



Examiners' Report January 2013

GCE Government & Politics 6GP02 01

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Introduction

The paper followed the format of previous papers in this specification and presented no special difficulties to candidates.

Outcomes showed that the paper discriminated successfully among candidates of various abilities. There continue to be improvements in the ability of candidates to construct rounded, balanced answers and to set out their work in a coherent way. Confusion still exists over the relationship between the Human Rights Act and Europe, but there is now considerably more understanding shown of the status and importance of the judiciary. In (a) part stimulus questions candidates are able to identify relevant issues well, but are still often failing to add some explanations. Question 4 tests a central part of the specification, though this was the first time a specific question had been set on the Human Rights Act; this question was the least popular question on the paper.

Question 1

- (a) Most candidates could identify both the positive and the negative aspects of fixed term parliaments for prime ministerial power. However, a majority failed to *explain* these at all, making for example, a short comment that events in his favour might include the state of the economy or the opinion poll position of his party. On the positive side a comment such as the ability to pass popular legislation or perhaps reduce taxes just before the election would have been appropriate. Comments like these added to each point would have secured all five marks.
- (b) Most candidates identified the introduction of a codified constitution as a way of limiting prime ministerial power. However, too many merely stated that this would show the limits to that power more clearly or would establish a 'separation of powers' without explaining how this might work, for example preventing the 'drift towards greater prime ministerial power' or clarifying prerogative powers so as to prevent the incumbent interpreting his powers too widely.

From their own knowledge candidates tended to discuss electoral reform, House of Lords reform and devolution as possible limits. These have already happened, of course, but were acceptable none the less. However not enough candidates were able to distinguish between reforms which have or would limit the power of government as a whole, as opposed to the prime minister individually. In this regard better answers included the removal of prerogative powers, such as waging war and the ability to choose cabinet members in an arbitrary fashion by, perhaps, holding parliamentary elections to cabinet. Incidentally, many candidates believed, wrongly, that Gordon Brown had actually implemented some reforms to the royal prerogative. In reality, he suggested them but they were not implemented. Referendums and the transfer of powers to the EU were also popular ideas, though, once again, usually, inadequately related to the personal power of the prime minister. Having said that, credit was given to those who were discussing limits to the power of the whole government since the prime minister is a member of the government.

(c) On the whole this question was well answered with good knowledge and understanding shown of current or recent political experience. The position of four or five of the last prime ministers were often used as were references to academic authorities such as Hennessy, Jones and Foley. However, many answers tended to be discussing *prime ministerial* government, rather than *presidentialism*. Such responses received credit, but not as much as answers which explored the concept of presidentialism specifically.

Most answers demonstrated good balance and essay structure as well as contemporary knowledge. It was also common to see answers that pointed out the distinctions between a head of government and a head of state. Such responses tended successfully to point out that there are more constraints on a head of government than on a head of state and that British prime ministers face such constraints whether they are acting out the role of either.

The most common weakness, as implied above, was for candidates to rehearse well prepared answers which were evaluations of prime ministerial power, rather than the extent to which the prime minister can be seen as a president.

However well written an answer is, however much knowledge and understanding is shown, part (c) answers should have a coherent structure, normally including a useful introduction and a meaningful conclusion. Here is an example of a good answer which lacks such a coherent structure, but still does well.

(a) here is men endered that the Prime Cliniste has become Gesichal Fisher, the gradh in Spatial Cadeship has been very Objour, where Parly Readers distance themselves from their trades all habe it all about themselves. Secondly, the increasing gending on wavey that is evidentis a clear parallel with politics in the Ush Kirolly, the ease at which Fine Ministers can award law and get legislation perssed - Bleir in his first two terms had no defeats in Connaus. It is also obvious with the Pine Winter's reduced use of the Cabinet - their role as Collectie corosp in femilialing policy has disinabled is secent years -Beir especially enough hiring a 'Sia Calinet Birt where wany Slateral neve made between individual Minites and their departments Bilding on this, the Fine Divide

