



# Examiners' Report June 2013

# GCE Government and Politics 6GP02 01





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# Introduction

This examination conformed closely to the type and standard of questions set in recent papers. The structure of the examination was unchanged, as was the distribution of marks under various assessment objectives. On the whole this year's candidates tended to score slightly less well on assessment objective 1, about the same as recently for assessment objective 2, but better than usual for assessment objective 3. This resulted in similar overall levels of attainment to recent years.

Question 2 was not attempted by many candidates. This may have been because, as usual, questions on rights and the judiciary are not popular, but it may also be because candidates were attracted to question 1, the constitution topic always being popular.

Similarly question 3 was more popular than question 4. Both required a good deal of contemporary knowledge, but questions on the prime minister do tend to be more popular. This examination was no different.

## **Question 1**

This question was generally handled competently by candidates. There is widespread awareness of the features of the constitution, its sources and some of the issues that arise from it. It was also encouraging to see so much current knowledge, especially of reforms. There remains some confusion over what 'constitutional' issues are and what are not. For example, the regulations and laws concerning the criminal law are rarely constitutional, whereas laws and practices relating specifically to the political process and political institutions clearly are constitutional. Some candidates wasted some time by defining the nature of a constitution in all three parts of the question. This may be good practice for the longer (c) part questions, but is not needed for (a) and (b). On the whole candidates divided their time sensibly between the three parts of the question.

Most candidates were able to identify two features of the constitution, usually referring to lack of codification and entrenchment. A small minority achieved no marks at all by referring to the functions of the constitution (which were in the source) instead of its features. Where candidates did not achieve full marks for 1(a) it was usually because they failed to explain the meaning of 'uncodified' and 'not entrenched'.

1(b) was handled well on the whole, though a common failing was to include insufficient explanation of statute law and conventions. Common law was often mentioned but rarely well explained or exemplified. Similarly many referred to EU treaties but then failed to explain why they have become part of the constitution. Conversely there was a substantial minority who used the O'Donnell rules as an example of how the constitution has evolved.

Approaches to 1(c) were invariably sensible with most candidates pointing out the strengths of the constitution also often led to weaknesses. For example, many said that a strong executive can be seen as a weakness as well as a strength and explained the point very well. Similarly, flexibility was normally fully assessed. This kind of 'assessment' question is much better handled that it used to be.

In order to achieve high level 3 marks it was necessary to identify and explain clearly three sources of the constitution, at least one from the source and at least one from the candidate's own knowledge. In order to access all the marks for assessment Objective 2 full explanations of the sources was needed. The source referred to statutes and conventions, therefore at least one other source should have been included. Most chose common law and constitutional works of authority. This example included foreign treaties.

(b) From the son extract one source of the UK constitution are contraction" Again from the source there are " unwritten which have developed over time and regulate the econde is this is the Salisburg cover ntion. This stated that could not hinder legislation thid us in the ge manisedo. Therefore this creats undesto of crovernment policy parliomenter pulicy, they helping essentimenen of Ponticinent A nother source of the UK constitution is not of Parlis" lun pased

by parliament." These arts, like the portioniant and 1911, have created important law such as the government ability to pess sinonics ban legislation without interserve grow the lords. This has non monant that it is acceptable for the yorenmont to pass laws which makes have thad eyes the way we are governed. For ginarian decision use imported and vital for the United Kingdon

Another source is the UK constitution one treates An example of this are the Manstrit tready and the European Convention of Human right These thors are quareentee rights of citizen in the UK thereby esseits the up the portronnent pussion lequilation we up the in the Selmach are this had to adapt hav Comp they Reptursuppeted terror suspers in prison for Three show quareers, that the government had to yer through entain procedures when pussion lequilition

((b) continued) <u>In too</u> A nother source of the UK constitution is common how which is law set down by judicial one mal rint matters and general lows such is not Killing anyone. There the is are the dearest going the constitution is most people know most of the common laws.

In the conclusion sources of the UK constituon and connection, have passed by Paliament, treaties and common law.



The candidate included four sources, two from the source and two from his/her own knowledge. Common law was neither explained nor exemplified properly, but this did not affect the marks because the other three sources were well explained. Note the straightforward, clear language, good organisation and use of examples.



Always use examples if you can. Examples should not replace explanations but they are a useful addition. Try always to use the most recent examples you can, though you do not have to be absolutely up to date. This was a highly evaluative question and good answers needed to reflect that. Each perceived strength needed to be evaluated; pointing out that some strengths may be seen as weaknesses. There needed to be some overall sense expressed of how well the UK constitution works in terms of democracy and good governance.

