the view that the British system of government would be improved if there was a greater separation of powers. [28]

AO1 [8] AO2 [16] AO3 [4]

- for AO1 marks, candidates must display knowledge and understanding of the separation of powers as it operates in the UK, for example that:
 - while there is a degree of separation of both function and personnel – judges are not members of the executive or legislative branches, only judges can formally decide the meaning of law passed by parliament
 - generally speaking there is only a partial separation of powers – the executive is drawn from the legislature, administrative tribunals, delegated legislation, parliamentary sovereignty.
- for AO2 marks, candidates must discuss whether the British system of government would be improved if there was a greater separation of powers. The nature of this discussion depends, to a large extent, upon how much greater this ‘greater separation of powers’ would be – the separation of the legislative and executive branches or something less radical? – so exercise discretion, but it should cover some of the following points:
 - the value of a more separated system in preventing an undesirable concentration of power
 - requiring governments to compromise or listen to the views of others
 - placing more power in the hands of the legislature
 - allowing ministers to be selected from a much wider pool of talent (if the executive was separated from the legislature)
 - but, the effectiveness of the present system in delivering what the voters voted for
 - usually ensuring the absence of gridlock
 - providing greater accountability of the executive to the legislature on a day-to-day basis
 - allowing the dismissal of governments between elections
 - and the impact of the 2005 *Constitution Act* in providing a greater separation between the executive and the judiciary.

- reward focus and balance, but distinguish between description (AO1) and analysis (AO2)
- credit those who place the issue in a broader context, for example, by arguing that constitutional reform since 1997 has reduced the need for a greater separation of powers or that other reforms (electoral reform) should have a greater priority
- level 4 answers will offer a discussion that is clearly focused on whether the British system of government would be improved if there was a greater separation of powers – or not – and there will be some attempt at a balanced analysis
- candidates who provide answers which are short, poorly focused, lacking range and/or depth and which present only one side of the argument should be placed in the lower levels
- credit candidates who are able to use contemporary examples.

- 2 (Specification: Role of parliament, parliamentary government and parliamentary sovereignty; Functions and powers of House of Commons; Parties in parliament: organisation and whips)

(a) Outline the role of the whips in the House of Commons. [12]

AO1 [8] AO3 [4]

- candidates must display their knowledge and understanding of the role of whips, for example:
 - their broad role in maintaining party unity by acting as a channel of communication between the leadership and the backbenches – listening, explaining, persuading – but also between the backbenches and the leadership ('the ears and eyes of the leader')
 - their organisational role in ensuring that MPs turn up to divisions and vote in accordance with party policy (whips, arranging pairs for sick or absent MPs and the various rewards and 'punishments' available to them).
- to reach level 4 candidates must identify a number of roles, but do not expect great depth
- credit candidates who are able to use contemporary examples.

- (b) Discuss the view that MPs should always support their party in the House of Commons. [28]

AO1 [8] AO2 [16] AO3 [4]

- For AO1 marks, candidates must display knowledge and understanding of the nature and pattern of party support in the Commons, for example that:
 - MPs are elected to represent a party
 - MPs are generally expected, both by the party and the electorate, to vote with their party
 - in the Commons most MPs vote with their parties most of the time
 - but that there have been a number of mass rebellions by Labour MPs since 1997 – and there are a significant minority of serial rebels – though it is rare for the government to lose a vote as the result of such action.
- for AO2 marks, candidates must discuss whether MPs should always support their party in the Commons. Such a discussion should cover some of the following points:
 - the nature, importance and consequences of MP's duty to their party: national, parliamentary and, in the case of MPs, local
 - the nature, importance and consequences of MP's duty to the electorate, both those who voted for them and those who didn't
 - the nature, importance and consequences of MP's duty to the national interest, other groups they may represent and their conscience
 - the view that the British system of government rests upon party discipline
 - the need for the government to get its legislation through parliament (as it was elected to do)
 - the need for the opposition to effectively oppose the government
 - the view that voters vote for parties, not candidates
 - the need for parties to appear united if they are to win or regain power.
- reward focus and balance, but distinguish between description (AO1) and analysis (AO2)
- level 4 answers will offer a discussion that is clearly focused on whether MPs should always support their party in the Commons – or not – and there will be some attempt at a balanced analysis
- candidates who provide answers which are short, poorly focused, lacking range and/or depth and which present only one side of the argument should be placed in the lower levels
- credit candidates who are able to use contemporary examples.

- 3 *(Specification: Role of the executive; Role, function and power of the prime minister; Role, function and power of the cabinet; Role, function and power of ministers and higher civil service; Responsible government, including the collective and individual responsibility of ministers; Debate over prime ministerial power.)*

(a) **Outline the role of the cabinet in British government.**

[12]

AO1 [8] AO3 [4]

- candidates must display knowledge and understanding of the role of the cabinet in British government, for example:
 - its formal role in:
 - approving important decisions
 - planning the business of parliament
 - arbitrating in cases of disputes between departments
 - providing oversight and co-ordination of government policies
 - providing political leadership for the party in parliament and in the country
 - its more informal role in:
 - representing various interests/wings/elements/regions within the party
 - as a check on the PM
 - legitimising decisions taken elsewhere
 - and as:
 - a sounding board
 - a party political
- to reach level 4, candidates must identify and outline a range of powers, but do not expect great depth
- credit candidates who are able to use contemporary examples.

- (b) Discuss the view that the cabinet is of little importance in the British system of government. [28]

AO1 [8] AO2 [16] AO3 [4]

- for AO1 marks, candidates must display knowledge and understanding of the importance of the cabinet in the British system of government, for example:
 - its membership and composition
 - its role and functions
 - its power and the limits on that power
 - its use of its power.
- for AO2 marks, candidates must discuss the importance of the cabinet in the British system of government. Such a discussion should cover some of the following points:
 - the value/importance, or not, of the formal roles listed above eg as the forum in which all major decisions are approved
 - the value/importance, or not, of the informal roles listed above eg as a check on the prime minister
 - the value/importance, or not, of the other roles listed above eg as the body where issues of importance to the party can be raised
- reward focus and balance, but distinguish between description (AO1) and analysis (AO2)
- level 4 answers will offer a discussion that is clearly focused on whether the cabinet is of little importance in the British system of government – or not – and there will be some attempt at a balanced analysis
- candidates who provide answers which are short, poorly focused, lacking range and/or depth and which present only one side of the argument should be placed in the lower levels
- credit candidates who are able to use contemporary examples.

4 (*Specification: Membership and appointment of the higher judiciary.*)

(a) Outline the main features of the higher judiciary. [12]

AO1 [8] AO3 [4]

- candidates must display knowledge and understanding of the main features of the higher judiciary including:
 - the fact that they are appointed
 - and can only be removed with difficulty
 - that they include the law lords, heads of division, justices of appeal and high court judges (NB the Lord Chancellor ceased to be a judge in 2006)
 - aspects of their age, class, gender, ethnicity, education, training, experience as judges.
- to reach level 4, candidates must outline a number of features, but do not expect either great range or depth
- credit candidates who are unable to use contemporary examples.