((c) continued). has expedded his use of achieus as an alterative to the Cabinet Hastait Comptell under Blair is a Corrected with the increased Movey in cleators is the 'cur Politicions COE Conver soussel or the had Blairin tionarburi Staces of the Cold I must Ut polisica is palianentary Garanent -

((c) continued) Wears tolicient produces Garanat end the in Commany, leading to a to 18 gislestuse Secondly, the Prime Winiste Mary Choose & The a Cacinnest, where the 721.7 Maris G Strille this was widet in one vous ude Goder Bon which teads ue als my next poit. Cardon Bour's Policinatory Repens in hading pare back to Connors weart that the idea That Pone Ministe is becoming a Resident to being undone are the idea his colinet seres title seres WHR The Pine Whiste Hurs needed the Spect and officed of Edienant to deduce her and sign medice for Crayle. This to conclude it is possible ((c) continued)

That the Prine Minte is becoming like a Preadent in June ways, but in all the end in all the end in all the end to that the Prine Whinte could be can interfly animal or a Colingt Covernent.



In terms of AO1 and AO2 this is a strong answer, especially as it tends to concentrate on the role and strength of the prime minister as an individual, separate from government. Thus it is well focused on presidentialism. It is not especially long, but is very relevant and shows good understanding.

However, the answer has no real introduction and the conclusion is cursory. It does not lead the reader logically through the arguments. So it scored less well on AO3.

AO1: 8 marks AO2: 8 marks AO3: 5 marks



Always include an introduction which will guide the reader through the main points. The conclusion should be firm and supported by evidence.

It should be noted that answers to (a) part questions should identify the facts or issues as required, but should also offer some explanation of those facts or issues, explaining them in some way. Such explanations need only be brief to obtain additional marks

Indicate your first question choice on this page.

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 indicate your new question with a cross in the how indicate your new question with a cross in the how indicate your new question with a cross indicate your new question in a feet the provide of the provide your new question in a feet the provide your feet they are the provide your provide y



This answer correctly identifies two effects of fixed term parliaments on prime ministerial power. There is also some explanation, not lifted directly from the passage, so full marks have been awarded.



Always try to add some explanation of the points you have identified, even brief ones. Avoid simply quoting parts of the source pasage by way of explanation. Three suggestions were required and most candidates provided these clearly. This is true of this example. However, it has a serious flaw which keeps it only at the lower end of level 3



Three points are clearly made and explained. However, only two are fully satisfactory - on a codified constitution and reform of the House of Lords. The other point, about giving cabinet more power, is fine and would certainly curtail the power of the prime minister, but the answer does not explain specifically how this might be done. It remains only a vague aspiration. Thus the mark is at the bottom of level 3 for AO1, because the third point is too vague, and in level 2 for AO2 because there is a lack of explanation of the second point.



Always try to explain the points you make as fully as possible. If you make a statement, you need to explain and justify it if you can.

Question 2

- 2(a) Most candidates could identify two criticisms accurately, but very few included any explanation of why the increased size of the House might create problems. Even a brief point, for example that increased size would make legislation slow and make it difficult to achieve consensus, would have been sufficient to glean an extra mark. More however, understood why rewarding party donors might be criticised.
- 2(b) Most candidates were able to identify three considerations, though many struggled to explain the points from the passage well, with some confusion about maintaining party balance and giving peerages to party loyalists. They did qualify as two separate points but were often conflated by candidates and this led to some confused answers.

There were many who understood, accurately, that some are chosen for their knowledge and experience, often choosing Alan Sugar as their answer. This was, indeed, a very good example, but it was a little monotonous to see the example used so many times. It would have been good (not essential of course) to see a wider variety of examples, such as Baroness Warsi, Lord Adonis or Lord Winston.

Surprisingly few added that a place in the Lords is often given to former politicians and civil servants merely as a reward for past service. On the whole, however, the question was answered quite well.

