

# **Government and Politics**

Advanced GCE **2699**

Government and Politics: (Political Ideas and Concepts Option)

## **Mark Scheme for June 2010**

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

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

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The following assessment matrix will apply to all questions.

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

**1 Examine what makes a political system democratic.**

**[60]**

*Specification: Defining democracy*

**AO1:** Candidates should display knowledge and understanding of the principal facets of democracy. These might include ideas relating to popular rule, accountability of the decision makers, equal input into the decision making process of all citizens and government in the interests of all. Reward candidates who seek to articulate these ideas into criteria to assess the basis of democracy (eg Lincoln's 'government, of the people, by the people and for the people'). Expect application to modern politics to illustrate this understanding. This might take the form of assessing the extent of democracy in modern electoral systems, methods of democratic scrutiny and accountability of elected politicians and members of executives, as well as legal principles guaranteeing equality before the law (foundational equality). Reward also evidence drawn from a range of democratic systems. This might include direct democracy (Ancient Athens and modern usage of referendums and initiative in Switzerland), proletarian models (eg Cuba and Venezuela) and liberal democracies (UK etc). Candidates should be able to illustrate their understanding with reference to relevant political thinkers. These might include Aristotle, Rousseau, Locke, Jefferson, Paine, Lincoln, Mill and Schumpeter.

**AO2:** Candidates should examine the essentially contestable concept (WB Gallie) that makes democracy difficult to define. They might highlight its ambiguities meaning that it has become nothing more than a 'hurrah concept' (Crick). This should be supported with reference to the wide array of models of democracy allied to their differing emphasis upon what the term actually means (eg classical, protective, developmental and proletarian). Reward candidates who do seek to work through the various features of the concept and distinguish factors linked to their relative importance (eg rule of the majority as represented in elections is more important than governing in the public interest). Also reward those that highlight how some definitions of democracy actually can be considered wholly undemocratic and totalitarian due to their failure to provide adequate accountability of decision makers and their failure to protect the rights of minorities (eg Talmon's critique of the dangers of Rousseau's brand of developmental democracy). Candidates should go beyond a description of the individual features of democracy in order to access the higher mark bands.

**2 Compare and contrast New Right and Marxist views on the operation of modern democracy.**

**[60]**

*Specification: Models of democracy*

**AO1:** Candidates should display knowledge and understanding of the New Right and Marxist views on modern democracy. Expect reference to New Right emphasis upon democracy in its limited form with minimal state interference and limitations upon the actions of government. They might highlight links to classical liberal views on protective democracy. Also expect understanding of Marxist criticisms of bourgeois style liberal democracy and instead their advocacy of proletarian ideals of democracy. Candidates

should illustrate their understanding with reference to the operation of modern democracy both in western style liberal democracy and Soviet/Japanese inspired proletarian systems. In order to access the higher mark bands candidates need not have a detailed knowledge of the operation of proletarian systems but are expected to understand the criticisms of western style liberal democracy made by Marxists. Candidates are expected to illustrate their understanding with reference to relevant political thinkers. These might include Hayek, Friedman, Nozick, Marx, Lenin and Gramsci.

**AO2:** Candidates should compare and contrast the two ideological perspectives on modern democracy. This comparison may consider issues relating to ownership of private property, importance of liberty and equality, the extent of state intervention and attitudes towards the state and political power. Expect candidates to primarily focus upon the key differences between the two concepts in relation to polar opposite views on property, liberty and equality; however reward highly those that seek to draw some similarity between the two theories in terms of their negative view on the role of the state (New Right see it as a necessary evil that needs to be harnessed and limited, whereas Marxists see it as an instrument of repression that ultimately needs to be abolished). Candidates may wish to draw some parallels between the anarcho-capitalist views of Nozick in seeking to dismantle the powers of the state and those of orthodox Marxists who advocate its ultimate withering away. Candidates who primarily focus upon the differences between the two ideologies should be able to access the lower end of the top levels of the markscheme, but to access the highest levels some attempt at examining some similarities must be made.

**3 Assess whether free and fair elections are the most important feature of a liberal democracy. [60]**

*Specification: Liberal democracy*

**AO1:** Candidates should display knowledge and understanding of the principal features of liberal democracy. They should be aware of the procedural role played by elections and be able to illustrate their knowledge with evidence of the role performed by elections in modern day liberal democracies both in the UK and other EU states. Expect reference to specific elections and inclusion of evidence of specific results. They may wish to illustrate problems with elections with regards to low voter turnout and disproportionate results. Candidates should also be able to show understanding of other aspects of liberal democracy, specifically institutional and cultural. Expect evidence relating to the need for the existence of a climate of toleration and political pluralism as well as democratically accountable institutions for legislative and executive decision making, as well as constitutional guarantees of individual rights and the pre-eminence of the rule of law. Candidates should be able to illustrate their understanding through reference to relevant political theorists – these might include Locke, Rousseau, Jefferson, Madison, Mill, Schumpeter and Marx.