(b) Discuss the method by which the higher judiciary are appointed. [28]**AO1 [8] AO2 [16] AO3 [4]**

- for AO1 marks candidates must display knowledge and understanding of the process by which the higher judiciary are appointed, for example:
 - they are selected from the ranks of experienced judges and were themselves distinguished lawyers with many years experience
 - constitutionally, they are appointed by the Queen, either on the recommendation of the Prime Minister, who receives advice from the Lord Chancellor who in turn consults senior members of the judiciary, or on the direct advice of the Lord Chancellor
 - in practice, since 2006/7, the recruitment and selection of the higher judiciary has been carried out by the independent Judicial Appointments Committee (JAC) who make recommendations to the Lord Chancellor/Prime Minister
 - appointments are made to fill particular vacancies as they arise and applications for appointment to the High Court are invited on a regular basis by advertisement in the press from suitably qualified practitioners and circuit judges
 - when a vacancy in the High Court or Court of Appeal arises, the Lord Chancellor personally reviews suitable candidates at a meeting with the Heads of Division (and, in the case of the High Court, the Senior Presiding Judge), taking into account the nature of the expertise and experience required. He then makes his recommendation to the Queen or provides advice to the Prime Minister, as appropriate.
- for AO2 marks, candidates must discuss the method by which senior judges are appointed. Such a discussion should cover some of the following points:
 - the role of the prime minister and other members of the executive NB separation of powers
 - allegations of political bias in the appointment process
 - the openness of the process
 - the social/gender/ethnic/educational bias that is still evident amongst the senior judiciary – eg in 2006 only 15 of the 161 most senior judges were women and only one was from an ethnic minority
 - the view that this affects decisions
 - the impact of the *Constitution Act, 2005* – greater transparency and fairness, executive discretion limited by conferring the power to nominate judges on an independent commission which was also tasked with ensuring greater diversity
 - other issues arising out of the 2005 reforms such as the membership of the Commission and the tenure of its members, the complexity, democratic legitimacy and accountability of the new system
 - possible further reforms eg parliamentary confirmation of judicial appointments.
- reward focus and balance, but distinguish between description (AO1) and analysis (AO2)
- level 4 answers will offer a discussion that is clearly focused on how senior judges are appointed and there will be some attempt at a balanced analysis
- candidates who provide answers which are short, poorly focused, lacking range and/or depth and which present only one side of the argument should be placed in the lower levels
- credit candidates who are able to use contemporary examples.

5 (Specification: what the constitution is and does; European Union; Impact on the UK constitution.)

(a) Explain what a constitution is. [12]

AO1 [8] AO3 [4]

- 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.
- to reach level 4, candidates must outline a number of features of a constitution, but do not expect either great range or depth. At lower levels candidates may describe the British constitution rather than explaining what 'a constitution' is in more general terms
- credit candidates who are able to use contemporary examples, including non-British ones.

- (b) Discuss the constitutional impact that membership of the European Union has had on the United Kingdom. [22]

AO1 [8] AO2 [16] AO3 [4]

- For AO1 marks, candidates must display knowledge and understanding of what is meant by a 'constitutional impact' and what that impact is said to have been, for example:
 - that EU law is superior to British law, thus undermining the sovereignty of parliament
 - but that EU law does not impinge on every aspect of the constitution
 - and that membership has had a relatively minor constitutional impact in some areas, for example, foreign affairs and defence.
- for AO2 marks, candidates must discuss the constitutional impact that membership of the EU has had on the UK. Such a discussion should cover some of the following points:
 - the agreement of parliament is not required for EU legislation
 - EU law is superior to UK law and therefore there now exists a higher constitutional authority (the ECJ)
 - loss of sovereignty
 - parliament has, in sense, bound its successors
 - significant policy-making power has passed to the EU
 - the principle of QMW
 - EU policy, once agreed, must be executed
 - some aspects of the EU are intergovernmental rather than supranational, for example, defence and foreign policy
 - not all aspects of the constitution are equally affected by membership of the EU
 - the UK has opted out of EMU
 - it is possible for parliament to repeal the 1972 *European Communities Act*, and for the Crown (on government advice) to annul the 1993 *Treaty of Maastricht*
 - sovereignty has not been lost, but 'pooled'.
- reward focus and balance, but distinguish between description (AO1) and analysis (AO2)
- level 4 answers will offer a discussion that is clearly focused on the constitutional impact that membership of the EU has had on the UK and there will be some attempt at a balanced analysis
- candidates who provide answers which are short, poorly focused, lacking range and/or depth and which present only one side of the argument should be placed in the lower levels
- credit candidates who are able to use contemporary examples.

2694 US Government & Politics

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

1 Discuss the merits of presidential primaries. [30]

(Specification: Presidential Elections: nominating process)

AO1 Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of presidential primaries which may include: a definition; different types of primaries; the New Hampshire primary; Super Tuesday; selection of delegates; role of money and media; turn-out. Reward candidates who draw examples from the events of 2008 and also from other recent election cycles. The roles played by the invisible primary, super delegates and discussion of the national party convention (pre and post the 1970 reforms) could also form part of the discussion.

AO2 Expect candidates to examine the merits of presidential primaries. This could include reference to: an end to the control of the party bosses/"bossism"/increased democracy, increased participation/increased turnout in 08, the possibility of outsider campaigns (Carter 1976, Clinton 92, Obama 08), media scrutiny and promotion of policies, test of stamina, "Super duper" Tuesday ending the "monopoly" of New Hampshire and role of all the states in the Democratic nomination contest this year, money not being critical (Romney)

For a balanced argument there may be reference to : the unrepresentative nature of New Hampshire; the problems of front-loading; the importance of the invisible primary; small and unresponsive turn-out; the over-importance of money and the role of the media; possibility of bitter personal battles between candidates of the same party; the lack of 'peer review'. Reward candidates who challenge the assumption of the question.

2 Assess the importance of political parties in US politics. [30]

(Specification: Political Parties: roles and functions; philosophy and ideology; Congress: party cohesion; membership; election; leadership; committees; the legislative process)

AO1 Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of political parties. This may include: discussion of the functions of political parties in terms of participation and representation, aggregation of interests, recruitment of candidates and governing and electoral roles. Reference may be made to their roles within Congress in terms of leadership and organisation and the impact upon the legislative process. Reward candidates who can refer to recent developments such as increased partisanship and give details of recent examples used to illustrate arguments. This could include reference to the 2008 elections, nomination battles, policy disputes (Iraq post 2006) and third parties.

AO2 Discussion may centre on theories relating to party decline (membership, mobilisation, recruitment) and renewal (fund-raising, training, party discipline). A balanced approach outlining the case for and against their importance will be recognised. The importance of parties may be contrasted with the role played by interest groups. This may be linked to arguments relating to party dealignment. Ideological convergence and lack of choice too could be mentioned in the context of voter turnout. Alternatively, there could be discussion of polarisation, red/blue America. This in turn could invite discussion of the role of third parties. Arguments relating to representative democracy will also be relevant.

