

Examiners' Report

June 2012

GCE Government & Politics 6GP04 4A

Edexcel and BTEC Qualifications

Edexcel and BTEC qualifications come from Pearson, the world's leading learning company. We provide a wide range of qualifications including academic, vocational, occupational and specific programmes for employers. For further information visit our qualifications websites at www.edexcel.com or www.btec.co.uk for our BTEC qualifications.

Alternatively, you can get in touch with us using the details on our contact us page at www.edexcel.com/contactus.

If you have any subject specific questions about this specification that require the help of a subject specialist, you can speak directly to the subject team at Pearson.

Their contact details can be found on this link: www.edexcel.com/teachingservices.

You can also use our online Ask the Expert service at www.edexcel.com/ask. You will need an Edexcel username and password to access this service. See the ResultsPlus section below on how to get these details if you don't have them already.



Get more from your exam results

...and now your mock results too!

ResultsPlus is Edexcel's free online service giving instant and detailed analysis of your students' exam and mock performance, helping you to help them more effectively.

- See your students' scores for every exam question
- Spot topics, skills and types of question where they need to improve their learning
- Understand how your students' performance compares with Edexcel national averages
- Track progress against target grades and focus revision more effectively with NEW Mock Analysis

For more information on ResultsPlus, or to log in, visit www.edexcel.com/resultsplus. To set up your ResultsPlus account, call us using the details on our contact us page at www.edexcel.com/contactus.

Pearson: helping people progress, everywhere

Our aim is to help everyone progress in their lives through education. We believe in every kind of learning, for all kinds of people, wherever they are in the world. We've been involved in education for over 150 years, and by working across 70 countries, in 100 languages, we have built an international reputation for raising achievement through innovation in education. Find out more about how we can help you and your students at: www.pearson.com/uk.

June 2012

Publications Code UA032363

All the material in this publication is copyright
© Pearson Education Ltd 2012

Introduction

This paper saw a more even spread of responses across the various topics than has been seen in previous years. Question 4 was the most popular short-answer question, perhaps because it has been quite prominent in the media in recent years with the accession of Croatia in 2013 and the on-going issue of Turkish candidacy.

There was, pleasingly, a noticeable increase in candidates' application of recent issues and policy to the questions on this paper - with the exception of question 7 on Euroscepticism in the UK, where many responses continued to rely on historical descriptions of anti-EU actions of approaches to the EU, particularly in the Conservative Party.

It was also noticeable that candidates with sound knowledge of the Lisbon Treaty who were able to relate it directly and accurately to their answers were likely to score highly.

The strongest candidates took a synoptic view throughout the paper - not just in Section B - which helped articulate and develop controversies and criticisms, particularly on Questions 3 and 5. Indeed, there was a marked improvement in synopticity across the essays, particularly Questions 7 and 8.

Failure to address the question as set continued to cause knowledgeable candidates problems, particularly on questions 4 and 6. There were far fewer candidates, however, who drifted out of political arguments and into more general discussion of the issue at stake, particularly on the UK and the EU question.

Question 1

This was the second most popular short-answer question, and was generally well answered by a significant number of candidates. There were many good discussions of both sovereignty and/or democracy, although surprisingly relatively few candidates made the point about QMV being criticised on the basis of supranationalism.

Mid level 2 responses often failed to give examples e.g. of a larger country that benefits from QMV, or used key terms such as sovereignty and supranationalism without explaining or exemplifying them in relation to QMV. There were also a number of responses that limited the mark awarded by discussing criticisms in quite general terms e.g. arguing that QMV is unfair on smaller countries, without developing the point, or offering detailed but irrelevant positive points about QMV.

The weaker responses either got confused about the concept of QMV and therefore went completely off track, or presented an answer in virtually a bullet point list with little or no explanation. There was also some confusion over the precise nature of QMV e.g. which institution uses QMV, the distribution of votes and how it fits in with co-decision. Such responses generally remained at the bottom of level 2 for lack of clarity.

Indicate your first question choice on this page.
You will be asked to indicate your second question choice on page 6.

Put a cross in the box ☒ indicating the first question that you have chosen.
If you change your mind, put a line through the box ☒
and then indicate your new question with a cross ☒.

Chosen Question Number:

Question 1 ☒ Question 2 ☒ Question 3 ☒
Question 4 ☒ Question 5 ☒

The Qualified Majority voting (QMV) system has been often criticised because of its distribution of votes and replacement of the national veto.

In the European Council of Ministers (CoM) QMV has been ~~be~~ brought in to ~~be~~ be used as a voting system on most E.U. policy sectors. It involves dishing out a set number ~~of~~ votes to each member state based on their influence over the council. And is meant to give each country a fair

envis number of votes to ~~be~~ reflect their stature in the E.U while stops small or large members dominating

the issue is however ~~that~~ that this is not the case. The largest number of votes goes to Germany with 34, the smallest to Malta with 3. Under the voting however is Germany, France and the UK or Italy were to ever vote as a block (which has been done), even if all over 24 countries were against the move it would still pass the Council of Ministers.

Also QMV has removed the national veto from many fields of policy. This has weakened the national sovereignty of all member states. But that said without QMV the council was almost always in a veto deadlock and so it does hold some practical measures.



ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

This is a low level 2 response of 7 marks. The candidate spends most of their time explaining the QMV system, which is not necessary for a question asking for criticisms of such a system. The candidate does not move on to explaining the criticisms until their second page of writing, and is then able to identify two criticisms with only brief explanations.

Indicate your second question choice on this page.
You will be asked to indicate your third question choice on page 9.

Put a cross in the box ☒ indicating the second question that you have chosen.
If you change your mind, put a line through the box ☒
and then indicate your new question with a cross ☒.

Chosen Question Number:

Question 1 ☒

Question 2 ☒

Question 3 ☒

Question 4 ☒

Question 5 ☒

Qualified Majority Voting (QMV) has been criticised, largely because it moves the EU further towards becoming a supranational institution. This has angered parties such as UKIP, because it takes away further sovereignty from Westminster. QMV means that for legislation to be passed in the Council of Ministers, 55% of member states, representing 65% of the population must approve legislation. This means that member states may have to implement legislation they oppose to. This is particularly controversial as it ~~en~~forces the government to implement the legislation and if it is unpopular, it is likely that they will be criticised for it - even though they were against it.

QMV has also been criticised because it gives smaller nations less sovereignty because 65% of the population must be represented. For example Germany has a larger share of the EU's population than Luxembourg. In effect, the vote of smaller nations is worth ~~more~~ considerably less than

larger nations due to QMV. On the other hand, the 55% of member states rule still persists, which makes it more of a level playing field. Nonetheless, the fact that population size has become an issue due to QMV, it evokes plenty of criticism

from smaller member states, thus making it controversial.

Another reason why QMV has been criticised is because it causes a lot of tension between member states and ~~gov~~ between the Council of Ministers and the Commission.

It causes tension between member states because in forcing a government to adopt a policy they are against by voting in favour, there is likely to be plenty of resentment. If this happens on consecutive occasions, it is even more likely that it will harm relations between member states, therefore harming the EU, as it supposed to be a strong alliance. It may also cause resentment between the Council of Ministers and the Commission, because for the commission initiate the policy that could be forced on a member state because of the nature of QMV. Clearly the commission has not listened to an individual state sufficiently as they are being forced to implement legislation they are opposed to. Therefore, because QMV causes internal divisions, it can certainly be said that it is controversial.

Overall, QMV has been criticised for ~~being~~ taking away

Question 2

Sovereignty from member states because they are forced to implement legislation they are opposed to; 55% of member states vote in favour representing 65% of the population. It takes more power away from smaller nations with a smaller population, granting even more power to the big nations, who already ~~be~~ seen to dominate the EU such as Germany and France. Furthermore, it causes tensions between member states and between

the Council of Ministers and the Commission. Therefore, QMV is certainly controversial!

There were many strong answers where candidates examined a range of controversies



ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

which looked at the impact of the EU. The main controversies markets, the 'brain drain' from terrorism and drug trafficking.

A number of responses only for responses were often made in benefits, with no supporting evidence - this meant such candidates could not progress beyond the bottom of low level 2 for lack of depth.

This candidate demonstrates a good understanding of the operation of QMV, and clearly applies this to the criticisms offered - so accessing level 3. Points are made about supranationalism and sovereignty, with exemplification, as well as a rather convoluted point about potential tensions between countries and institutions - had this included an example, the response would have merited a top level 3 mark.