(c) This question should have produced many knowledgeable answers, especially in view of the recent parliamentary debates on the issue and widespread public comment, and so it proved on the whole. Most candidates could discuss a good range of issues on both sides of the argument. Balance was generally well maintained and plenty of marks gained under AO2 for sound evaluation. That said, there was common confusion about whether elections would improve or worsen the social representation of the Lords, with some saying they would bring in better members, and others suggesting the House might be full of 'party hacks'. Either approach was valid as long as it was argued in a cogent manner.

Some of the very best responses discussed the impact of various electoral systems that might be used and/or discussed the terms of office, with some stating correctly that 15 year terms would hardly create accountability. In addition, it was encouraging to see so many candidates discussing democratic legitimacy as a concept.

The most common weakness was lack of range, reducing scores for AO1. Too many candidates were content to raise just two issues, when examiners were looking for three or four for the higher marks.

(a) This answer clearly identifies two criticisms and explains *one* of them effectively (excessive size), but does not sucessfully explain why rewarding party donors is undemocratic.

Chosen Question Number: Question 1 🖾 Question 2 his method of (a) David Cameron has been criticised for appointing The first point to make is that too many people are being appointed within a short time frame. This gives the possibilities Overcrowding in the House of Lords. If this were to happen 'Cease to be able to runction because of This would accept legislation as the process would take longer than usual. Another point is that the peers from each party is not proportional to the outcome of the general election. Ed Milliband accused the Prime Minister ords with Conservative party donors which would definitely agrect the number of Lords associated with each part This could also oppect decisions made because if this is t are more likely to be made in pavour of the Conservative party's mood



Note that the explanation of excessive size and why it is a problem is not long and not complicated and 4 marks are awarded. To gain full marks would have required an effective explanation of both points.



As with question 1(a) always try to add a little explanation of your answers, using your own words rather than simply lifting passages from the source. This question required three reasons for appointments, with good explanations and one taken from the source

(b) When appointing life pass there are three main factors which are usually taken into account. These being party allegions , experience and credencials and finally pary representation within look Firstly, party allegiones is a luge factor When appointing a life peer co Hhatever party is currently in government their choices for like pears till almost Cartainly come from their some porty For except out of Cameron's 117 appointments they are almost Certainly all Conservative porcy members Who share here share similar values to the Circuit pory is Convenier. The likeliness of a labour peur being appointed under a conservative government is expo almost zero. Tied in with party allegia e is the donations a party recieves from Heavely businessmen. These ca also persuade Prime Ministers on who to appoint however this is a more Compressial issue. Another factor is the past experience or a possible lite peer. The House of Lords is princilly meant to be a revising chamber and so to corry out this role to its maxima ability it news pees the have experience and know What they are doing. The Lords is a house of experise e knowledge and hence to be necussary

((b) continued) to appoint some who can provide that,

Prople Like Leading businessmen

Finally, one final fector where is taken into

account is their in theory the Prime Minister should

attempt to do his best to make the Lords or

representative to the preside of possible and trying

to reflect the make-up of the commons in order

to be fair. At life pear should be, to a severe,

propular with the public. At the Lords is

unrepresentative to inducted a Prime Minister

mould usually extense to appears the provide.



Though the reason taken from the source is not explicit, it is present in that the answer discusses party allegiance in general terms and thus meets the criteria for level 3 in AO1. Two reasons are clear and very well explained; the third is valid but does not show full enough understanding to obtain full marks within the level. The quality of the explanations is such that level 3 for AO2 is justified.



When asked to make three points, make three, no more, no less if you can. Always, with part (b) questions, include at least one point from the source and explain it in your own words.