3 Examine the claim that pressure groups enhance, rather than harm, democracy in America. [30]

(Specification: Pressure Groups: roles and functions; types; methods used; implications for the democratic process)

AO1 Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of pressure groups which may include: a definition; roles and functions; types; membership; methods used. Candidates will also display some knowledge and understanding of the term 'democracy' in so far that it refers to high levels of public participation in government and politics. Expect candidates to use a range of up-to-date examples to illustrate their answer.

AO2 Expect candidates to examine the claim that pressure groups enhance rather than harm democracy and to do so in a balanced fashion. Pressure groups may be said to enhance democracy through: increasing levels of participation in the democratic process; enhancing the use of access points at federal, state and local level; enhancing accountability of elected officials; highlighting policy areas of concern to ordinary citizens. Pressure groups may be said to harm democracy through: the corrupt use of influence and money; emphasising group concerns at the expense of the national interest; giving undue influence to one group/interest over another; problems associated with such issues as the revolving-door syndrome and iron triangles.

4 Discuss the reasons why the U.S. Constitution has been so rarely amended.

(Specification: The Constitution: amendment process; The Supreme Court: issues concerning judicial review)

AO1 Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the U.S. Constitution and specifically of its Amendments and the amendment process. This may include: the framing of the original Constitution by the Founding Fathers; the addition of the first 10 Amendments (Bill of Rights); the process of formal amendment including the role of Congress and the states; examples of recent attempts (both successful and unsuccessful) to amend the Constitution; the Supreme Court's power of judicial review to 'amend' the Constitution by interpretation.

AO2 Expect candidates to discuss a range of reasons why the U.S. Constitution has been subject to so few amendments. These may include: the intentions of the Founding Fathers; the deliberately difficult amendment process; Americans' innate aversion to formally amending the Constitution; the experience with prohibition in the early 20th century; the ability of the Supreme Court to 'amend' the Constitution through 'interpretative amendment' by its power of judicial review.

5 Evaluate the importance of congressional committees.

(Specification: Congress: committees; the legislative process)

- AO1** Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the committee system in Congress, including: standing committees; the House Rules Committee; conference committees and select committees. They will also include knowledge and understanding of the legislative process and the scrutiny and oversight role played by the Congress. Reference may also be made to specific committees or other case studies such as the Senate Judiciary Committee and their role in assessing Supreme court nominations such as Miers and Alito.
- AO2** Expect candidates to evaluate the importance of committees in US government. Discussion may centre on the legislative process. This may include discussion of the powers of standing committees re. amendment, pigeon-holing power, scrutiny and staffing: House Rules committee re. agenda setting and legislative priorities: conference committees re. the resolution of inter chamber disputes. Discussion may be placed in the context of the separation of powers.

6 Discuss the factors which influence presidential power.

(Specification: The Presidency: relations with Congress; powers of the president; Executive Office of the President)

AO1 Candidates will be able to discuss the powers of the president and theories of presidential power. Expect discussion of key concepts such as the separation of powers and checks and balances. Reward candidates who are able to refer to contemporary developments such as the second term Bush administration and the impact of the Iraq war and mid-term elections of 2006. Terms such as “imperial” and “imperilled” could be outlined to gain marks here. This could be related to changes in presidential power within an administration and between administrations over a longer time period.

AO2 Expect candidates to identify and discuss a range of factors which can influence presidential power. These might include relations with Congress, Congressional liaison team, personal skills, party composition in the Congress. Broader factors such as the media, the economy and public support could be used to explain power. Scandals and issues too could form part of this discussion. Expect reference to the “straitjacket” of the Constitution which might invite reference to the Supreme Court. Better candidates will attempt to evaluate the relative importance of factors and apply these to the Bush administration rather than writing a list.

7 Evaluate the effectiveness of the Supreme Court in protecting the rights and liberties of Americans.

(Specification: The Supreme Court: issues concerning judicial review; civil rights and liberties)

AO1 Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the Supreme Court which may include: membership; the power of judicial review. Candidates will also display knowledge and understanding of rights and liberties such as those relating to race, religion, gender and freedom of speech and expression. Expect candidates to illustrate their answers with a range of up-to-date judgements of the Supreme Court.

AO2 Expect candidates to evaluate the effectiveness of the Supreme Court in protecting a range of rights and liberties. This should be done in a balanced fashion and using a range of rights and liberties as well as recent Supreme Court judgements. Look for candidates' ability to conclude that in some areas the Court has been effective in protecting rights and liberties whilst in other areas, the Court has been less effective. Furthermore, candidates may draw attention to the fact that the Court's judgements may change over time (eg the erosion of *Miranda* and *Roe* in recent years).

8 Examine the claim that 'the Electoral College is undemocratic and unnecessary'.

(Specification: Presidential Elections: the Electoral College)

AO1 Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the Electoral College which may include an explanation of how it works: allocation of votes to states; winner-takes-all principle in most states; the need for an absolute majority; examples of its operation in recent elections.

AO2 Expect candidates to examine the claim that the Electoral College is as described in the quotation. First, that it may be considered undemocratic because of the possibility of the winner of the popular vote losing in the Electoral College and because of the possibility of rogue Electors. Second, that it may be considered unfair to national third parties and to large population states which are not nearly as well represented in the Electoral College as small population states. Third, that it may be considered unnecessary as it could be replaced by a system of direct election for the presidency. Reward candidates who challenge the assumption of the question.

2695 Political Ideas and Concepts

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 Discuss the importance of political participation in a democracy. [30]

(Specification: Representation, participation and consent – forms of participation.)

AO1 Candidates should display knowledge and understanding of the concept of participation and the key characteristics of democracy. Expect understanding of the types of participation; these might include, elections, membership of political parties and pressure groups. Candidates may wish to highlight the essential characteristics of a democracy and these might include alongside participation issues relating to political equality, representation, accountability and consent. Candidates should illustrate their understanding with reference to relevant political thinkers; these might include Rousseau, Mill, Madison, Schumpeter, Dahl, Galbraith, Putnam and Marx.

AO2 Candidates should discuss the importance of the concept of participation. Expect reference to a range of ideological perspectives. These might include pluralist concepts that see the essence of democracy being participation through citizenship engagement in various interest groups (polyarchy), and elite theory that seeks to minimise the role of participation to the choice of different elites. Reward candidates that highlight debate over declining participation in modern liberal democracies (eg Galbraith and Putnam) and highlight potential problems with falling rates of public participation. Reward also those that highlight different degrees of participation in different types of democracy; this might include direct, participatory, liberal and proletarian. Candidates who highlight the relative nature of the extent of participation should access the higher mark bands.

2 Evaluate the extent of similarity between power and authority. [30]

(Specification: Power, authority and legitimacy – explanations of and the difference between power and authority.)