A noticeable problem with this question was of misinterpretation - a worrying number of candidates looked at all four freedoms (goods, capital, people and services) which was not the focus of the question.

There was also a degree of reliance on tabloid-style arguments from a minority of candidates, which should be discouraged. Many responses were very heavily based on the impact of freedom of movement on the UK economy, mainly employing the "Polish plumbers stealing British jobs" line of argument, or using made-up statistics on the number of migrants claiming jobseekers' allowance.

There were, however, a number of excellent responses where candidates were able to link the issue to loss of sovereignty and increased issues after the transition arrangements from 2004 ended last year.

Indicate your first question choice on this page.
You will be asked to indicate your second question choice on page 6.

Put a cross in the box ☒ indicating the first question that you have chosen.
If you change your mind, put a line through the box ☒
and then indicate your new question with a cross ☒.

Chosen Question Number:

Question 1 ☒

Question 2 ☒

Question 3 ☒

Question 4 ☒

Question 5 ☒

The freedom of movement within the European Union (EU) has been ever more controversial with the enlargement of the EU. In this short essay I will state how this Freedom of movement came about and why it has caused so much controversy.

The Schengen agreement that was signed by many of the European Union states opened the floodgates for freedom of movement between member countries. The idea behind the Schengen agreement was to allow for work flow to easily move between countries to ensure that high qualified workers could move and work easily between countries. This in

fact has resulted in a migration, usually from East to West as people look for work. This has been very controversial as many large companies have moved further to the east in search of making their products cheap (through lower paid workers) to increase profits. And many eastern workers moving to the west in search of a better paid job and lifestyle.

Question 3

has become such a big issue that immigration (in relation to EU politics) has been included on Election Manifestos. An increasing Right wing view is that many highly skilled EU workers are coming to the United Kingdom and taking over jobs that are leaving English workers unemployed, creating a rise in ^{the} unemployment. During this time of the Double Dip Recession and Economic downturn, Freedom of movement has become crucial in helping individuals in search of jobs.

~~movement within the~~

In conclusion, movement within the EU has always been a controversial issue and will continue to be a controversial issue as outlined in the above short answer.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Comments

This was by far the least popular knowledge of the post, particularly the Commission.

The strongest responses addressed

of the President of the European Council along with the limitations and weaknesses. A significant number of candidates took the alternative approach of comparing the President of the Council with the President of the Commission which added some context. Such responses often demonstrated up-to-date knowledge on summits attended and the role of Von Rompuy in the context of Eurozone crisis very effectively. It was also pleasing to see a number of responses that showed awareness that Von Rompuy is the first incumbent of the post and were able to evaluate the significance of his impact on the role.

This is a very limited answer. The candidate makes two basic points on migration from East to West and that the movement of workers has affected the UK jobs market. These points are made briefly, with little development or supporting evidence, thus keeping this response towards the bottom of level 2, 7 marks.

Indicate your second question choice on this page.
You will be asked to indicate your third question choice on page 9.

Put a cross in the box ☒ indicating the second question that you have chosen.
If you change your mind, put a line through the box ☒
and then indicate your new question with a cross ☒.

Chosen Question Number:

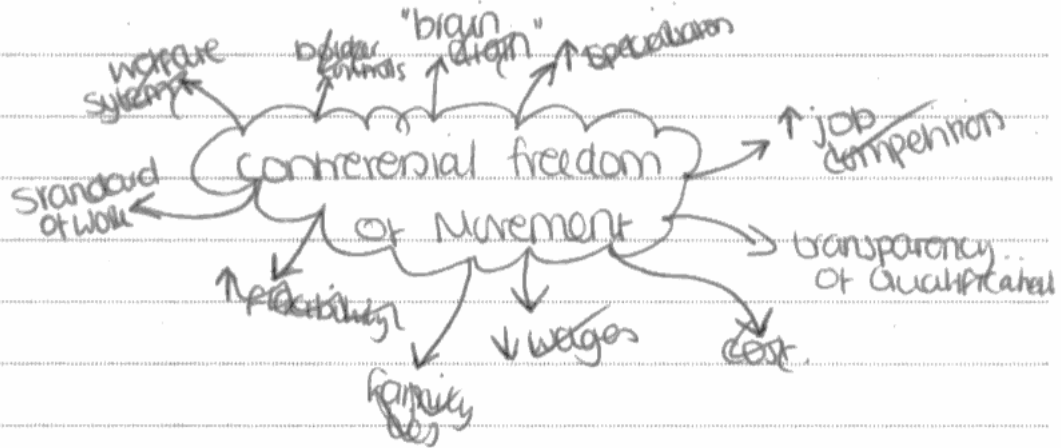
Question 1 ☒

Question 2 ☒

Question 3 ☒

Question 4 ☒

Question 5 ☒



The freedom of movement in the EU is a policy that comes as a "package" with the single market. Its aim is to decrease unemployment and make the market work more efficiently, yet unfortunately due to market mechanisms this does not happen. However, introduced in the Single European Act of 1986, the free movement of labour has proved very controversial, especially in the UK.

One major criticism of the free movement of labour is that it increases the potential market for labour

thus increasing competition. As a result of this wages ~~are~~ have a downward pressure because there is the ability of firms to employ from a large range of workers and as a result workers can buy cheaper labour. Although

there is the national minimum wage which controls the market, and employers employ less workers as it increases unit labour costs. This therefore doesn't promote an increase in living standards as many are unemployed. 23⁺ million in the EU as a whole.

However, it is not only the increase competition, people may not want or be able to move abroad in the EU due to increased people having mortgages and family ties which is a hindrance on the movement of labour concept as it means the market runs less efficiently. Yet, movement of labour could prove a "brain drain" in certain markets, e.g. post-natal hospitals A+E had to close one night due to a shortage of Doctors. This means that certain ~~fixed~~ countries could lose vital members and decrease living standards rather than promote them, as there are ~~not~~ insufficient resources. On the other hand it could encourage specialisation of labour, as people are able to move to where they are most suited, which could make the market more

flexible and efficient.

However the UK, in particular, the Conservative have been against this because it means giving sovereignty to the EU on border controls, which would diminish further the power of Parliament. Also, UK rules are rather strict on controls compared to other countries and it's in the best interest of the nation to keep it this way. Also it puts increasing pressure on a country's welfare system as more would be paid in benefits and health as some population, particularly the younger

economic countries e.g. UK, Germany and France, would be strained.

Lastly, in a perfect market of free movement, businesses would be more where labour costs are cheaper. Yet they may lose highly skilled staff as employees don't want to move and the cost of moving would be greater to the firm. Although this could prevent investment in small cheap countries and hinder development in them.

In conclusion, it has been controversial, freedom of movement because it could cause downward pressure on wages, decreasing living standards and cause nations to lose more sovereignty. Yet it has many benefits such as specialisation, increased flexibility and standards.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

This candidate has achieved a level 3 for arguing 3 creditable points on the impact of freedom of movement on wages, the 'brain drain' and sovereignty. Some points are less creditable, such as the argument that the market is less efficient because people do not want to move. The 3 main points made, however, are sufficiently well covered to reach just beyond the bottom of level 3, 12 marks.

Indicate your first question choice on this page.
You will be asked to indicate your second question choice on page 6.

Put a cross in the box ☒ indicating the first question that you have chosen.
If you change your mind, put a line through the box ☒
and then indicate your new question with a cross ☒.

Chosen Question Number:

Question 1 ☒

Question 2 ☒

Question 3 ☒

Question 4 ☒

Question 5 ☒

The post of the ~~EU~~ President of the European Council recently came into effect after the 2009 Lisbon Treaty was signed. The first president Van Rompuy has recently been elected for a second term. This new role has been significant as Van Rompuy has been an EU representative on the world stage, he was seen at the recent trade agreements with India in early 2012, this shows that his role as representative of the heads of Member states is high profile and in the media interest. ~~Barroso~~

The new President of the European Council role could also be seen as significant as it could be argued that it has taken power away from the President of the Commission. Barroso has previously acted as the representative on the world stage, he now shares this role with Van Rompuy. Barroso also negotiates

issues and treaties between Heads of State at European Council meetings, arguably something that

Question 4

Van Rompuy's role now covers.