**AO2:** Candidates should assess the various theories interpreting the meaning of liberal democracy. Expect reference to pluralist and neo pluralist/elitist theories concerning the extent of democratic input into liberal democracy and how this is balanced by the need to preserve individual rights (see views of protective democrats). Reward candidates who seek to attempt to interpret liberal democracy as a balance between the twin ideas of liberalism and democracy, with more radical democrats advocating the greater importance of free and fair elections (eg Paine), whereas others emphasising the need to protect the citizens against majority tyranny through a separation of powers and limits upon executive action (see de Tocqueville and Madison). Reward however those that argue that without free and fair elections undertaken in a climate of toleration and political pluralism, a country loses its right to be referred to as liberal democratic. In doing this there is great scope for the use of case study evidence from recent elections in Zimbabwe, Russia and Ukraine. Candidates who are descriptive in their approach to exploring the basis of liberal

democracy should only access the lower mark bands. Reward highly those that seek to address the most important aspect of the question.

**4 Discuss whether referendums are beneficial to representative democracy. [60]**

*Specification: Representation and participation in a democracy*

**AO1:** Candidates should display knowledge and understanding of the use of referendums in representative democratic systems. Expect reference to referendums as a form of direct democracy in giving the electorate a direct say on important issues, often relating to constitutional change, or issues of a non partisan basis. Candidates should illustrate their understanding with knowledge of how referendums have been used in modern representative countries, eg in the UK, only once nationally (1975 continued membership of EC), but numerous regional and local votes ranging from approval of the Good Friday Agreement, acceptance of devolution in Scotland, Wales and London, and for local issues such as the introduction of congestion charging in Edinburgh and setting of council tax levels in Bristol. There are also numerous examples available for use throughout the EU and within certain US states (eg California and New Mexico). Candidates should also illustrate their understanding with reference to relevant political thinkers. These might include Rousseau, Paine, Burke and Attlee.

**AO2:** Candidates should discuss the relative merits of referendums in relation to their operation within representative democracies. They might highlight some benefits in overcoming democratic deficiencies incurred by the use of representatives (eg views of Rousseau), as well as a device entrenching decisions beyond parliamentary votes (eg Good Friday Agreement) and keeping a check upon the activities of representative politicians (eg use of recall votes and initiatives as forms of referendums). Expect candidates to challenge these benefits through seeing them as undermining the role of elected politicians (eg Burke's support for trustee style representatives), allowing the potential for selfish voting (eg California and Proposition 13), and in the UK as eroding parliamentary sovereignty. Candidates might also argue that their use has been often associated with dictators seeking to gain popular mandates for actions without the need for representative accountability (note Attlee's critique of plebiscitary democracy as practised by Hitler). Candidates must consider both the positive and negative aspects of referendums and focus upon their impact upon representative systems, as opposed to a general list of pros and cons of their usage, in order to access the higher mark bands.

**5 Assess to what extent the Third Way owes more to conservatism than socialism. [60]**

*Specification: Ideology and democracy*

**AO1:** Candidates should display knowledge and understanding of the Third Way and be able to highlight relevant links to the principles behind socialism and conservatism. Expect reference to Third Way theorists'/pragmatic approach to politics and details on key themes. These might include a modernisation agenda, meritocratic and equal opportunity ideals, importance of the community, balancing of rights and responsibilities, and a belief in a dynamic market based economy. Candidates should be able to illustrate their knowledge of Third Way ideas with application to policies as practised by Blair and other Third Way influenced leaders (eg Clinton). Candidates should show understanding of conservative and socialist elements in the above themes. They also should illustrate their knowledge with reference to the ideas of relevant theorists. These might include Burke, Hobbes, Tawney, Crosland, Etzioni and Giddens.

**AO2:** Candidates should assess the extent of socialist and conservative underpinning of the Third Way. Candidates may wish to highlight traditional conservative principles that appear to influence the Third Way agenda. These might include pragmatism, personal responsibility, support for the free market and private sector methods and foundational as opposed to economic equality. Candidates may also make links between the policies pursued under the New Right influenced regimes and those practised under Third Way style governments (eg legacy of Thatcher and Reagan and shift in the ideological centre ground of politics). Reward candidates who do stress the continued socialist themes within the Third Way. These might include reference to community values, commitments to social justice, retention of public financed services and wealth redistribution. Reward particularly candidates who are able to identify the links to social democratic strands of socialism as opposed to traditional socialist ideas. Those who question the ideological coherence of the Third Way stressing its Populist sentiments should also receive credit. Candidates who only describe key ideas/policies related to the Third Way should only access the lower mark bands, as should also those that only deal with conservative or socialist elements within the concept.