- AO1** Candidates should display knowledge and understanding of the twin principles of power and authority. Reward students who provide appropriate working definitions of the two concepts and who display relevant understanding of both their similarities and differences. They might wish to display understanding of issues relating to the origins of power and authority, their maintenance and the degree of legitimacy in each concept. Candidates should illustrate their ideas with reference to relevant political thinkers; these might include Weber, Baratz and Bachrach, Lukes, Dahl and Marcuse.
- AO2** Candidates should evaluate the extent of similarity between the concepts. Whilst they might argue that two in theory are mutually exclusive (power requiring persuasion of some form to gain compliance whereas authority is compliance without persuasion) expect reference that in practice that are often intertwined, with authority often linked to power. Reward those that highlight that those in authority tend to have some recourse to either rewards or coercion (power) in order to maintain their authority. However reward also those that make the distinction between being an authority and in authority with the former not based upon any sense of power. Candidates may also wish to consider if those in power require authority to retain their power, or whether coercion and or persuasion alone is adequate to retain their power (reward those that argue that authority can emanate from the long running exercise of power eg Weber's traditional form of authority based on hierarchy and privilege). Candidates must consider the extent of similarity (ie both similarities and differences) in order to access the higher mark bands.

3 Evaluate postmodernism's critique of mainstream ideologies. [30]

(Specification: political ideology – post modernist views of political ideologies.)

AO1 Candidates should display knowledge and understanding of the central ideological claims made by post modernism. Expect reference to issues relating to the applicability of traditional grand meta-narratives to post industrial society and understanding of the critique of mainstream ideologies of liberalism, conservatism, socialism and Marxism (giving rise to various post-ideologies eg post liberalism, conservatism, Marxism). Reward candidates who display understanding of changes in post industrial society; these might include breakdown of traditional communities, religious and ethnic groupings, and thus the decline of traditional socialisation processes, the greater emphasis upon individualism and the rise of new social movements. Candidates should illustrate their ideas with reference to relevant political thinkers; these might include, Lyotard, Klein, Chomsky, and Fukuyama.

AO2 Candidates should evaluate the main claims made by post modernist thinkers in relation to the relevance of traditional mainstream ideologies. In discussing the critique of traditional ideologies, expect reference to the changing nature of society and evidence of the declining ideological nature of post modern politics. In developing a critique of traditional ideologies candidates may wish to analyse evidence for their declining relevance and also for post modernist relativism. Reward those that question whether post modernism is in fact a meta-narrative in its own right or indeed only a politically conservative critique of other theories. In order to access the higher mark bands students should go beyond a description of post modernism and question its relevance to modern ideological debates.

4 Compare and contrast negative with positive liberty. [30]

(Specification: Rights, liberty and equality – the concepts of negative and positive liberty.)

- AO1** Candidates should display knowledge and understanding of the main aspects of negative and positive liberty. They may attribute the concepts to the definitions outlined by Isaiah Berlin. Expect understanding of the different attitudes towards the extent (negative freedom should not be limited, positive freedom requires self mastery) and origins of liberty (negative – residual, positive – enhancement within society) and also the role the state can play within limiting (negative) and expanding individual liberty (positive). Candidates should illustrate their understanding with reference to relevant political thinkers; these might include Berlin, Mill, TH Green, Locke and Hobbes.
- AO2** Candidates should compare and contrast the two types of liberty highlighting parallels in their emphasis on the importance of individual liberty and their relevance to mainstream liberal thought. Expect candidates to contrast their attitudes towards state interventionism and the role law can play in either inhibiting individual liberty (negative – Hobbes, ‘liberty is the silence of the laws’) or promoting it by removing the obstacles to fulfilling individual liberty (positive empowerment). Reward those that attribute negative liberty to classical liberal ideals and positive to modern liberal theorists. They may also highlight how in the writings of JS Mill the two concepts are apparent in different aspects of his ideas. Candidates must compare and contrast the concepts in order to access the higher mark bands.

5 Assess the importance of citizenship in different theories of obligation. [30]

(Specification: Political obligation, disobedience and revolution – different theories of citizenship.)

- AO1** Candidates should display knowledge and understanding of the concept of citizenship, linking it to the notion of obligation to the state and rights entitlements. Expect candidates to have a working knowledge of the main theories of citizenship; these might include social and active citizenship as well as universal citizenship and multiculturalism. Reward those that display understanding of the relative attitudes to the extent of obligation to the state and the degree in which modern society can expect the same degree of obligation by all of its citizens. Also candidates should highlight the main attitudes towards obligation seen in social contract, natural duty and prudential theories. Expect candidates to illustrate their understanding with reference to relevant political thinkers; these might include, TH Marshall, Nozick, Young, Kymlicka and Taylor.
- AO2** Candidates should assess the main theories highlighting their different attitudes to the extent of obligation and the changing nature of the modern nation state. In differentiating between social and active citizenship expect reference to the emphasis placed upon rights provision by the state, especially extending beyond the civil to the social sphere and the more limited notion of obligation in comparison with active citizenship. For this theory candidates should recognise the necessity for the citizen to engage with society and fulfil their obligations to the effective functioning of the state. The discussion between universality and multiculturalism should focus upon the increasingly pluralistic nature of modern societies and the recognition of cultural diversity and the different requirements of its various minorities as well as whether it is feasible to consider universal application of obligations and entitlements. Candidates should go beyond the description of the theories to access the higher mark bands.

6 Discuss where sovereignty should reside within the nation state. [30]

(Specification: The state and sovereignty – the location of sovereignty.)

- AO1** Candidates should display knowledge and understanding of the meaning of sovereignty and the various potential locations in which it may be found. Expect reference to sovereignty as the ultimate power within the nation state and consideration of it being located within a single ruler (monarch or dictator), an institution (parliament) or divisible amongst the citizenship (popular sovereignty). Candidates should display understanding of the related issues such as legal and political as well as internal and external sovereignty. They should also illustrate their understanding with reference to relevant political thinkers; these might include, Bodin, Hobbes, Austin, Rousseau and Mill.
- AO2** Candidates should discuss the location of sovereignty and in doing so should consider the potential for its divisibility in theory. They should evaluate the traditional belief that ultimate power should reside within a single sovereign monarch or institution in which power is not divided but centralised at the core. Those that believe that it should be located within the citizenship as a whole (eg Rousseau) also tend to argue that ultimately it must be enacted by a single sovereign ('legislator/law giver'). Reward also those that argue that even in states with a clear division of sovereignty along federal lines the constitution itself is recognised as being the arbiter of ultimate power. Candidates who raise international influences such as globalisation and supranationalism and their impact upon the feasibility of locating sovereignty within the nation state should also be rewarded. In order to access the higher mark bands candidates should go beyond descriptions of the potential locations for sovereignty within the nation state.

7 Compare and contrast the different models of the role of the state. [30]

(Specification: the nature and purpose of the state – different views on the role of the state.)