This question was one that many candidates could prepare for and this candidate is no exception. They have obtained level 3 marks for AO1 and AO2, but have stayed just in level 2 for AO3

(c) It has been widely discussed about the reform of the House of Lores (or second enamber) and ways to make is more domocratic, as many say Labour's constitutional retorms from 1997 to 2010, including the House of Lords Act of 1999 where all poor bacame appointed except 42 haveolitary poers, were not complated and left undernocration elements. All three ormain parties, Labour, Conservative, Where) Danvocrats, agree that the Lords could be partly elected - 80% - and partinappointed - 20%. This would be now derivered to so people would have more say as to who is scribing and changing public legislation that is potentially for a citizens benefit, for example in February 2012 there was backbench reballion in the Lords against the Welford Rotorm Bill drawn up by the coaltion government. However due to the Salisbury Convandan, the Lords can not delay anything that was proposed in the most Necent government's manifesto - so they are soil abiding by the peoples wishes. The 20% appointed poen would mean that some expense to kept. The whole abustion would just make the second chamber more legitimate. However, many say that there is no point in having two elected anambon as if there is a majority in the Commons, there will most Way be a

((c) continued) Majority in the Lords—so the majority's cogistation will get through - MAJORITARIANTEN and elocation gratack to a var overall choose as crossremment The coalition has also proposed to reduce the stre of the Lords from over 600 to 300 peop, but backbench Tory MPs rebelled in July 2017 saying was too small and the Lords would not be orble to do its forb property A wholly elected Housewould again be more democratic as it would put political sovereignty into the hands of the people at times of election. The Compourations also said elected peen would run 15 year non-ranswable terms, so the majority in the Commons could arrange while remaining unchanged in the Lords so every 5 years (due to Cameron's new fine-year fixed torm constitutional change) the Commons would change over. With the party elected House, the government would not po apro to appoint rembood ingrant a very during ou unterrunate death, so as not to distart the proportion. This means they would have to wait 15 years for a set of fresh faces and new ideas, spirions and perspectives how fast changing society. As well as this, who would

((c) continued) decide what current appointed poen to keep and exe? As this could distant the pourty represente bon in the House.

To conclude, although more democration, the changes seem the a later work and the socond chamber has no real political power anyway, they are more of a traditional check on the government — there are over 20 aren bishops who only sit in because it is what energies apposed to do by convention.



This is a good solid answer and is mostly in level 3. The reason it is not at the top of level 3 for AO1 is that the range of points is too limited. Several more balancing points could have been added and those that were used were superficial. Similarly, the unbalanced nature of the assessment costs some marks in AO2. It is level 2 for AO3, partly because the structure suffers from that lack of balance in the arguments and partly because not enough appropriate political vocabulary is used. It is a little too informal in places.



Try to use as much conceptual political vocabulary as you can, including such terms as accountability, legitimacy and representation. This answer uses some, but not enough. In addition, evaluations must be reasonably balanced and not too one sided.

Question 3

This question was particularly popular, with many candidates demonstrating wide-ranging knowledge of constitutional reforms since 1997, including those introduced under the coalition. Unfortunately some assumed that reforms such as Commons boundary changes and the power of recall of MPs had taken place, whereas, in fact, they remain only proposals. Such sections of an answer could not be credited as the question specified what had actually been done. Not surprisingly, devolution, the Human Rights Act and Lords reform figured extensively, but it was encouraging to see that the Freedom of Information Act was commonly discussed. A substantial proportion of answers mentioned fixed term parliaments, but most sadly failed to show understanding of how this may impact on democracy in the UK.

Stronger answers discussed the concept of democracy before evaluating specific reforms, referring to such issues as decentralisation, representation, accountability and legitimacy. This approach usually proved successful, gaining good credit under AO2 and AO3. Deconstructing questions in this manner is a worthwhile technique, often providing a logical introduction. Many candidates also used the conclusion successfully by giving an overall assessment of the extent to which democracy has been enhanced under these reforms.

Assessments of devolution were the most successful sections and a few very strong answers pointed out that the devolved governments use proportional representation for their elections and so, though electoral reform for the UK has foundered, we have still seen considerable change in this area, with consequences for democracy. Many also showed shrewdness in understanding that, though Lords reform has been very modest, the way the Lords operates has changed as a result, and that this can be seen as a democratic advance as it is an additional control on executive power.

