

Examiners' Report
Principal Examiner Feedback

October 2020

Pearson Edexcel GCE

In Politics (9PL0/02)

Paper 2: UK Government and Non-core

Political Ideas

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# **Principal Examiner Feedback- Autumn 2020**

### Introduction

In many ways, this was a unique exam series as the exams took place in the autumn rather than the summer, and came after a heavily disrupted academic year as the result of the lockdown due to the pandemic. This has meant that a much smaller cohort than usual has sat the examination. With this in mind, it was pleasing to see that students were prepared for the requirements of the examination and impressively, students were able to use contemporary examples in the questions that focussed on UK government.

There are, as with any examination, however, a number of areas to reflect upon and lessons to be learned, which will enable future cohorts to address the examination effectively.

## Question 1(a)

This was an optional question, and was not as popular with students as Q1(b). A majority of students were able to use the source to develop an analysis of the different opinions it contained in relation to the question. In particular, those answers which could clearly identify what holding the government to account entailed, and what other roles that backbenchers perform were able to access the higher ends of the mark scheme.

The strongest responses were able to focus in on the question by analysing how the role of backbench MPs could be seen to have changed over time. This allowed students to develop a range of different arguments about whether now the principal role of MPs was to hold the government to account, or whether it was just one role among many or commonly that representing their constituents was their principal role.

The most effective approach taken was to pair up naturally competing arguments from the source (A01), develop each point with wider knowledge in order to analyse comparatively (A02) the strength of the arguments to lead to substantiated conclusions throughout the essay (AO3). Given that the marks are split evenly between the three A0s, then this approach enabled students to access the higher mark bands. This approach could be launched in a clear introduction, developed through the body of the essay and drawn to a clear judgement in the conclusion.

Backbarch MPs, even as part of parties, tend to liave verying tiles that they are meant to fulfill Such examples include representing their constituency receptly and themselves in the House of Commons, as well as dealing with the issues in their own constituency from day to clay. The to recent electrons between 2010-2017 their have been significant changes in what an MP countifluence and with the succession of minority or coaliston govern shim majority partitionent governments in held in them to account to the in voling and supportantly has had a significant increase in importance will argue that because of the volabile nature of Breat that the main role of an MP has become holding the government to account.

### **Examiner Comment:**

This is an example of clear introduction, which establishes the nature of the debate, identifies change over time so will score marks for comparative analysis, and lays out clearly the argument that it will put forward throughout the essay.

a)

It can be argued that in modern day politics the role of backbench MPs has increased and their principle role is now to hold the government to account through their ability to ensure checks on the Prime Minister's dominance, use of select committees and their growing assertiveness as partisanship is in delince. However, this essay will argue that this is not the case as backbench influence is limited to certain occasions, and the main role of backbench MPs is still to represent their constituencies.

## **Examiner Comment:**

Similarly this example of a clear introduction lays out the debate and the direction of the essay, and shows the candidate challenging the view in the question.

Mere are many more tools through which backbeach MPs can hold the government to account. Select committees, which were introduced in 1979, are a key tool for backbeachers to scrutinise ministers, scrutinise policy and make recommendations. In 2010, select committees saw further enhancement as MPs began to be elected by secret ballots. This, and the lack of party discipline, dumonstrates that a select committees role is to hold the government to account without fear of repurcussions from the frontbeaches of an MPs party. This reflects the wider view that a backbeach MPs role is to hold the government to account, given the number of backbeachers on select committees, the fact that 40% of proposals are accepted and that the government hospif tried to weaken their power, but actually strengthened it in 2010. However, many point out that the select committees and

### **Examiner Comment:**

This paragraph develops the point about select committees from the source to show how they are used by backbench MPs to hold the government to account. The answer looks to develop the analysis by showing how the Wright Reforms and the lack of party discipline have changed this role. A clearer reference to the source would enhance this even further.

## Question 1(b)

This question was by far the more popular of the two source based questions and there was a far greater range in the types of the response. A large majority of students were able to really engage with the question and develop their answer from the political information in the source. One area to note is that it is important for students to show that they are using the source rather than deliver a pre prepared answer and using the source means taking the arguments from the source and developing them in order to create clear analysis and evaluation.