- AO1** Candidates should display knowledge and understanding of the concept of the state. Expect reference to the state as the collection of institutions responsible for the control and governance of a particular society. In highlighting knowledge of its role candidates should display understanding of a range of models; these might include the minimal or night watchman state (classical liberal and new right), the welfare and developmental states (modern liberal and social democrats), and the collectivised or totalitarian states (Marxism and fascism). Candidates should illustrate their understanding with reference to relevant political theorists; these might include Hobbes, Mill, Rousseau, Marx, Keynes, Nozick and Rawls.
- AO2** Candidates should compare and contrast the different models and expect focus upon key issues relating to the role of the state and the individual, the degree of economic intervention, and the balance between the private and public sectors of society. Candidates should highlight the similarities between those models that see the state as the key regulator and enforcer of greater economic and social justice, contrasting this with those that believe in a far more minimal role in regulating the activities of its citizens on primarily a law and order basis. Reward those that argue that all models with the exception of anarchist perspectives (reject the need for a state thus see no role for it) see the state as requiring some potential for intervention, but dispute the extent and areas this should take. Candidates must compare and contrast the models in order to access the higher mark bands.

8 Evaluate the main criticisms of indirect democracy. [30]

(Specification: Forms of government – democracy, direct and indirect.)

- AO1** Candidates should display knowledge and understanding of the meaning of indirect democracy and the views of its detractors. Expect reference to the concept or representative democracy and the limitations on popular participation in the decision making process. Understanding should be shown of criticisms from advocates of radical and participatory forms of democracy; these might include the undermining of civic virtue and potential for corruption by the political elite, as well as the encouragement of public apathy and the elevation of sectional interests above the public interest. Reward also those that display understanding of classical elitist criticisms, rejecting any involvement of the masses in the political process. Candidates should illustrate their understanding with reference to relevant political thinkers; these might include Rousseau, Plato, Bottomore, Pareto and Mosca.
- AO2** Candidates should evaluate the main criticisms from both a radical and elitist perspective. Expect reference to the limited nature of public participation and its impact upon civic virtue as evidenced by apathy and disillusionment with the political process. Reward those that argue that models of representation such as the trustee and mandate give little active accountability to government decision making and potentially leads to corruption and sectional interest. Elitist criticisms reject not only the representative aspects of indirect democracy but also the concept of democracy itself, raising objections to the electorate having even a limited say in the decision making process, due to their belief in natural inequality and necessity of hierarchical rule. In evaluating the criticisms candidates should question their validity by highlighting the benefits in theory of indirect democracy; these may include, informed decision making by professional politicians, retention of democratic accountability through free and fair elections and the recognition of the demands of modern mass society.

2698 Government and Politics (US Option)

These marks apply to all questions in this unit.

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

- 1 Compare and contrast the most important influences on voting behaviour in different elections. [60]**

(Specification 2595: Voting Behaviour; 2694: Presidential Elections: theories of voting behaviour; 2698: Elections: voting behaviour.)

AO1 Candidates will show knowledge of the various influences on voting behaviour in different elections – such as class, personality of leader/candidate, record of government in office, short term factors such as sleaze or scandal, the issues arising or other related factors. There may be knowledge of theories of voting behaviour, of the changing basis of voting in the modern age. There may be knowledge of various elections or campaigns where different factors are known to be different or unusual. There may be knowledge of trends in this regard.

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

AO2 Expect discussion of the contrasting influences on voting behaviour in different elections. There may, for example, be reference to the role of religion and sexual politics in the USA, and the European question, or tactical voting in the UK. There may be analysis of similar factors such as immigration, or foreign policy, or the outlook the electorate have on unpopular leaders. There may be analysis of the declining role of sociological factors, in particular that of social class. There may be analysis of the impact of candidate centred campaigns, such as that of Schwarzenegger of Bloomberg in the US, or issue centred campaigns in the UK such as that of Galloway, Peter Law, or Richard Taylor. Reward any reference to the issues surrounding any referendum vote.

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 view that political parties no longer matter. [60]

(Specification 2596: Political parties: roles and functions etc; 2694: Political parties: roles and functions etc; 2698: Political Parties and Groups: the debate concerning the decline of political parties etc.)

AO1 Candidates will show knowledge of political parties and their roles in politics. Such roles might include: policy formation; choosing leaders, communicating the views of the general public to political leaders, and the views of political leaders to the electorate; constituting the basis for government; embodying a political philosophy and marking out a position in the political debate. There will be knowledge of modern political parties in all these respects, in the choice of leader, in the way in which they structure and organise voting and behaviour in Congress and Parliament. There will be knowledge of the role of conventions in the US and party conferences in the UK.

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

AO2 Candidates will debate the proposition that parties no longer matter. There may be analysis of the modern role of parties and their declining function – the role (or lack of it) in choosing a presidential candidate in the USA, in the financing of competitive races there, and the extent to which party helps to explain voting behaviour in Congress. There may be analysis of the extent to which it may make sense for candidates to run against their own parties. There may be analysis of the declining role of parties as electoral machines. There may be analysis of the extent to which Blair and Cameron have both made policy with which wings of their parties have disagreed, or the use of focus groups for policy making.

More sophisticated analysis will be balanced, and there will be analysis of the continuing importance of parties, such as the fact that all serious candidates in the US join one of the two parties.

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 Assess the effectiveness of legislatures in passing legislation. [60]

(Specification 2597: The Legislature: functions and powers: European Union: main institutions; 2694: Congress: functions: the legislative process; 2698: Legislatures: functions, internal organisation, issues concerning effectiveness.)

AO1 Candidates will show knowledge of the legislative process in Britain, America, or perhaps in the European Union. There may be knowledge of leadership in that process, or the organisation of the legislature, or the role of political parties. There may be knowledge of the role of the executive, and the strategies available to executives in encouraging the passage of legislation. There may be knowledge of private members' legislation in the UK, and the role of backbenchers and opposition. There may be knowledge of the importance of committees in the American context. There may be well-worked examples.

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 assess the effectiveness of different legislatures perhaps by drawing contrasts between different legislative processes, and giving the reasons for those contrasts. There may be analysis of the differing role of parties in the management of legislatures, and in the role of executives in steering legislature through. There may be analysis of the extent to which, in parliamentary systems, the legislature passes its own legislation, rather than endorses the legislative programme of the government. It may be suggested that such legislatures are efficiently organised to pass government programmes, but not to pass independent legislation. There may be analysis of the relatively reactive role of the European Parliament in legislative matters, on the one hand, and the growing use of co-decision making on the other.

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 Discuss the methods by which rights and liberties are best protected in different political systems. [60]

(Specification 2596: Civil Rights and Liberties; 2694: The Supreme Court; 2698: Civil Rights and Liberties.)

AO1 Candidates will show knowledge of rights and liberties and the methods by which they may be upheld or protected in different systems – by parliamentary or Congressional statute and legal process, or by Bills of Rights, enforced by judiciaries or constitutional courts. There may be knowledge of parties or groups which have been important in this regard. Expect awareness of new processes such as the ECHR, the ECJ for economic rights, or international law. Expect well-worked examples using 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 show analysis of the protection of rights and liberties, and whether these are best protected by drafting a Bill of Rights or other methods. There may be discussion of systems in which rights and liberties are established as traditions and statute law, protected by legal precedent. There may be discussion of other systems, which enumerate and formalise rights within a constitution or basic law. There may be debate as to which is more effective in the protection of rights. Reward references to other processes, such as international law, or the War Crimes Tribunal.