Finally Van Rompuy's role has been thrust into the ~~the~~ limelight as the economic crisis has played out. European Council meetings are taking place more often than the usual 6 months, and agendas such as the fiscal pact and Austerity and Bailout agreements are frequently taking place. The media follows the European Council's activity closely and Van Rompuy, as the main spokesperson is very visible and ~~was~~ plays a significant role at this time. However it could also be argued that ~~the~~ Van Rompuy is drowned out by powerful heads of state such as Merkel and Sarkozy who spoke ~~ed~~ frequently together about the fiscal pact without Van Rompuy. This calls into question the reality of the President's significance as it seems that Heads of state can work together just fine without him.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

This was by far the most popular question to answer it. The emphasis of this question answers really focused on this aspect.

There were, in fact, a significant number of answers on potential issues surrounding the role of the President.

Alternative approaches addressed the institutional problems which would be encountered as a result of further enlargement, many of which used the examples of enlargement in 2004, 2007 or 2011 and the associated reforms made to allow such enlargement to demonstrate potential problems with further enlargement. Many candidates were also able to demonstrate an excellent knowledge of the problems associated with the candidacy of Turkey, and used this as a platform to explain a range of issues associated with future enlargement - this approach could access level 3 with this one example of a candidate country, as long as a range of issues were discussed.

This candidate clearly understands reasons why the post is significant - the attempt to balance the argument at the end when comparing Von Rompuy to heads of state such as Merkel and Sarkozy lifts this into level 3. A more thorough understanding of the role and functions of the post would have merited full marks.

12 marks.

Indicate your second question choice on this page.
You will be asked to indicate your third question choice on page 9.

Put a cross in the box ☒ indicating the second question that you have chosen.
If you change your mind, put a line through the box ☒
and then indicate your new question with a cross ☒.

Chosen Question Number:

Question 1 ☒

Question 2 ☒

Question 3 ☒

Question 4 ☒

Question 5 ☒

The President of the European Council is a post created at the Lisbon treaty, ~~created~~ ratified in 2009, and is currently held by the ex-Belgian Prime Minister, Herman Van Rompuy. His duties include representing the European Council to the other institutions, chairing meetings of the leaders of member states and generally being a figurehead for the EU as a whole.

It was agreed at the time of Van Rompuy's appointment that his very selection limited the post's significance. (Considering the powers of the post-holder are largely unspecified, the personality of the holder determines the significance to some degree. Although thought to be competent, he is an understated figure, mainly unknown outside Belgium and thus the decision to ~~decide~~ appoint him, other than Tony Blair (a charismatic figure who was vying for the post) implied that

There were, nonetheless, a number of weaker responses. Common problems included

leaders of member states did not want an overwhelming figure to 'upstage' them.

However, the post has grown in significance recently due to the onset of the eurozone crisis in 2009. Usually meeting 4 times a year,

the European Council has met 18 times in the past four years, showing the importance of the body itself in times of crisis. It is also thought that Van Rompuy has sufficiently encouraged compromise and worked to broker agreements between member states, thus highlighting the role's significance. Had the post been held by someone less competent persons a solution, such as the Fiscal pact would have been negotiated more slowly.

Similarly, had the ^{constituting} rotating presidency of six month duration, still been responsible for chairing meetings of the Council of Ministers, as it was before the Lisbon treaty, this would have led to a lack of consistency.

On the other hand, the post could be seen as less significant ~~as it was not included in the original constitutional treaty, which came in terms of~~ representation of the EU externally, as this also comes under the remit of Baroness Ashton, ~~not~~ High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.

It is Ashton who truly represents the views of

describing general problems with enlargement so far rather than future enlargement,

member states' leaders on the world stage as she must negotiate externally at the WTO or UN as part of her role. Furthermore, the president being appointed by heads of states, although it requires the approval of the European Parliament limits its significance. Suggestion from Angela Merkel for a directly elected president of the Commission would have much more authority. Yet in terms of accountability, it would be said that this one significance of

the role of President of the European Council,
as he must present a report to the European
Parliament of its ~~conclusions~~ ^{to follow the}
European Council's conclusions following every
meeting.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

or focusing on one issue alone, usually
candidate's marks to mid level 2 for lack of
responses that turned this into a question
valid, if they were explicitly related to

This candidate clearly outlines the main roles of the post
before addressing both the significance and the limitations
of the post. The depth of knowledge and the clarity of the
points made merit full marks for this response.

There were also a number of rather assertive responses relying on the argument that
future enlargement will lead to cultural or social tensions between member states, with no
supporting evidence. Such assertion would limit the mark awarded to level 1 for lack of
understanding of the key issues.

Indicate your first question choice on this page.
You will be asked to indicate your second question choice on page 6.

Put a cross in the box ☒ indicating the first question that you have chosen.
If you change your mind, put a line through the box ☒
and then indicate your new question with a cross ☒.

Chosen Question Number:

Question 1 ☒

Question 2 ☒

Question 3 ☒

Question 4 ☒

Question 5 ☒

~~Plan:~~

~~Turkey - muslim country, 80 million, a lot of women's rights, Cyprus
Serbia - Romanian-spk. Muslims, war crimes, corruption, Montenegro
Contentious issue - UK want it. Hesitation. All. Rom + bad~~

The key issues relating to future enlargement include whether Turkey should be admitted as a member; the controversy surrounding membership of Balkan countries and finally a key issue is immigration.

Although Turkey is an official candidate country for the EU, there is much debate over whether it should be allowed to join. Firstly, it would ~~also~~ vastly change the character of the EU because it has a Muslim population which is a stark contrast to the Christian countries of the EU. Secondly, there is concern over human rights there, which the European Parliament has delivered annual reports on which have highlighted the poor human rights record of the Kurdish minority and of women rights.

Question 5

There is concern that admitting Turkey would therefore give the EU more issues to deal with. Also, ~~Cyprus~~ EU member Cyprus has a long-standing dispute with Turkey because Turkey claims half of Cyprus to itself. Moreover, with a population of 80 million, Turkey would become the ~~2~~ second biggest EU member after Germany and thus some are scared it would change the nature of QMV because many votes would be allocated to Turkey. Finally, Turkish membership may encourage expansion of the EU outside 'traditional' European borders. Some say Turkey is part of the Middle East and not Europe so admitting it as a member would encourage North African states like Morocco and other Middle Eastern states to apply for membership. The UK actively supports Turkish membership recognising that it would vastly increase the size of the single market but the issues highlighted above have made Turkey's membership bid ~~a~~ a controversial and big issue.

Secondly, ~~another~~ other countries wishing to join the EU include those from the Balkans, with Serbia, Croatia, Montenegro and Macedonia being candidate

countries officially already. But there is much concern over the admittance of these countries and Serbia in particular because of the war crimes which took place there in the nineties. Furthermore, Serbia continues to cause

tension with Kosovo, ~~is~~ refusing it independence and this has led to much violence on the border. ~~Greece also has an issue with~~ ~~membership~~ EU member Romania also has concern over the treatment of the Romanian-speaking Vlachs living in Serbia which has proved an obstacle to membership and thus expansion of the EU into these former Yugoslavian ~~states~~ states has been a big issue.

Finally there is reluctance to enlarge the EU because it would make it increasingly difficult to pass laws ~~in~~ in areas where countries have vetoes, in matters such as security. Therefore ~~a~~ a big issue with enlargement is the worry that the EU is expanding too largely and quickly and in the process undermining the powers of existing members to pass laws together.

In summary, the key issues relating to further enlargement are Turkish membership as it would bring their problems to the EU; the membership of Balkan states whom continue to have tension with each other following the Balkan Wars in the nineties and finally a big issue is whether the EU should expand any further because it'll make it increasingly difficult to pass laws.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

This was a very popular question. This candidate demonstrates an excellent understanding of this topic, a clear argument and gave examples e.g. of the corruption scandal or the Bosnian war. The conclusion that even though it

This candidate demonstrates an excellent depth of knowledge on the potential issues surrounding future enlargement and also specific examples of candidate countries. This is a clearly structured, focused response that merits full marks.

Bolkestein ~~was~~

Unselected, leader, notes

Indicate your second question choice on this page.
You will be asked to indicate your third question choice on page 9.

Put a cross in the box ☒ indicating the second question that you have chosen.
If you change your mind, put a line through the box ☒
and then indicate your new question with a cross ☒.