The stronger answers were able to develop a wide ranging argument from the political information in the source. The question saw students developing a range of different arguments from the constitution not requiring major reform to not needing any further reform at all, or to just requiring some minor reform. In particular, one very pleasing aspect was the ability of the candidate to bring together competing argument from the

source to create effective comparative analysis in order to build substantiated conclusions.

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## **Examiner comment:**

This is an introduction that set the nature of the debate and signposts the nature of the argument that the candidate will be building throughout the response.

## **Examiner Comment**

This paragraph is closely linked to both the question and the political information contained in the source. It focusses in on the argument about the appointed second chamber but links it together the argument in the source about the role of conventions in the constitution. The paragraph effectively builds an analysis of the debate that logically builds towards the conclusion that the constitution does not need major reform in this area.

2019 Conservation Manifesto, the party set out their desire to replace the Human right act British Bill of Rights that Some Conservatives long arguer sor, this demonstrates the very red threat posing the human rights act and at which the unenthenchel notuce of the constitution. Parliament has very little interest in erading rights withour good reason to. The designation during the Blair years was done expense of the individual rights of terrorists Therefore fortionerrory sovergray and the noture of the constitution Collecture and individual rights Any Over everion of rights will political sovergaty that is

#### **Examiner Comment**

The candidate is developing the argument from the source about how without an entrenched constitution, it is too easy for government to threaten fundamental rights. The argument is developed using well selected knowledge and information to generate an analysis of this argument and analyse it against the competing view from the source about the importance of parliamentary sovereignty and flexibility. This generates a clear sense of debate in the answer.

## Question 2(a)

This question was a slightly more popular choice than Q2(b) and allowed for a good range of different answers from students. The key was really the way in which students engaged with the idea of the Court having **too** much influence over the executive. Where this was the focus of the answers, students were able to develop arguments that the Court had too much influence, too little influence or that the Court exerted the right amount of influence given the importance of its constitutional role.

The most effective answers had a clear understanding of the power of judicial review and how it works both in the case of decisions or actions of the executive branch and in the case of Acts of Parliament that the executive has championed through the Commons. This was then backed up by an accurate selection of a range of Supreme Court decisions to illustrate the arguments. Without an accurate selection of Supreme Court cases, it was more challenging to develop the necessary analysis to reach the higher mark bands.

There was a clear engagement with the synoptic element; students were able to link the debate about the Court back particularly to the democracy and participation element of Component One.

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#### **Examiner Comment**

This introduction sets out a clear view and also maintains a clear focus on the question. There is an emerging synoptic element here back to the protection of rights and how FPTP shapes the power of the Executive branch that was developed later in the essay.

However, other may argue that the Supreme Cont's power over the executive is unde novertoo as the Prime Minister is an elected member of Paliament, given a mandate to rule by the British people and the Supreme Cont judges are selected with no public openion involved. This gives the Pomeniuston desicrous the wright of public approval, meaning that for the Supreme Cont to stop the executive cold pitentially be an act against democracy. On the offer hand,

### **Examiner Comment**

In this short section, the candidate is developing an argument about how the influence of the Supreme Court is too great, and linking this clearly to a debate about democracy; this is clearly synoptic and uses the term mandate, which is taken from voting behaviour and the media in Component One.

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## **Examiner Comment**

This short section reveals how the use of a well-chosen Court case as an example can be used to develop analysis and reach a substantiated conclusion.

### Question 2(b)

This question focussed on the balance of power between the Prime Minister and the Cabinet and the factors that affect that relationship post 2010. The question allowed the development of synoptic links back to component one, in particular elections and the key terms coalition government and minority government.

The strongest answers were able to develop an effective approach either by analysing the different governments since 2010 or by developing themes to analyse the relationship over this time period. One highlight was the ability for students to draw comparisons between the government post 2010 with government pre 2010, with good examples in particular drawn with both the governments of Tony Blair and Margaret Thatcher.