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 Assess the merits of an unwritten constitution. [60]

(Specification 2597: The Constitution; 2694: The Constitution; 2698: Constitutions: constitutional reform.)

AO1 Candidates will show knowledge of an unwritten constitution, its flexibility, and ease with which it can be amended. There may be knowledge of written constitutions and the informal penumbra surrounding them – precedent, case law, conventions. There may be knowledge of the role of courts or other institutions in allowing constitutions to develop. There may be knowledge of the extent to which the UK constitution has been flexible in accommodating change in recent years – devolution, human rights etc. There may be knowledge of the more outdated features of written constitutions such as that of the US, or the extent to which they evolve. Reward knowledge of the failure of constitutions where this has happened.

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 assess the merits of an unwritten constitution, perhaps by examining the claim that the unwritten character of the UK constitution allow it to evolve, or be easily amended. There may be analysis of the written character of the American constitution, and its lack of flexibility in the obstacles against its formal amendment. Analysis may include discussion of certain features which may be thought out of date. There may be analysis defending written constitutions in helping to protect rights, or to establish a clearly understood system of government. There may be a recognition of the flexibility of written constitutions, or analysis of the slowness of constitutional evolution in the UK, with hereditary peers surviving into the 21st century. There may be relevant analysis of the EU's constitutional arrangements, suggesting perhaps that its present character is to be preferred to one which is formalised in a written constitution, the more easily to reform it.

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 Discuss the advantages of a presidential executive over a cabinet-based executive. [60]

(Specification 2597: The Executive; 2694: The Presidency; 2698: Executives: issues concerning the organisation of executives: as presidential or cabinet government.)

AO1 Candidates will show knowledge of the advantages and disadvantages of presidential executives and similarly of cabinet-based executives. There may be knowledge of the power each is able to exercise, or the extent to which either is held to account. There may be knowledge of the role executives have in the conduct of foreign policy, or in the making of domestic policy. There may be knowledge of the proposals in the European Union for a president and foreign minister, and the reasons for this.

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 discuss the advantages of presidential executives over cabinet-based executives, and vice versa. This may include analysis of the role of cabinets, the advice they can offer and the sharing out of responsibility. There may be analysis of the relationship cabinet-based executives will have to Parliament, and the more detached relationship presidents have to their legislative branches. There may be analysis of the relative ease with which members of a collective cabinet can remove an unpopular prime minister, while a president usually will have a fixed term of office. There may be analysis of the efficiency with which a singular executive can form policy. There may be specific analysis of the belief that the EU needs a stronger, more presidential 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.

7 Examine the view that pressure groups undermine representative democracy. [60]

(Specification 2595: Rubric and implicit passim; 2596: Pressure Groups: implications for democratic process; 2694: Rubric and passim; 2698: Elections: issues concerning participation and democracy: Parties and Pressure Groups: the function and power of groups in modern representative democracy.)

AO1 Candidates will show knowledge of the main features of representative democracy in different contexts – the election of representatives to take decisions, and the democratic participation of the public in choosing governments. There may be knowledge of the rise of group activity, and the ways in which they impact upon representative democracy. There may be knowledge of rates of participation and other ways in which people are coming to politics. There will be knowledge of the growing membership of groups, and the rise of direct action participation. Where appropriate, candidates should draw upon the knowledge of different political systems studied in other parts of the AS and A2 course.

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.

AO2 Candidates will debate the proposition that groups have a role in bringing about the decline of representative democracy. There may be analysis of the role of interest groups in short-circuiting representative democracy; in financing elections in the USA, or in being a focus for activism. There may be analysis of the role of groups in cutting away the support for traditional political parties – for example, the various groups attempting to keep hospitals open in the UK. There may be analysis of the ways in which groups contribute positively to representative democracy, for example by campaigning for party candidates. There may be analysis suggesting that the decline in representative democracy is caused by other factors, and that groups are the beneficiary of this decline and not its cause. More balanced analysis will explore the extent to which people still cling to the structures of representative democracy, to party voting and party activism.

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

8 Contrast the power of judiciaries in different political systems. [60]

(Specification 2596: Civil Rights and Liberties; 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 power of judiciaries in different systems. There may be knowledge of the underlying constitutional frameworks in which judiciaries have power. There may be well-worked case studies as illustration. There may be knowledge of the increasing importance of the ECtHR and ECJ in the British or European context, and the impact of the Constitutional Reform Act of 2005. There may be knowledge of the role of the Supreme Court in judicial review in the USA.

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 differences in judicial power 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 prevailing philosophy of judicial power and activism in America, or the fact that political appointments allow politicians to shape the prevailing climate in the judiciary. 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.

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.

2699 Politics Ideas and Concepts Option

The following assessment matrix will apply to all questions.

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

1 Assess whether the advantages of democracy outweigh its disadvantages in theory and in practice. [60]

(Specification: Defining democracy – the advantages and disadvantages of democracy.)

AO1 Candidates should display knowledge and understanding of the key arguments relating to the advantages and disadvantages of democracy. Expect candidates to display an understanding of the central characteristics of the concept and show familiarity with some of the key models of democracy. Expect reference to at least the distinction between direct and indirect democracy and their relative advantages and disadvantages. Candidates should illustrate their understanding with reference to the operation of modern democracy and might consider specific details relating to the extent of participation (apathy and limited scope for political intervention offered by elections), the degree of political pluralism (limited range of alternatives ideologies and degree of pressure group involvement), accountability (issues relating to democratic checks upon decision makers), and the limited degree of equality beyond the political sphere (economic and social inequalities). Candidates should also illustrate their understanding with reference to relevant political theorists; these might include Madison, Mill, Schumpeter, Pareto and Mosca and Fukuyama.

AO2 Candidates should assess the relative advantages and disadvantages of democracy, highlighting the benefits of the system as a means of political decision making. They might wish to comment upon its universal appeal, developing the notion of Fukuyama's triumph of liberal democracy argument. They should focus upon its advantages relating to producing checks upon elite control, greater social cohesiveness, moral claims for participation and its ability to act as an engine for social change. In challenging its advantages expect reference to elitist arguments highlighting claims over natural inequality, liberal concerns over majority tyranny, and radical/Marxist complaints over limited political equality. Reward candidates who argue that modern forms of representative/protective democracy address many elitist and liberal concerns to the detriment of limited participation and scope for wider equality. Candidates who highlight how democracy has been diluted to represent a range of political systems (Crick and democracy as a hurrah concept) should also be rewarded. In order to access the higher mark bands candidates should assess the relative strength of democracy by focusing upon the benefits and drawbacks as well as utilising theoretical and practical arguments.