Chosen Question Number:

Question 1 ☒

Question 2 ☒

Question 3 ☒

Question 4 ☒

Question 5 ☒

The European Commission is said to be one of the most important institutions of the EU, proposing legislation, dealing with external states and organisations, thus it must be seen to be accountable.

There have been many attempts in Treaties such as Maastricht 1992 & Lisbon 2007 to address this problem of the democratic deficit & thus the lack of accountability in the Commission. Some inroads have been made.

It is now required that any new Commissioner be voted on by Parliament ^(part.) & approved by the Council of ministers which goes a long way to making it accountable to elected bodies. Parliament now also has the power to remove the members

is nearly no option at all and that the Commission is still fundamentally unaccountable as

of the commission if corruption is found e.g. 1991 when the whole of the Commission was expelled by Parlt. over corruption

All of the Commission's ^{proposed} legislation must be

checked by the elected Parl. and if necessary can be amended before it goes to the Council of Ministers. For example, the Bolkestein Directive was ^{very} ~~and~~ thoroughly amended which had the effect of ensuring that proposed legislation is accountable to the people through Parl.

However, in the most fundamental way the Commission is not accountable as it's not elected by the European people & thus has little to worry about if it becomes unpopular.

After enlargement in 2002 there would always be one smaller state that didn't have a commissioner and thus it would work on a rota system this leaves the whole of the commission completely unaccountable to that state as it will not ever have a voice, over proposed legislation etc.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

it lacks democratic legitimacy. This was level 3.

A number of excellent candidates were between democratic legitimacy and accountability. Responses directed the focus of their analysis on the institutions of the EU for holding the Commission to account. We see a few candidates extend this technique to the Court of Auditors. There were also some candidates who introduced the Lisbon Treaty's citizens' initiative into the analysis. In this example we were able to analyse the role of the initiative and merely triggers a debate.

Less well known factors included more recent developments, particularly the impact of the Lisbon Treaty, with more scope for input or scrutiny by the European Parliament and the scrutinising role of Parliament's committees. There were also few responses that were able to explain the role of the President of the European Commission in holding the Commission to account.

This candidate makes 3 points, but finds their mark limited to the top of level 2 as not all points are fully developed. The first point about a possible clash of culture with Turkey is backed up with good supporting evidence about a Turkish law that clashes with EU law.

The second point made is about enlargement fatigue, which is then poorly defined as only relating to financial strain. The third point explains the eurozone crisis, then asserts that enlargement will halt because of this, with no development of the point.

The range of points and the accurate exemplification of the first point merit the top of level 2 - 10 marks.

Weaker responses were often quite vague at times, making general points about the unelected nature of the Commission and the lack of influence for EU citizens. There were also often unsubstantiated points about the role of the Parliament in holding the Commission to account, with no understanding demonstrated of how this was done.

Indicate your first question choice on this page.
You will be asked to indicate your second question choice on page 6.

Put a cross in the box ☒ indicating the first question that you have chosen.
If you change your mind, put a line through the box ☒
and then indicate your new question with a cross ☒.

Chosen Question Number:

Question 1 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Question 2 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Question 3 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Question 4 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Question 5 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	

The commission has often been the centre of the charge of 'Democratic deficit' in the E.U because they are not democratically elected institution. But it is still accountable in a number of ways.

The commission is ultimately accountable to both the Council of ministers and the parliament. ~~The~~ It has

the power of 'legislative initiative' but has to be approved by the Council of Ministers on all issues and the parliament on most issues. It is also accountable to the European Council on Foreign Policy. All these checks make the case that the commission is accountable and they don't make decisions despotically; they have to work alongside the other institutions. Thus they are accountable through them. That being said there is increasing accusation that the commission is not accountable enough to groups and that lodge complaints against them, for example in 2010 they were sued for not releasing documents on Irish

biofuel subsidies, with case still running till today

The commission is increasingly accountable to the parliament through their committees where they are made to answer questions, also at plenary sessions. The parliament also carries out a 'charge procedure' on the commissioners' spending, to see how they spend the public money - again showing that the commission is accountable under domestic supervision.

The head of the commission (President) is now under Lisbon subject to be voted in by the EP. This increases his accountability to the people of the Union. Any complaints that the commission is not accountable is misunderstanding that the role of the commission is ill-fitted to our under pressure from an 'electorate' but although it may not be directly accountable to the people. There

and many checks and balances to ensure it remains accountable in general.

In terms of the budget. The commission is increasingly accountable to the parliament, who share dual budgetary power and as been seen from the current discussions of the E.U. budget for 2012.

, the commission wanted a 52% increase but the parliament scaled this back -

Parliament also reserves the right to dismiss the whole college of the commission through its right of censure. This is the ultimate guarantee of accountability and ensures that the commission don't break the rules. This power should have been used against the 'Santer' regime, when the French commissioner Cresson was found guilty of corruption and nepotism, but wasn't used. This could suggest that parliament has the power but in practice hasn't use it, but this is wrong. It wasn't used in this case because 'Santer' resigned forcing the whole commission to dissolve, and the parliament has subsequently prevented Buttighieghe the Italian from being a commissioner because of his racist views, showing that the commission is increasingly accountable.

However there is still questions on accountability with its lack of transparency, unknown dealings with interest groups and general 'aloofness' from the people of the E.U. As the executive however, and since it corruption incidences, it has done a lot to clean up its act and publish a lot more minutes from

their meetings. They're pro-active in ensuring they are also seen as accountable.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

This is an excellent example of a wide-ranging and balanced response to the question, one that could have been awarded more marks if 15 were not the maximum allowed on this question. It is noticeable that a number of the strongest candidates are applying synoptical skills to short-answer questions that require a balanced approach - if this is backed up with sound arguments and exemplification, this is rewarded with high level 3 marks.

15 marks.

Question 6

This was the least popular essay question, with weaker responses where candidates focused on Agricultural Policy - the central theme of the question.

There was also a degree of misinterpretation of a question that asked candidates to argue that CAP reform was difficult to achieve (and so likely to fail) - some candidates argued a question of their own choosing on the successes and failures of the CAP instead. If such a response made no reference to the reforms of CAP so far and how difficult it has been to achieve these reforms, then the response was likely to remain in level 1 as the candidate would have failed to answer the question set.

Indeed, it was surprising that candidates did not seem to know the reform to CAP well at all - those that did reference the reforms were most likely to make a sparing reference to the McSharry or Fischler reforms, but the detail included was often quite limited. As a result, there were a large number of low level 2 marks awarded to this question. Such responses that did address the issue of reform were generally able to explain that France is anti-reform, but this seemed to be the extent of many candidates' knowledge about the difficulties of reforming the CAP.

There were, however, some very sophisticated answers - again often focused on France - linking the result of the French presidential election to potential problems with further reforms planned for next year. Some candidates also made good links between the current crisis and economic climate and the potential impact on future reforms. The strongest responses examined both sides of the argument and used specific examples of reform to evaluate how difficult/successful attempts to reform the CAP had been in the context of the final changes made.

Boltonstein ~~dev.~~ Chlected, leader, nota

Indicate your second question choice on this page.
You will be asked to indicate your third question choice on page 9.

Put a cross in the box ☒ indicating the second question that you have chosen.
If you change your mind, put a line through the box ☒
and then indicate your new question with a cross ☒.

Chosen Question Number:

Question 1 ☒

Question 2 ☒

Question 3 ☒

Question 4 ☒

Question 5 ☒

The European Commission is said to be one of the most important institutions of the EU, proposing legislation, dealing with external states and organisations, thus it must be seen to be accountable.

There have been many attempts in Treaties such as Maastricht 1992 & Lisbon 2007 to address this problem of the democratic deficit & thus the ~~also~~ lack of accountability in the Commission. Some inroads have been made.

It is now required that any new Commissioner be voted on by Parliament ^(partly) & approved by the Council of ministers which goes a long way to making it accountable to elected bodies. Parliament now also has the power to remove the members

of the commission if corruption is found e.g. 1991 when the whole of the Commission was expelled by Parlt. over corruption

All of the Commission's ^{proposed} legislation must be

checked by the elected Parl. and if necessary can be amended before it goes to the Council of Ministers. For example, the Bolkestein Directive was ~~was~~ very thoroughly amended which had the effect of ensuring that proposed legislation is accountable to the people through Parl.