The framing of the debate was all important in this question; in order to maintain a focus on whether power had shifted back to cabinet and away from the Prime Minister or power largely remained with the PM. This was important to maintain an analytical answer rather than approach which focussed more on A01 at the expense of the other A0s by simply describing what has happened since 2010. Pleasingly, students were able to answer this question using a good array of examples, and in particular how the 2019 election result and the pandemic have impacted on the nature of the relationship.

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### **Examiner Comment**

This introduction clearly focusses on the question and frames the debate, whilst offering clear comparative links back to both Thatcher and Blair in a way that enhances the analysis. There is already an emerging synoptic link here back to elections and the importance of the size of the majority in elections.

Cabinet government is the idea that government decisions over policy are made amongs. The cabinet -a group of many senior fronthen chers-as approsed to just the Prime Minister and a select few senior ministers or advisers. In the Thatcher and Blair years, many have argued the style of government was presidential, focusing on leadership, a whing the number of cabinet meetings and in preference of ane-to-one meetings to keep ministers on side. Some believe there has been little change, but others feel there has been a much greater role for the cabinet recently.

#### **Examiner Comment**

Here the introduction defines the nature of the debate, which provides a framework for the essay that follows. There is also clear comparative links back to Thatcher and Blair in a way that enhances the analysis. With a clear statement about the nature of the argument to be put forward in the essay, this paragraph would be even stronger.

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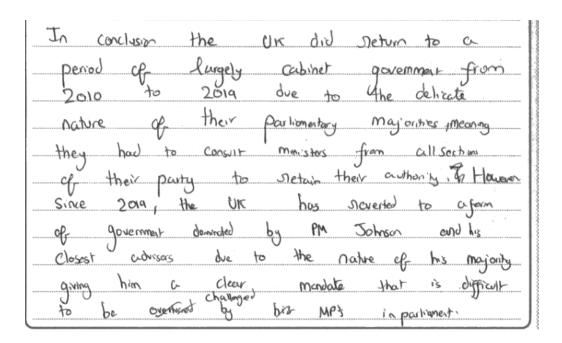
### **Examiner Comment**

This is an example of a paragraph developed around the theme that the size of majorities post 2010 have impacted the relationship between the PM and cabinet. This has clear synoptic links back to elections in component one.

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society. Nowadays, the government are seen as more of a collective, than ess the prime minister simply being seen as the face of the operation. We see examples of this in the covid-19 pandemic, with Chancellor Rishi Sunak and tleath Secretary Matt tlancock often being more involved in decision making than the PM, from the publics perspective. Cabinet ministers throughout the pandemic seem to have been in more in the public eye and in contact with the public than the prime minister has been, and this
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#### **Examiner Comment**

The use of clear, contemporary examples here lifts the answer through an effective selection of knowledge that underpins the analysis being put forward.



### **Examiner Comment**

In this conclusion, the candidate reaches a clear judgement about a reversion to cabinet government between 2010 and 2019, but that since the 2019 election the Prime Minister has become more dominant. There are synoptic links back to the size of the majority and the importance on mandate.

#### **Non-core Political Ideas**

Given the small size of the overall cohort, and the number of different non-core ideas and the optional questions, certain questions were answered by very few students however there are still a number of areas that are useful to reflect on. This section of the paper was the area that was most impacted by the unusual circumstances on 2020. As a result, there are number of key points which are worth re-emphasising in terms of the overall skills required by the paper:

- The importance of timing so that students can complete the paper.
- The importance of using key thinkers and their ideas from the specification for that non-core idea.
- The focus of the question is on the extent of the agreements and tensions within that political idea.

## Question 3(a)

This was the less popular of the two anarchism questions on the paper. Effective strategies for answering the question were based on a clear understanding of the term utopian. With this understanding in place, students were able to develop the debate around the agreements and tensions within anarchism over whether anarchist views on human nature were utopian. Better answers were able to clearly deploy the ideas of key thinkers, particularly Stirner, Bakunin and Kropotkin, to illustrate the debate between the different types of anarchism.