2 Examine the extent to which freedom of action and expression is under threat in modern democracies. [60]

(Specification: Rights, liberty and democracy – civil liberties and freedom of action and expression.)

AO1 Candidates should display knowledge and understanding of the meaning of freedom of action and expression and how these are upheld with modern democracy. Expect reference to cases where the two have been said to be under threat; these might include cases relating to terrorism and civil liberties post 9/11, as well as wider evidence from issues relating to religious blasphemy and limitations upon the right to protest. Reward those that identify evidence of attempts to protect freedoms as seen in the Human Rights Act and international conventions on Human Rights. Reward candidates who illustrate their understanding with reference to specific examples on both freedom of action and expression. Candidates should also illustrate their understanding with reference to relevant political thinkers; these might include Mill, Nozick, Marx, Berlin and Hobbes.

AO2 Candidates should examine the degree of limitations placed upon freedom of action and expression. Reward those that adopt a liberal perspective in highlighting the necessity for such freedoms (this might include consideration of Mill's harm principle), as well as those that discuss the changing balance between freedom and security in the modern world (neo conservative perspective). In examining the extent of the threat, reward those that highlight how freedoms are perceived to be the cornerstone of modern liberal democracy often enshrined within Bills of Rights and other constitutional checks on government actions. Those that argue that in fact expression and action are not under threat but are expanding due to a greater focus upon civil liberties and rights agenda should also be rewarded. In order to access the higher mark bands candidates should focus upon the extent of the threat highlighting both encroachments and extra protection.

3 Examine what, if anything, is meant by the term 'new conservatism'. [60]

(Specification: Ideology and democracy – recent developments in the ideological perspective of conservatism.)

AO1 Candidates should display knowledge and understanding of the key principles of conservatism and modern developments in the ideology. Reward those that highlight the pragmatic ability of the ideology to change its emphasis to reflect modern concerns. Candidates should illustrate their understanding with reference to the trends within the modern UK Conservative Party especially with regards to Cameron's policy reviews concerning social, environmental and inclusive issues. Reward those that draw parallels with Cameron's 'new conservatism' and that of Blair's 'New Labour' project, both in policy and presentation. Reward also those that seek to define new conservatism in the broader New Right agenda with reference to economic neo-liberalism and moral neo-conservatism. Candidates should also illustrate their understanding with reference to relevant political thinkers; these might include Burke, Disraeli, Friedman, Oakeshott, and Scruton.

AO2 Candidates should examine the concept of new conservatism placing it into context with traditional conservative principles; these might include paternalism, property, organicism, human imperfection, tradition and support for authority. In seeking to define 'new conservatism' expect attempts to highlight some form of ideological coherence based upon traditional conservative themes, these might include necessity of preservation (related to the environment), social cohesion (links to One Nation paternalism), and toleration of alternative lifestyles and practices (necessity for an interdependent society – organicism). Reward those that highlight how the modern conservative agenda has departed from the New Right agenda of the 1980's and 90's in terms of retreat from the unfettered market and acceptance of greater moral relativism. Reward also those that argue that new conservatism is only a pragmatic attempt to capture the political centre ground of politics primarily through adopting presentational changes and accepting the Blairite agenda. In order to access the higher mark bands candidates must go beyond descriptions of new initiative in the Conservative Party and attempt to relate it to the ideological traditions of mainstream conservatism.

4 Examine the extent to which modern democracies suffer from democratic deficit. [60]

(Specification: Responsible government and democracy – the democratic deficit.)

AO1 Candidates should display knowledge and understanding of the concept of democratic deficit. In doing so expect reference to the limited opportunity for participation in the decision making process by the citizenship and the limited check upon government power. Candidates should also show appreciation of the basis of modern democracy, associating it with primarily the liberal democratic model based upon protective characteristics (eg liberal constitutionalism), representation and electoral accountability. Candidates should illustrate their understanding with reference to specific examples of where democratic deficit is said to have occurred; these might include electoral deficiencies especially related to FPTP, the lack of a fully elected and accountable parliament (eg unelected House of Lords and party discipline), and the lack of opportunities open to the citizenship to participate in decision making (eg limited use of referenda and initiatives). Reward also those students who utilise knowledge of other to also illustrate their understanding with reference to relevant political thinkers; these might include Rousseau, Madison, Paine, C Wright Mills, Schumpeter and Bottomore.

AO2 Candidates should examine how far modern democracies are inherently limited in their extent of democracy. They might wish to focus upon how liberal democracy compromises the extent of democratic input in order to protect individual and minority liberties, as well as ensuring specialised and efficient government. Reward those that highlight the elitist perspective that limiting democracy is both inevitable and desirable, reflecting the limited ability of the mass citizenship. Candidates who argue that this democratic deficit is not inevitable, advocating greater civic participation (radical democrats) should also be rewarded. Reward also those that examine the extent of democratic deficit by comparing and contrasting different modern democracies, highlighting relative differences (eg US with UK, or examine the use of direct democratic methods in the Swiss cantons). In order to access the higher mark bands students must go beyond descriptions of the meaning of democratic deficit and examine its relevance to modern democracy in both theory and practice.

- 5 Discuss the view that political parties are no longer as important to modern democracy. [60]**

(Specification: Representation and participation in a democracy – parties and pressure groups arguments for and against their existence and influence.)

AO1 Candidates should display knowledge and understanding of the role, functions and influence of modern political parties. They might wish to focus upon empirical evidence of declining importance through declining membership, public disillusionment and the emergence of independent MPs in Westminster. Expect candidates to display understanding of their importance in modern representative democracy, especially in relation to their role in providing coherent ideological perspectives, alternative governments and ensuring electoral choice. Expect reference to specific factual evidence, this might include details of party membership (eg comparison of Conservative and Labour membership from its peak in the 1950s to the current low), the election of independents (eg Richard Taylor and Martin Bell), and evidence of disillusionment (eg electoral turnout and other expressions of discontent). Candidates should also illustrate their understanding with reference to relevant political theorists; these might include Rousseau, Lyotard, Galbraith, Putnam, Dahl and Olsen.

AO2 Candidates should discuss the central premises in the view that parties are no longer as important. They might extend empirical evidence to post modernist perspectives on the end of ideological politics, seeing parties increasingly competing on image terms thus losing their distinctness and popularity. Candidates may also highlight the decline in civic participation such as joining political parties as evidence of a mature democracy in which the citizenship is largely content (eg Galbraith). Reward those that also highlight how declining party appeal and membership allied to an increasing use of extra parliamentary means to ensure influence on government decision making. Candidates should also seek to counter the decline by highlighting the pluralist perspective that polyarchy is a retaining feature of modern democracy and that despite reduced membership parties still perform vital roles in ensuring wide reflection of alternate perspectives and accountability of government actions (parties thus are seen as an inevitable feature of modern liberal democracy). Candidates should discuss both sides of the debate in order to access the higher mark bands.

6 Assess whether the cultural characteristics of a liberal democracy are more important than its institutions and procedures. [60]

(Specification: Liberal democracy – the institutional, procedural and cultural characteristics associated with liberal democracy.)