However, in the most fundamental way the Commission is not accountable as it's not elected by the European people & thus has little to worry about if it becomes unpopular.

After enlargement in 2002 there would always be one smaller state that didn't have a commissioner and thus it would work on a rota system this leaves the whole of the commission completely unaccountable to that state as it will not ever have a voice, over proposed legislation etc.

The Commission is one of the most important bodies in the EU but it is fundamentally flawed by its lack of accountability directly to the European people & thus must be reformed if it wishes to maintain any sort of credibility!



ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

This is an alternative route to level 3. The candidate demonstrates an understanding that there have been moves to improve the accountability of the Commission, and is able to outline a number of mechanisms used to do so. The second page then moves on to the counter-argument, so allowing the response to reach level 3. This section is less well done, however, so limits the mark to 12.

Question 7

This was the most popular essay question, with a significant variation between the quality of the responses seen. The majority of candidates examined the viewpoints of the three main political parties- some of these were very historical, going back to the 1975 referendum and the Thatcher era. Whilst these were valid points, to move beyond the bottom of level 2 such factors would need to be teamed with more recent attitudes and approaches amongst the parties.

The most successful answers were those which analysed a wide range of attitudes to the EU in relation to particular issues, e.g. adopting the single currency, reactions to the eurozone crisis, attitudes to 'red lines' & opt-outs. Such responses often made clear distinctions between and within political parties.

There were a significant number of responses demonstrating wide-ranging and in-depth analysis of individuals and groups at Westminster, in the devolved bodies, and beyond. Excellent candidates were able to discuss not only the major parties but also smaller parties such as UKIP, the nationalist parties in Scotland and Wales, the Green Party, environmental organisations and even some trade unions (mainly related to the Working Time Directive), as well as electoral turnout, the media and poll evidence.

Strongly synoptic answers were able to attribute particular views and analyse them, taking specific attitudes and issues as their starting point. Less successful synoptic answers offered a historical review of the UK's relations with Europe, or were more descriptive of reasons for Euroscepticism rather than evaluating its extent; some generalised e.g. seeking to establish an overview definition of Euroscepticism in the abstract, or based their evidence of Euroscepticism solely on tabloid-style arguments e.g. immigrants take our British jobs away from British workers because of the EU.

Put a cross in the box ☒ indicating the question that you have chosen.
If you change your mind, put a line through the box ☒
and then indicate your new question with a cross ☒.

Chosen Question Number:

Question 6 ☒

Question 7 ☒

Question 8 ☒

The Common Agricultural Policy or CAP was established in 1960. It is said that the CAP was a concession made to France in order for their continued ~~presence~~ presence in the European Community. France is the main beneficiary of CAP and it is in their interest to keep it going.

The CAP was established ~~in order~~ ~~to~~ when the European community had only 6 members, and it is there to promote

European agriculture and farmers. It was hoped that the European Community would become self-sufficient in terms of agriculture, this had been achieved by 1973.

In order to further the CAP's objectives, ~~the~~ a number of systems have been put in place. Quota systems, subsidies and stock intervention are all techniques employed in the interests of farmers and Agriculture.

However, many Europeans have an unfavourable view of the Common Agricultural

Weaker responses, as stated above, tended to give a very historical or an issue-by-issue

policy, and want it to be abolished. The CAP takes up 34% of the EU budget, which is considerably lower than the all time high of 70%. It favours farmers whether they are deserving or not. They see the wastage of stock as obscene especially when there are some who are on the brink of starvation. Stock interventions work against consumers and intentionally keep prices high. It discriminates against Third world farmers and is only beneficial to European states with large agricultural sectors.

Because of the varying faults of the CAP, there have been a number of reforms and proposed reforms since its inception. ~~The first year~~ In the year it was established, the Common Agricultural policy was subject to proposed reforms. As the main beneficiary of CAP, France

exercised its veto, this produced an ensuing deadlock over CAP for years. This deadlock was broken by the "Luxembourg" compromise, which ~~gave~~^{left} the CAP to under the jurisdiction of the Council of Ministers. This led to problems with further reforms of the CAP, with

approach to the question, which limited their marks across all the assessment objectives for

~~each member state~~ it requiring a unanimous vote. Agriculture is where national interest tends to spike, which further threatens the hopes of reform.

Despite the problems of reforming the CAP, there has been some slow progress in regards to that area. The McSherry reform of 1992 introduced a system of set-aside to the Common Agricultural Policy. Set-aside was ~~the~~ a scheme that awarded subsidies to farms for taking some land out of production. This was to combat over-production and reduced stock intervention. It was criticised for paying farmers to effectively become lazier and less efficient.

Further reforms were established in Agenda 2000, this allowed for some subsidies to be turned into funds^{for} environmental projects upon application by member states. Great Britain took advantage of this and turned 20% of subsidies into environmental projects.

There were more reforms that stopped giving subsidies to the farming of some foods like wheat. Also, regional grants were given based on the size of

failing to address the question directly and with specific, recent supporting evidence. There

a farm. This was criticised for favouring large industrial ~~farms~~ farms. The Doha talks in 2003 focused on improving the rights of third world farmers. These farmers see the use of CAP and European agricultural policy as fundamentally protectionist.

Increased powers of the European Parliament go some way in ensuring there can be future reforms regarding CAP.

The Common Agricultural Policy has become a non compulsory part of the EU budget which means it is subject to co-decision between the Council of Ministers and parliament. Many countries' representatives in parliament are anti-CAP so might go some way in proposing stricter rules on it. (Lisbon Treaty 2009)

Reforming the Common Agricultural Policy has proved to be somewhat difficult with so many national interests and concerns. Also, the ability to veto reforms has proved to be a negative aspect in the reform of CAP. However, reforms have been made and will continue to be made as it is a very unsupported aspect of the EU. Also, enlargement

may go some way in ~~ensuring~~ diluting the overbearing nature of some of the larger EU states such as France.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

was also a party only divisions point to not have been candidate

There were level 2 on essential

one side of candidate addressing key issue

This response is very descriptive, with a page and a half of writing before the candidate begins to address the question. There are hints that the candidate understands some of the difficulties in reforming the CAP with references to France using its veto and the slow progress made with reform. However, this response largely describes the reforms so far with little explicit or specific addressing of the question except in the final paragraph- this limits the synopticity mark in particular, as the candidate does not fully demonstrate that they understand the issue at stake.

The candidate is rewarded for their depth of knowledge of the reforms so far and their limited understanding of the difficulties in reforming the CAP and the clear structure of the essay, which correctly uses political vocabulary in context, with high level 2 AO1, AO2 and AO3 marks. However, the lack of explicit addressing of the central issue posed in the question limits the synopticity mark to the bottom of level 2.

AO1: 8 AO2: 7 Syn: 5 AO3: 4

to a Conservative-changing attitudes and This was indeed a valid ards the EU should uld have limited

ir mark to the top of f the question. It is even if they find that his is one way in which synoptic skills, as understanding of the



ResultsPlus

Examiner Tip

Make sure every paragraph is linked to the question by including the wording either at the beginning or the end. In this case, the paragraphs could begin "One reason why reforming the CAP is likely to fail is..." or end with "and this helps explain why CAP reform is not always likely to fail because..."

Put a cross in the box ☒ indicating the question that you have chosen.
If you change your mind, put a line through the box ☒
and then indicate your new question with a cross ☒.

Chosen Question Number:

Question 6 ☒

Question 7 ☐

Question 8 ☐

Several attempts have been made to reform the common Agricultural Policy (CAP), although there is still large consensus that it is not working effectively and giving the people of Europe the best deal.

~~Two~~ Two attempts to reform CAP did nothing to affect subsidies, which for many is the largest ~~part~~ of the policy. The ~~first~~ reforms ~~in 1992~~ did finally decouple subsidies with production, after ~~the~~ subsidy ~~of~~ had lead to overproduction, enabling what were described as butter mountains and wine lakes. Farmers are now given SFPs, Single Farm Payments, based on the amount of land ~~the~~ own and farm (around £200 per hectare). However the failures of this reformed

policy were soon pointed out. SFPs means that large land owners benefit the most, members of the royal family in the UK receiving

large sums for their estates. Not only was this seen as ~~unproductive~~ unproductive and a waste of funds but it was also open to exploitation. It is very simple to register as a farmer and this automatically qualifies said land owner ~~for CAP~~ to receive CAP payments. ~~While~~ Costing huge amounts to process payments (over €700 per payment, even as little as €5), and with around 40% of EU budget still allocated to CAP, many agree that the reforms so far have failed.