Assessments of the ways in which the HRA and the FOI Act may have enhanced democracy were, however, usually rather vague or non-existent. Candidates tended to understand how they operate, but not how they relate to democratic principles. Discussions of the changing relationship with the EU were valid, but again, assessments of how this relates to democracy were often weak. A few were able to refer to extensions of economic and social rights, which can be seen as enhancing democracy, but most simply made generalised negative comments without discussing the democratic deficit in Europe.

In general, therefore, answers were sound to excellent and it is clear that there is widespread knowledge and understanding of constitutional reform in the UK.

Introductions are very important. They can be of various types. One is to set out how you are going to organise your answer, and to list some key points.

Others may deconstruct the terms used, or may serve as a kind of plan, setting out all the points briefly before they are fully discussed.

This is an example of the first type of introduction which does its job well.

Chosen Question Number: Question 3 📓 Question 4



The candidate mentions two examples of points they are going to raise. Then they set out that there are two sides of this issue i.e. that some reforms have enhanced democracy, but that there remain undemocratic elements not yet tackled. This is a well organised, clearly written essay which is consistent with a Level 3 answer.



Good though this introduction is, it does contain some unnecessary remarks. The fact that the constitution is uncodified is not really relevant to this question. It does no harm but could have been left out. In order to save time avoid adding remarks which do not advance your answer.

The candidate mentions two examples of points they are going to raise. Then they set out that there are two sides of this issue i.e. that some reforms have enhanced democracy, but that there remain undemocratic elements not yet tackled. This is a well organised, clearly written essay which is consistent with a Level 3 answer.

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Questions in Section B require some kind of evaluation. The best technique (though not the only one) is to evaluate each issue as it is raised, demonstrating an understanding of both sides of an argument. This clip is an example of this approach.

Reform to the House of Lords has been some Print,

which has certain before At the House of Lords

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Although that as dans course as a print elected.



This candidate writes very plainly, but exceptionally clearly. He/she could use slightly more 'conceptual' language but the meanings are very clear and will achieve level 3 on all three assessment objectives.



Above all the point about Lords reform is accurate, succinct and shows clearly the extent to which it can be seen to have enhanced democracy. More could have been written on this issue, but if the candidate wishes to raise a wide range of issues he/she may be wise in keeping this section quite short.

As stated above, each issue should be analysed and evaluated. This example evaluates and does not analyse, but is enough for level 3. The evaluations can be added point by point, or as a collection at the end of the answer. Either will do, but this way looks more organised.

Question 4

This proved to be an unpopular question, which was unfortunate as the Human Rights Act has been in existence for some time and has attracted much publicity and comment, with many examples of how its operation can be either praised or criticised, not least in relation to the issues of terrorism, immigration/migration/asylum and Leveson. On the other hand, the answers seen tended to be weak, which perhaps indicates that candidates who were not sure of their ground, chose question 3 instead.

Among those who did attempt the question there appeared to be widespread ignorance of the relationship between the HRA and Europe. A majority of candidates still believe the HRA emanates from the European Union. In recent exam series this fault seemed to be in sharp decline, but it has returned significantly. All the resources clearly state that the HRA does not stem from the EU and is not administered by the EU and candidates would benefit from exploring and learning this. Where candidates did make the error, examiners judged whether it was fundamenta. I to the nature of the answer. If it was, virtually all credit was lost, but if it was not, the error could be ignored in the interests of positive marking. Those few who understood that the negative comments on the HRA could translate into anti-EU sentiment were, of course, correct and so received due credit. Others referred to external jurisdiction being controversial (often stating wrongly that the EU was the external body concerned) and this was valid, even with the error included.

That said, responses usually lacked a good range of issues, often being confined solely to the issue of human rights versus national security, quoting such cases (accurately) as Belmarsh, the Afghan hijacking case and Abu Qatada. The other common and successful approach was to question whether judges are the appropriate authority to be judging issues which affect the national interest. Very few discussed Leveson issues, where the conflict between privacy and freedom of expression have been thrown into focus, partly by the HRA itself. Interestingly, however, a good proportion of candidates were able to discuss reasons why it is not controversial (for example the popularity of rights being better safeguarded generally as a protection against over-powerful government) and most did make a fair attempt to evaluate and maintain some balance in their answers.