AO1 Candidates should display knowledge and understanding of the key cultural, institutional and procedural characteristics required for the operation of liberal democracy. They might highlight the cultural necessity of a climate of liberty, toleration and political diversity, contrasting it with the institutional procedures of a representative and accountable parliament, government and judiciary. Candidates should also display knowledge of the procedural requirements of a free and fair electoral system. Expect candidates to illustrate their understanding with reference to specific examples of cultural, institutional and procedural aspects in the UK and potentially other liberal democratic regimes (some might wish to use case studies on the requirements of new democracies such as Iraq or Afghanistan). These might include evidence of the existence of a climate of liberty (UK residual rights as championed in common law) such as the principles of a right to privacy and freedom of expression, as well as pluralistic toleration of a range of ideological perspectives (eg diversity of political parties and pressure groups). Expect also evidence of the operation of key UK parliamentary, executive and judicial institutions as well as the functioning of UK elections. Candidates should also illustrate their understanding with reference to relevant political thinkers; these might include Mill, Dahl, Huntingdon, Schumpeter and Crick.

AO2 Candidates should assess the relative importance of the cultural characteristics in comparison with its institutions and procedures. Expect reference to how liberal democracy cannot function unless there is the recognition of certain political and civil liberties highlighting how the spread of Westminster style democracy to third world societies without the relevant democratic culture resulted in a number of dictatorships (candidates might also seek to argue that a democratic culture takes far longer to develop than the institutions and procedures required for liberal democracy). Candidates may also seek to highlight deficiencies within UK institutions and procedures, but champion its democratic credentials through the continued existence of a liberal democratic culture. Reward those that undertake the same process for other modern regimes, questioning their liberal democratic potential due to a lack of a liberal democratic culture (eg Huntingdon's concern over the appropriateness of democracy in Islamic countries). Reward those that highlight how the procedures and institutions are considered equally as important (eg modern elitist definitions of democracy as a system of electoral choice – Schumpeter). In order to access the higher mark bands candidates should make direct comparisons over the relative importance of the various characteristics, highlighting practical and theoretical arguments.

- 7 Examine the view that referendums are increasingly important to modern democracy. [60]**

(Specification: Representation and participation in a democracy – the case for and against referendums achieving a more participative form of democracy.)

- AO1** Candidates should display knowledge and understanding of the role and importance of referendums in modern democracy. Expect reference to their role in gauging public opinion and or consent for specific issues. Reward those that highlight the distinctions between mandatory and advisory referendums and between those that are pre and post legislative. Candidates should illustrate their understanding with reference to specific examples of their usage. Expect reference to those that have been used in the UK (eg 1975 and EEC membership, 1979 and 1997 devolution referendums, 2005 North East referendum and local examples such as the introduction of elected mayors and specific decisions such as congestion charges in Edinburgh). Also reward reference to their use in other modern democracies; these might include those used in the Swiss Cantons, at state level in the USA and in EU member states. Reward especially those that are able to illustrate their understanding with a range of up to date examples. Expect also reference to relevant political thinkers; these might include, Rousseau, Paine, Dahl, Schumpeter and Downs.
- AO2** Candidates should examine the view that referendums are increasingly useful. Expect reference to the views of radical and participatory democrats in suggesting that true democracy requires direct participation of the citizenship in the decision making process. Reward those that link their usage to the concept of popular sovereignty and their importance particularly relating to constitutional affairs. Those that seek to empirically show their increased usage in the UK should also be rewarded. Candidates might also highlight problems with representative questioning their importance and relevance within representative liberal democracy; this might include undermining of the principle of parliamentary sovereignty, dangers of majority tyranny and reducing the importance of parliamentary institutions and representatives. In order to access the higher mark bands candidates should examine both sides of the debate and deal with the practical and theoretical ideas related to referendums.

8 Assess whether modern democracy is more elitist than pluralistic in practice. [60]

(Specification: Models of democracy – the impact of pluralism and elitism.)

AO1 Candidates should display knowledge and understanding of the concepts of elitism and pluralism and their analysis of modern democracy. Expect reference to elitist attempts to limit popular input into the decision making process and their advocacy of minimal forms of participation. Candidates should also display understanding of pluralist views on the diffusion of power within modern democracy and the operation of polyarchy through various methods of popular input into the decision making process (eg membership of political parties and pressure groups). Candidates should illustrate their understanding with specific examples; these might include evidence of elite decision making through the centralisation of power (the debate over the existence of an establishment) and limited access to the decision making process (eg policy communities and insider status for certain economic and power elites) and also potential evidence of the diffusion of power and operation of competitive political parties and pressure groups. Expect also illustration of understanding through reference to relevant political thinkers; these might include Dahl, Olsen, Pareto, Masco and C Wright Mills.

AO2 Candidates should assess the degree of elitist and pluralist influence in modern democracy. They might seek to argue that elitism is both necessary and practical due to the limitations of the wider citizenship at an intellectual and practical level, thus requiring elite rule. They might also highlight arguments that economic and power elites permeate modern democracies due to their influence over the political establishment. Countering this view candidates might highlight pluralist arguments concerning the expansion of consultation and access to the decision making process and for the necessity of modern democracies to offer alternate potential governments through a range of ideologically based political parties. Reward those that argue that classical pluralist arguments have been criticised by neo pluralists who accept the unequal importance and influence held by differing pressure groups and interests within modern democratic society. Reward also those that argue that modern democracy in its protective sense offers limited access to the decision making process thus perpetuates the rules of a particular site – politicians. In order to access the higher mark bands candidates must assess the relevance of both elitist and pluralistic analysis.

Grade Thresholds

Advanced GCE (Subject) (Aggregation Code(s))
June 2008 Examination Series

Unit Threshold Marks

Unit		Maximum Mark	A	B	C	D	E	U
2595	Raw	100	72	64	56	48	41	0
	UMS	90	72	63	54	45	36	0
2596	Raw	100	75	67	60	53	46	0
	UMS	90	72	63	54	45	36	0
2597	Raw	100	87	77	67	58	49	0
	UMS	120	96	84	72	60	48	0
2694	Raw	90	71	64	57	50	44	0
	UMS	90	72	63	54	45	36	0
2695	Raw	90	70	63	56	49	43	0
	UMS	90	72	63	54	45	36	0
2698	Raw	120	95	84	73	63	53	0
	UMS	120	96	84	72	60	48	0
2699	Raw	120	90	81	72	63	54	0
	UMS	120	96	84	72	60	48	0

Specification Aggregation Results

Overall threshold marks in UMS (ie after conversion of raw marks to uniform marks)

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

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

	A	B	C	D	E	U	Total Number of Candidates
3834	25.6	45.5	62.5	78.4	88.6	100	1183
7834	29.4	54.7	77.6	92.1	98.2	100	890

For a description of how UMS marks are calculated see:

http://www.ocr.org.uk/learners/ums_results.html

Statistics are correct at the time of publication

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