**6 Discuss the importance of international human rights statements in guaranteeing the rights of citizens. [60]**

*Specification: Rights and liberties*

**AO1:** Candidates are expected to show knowledge and understanding of the various attempts to codify and protect human rights through international statements such as ECHR and UN Declarations. Expect specific examples of both effective redress of grievance at bodies such as the European Court of Human Rights at Strasbourg and war crimes tribunals at Nuremburg and The Hague. Candidates should also provide evidence of the limitations of international legislation in non cooperative countries (for example evidence from Israel's rejection of UN directives or human rights abuses in China and North Korea). Weaker answers will have a limited/basic understanding of international statements and will be able to offer only generalised evidence on their successes and/or failures. Better answers will have a good/thorough knowledge of the workings of international conventions and give clear working examples of both successes and failures. Candidates who primarily focus upon the ECHR but have thorough understanding of its procedures and relevance should be able to access the higher mark bands. They also should illustrate their knowledge with reference to the ideas of relevant theorists. These might include Locke, Mill, Bentham and Rawls.

**AO2:** Candidates should be able to discuss the effectiveness of human/moral rights in comparison with legally enforceable rights (note utilitarian critique of moral rights by theorists such as Bentham). Candidates may distinguish between regimes that recognise individual rights, often codifying international statements into their own domestic Bill of Rights (note Human Rights Act 1998 giving some legal codification to the ECHR in the UK) and those that place greater emphasis upon collective interests (see proletarian democracies and military style regimes). Reward candidates who draw comparisons between economic globalisation and the ensuing pressures to conform to international rights agreements. Weaker answers will have limited discussion of the role of international statements and often will be one sided in their consideration of their importance. Better answers will display discussion of both the benefits and deficiencies of moral interpretations of rights as well as evaluation of their practical applications.

**7 Discuss where, in reality, UK sovereignty resides.****[60]***Specification: Responsible government and democracy*

**AO1:** Candidates should display knowledge and understanding of the meaning of sovereignty (both internal and external) and the various theories as to where it should be located. Expect reference to the concept of absolute legal and political power and traditional notions of the role of parliamentary sovereignty in the UK (note views of Austin and Dicey). Candidates should illustrate their understanding with reference to the practical aspects of the operation of sovereignty, examining the extent to which parliament still retains sovereignty in an era of international obligations (eg intervention in Iraq without a new resolution from the UN) and intergovernmental and supranational decision making, as well as at sub national level, the operation of asymmetrical devolution. Expect specific examples of supposed challenges to UK parliamentary sovereignty, whether through EU intervention (Factortame etc), or through the removal of the right of parliament to legislate throughout all areas of the UK (eg Scottish separate legislation abolishing tuition fees and payment of nursing provision). Candidates should illustrate their understanding with reference to relevant political thinkers. These might include de Jouvenel, Austin, Dicey and Mill).

**AO2:** Candidates should discuss the case for/against the continuation of parliamentary sovereignty. Expect analysis of the traditional convention of parliamentary sovereignty and the perceived threats to its continuation in a conventional form. As well as highlighting the impact of factors such as membership of the EU, UN and NATO, candidates should consider internal factors such as devolution, the potential use of referendums and the rise of judicial review based upon international Human Rights legislation (HRA etc). Candidates who also highlight issues relating to globalisation and its impact upon the concept of external sovereignty should also be rewarded. Those that seek to draw balanced conclusions about the extent of the change in the location of sovereignty within the UK (eg devolution not federalism, the ability to withdraw from international treaties and membership of organisations, as well as opt-outs of key areas of supranational decision making such as the Schengen Agreement) should access the higher mark bands. Those answers that attempt to address the question by only examining one area of change to UK sovereignty (most likely the EU!) should not access the highest mark bands.

**8 Discuss the extent to which different views on human nature shape party ideologies and policies.****[60]***Specification: Ideologies and democracy*

**AO1:** Candidates are expected to show knowledge and understanding of the different attitudes towards human nature based upon party ideological traditions. Expect details on the positive views on human nature from both socialist and liberal ideological standpoints reflected in policies aiming towards the promotion of positive liberty (for example welfare reforms and liberalisation of laws on sexuality and censorship). This should be contrasted with the more negative traditions of conservative thought emphasising the necessity of a strong law and order state. Expect specific supporting evidence from recent party policies. Weaker answers will have only a limited/basic understanding of the differing views on human nature and will make few effective links to contemporary party policy. Better answers will have a good thorough understanding of differing perspectives on human nature and provide a wide range of modern illustrative examples.

**AO2:** Candidates are required to discuss the current party attitudes in relation to traditional ideological perspectives. Candidates may wish to discuss the perceived movement away from traditional socialist views under New Labour with regards to positive perceptions of human nature, and an increasingly authoritarian tone to many of the Blair administration's

policies (eg law and order and anti terrorism laws). Candidates may question whether attitudes towards human nature are any longer indistinguishable as politics appears to become increasingly managerial rather than ideological in Britain and the EU (candidates may possibly link this to the impact of globalisation on national politics). Weaker answers will tend to restrict themselves to traditional ideological viewpoints (eg Burke, Marx and Mill), or list party policies with little effective linkage to the question. Better answers will put into context traditional ideological distinctions with convergence theories on party views, undermining established attitudes towards human nature.



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