The commission conducted a thorough review of CAP in 2008 and they proposed that subsidies should be reduced, farmers of biofuels should be subsidised and that more funds should be allocated to rural development and. They also suspended

the 'set aside' scheme, where farmers were paid to leave land wild to encourage wildlife. These reforms have been criticised by many who feel farmers are still overgenerously subsidised, seeing as ~~the~~ two thirds of farmers incomes are made up of CAP; this figure rising to 80%.

for small farmers.

For environmental groups, though ~~perhaps~~ for different reasons, the reforms have failed too. Greenpeace actually stated that the scrapping of the set aside policy was 'devastating' and was 'a failure'.

The failure of reforms so far has been put down largely to the strong support of CAP from France and EU farming lobbies. France ~~has large agricultural~~ ~~has~~ has for more farming than in the UK, it also has an extremely powerful farming lobby which Sarkozy ~~has~~ was keen to

stay popular with ~~as he would~~ ~~not be able to~~ in preparation for the recent presidential elections. France is ~~one of~~ the largest beneficiary of the CAP, as one of the largest and most powerful members of the EU, it has been a barrier to significant reforms in the past. However with French presidential elections won not by Sarkozy but by Francois Hollande, we may see new possibilities for CAP reform. However within the EU

there are strong farming pressure groups, ~~even though~~ COPA-COGECA are still strongly opposed to CAP reforms which propose reduction in subsidies.

There is expectation however that there will be more calls for further reforms in the not too distant future. The newest members of the EU are not yet entitled to the same level of CAP as others.

~~however~~ ~~as~~ ~~in~~ once they are, the ~~is~~

In coming years however they will be and with further enlargement looking possible and likely, CAP, if not reformed will become a larger drain on EU budget. This may well prompt radical reform.

In conclusion, while reforms to date have been judged by many as being ~~ineffect~~ largely ineffective. Changes ~~or~~ in future years, with the membership of ~~stations~~ with large agricultural economies, may prompt need for ~~reform further~~ further, radical reform. However this will not happen easily, without fierce ~~of~~ opposition from farming lobbies.

throughout the EU, and nations
who ~~set~~ wish to stay on
good terms with their own
~~setting~~



ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

This is a level 3 response, where the candidate spends some time 'setting the scene' by describing attempts at reform and the issues associated with these reforms in practice, before then analysing why the process of reform has been difficult. This is clearly directed at the question and comes to a conclusion with a judgement that explicitly answers the question as set.

AO1: 10 AO2: 10 Syn: 11 AO3: 8

There was always ambivalence amongst the parties about Britain joining the EU. That uncertainty has bred years of citizens increasingly having eurosceptic view about our presence in the EU. With the current sovereign debt crisis in the Eurozone, it has exacerbated this feeling of Euroscepticism. This Euroscepticism remains strong in the UK.

The U.K parties is where a large extent of Euroscepticism remains strong. The Conservative party (the senior of the two coalition partners) remain deeply divided on the E.U. Cameron's 'We Eurosceptics' speech in May masks the fact however that there is an Ultra-Eurosceptic wing of the party who want out of Europe and a more pragmatic-Eurosceptic wing who are unhappy with our position in Europe but don't want to leave. When the '1922 committee' was surveyed 50 of the 301 Tory MPs want out immediately, ~~about~~ about 150 want to renegotiate our position. Showing that Euroscepticism remains very large in the U.K; the biggest manifestation of this was when 81 MPs rebelled against a 'whipped' vote on a referendum on the U.K continuing membership of the E.U. This is augmented by the increasing New factions in the party like the 'better-off-out' group lead by Nadine Dorries and

Question 8

the Fresh Start project lead by Dominic Raab, All of this shows Euroscepticism is and remains strong in the U.K.

The Labour Party and their supporters, also remain Eurosceptic. From Tony's mantra to put 'Britain at the heart of Europe' the Labour party have increasingly retreated on policies which suggest that Euroscepticism remains strong. We didn't join the Euro, even when we meet the criteria, Tony Blair insisted on the 4 'red lines' which would guarantee our sovereignty when the 'constitution' was being negotiated, and of recent; Ed Balls has said it was a mistake to let in so many Eastern Europeans, saying 'Britain got it wrong on immigration'; This reflects the attitude of UK citizens and Trade Unions who blame the influx of eastern Europeans for depressed wages, lack of housing and school places. This xenophobia is

consistent with the proposition, that the UK remains
strongly Eurosceptic.

or

The UK media is also highly Eurosceptic,
the most Eurosceptic in Europe. The think tank
'Open Europe' which is meant to be bias free is
increasingly taking the tone of Eurosceptic rhetoric.
There has been a surge of media attention to the
Conservative website. 'Conservative Home' run by
Tim Montgomerie. He recently asked what the likelihood
of ~~the~~ winning a ~~national~~ referendum on the EU is

This question saw some outstanding responses by candidates, with a wide range of points

held on the same day as national elections. This continuous
sort of Eurosceptic approach to viewing Europe has been
made worse by the sovereign debt crisis. When
Cameron won his vote in December 2010. The newspapers
gave him a 'hero's welcome' and he increased in the polls.
Showing that Euroscepticism remains strong in the UK.

UKIP have also seen increasing share of the vote
in E.U. elections, winning 16 seats in 2009 election.
That being said, not a single party that supports the
UK leaving the E.U. completely has a single seat
in Westminster. This shows that our euroscepticism
might just be superficial and deep down we understand
just as the parties do, that Britain out of the E.U. is
not an appealing prospect. Hence we moan a lot, but
are often better 'Europeans' and follow all the rules
more than those countries that are meant pro-Europe
like France ~~the~~

In May 2012, Mandelson gave ~~an~~ his 'Hands Lecture' to Oxford University. He made it clear that in 10 years Britain we need a referendum on our continuing membership of the UK, because the 'Euro-scepticism' coming out of the UK was not consistent with an integrated Europe. Even the Lib Dems who are the most 'Pro-Europe Party' in the UK criticized the working time directive as trying

and clear balance and often a systematic evaluation of the evidence politically, economically

to impose 'French style 35 hour' weeks on the UK. A great harm to our business - so increasingly the one thing that Britain consistently find itself about the EU which is the 'single market' is being undermined. This is specifically the feeling with the new Fiscal Compact that will put the UK on the 'hard shoulder' of a two speed Europe. The fact that we don't want a single speed Europe in this time of change is indicative of our euroscepticism.

In conclusion the UK remains ~~very~~ strongly Eurosceptic. This is being ~~by~~ aggravated by the sovereign debt crisis on the continent, increasingly seen as a building on fire without any exits, Britain's interference to any further integration is also a key sign of this with the referendum ~~will~~ we have on any further giving away of our sovereignty. Euroscepticism remains ~~largely~~ strong in our media and political institutions. Whichever party wins the next election is largely thought will have to offer a referendum on our continued membership, this goes to show the strength of Euroscepticism in

the UK. We might like all the Environment and mutualising roaming charges and single market of the EU, but increasingly this policy area's are over looked by the public and all we see in the euro-sphere over-protected and corporatist outlook of the EU

and socially. Candidates who began their answer with a brief preliminary definition of the

Hence, the public mood and increasingly became Eurosceptic.



ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

key term 'federal' usually had the most clear more likely to access level 3, especially on A

A variety of perspectives were given in the response focused on the concepts of supranationalism concepts to the EU institutions and policies. question in a balanced way and looked at the control of as well as the ones where it does. failed constitution, the current problems in the eurozone and the concept of subsidiarity. Responses which were able to discuss the concept of a 'Federal Europe' from a variety of viewpoints scored highly on synopticity.

This response is explicitly focused on the question throughout, with clear links back to the title in every paragraph. There are attempts to balance the response throughout, with references to the pro-Europe Labour and Liberal Democrat parties, and an analysis of how significant UKIP's electoral victory really is. This, combined with the detailed supportive knowledge and strong conclusion, merits full marks.