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Utopian is one of the core values of anarchism and can be described as a model of an idealised future society used to analyse existing society: All anarchists agree on the basis that human nature is mounded by its environment and so will only be in it natural from when it is in an society achieves anarchy—clemonstrating its idealised nature;
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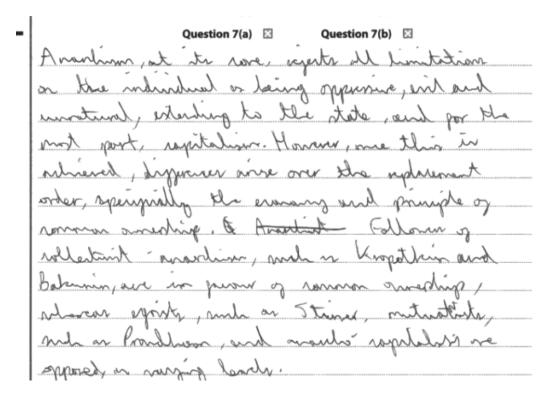
#### **Examiner Comment**

This introduction lays out a definition of utopianism that helps to frame the rest of the essay.

## Question 3(b)

This question was the more popular two of the anarchism question with students able to offer a good range of points. The most effective strategies looked to shape the essay

in terms of areas of agreement over the nature of property and common ownership before exploring the disagreements. Within this, the most effective answers were able to explore the differences between individualist and collectivist anarchism, as well as the tensions within both. A good example of this was the ability to discuss the tensions within collectivist anarchism between the mutualism of Proudhon and the anarchocommunism of Kropotkin. The very best answers were able to make substantiated judgements about the depth of the agreement or disagreement within anarchism over the need for common ownership in a future anarchist society.



### **Examiner Comment:**

This introduction clearly frames the debate within anarchism over common ownership, and introduces the different types of anarchism and thinkers that will be used to develop the answer. With the addition of a clear statement about the extent, then this would be even stronger.

### Question 4(a)

This question was the more popular of the two questions on ecologism on the paper. Stronger answers were able to clearly highlight areas of agreement and disagreement both between and within the different types of ecologism, supported by a strong use of key thinker and their ideas. In particular, answer focussed on debates around sustainability, radicalism vs reformism, the role of technology and anthropocentrism and ecocentrism. It was very positive to see that students used deep greens, shallow greens and social ecology in framing their answer. It is worth noting that answers

should focus on not simply stating the areas of unity and division, but on really exploring whether ecologism is more united than divided to get to the higher levels, particularly of A03, in the mark scheme.

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## **Examiner Comment:**

This section develops the debate over sustainability, and utilises a good range of key terminology to develop the argument. This section is focussed on drawing out areas of agreement and disagreement between deep and shallow greens, before linking this up with the ideas of social ecology and Murray Bookchin. The key issue then is whether the answer goes on to make a judgement about extent to really meet the A03 criteria.

### Question 4(b)

There were only a very small number of responses to this particular question which focussed on the agreements and disagreements within ecologism over the type of future economy they wish to create. The question allowed students to explore the agreed opposition to the existing economic system, including consumerism and materialism, and the belief in the idea of the limits to growth. In terms of disagreements, the key debate drawn out was between the shallow greens on one hand and the deep greens and social ecology on the other hand. The disagreements could be seen over the role of sustainability, capitalism and growth in the future economy. The debate could be strongly informed by the ideas of the key thinkers, in particular Rachel Carson, EF Schumacher and Murray Bookchin.

## Question 5(a)

This was the more popular of the two questions on feminism on this paper. Stronger answers clearly structured their essay around the agreements and disagreements between the different types of feminism, and argued to substantiated conclusions about whether the agreements outweighed the disagreements or not. A popular approach was to focus on what type of social change was needed, such as overcoming patriarchy, linked to debates about how to achieve that change, such as reform or revolution. Higher levels of analysis and evaluation were achieved by exploring the agreements and disagreement both within and between the different types of feminism, supported by key thinkers and their ideas.