Thus, while marks held up quite well for AO3, the scores for AO1 (particularly in view of the limited range of issues raised by so many) and AO2 tended to be low. After the passage of time, candidates should by now have a more thorough and accurate knowledge and understanding of the impact of the HRA on UK government and politics.

The political status of judges is commonly misunderstood, but here is an example of passage from an answer that shows good knowledge.

Chosen Question Number: Question 3 Question 4 that the Hunas lights Act said introduced in 2000, is controversial; it is not has towar begus to question the independence the power or well 00 does Some mear that responsibilities are now (at least) semi-entreiched. could be said that the Human controversial; it has given too much Judiciar, with more power comes the independence - they are more likely to take matters; this can be seen political the increased runber or Judicial recent year that consistently conour rights over cinc duties. These judges are reither elected or representative or society out large; from a select clube group of they are taken (mainly) nion Oxbridge educated upper class, conservative white atc people that do not represent views a society as a whole - how could we, as a demo cratic electorate, abooss ato allow important decisions be made, en our behal a select group?



In plain, clear language, the candidate is showing understanding that there is a problem when unelected judges are asked to make judgments about issues of great public importance. The candidate went on to use the treatment of the 2011 rioters as an example. Though it had a tenuous link to the HRA, he/she made it relevant by discussing the riots to make public demonstrations etc. The mark is consistent with a high Level 2.



It may seem a small point, but the candidate is clearly demonstrating that he/she is starting with a point that may be considered one of the key issues. It is always worth beginning an essay with the more important points and leaving those of less importance to the end.

Conclusions are important. They are generally of two types. One type summarises the arguments, which is the case in this example. The other is to reach a firm conclusion. This was probably difficult to do in the case of question 4, as it requires a 'to what extent?' answer. Firm conclusions are appropriate when the question asks for a 'yes/no' answer.

Particularly curtivosersial, the weathers of it and its vestriction on government its controversial to a great extent occase of the torritor beginning and the braditional "toyof on crime" consensus of the torritor and the braditional "toyof on crime" consensus of the torritorial mayor parties, however its musched would show "potentially chalatorial nature of Policinat which would risk convers the torritorial of the protection of the torritorial views to conclude the continues are not controversial but it is get to continue the basis principles are not controversial but it is get to weak and its protection of the prot



This conclusion presents a good, well written summary which also demonstrates good political awareness. However, it also demonstrates a weakness evident in many responses to this particular question: lack of range. The candidate admits that they have only discussed two types of issue. The candidate should have discussed at least three, preferably four. Nevertheless the mark for this essay is consistent with a high Level 3.



As described above, you should always include a conclusion, even if you are running out of time. If you are short of time, do include even a short conclusion referring back to the question and emphasising that you have answered it.

Summary

Based on performance on this paper, candidates are offered the following advice:

- Candidates need to be aware of the significance of the Human Rights Act together with the nature of some significant cases of political importance.
- It is important that candidates should understand that the European Convention on Human Rights does not emanate from the European Union.
- Questions which relate to the powers of the prime minister require candidates to be able to distinguish between prime ministerial government and presidential government, even though the two concepts do overlap.
- Candidates should be able to distinguish between reforms that *have* been implemented and those that are merely *proposals*.
- Where the question requires information taken from stimulus material (Section A), it is vital to include reference to the stimulus in the answer.
- In Section A, (a) part answers, as well as identifying relevant points and issues it is important to add some explanation without quoting directly from the source material.
- Longer answers in both section A and section B should include a meaningful introduction and some kind of conclusion.
- Evaluative answers should be balanced but need not be fifty-fifty balanced as long as both sides of an argument or issue are covered well.

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