There were fewer weaker responses to this question; those that were seen at the bottom of level 2 tended to drift into a discussion of sovereignty and/or the impact of the EU on the UK rather than federalism. There were also a minority of responses that still relied on arguments surrounding national anthems, flags and identity- while these are valid points, they should have been included in a more rounded discussion of specific political and economic factors as well.

Euroscepticism emerged in its strongest form under Thatcher in the 1980's. Her infamous bruges speech 'we have rolled back the frontiers of our state to have them reinstated at a european level' brutally conveyed euroscepticism within the UK. Indeed even the labour party had its 'three red lines' that Europe could not touch. Britain appears to have and possibly always be the 'awkward partner' of the EU. The recent rise of the far right has contributed highly to this ~~ext~~ anti-europe ideal with parties like UKIP gaining attention.

Euroscepticism remains strong in the UK this is primarily shown through the current government with many stating that Cameron's conservatives are the 'most eurosceptic conservatives ever'.

The 81 group who rose to prominence are the house of commons vote over the eu in out referendum defied the whip causing Cameron's biggest rebellion to date the 81 Tory backbenchers gained praise from

the right wing press portraying them as the only in government willing to stand up for the UK's national interest. In addition to this the 1922 committee who have always been eurosceptic but has increased in prominence containing 40 MP's such as Priti Patel who support the leaving of the european union. The most recent addition to the conservative's euroscepticism

is the 'better or out' group who have also gained support from the right wing press advocating the UK to leave the euro. Though there are different levels of euroscepticism within the Tory led government for example the fresh start group who are for the single market though believe it should not undermine its trade with other countries with china and perhaps not as eurosceptic as the 'better or out' group however ~~nevertheless~~ euroscepticism certainly within the conservative party has increased and remains strong. However, it could equally be argued that euroscepticism has been weakened as no party who has adopted a fully 'anti-euro' stance has been elected into the House of Commons. For example the right wing UKIP despite mass media coverage have failed to win any seats in the Commons thus suggesting that the UK is not as eurosceptic

as many believe. Similarly, William Hague as leader of the conservative party also adopted an 'anti-euro' stance when fighting to win the election in 2001 against Tony Blair vowing to 'save the pound' to which Hague lost miserably. Of course Thatcher herself perhaps ~~the~~ one of the most eurosceptic British leaders if not the most eurosceptic was also ousted from government as a result of her euroscepticism through refusing to come up with a timetable for the euro amongst many things. It is clear that euroscepticism in the UK ~~is not~~ ^{has not}

remained strong, the UK electorate despite appearing on the whole eurosceptic fails to allow strong eurosceptics into government.

~~Furthermore~~ Euroscepticism has strengthened within the UK indeed polls convey that the majority of UK citizens want to leave the EU, the right parties such as the BNP have taken advantage of the 2004 enlargement of the CEECs and has enforced a strong argument against the influx of eastern european workers dampening wages for domestic workers. Significantly this argument has gone through the walls of Westminster leading even pro-european ~~and~~ whose parents were

eastern european immigrants to admit that Labour "got it wrong" on immigration, this ~~it indeed~~ conveys that even amongst pro-european parties there are slight developments of euroscepticism, also Ed Balls shadow chancellor is a eurosceptic also admitting that the influx of eastern european workers is a problem and should not have been allowed. Shockingly even Liberal Democrat Vince Cable spoke out against the 'catch all' method of the working time directive that he said will 'strangle' businesses. It is apparent that whether it is a way of appealing the overall eurosceptic voters or a genuine shift in ideology UK political parties have indeed become more eurosceptic.

Antithetically, whilst euroscepticism in the UK

may have not declined it most certainly has not increased, this is shown through the presence of Kenneth Clarke within the Cabinet, Clarke was in support of Blair's pledge for the UK to adopt the euro and Clarke recently claimed it to be 'stupid' to hold a referendum on the EU, he remains a lone voice however a strong voice at that who is continually making headlines ~~at~~ for his judicial reform and outspokenness he is indeed a portrayal that eurosceptics are still present within UK

politics.

David Cameron's opt out of the Fiscal pact in December 2011 was a clear display of the euroscepticism that has strengthened within Britain. Cameron himself being a pragmatist wants to remain in the European union however is aware of the risk of the euroscepticism within the UK particularly in his party. ~~At~~ Many stated that this opt out was to appease the eurosceptics though Cameron insists that it was to protect the 'national interests' of the UK either way it shows the strength of the euroscepticism within the EU. Additionally the withdrawal of Cameron's ~~controversial~~ ^{controversial} ~~construction~~ from the pro-europe party EPP within the European parliament was another act of Cameron's pact of euroscepticism as was his ~~view~~ stance that the UK would not take any part in EU integration and that ~~the~~ ^{the} EU should ~~adapt~~ ~~not~~ continue with the two speed Europe. Angela Merkel has attempted

to persuade Cameron to integrate further but announced that Cameron refused to do so. However, Ed Miliband's objection to Cameron's fiscal compact opt-out suggests that euroscepticism has not strengthened. Miliband who is not afraid to say that

the influx of ~~east~~ eastern European workers is wrong, conceded that when it matters he is a europhile at heart he blames Cameron for pandering to the pressure of his backbenchers and not prioritising what matters claiming that it is essential that the UK be involved in all decisions within the EU.

There has been mounting pressure on Ed Miliband to promise a EU referendum in the next Labour manifesto though he has not made a decision. The 2001 case of Steve Thornburn ~~and~~ vs Sunderland City Council whereby EU law overrode the weight and measurements act 1985 angered many in the UK, the EU has been seen on the whole as a loss of sovereignty though europhiles such as the Liberal Democrats argue it is a pooled sovereignty. Ultimately, euroscepticism has and perhaps always will remain strong, with the ECJ is now the UK's highest court and is not elected by the UK electorate and the eurozone crisis has meant that many particularly conservatives are happy that it is a blessing in disguise with and that the EU does indeed collapse. Euroscepticism in the UK has been rife under all parties,

Blair had his three lies, Thatcher
had her infamous CDP rebate in 1984

and Major's creation of subsidiarity
in 1992 replacing federalism in ~~Schengen~~
in Maastricht, the UK have always
been ~~the~~ the 'awkward partner' of the
EU only wanting to be what Churchill
initially suggested a 'friendly outsider'
but not a member. Cameron's EU
referendum lock means in effect that the
UK can no longer integrate in the EU
and will consequently become alienated
whilst europhiles or as Thatcher would say
'cunts' would see this a ~~pos~~ a terrible
prospect many UK citizens and conservatives
believe that this is positive.
~~The anger towards the forefront of making
all the EU decisions have proved a
problem with Angela Merkel seen as the
supper master of all the deficits and debts
the.~~



ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

This is another example of a level 3 response. While the exposition is not as sophisticated and precise as the previous response, there is a clear demonstration of a strong understanding of the central theme of the question. This is again backed up with good supporting evidence- largely based on the Conservative and Labour parties this time, but in sufficient detail to merit a level 3 award across all assessment objectives.

AO1: 10 AO2: 10 Syn: 11 AO3: 7

Paper Summary

In order to improve performance, candidates should:

- Ensure they address the question as set and keep within that framework e.g. not including unnecessary factors (Question 2) or counter-arguments (Question 1)
- Answer all questions in a **political** way- as they are planning an answer, candidates should always check that they have included supporting evidence for their arguments rather than assertion or opinion (all questions, but particularly Questions 2 and 7)
- Make sure they do not include too much **historical** information (Questions 7 and 8)
- Check their knowledge and understanding of EU issues is up-to-date
- Remember that simplistic yes/no or agree/disagree answers do not **explicitly** demonstrate synopticity, and so will require a longer, more evaluative conclusion to show the examiner you have utilised this skill

For some politicians, the goal of the European Union was to create a federal Europe. This meant that all of Europe would be united under a central governance but with national parliaments retaining certain powers. Although the prospect of a 'united states of Europe' is rejected by euro sceptics, supporters claim that federalism is needed to promote peace and stability within Europe. They also argue that a USE is needed if Europe wants to compete and survive globally against the super powers of China and the USA. The most obvious areas where this higher integration is apparent is the single market, the single currency and the common agricultural policy (CAP). However it can be argued that federalism has not been achieved, ~~the~~ it can be said the EU has so far failed in creating a common foreign and security policy (CFSP) or involving all member states in the single currency. Also the Treaty for the Constitution of Europe was rejected which shows the extent of opposition.