Key thinker and their ideas were generally well used in this question. However it is important to note that more than one key thinker from the feminism specification should be used in the answers. Thinkers from other areas in the specification, such as Wollstonecraft and Luxemburg, can be used to enhance answers but should not be used as a substitute for the key thinkers from the feminism specification.

All feminists want to achieve social change, however, they all disagree on how to do this. They also disagree on what social change they want. Liberals are also known as reformists, they believe in gradual and peaceful change in order to achieve equality. However socialist feminists and radical feminists believe that reforming society is not enough, there needs to be a radical overhaul. Radical and socialists feminists also disagree on the radical overhaul needed. Socialist feminists want to overhaul capitalism as they believe this is the cause of the patriarchy. While radical feminists think there should be an entire overhaul of society. Overall there are way more disagreements than agreements.

### **Examiner Comment**

This introduction clearly lays out the structure for the answer and direction that the candidate is going to argue. It draws on both disagreements and agreements between the different types of feminism to reach a clear statement about the extent.

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### **Examiner Comment**

In this short introduction, the framework for the debate is clearly laid out for the rest of the essay. It makes it clear that the essay is going to argue that to great extent feminist disagree over this issue. Rudied Jamin's hard Complety disagree with his
hopin of Parke some Proof topolitis mans as the visit of the as makes lets as kale Milled corpe patricials as for mue deeply reded in the Society.
Included, It Milkel corps in her "sexual posities" (1870)

My the in even pascial relapadio beloon a man and nower perforally lists and hege to noull be a Sexual lardier. This a notion which is and would be and sometiments to liberal formats, as for their particular and could be and chiefs in the public space.

### **Examiner Comment**

This paragraph looks to develop the argument, utilising effectively the ideas of the key thinker Kate Millet to explain the position of radical feminism and explain why it is so at odds with liberal feminism. It is clearly focussed on the question and there is an effective use of key terminology.

## Question 5(b)

This question was less popular than Q5(a). The most effective strategies adopted for this question were to draw out the nature of the debate between equality and difference feminism over whether patriarchy is based in human nature. In rejecting the view that patriarchy is based in human nature, responses focussed on the idea that patriarchy is a social construct and differences over where the roots of patriarchy lie. The answers that were able to meet the requirements of the higher level mark bands were able to really focus on the question of extent, utilise key terminology such as patriarchy, essentialism and gender stereotypes effectively and develop the positions of the different types of feminism using the ideas of key thinkers from this part of the specification.

Two broad cateagries of Jennist disagree, however, on the nature of men and women, and thereby the extent to which patriarchy is a product of nature. Dyjerence Jennists behind that men and women are dyserent at a jundamental level, though one is not injerior to the other. Equality jeninists believe that men and women are essentially the same or that any disserences are negligible. Dyserence Jennists are of the opinion that the patriarchy subjugates women because of their nature but does not necessarily supressit. Equality Jennists think that women are jorced into unatural genderroles, as

## **Examiner Comment**

This paragraph really starts to open up the debate between difference and equality feminism by contrasting the two different positions.

No contrasting ferment thronges of human nature; the first of which, essentialism, beviewed that men and women are produced to the first whereas and rogginas ferments such as that ment claim that biological factors have minnate sexual archetimy but instead human nature is blank and subsequently socialised into sender configuration. Throughout agree boat parriarchy is based in human nature.

#### **Examiner Comment**

This paragraph establishes the debate and lays out the main thrust of the argument, whilst introducing some key terminology and a key thinker from the feminism specification.

### Question 6(a)

There were a small number of answers for both questions on multiculturalism in this exam series. In response to this question, stronger answers were able to identify clearly what was meant by the terms minority rights and highlight the conservative criticisms of it. Answers were then able to focus on the agreements between the different types of multiculturalism in support of minority rights as well as the differing reasons given by different types of multiculturalism for endorsing those rights. The key thinkers that were more commonly used to support the arguments were Kymlicka, Taylor and Parekh.

### Question 6(b)

There were a small number of answers for both questions on multiculturalism in this exam series. In this question, the most effective strategy was to structure the essay around the agreements and disagreements between the different types of multiculturalism in order to build an argument about the extent of that agreement. This was supported in the more effective answers by a strong use of key terminology such as diversity, tolerance and universalism and backed by the effective use of key thinkers and their ideas to develop the arguments.

## Question 7(a)

This was clearly the more popular of the two questions on nationalism on this exam series. This a broad question that was focussed on whether the different types of nationalism are more united than divided in their core ideas and principles. The most effective strategy was to structure the essay around areas of clear agreement between the types of nationalism and the areas where there was strong disagreement. This allowed for analysis to be developed through the essay to reach substantiated conclusions about whether nationalism is more united than divided.

Some of the main areas of focus were the nation-state and self-determination, as well as debates over progressive vs regressive and inclusive vs exclusive between the different types of nationalism. The more effective answers were built on a clear grasp of the key terminology and the ability to use the ideas of key thinkers to develop the debate between the different types of nationalism.

Notionalism is a very bread ideology that consists of conservative, liberal, expansionist, to gressive etc stances, some wen call it a chamber ideology. Although there are evidently a few ountains within it over the role of self-determination for a particular mation for austonce ornal nationalism is a very much devided ideology with alfant view on liberty, inclusivity (notionality), expansions etc. tradition etc. This emay will argue that notionalism is a nort of a divided rather than a united ideology.

### **Examiner Comment**

This introduction sets up the debate between the different types of nationalism by identifying the core areas of unity and division that it will cover using key terminology from the specification. It also clears lays out that the essay will be arguing that national is more united than divided.

His important to necognize that there are united Arguary, the most important arms principle of nationalism united Arguary, the most important political enrists and the nation state is the sex most important political enrists and the nation state is key to political arganisation. This is a smaned sentiment amongst all of after shands ay naparadism, so it could be argued that if all nationalists agree on the key principle, then they are for the most part united.

### **Examiner Comment**

This section is clearly focussed on the question and seeks to develop an area where nationalism is clearly united in its commitment to a core idea and principle; the nation-state.

Honer Much deepe disagreement (as Se Sond
onotional notionalists. Whitest many notionalists
Substances to the Idea of Self determination they
disse standy ove the level and execut of SulSelf determination. (In Listed notionalists believe in
Self determination sur all notions indeed the the
idea of a separation notion governe by its
consert is one to the fevres of Viscol notionalists.
All which was outline in Jean Jacques Nowseness
Social Connort 1862 1762, the idea that which
was participate and and egage within the notion
to be they see soon oppression. On the other

### **Examiner Comment**

In this section, after covering how self-determination can be seen to be a unifying feature of nationalism, the answer is developed by showing that there is more disagreement over self-determination and introduces the idea of a key thinker to develop the argument.

## Question 7(b)

This question was much less popular than Q7(a) on nationalism. The most effective strategy was to structure the essay around areas of clear agreement between the types of nationalism and the areas where there was strong disagreement. In general, this was achieved by developing the argument around human nature through the debates over rational vs irrational and progressive v regressive between the different types of nationalism. Stronger answers were built on an effective use of terminology from the specification, developing the arguments of different types of nationalism using the ideas of key thinkers and a clear focus on the question of extent.

## **Paper Summary**

The following key points should be taken away from this exam series:

- This was an extraordinary exam series given what happened in 2020; students and centres should be congratulated for the readiness to sit this unique exam series.
- The importance of exam timing.

- The need to plan answers so that responses have a clear structure that focusses on the demands of the question.
- In source questions, the importance of contrasting competing arguments from the source; this is done by developing the arguments included in the source using own knowledge to create analysis and reach substantiated conclusions throughout.
- The questions are on the big debates in politics, so answers should read like a debate where competing views are considered to reach a clear judgement on the question.
- The use of contemporary examples can really strengthen analysis.
- The effective use of key terms from the specification helps lift the quality of responses.
- In non-core ideas, the higher level mark bands are achieved by focussing in on "extent" and the debate needs to be developed using the ideas of key thinkers from within that section of the specification.