The single market with free movement of goods, people, trade and capital was not envisioned to maintain peace

through European interdependence. It has now become symbolic of a federal Europe where national borders are no longer applicable. In the single market there is also ~~high~~ a common external tariff and no internal tariffs. This creates a sense of a closely unified Europe. The single currency of the euro is equally important as it shows closer economic integration and unity. For the 17 member states with the euro, their interest and exchange rates are controlled by the European Central Bank. This is a supranational body which determines ~~exchange~~ rates for all of the eurozone. Some argue that this shows federalism in the EU.

Despite this, some argue that the EU is not truly federal as the UK, Denmark and Sweden have opted out of the single currency. On the other hand, some would argue this is a feature of federalism as nation states are able to choose which powers they wish to retain. However, critics argue that the current eurozone crisis proves that federalism has not yet been achieved, particularly as the German Chancellor Angela Merkel is calling for closer integration in banking policy. The crisis has shown that although the EU has a single market and single currency, differences in banking regulations and systems are evident which suggests the EU is not yet truly federal. Also, federalism implies a permanent set of arrangements

but right now there is a very real possibility that Greece will leave the euro and return to the drachma, undermining the dream of EU federalism.

Supporters of the idea that EU is federal, show CAP as an example. CAP counts for 34% of the EU budget, the majority of member states contribute financially to it and receive benefits from it. However as CAP is a continued problem within the EU and subject to regular reforms it is arguable that a permanent set of objectives for CAP has not yet been achieved. The UK was particularly opposed to CAP, as the second highest net contributor we only received 7% return. However through the UK rebate some would argue that these issues have been addressed allowing CAP to become a symbol of EU federalism.

A Third argument that federalism has been achieved is through the appointment of a President of the Commission, a President of the Council and a High Representative of foreign policy. ~~Vorromper~~ Barroso, von Rump and Ashton, respectively, as supranational figures who represent the EU on the world stage and are symbolic of federalism. Despite this there is still a tradition of intergovernmentalism within the EU. Although some policies are now subject to qualified majority voting, national ministers and leaders still retain a veto on important policy areas such as defence and foreign policy.

A final argument that the EU has achieved the goal of a federal state is the presence of the European Court of Justice. This can impose financial penalties if it

believes a nation state has acted against EU law. This is a supranational body whose sovereignty above national courts and legislature was established in the Factortame case. Here, the court ruled that the UK Merchant Shipping Act of 1988 went against EU law on common fisheries policy. UK was forced to abandon their act which shows the increased importance of supranationalism and federalism. The European Court of Justice also rules in favour of the European Commission over the national government in 80% of cases. This again highlights the extent to which federalism in the EU has been achieved.

The main argument that the EU is not a federalist state is that the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe was rejected in a referendum by ~~France~~ Netherlands and France, a historically pro-integration country. 'TCE' had attempted to claim the competences of the EU and the prospect of a sovereign enshrined European Constitution was widely rejected.

This shows that the EU is not federal as the constitution wasn't accepted. However, a reformed version was passed in the form of the Treaty of Lisbon which suggests that there is a federalist

structure in the EU.

It can also be argued that despite successes in creating a federal policies on the single market and CAP, the EU has been unable to develop a common foreign and security policy (CFSP). The weaknesses of the EU in foreign policy were shown in the Gulf and Yugoslavian

crises. These showed that the EU was incapable of acting decisively and effectively. It also showed the political insignificance of the EU causing them to rely on the assistance of the USA and NATO. In foreign policy member states retain their veto which highlights how federalism has not yet been achieved. The main issue with foreign policy is that it is highly subjective, influenced by history, geography, alliances and trading partners. Whilst countries such as Ireland have traditions of neutrality, Germany has been reluctant to send soldiers overseas since WW2. This highlights the diverse nature of the EU and unwillingness to sacrifice veto on foreign policy shows that the EU is still very much different nation states who wish to retain sovereignty. The failures of achieving a CFSP show that the goal of federalism has not been achieved in the EU.

Finally, one of the main principles of federalism is that it is a permanent unified arrangement. However,

member states are able to withdraw from the EU at any time undermining the federalist argument.

Overall I would argue that although the EU has elements of federalism it has not yet been fully achieved. Federalism is best shown in the single market, CAP, the ECJ and elected leaders. However there are still issues with this and further reforms being proposed suggesting a permanent resolution has not yet been reached. Also the rejection of TCE and failures of CFSP suggest that federalism has not yet been

achieved in the EU, particularly as member states
can leave.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

This is a strong response where the candidate evaluates a range of issues with a clear focus on the question. The response is well structured and explicitly synoptic- even in the introduction. The approach the candidate has taken is systematic- outlining an argument, then questioning how valid this is- which allows them to score highly on synopticity in particular.

AO1: 11 AO2: 11 Syn: 11 AO3: 8

Federal Europe

Yes

NO

~~Not a federal~~

QMV ✓

Institutions ✓

Culture ✓

No sense of belonging ✓ USA

No two clear levels ✓

Vetoes on some issues ✓

No central bank ✓

Not all countries share single currency ✓

Some people believe a federal Europe has been achieved. On the other hand, others still feel that there are still some changes that need to be made before Europe can be referred to as federal.

Some believe the shift of power given to the EU has created a federal Europe due to the increase in qualified majority voting. Nationally countries are losing power and the EU is becoming involved in more and more decisions made in member states.

On the other hand there isn't a clear two level structure as there is within the USA where federal and state government powers

are set out straight forward. Within the EU a lot of decisions are made by QMV which isn't exactly a federal decision or a state decision. It is a decision made by the states together.

The EU isn't like a federal system like in the UK due to a lack of a feeling of belonging to that body. There is a large sense of pride and allegiance within the USA. In Europe

There isn't this sense of pride, more of a national level of belonging is in place. In the USA they refer to themselves as Americans where in the EU the citizens rarely refer to themselves as Europeans.

Furthermore, in the USA culturally the states aren't extremely different or diverse and share common values and morals. In contrast, the EU has extremely wide cultural differences between member states which makes a federal type system within the EU tricky because a federal system requires a certain level of power to the federal government. Member states will be reluctant to give away large amounts of power if they aren't proud and happy with the body that is dictating many decisions to them.

Another issue is that two member states ~~have~~ never have to join the single currency. A single currency is symbolic in creating a sense as it will improve this feeling of belonging. A single currency is also logical and practical when having a federal system due to exchange rates which complicate trade. Not having a common single currency across all member states reduces this appearance of being a federal Europe.

The EU doesn't have economic control over all member states through one single central bank. The UK still has control

and both fiscal and monetary policy. This is another key part of a federal system that the EU lacks that would need to be altered to move towards a more federal system.

Despite having a President of the European Council the EU lacks a figurehead as a leader. In the USA they have a president, currently Barack Obama. The EU has no known figurehead also is seen to be a leader of the EU. This is also an important part of a federal system that Europe lacks as without one the body is being lead by faceless leaders

who lack accountability which will cause member states and citizens of the EU to become increasingly sceptical about the EU.

Overall, the EU is not a federal body. It lacks key features such as pride, ^{cultural} unity, integration, financial unity, a figurehead and a clear federal set up.



ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

This candidate writes about quite a range of issues related to the EU, but these are not explored in any real depth. Many of the points made are very general, such as the argument that the EU cannot be federal as there is no feeling of belonging or a sense of pride in the EU. There are few references to the institutions or the operation of the EU.

This lack of development and tendency to generalise without supporting evidence keeps this response at the bottom of level 2 for all assessment objectives except synopticity. The synopticity mark remains in level 1 for a lack of understanding of the central theme of the question.

AO1: 6 AO2: 5 Syn: 4 AO3: 4

Grade Boundaries

Grade boundaries for this, and all other papers, can be found on the website on this link:

<http://www.edexcel.com/iwantto/Pages/grade-boundaries.aspx>

Further copies of this publication are available from
Edexcel Publications, Adamsway, Mansfield, Notts, NG18 4FN

Telephone 01623 467467

Fax 01623 450481

Email publication.orders@edexcel.com

Order Code UA032363 June 2012

For more information on Edexcel qualifications, please visit

www.edexcel.com/quals

Pearson Education Limited. Registered company number 872828
with its registered office at Edinburgh Gate, Harlow, Essex CM20 2JE



Llywodraeth Cynulliad Cymru
Welsh Assembly Government