10 UK constitution is uncodified and not entrended , unlike many patiens now adays, there are several sources that build up the UK constitution of Traditional and historic value has been praised, but its unmodernised features are often criticised Havever, it believed that as if the UK constitution has been working tor centuries, UK constitution has more strength than weakness. Firstly, The constitution has been tested and praved by time. The origin of the constitution & can traced from Magna Lata, which was established for more than 800 years Since then, the constitution has never face any much Challenges, as There are where no political uprises and Verolutions, Such as in France or Germany, Many countries have comp codified constitution atter war or independence, such as Japan on Sugapore, but as Britain did not face these experiences, codified constitution is not necessary loday, system is still functioning well, with executive legislature and judiciary working effectively on average. It shows that an uncedified Uk Constitution does work even without a single dowment detining fundamental laws ((c) continued) Even Though when the contilution is proved to be working, still some people may sugged is not modernize knough to keep track

with other countries political system, which weakens UK's political structure.

Secondly, UK constitution provides flexibility. The UK constitution provides be changed with an Act of Parliament It means that it Organic and can react to public opinion the efficiently. For example, devolution of Gotland, Wales and Northern Iroband can be easily done by just a statute, such as Scatland Act 1998, Wales Act 1998 and Northern Ireland Act 1998. The same effectiveness applies to The reform of House of Lords, which all but 12 bereditary peers are removed in 1999 under The House of Lords Act, in response to public's with in increasing Hense of Cordi legitimacy and fatill Labour's election manifests in 1997. However, This May lead to excessive executive power

Thirdly, UK constitution ensures democratiz rule, as the winning party has the mandate to mplement policies on their manifesto ((c) continued) without being restricted by a Cadified constitution. This means that an enhances democracy as public opinion becomes the mat important Source of authority However, tyranny of mejerity my occur, as minority interest may be neglected. Also, the current electoral system for Westminster dection is not representative, undermining the kgitimacy of the Parliament and government Formed,

On the other hand, UK constitution is criticised of too flexible, which cannot limit gavernment's power, leading the elective dictatorship As constitutional change is easily changed by Act of Parliament, when The government has majurity a Commons and well whipped backbenchers, almost every bills can be passed. It is dangerous as plaple's right may be in danger, it government in pose Such as the Anti-terrarism Acts 2001 which people can be detained without trial. But codified constitution is too rigid, attesting effective In the US, Second Amendment of Gov US constitution which allow people To tear arms is difficult to change as it requires referend and Engle approval. But in UK, right after the Snawdrop Campaign in 1996, UK of hardgun is banned simply by a statute. ((c) continued) Also, Some argue that UK constitution Ocreates uncertainty, for example in 2010 when a hung Parliament appeared and no rules explain what should be done However, a Cectition & government is formed and is still working well at the memer It shows that even without dear rules, political System of the UK can still work its own way ent. In conclusion, UK constitution has more stength than weakness, as an effective government can usually be formed, quick Pesponse to public opinion can always be made and is proved to be working.



This answer demonstrates an unusual 'scene-setting' introduction, rather than an explanation of the main arguments to follow. It works, however, because it begins with an overall evaluation and so does presage the rest of the answer. By pointing out how enduring the UK constitution has been the answer is offering some evaluation at the beginning.

After that it is well organised, making each point clearly and then offering some evaluation. It is well illustrated and offers some contemporary material to underpin its analysis. Its strongest element is its evaluation, near the end, of the flexible, uncodified nature of the constitution. It also offers a very clear conclusion which can be justified by the evidence deployed. Even though the candidate seems to have run out of time he/she has reached a firm conclusion.



Conclusions are important. They should be firm, coming down on one side of the argument or the other. The conclusion should be justified in some kind of way (eg what is the 'clinching' argument, or what is the balance of the arguments on each side?). This candidate has not been able to do that fully, but has included some sense that the constitution is 'working well' Question 1(a) the two features which most candidates were able to identify were that the constitution is uncodified, therefore flexible, and that it is not entrenched. There were various ways of describing lack of entrenchment, all equally valid. Some stated it meant that constitutional rules can be easily changed, others noted that there is no dual system of laws, with one kind of law higher than another, and a few referred to the sovereignty of parliament making constitutional laws unentrenchable.

(a) ..... Thes first, and probably most where ble or pear of the UKs is not it is modified now democratic company. on code fiel constitution which sets out the leaves, give by which the state is to be governed. The UKs conditute regulations model feel which men the same sense menses " as myle legal document, after the bus are derived from of sources. verch In an cardillar thre is no hierarchy of land All loss have eared shits and are of entranelal This that he yoverness of he day and legislate on almost anything went and con cherry prevision line prosting nen new low Entre ded to worker that it is fared and can only and with growth about the This is not one of the features of the united Kingdows constitution as it is meadified (b) The UK constitution is meadined which means that the has after shale for the carity shald be governed are not in one legal about 1, but Cally care from a all Gard versity of sources and a ware of the laws the precoduce over stry and can all be changed. A for notal succes of he use constitution are as follows. The first are is common low common low means low inferred from the carity Dis means that if here was cost cose, he find fiding would be considered he low in The usk. Many lows have been made in this way, but 7835 20 today. This is because there is not supreme court to cheadle if something is

contributional so these causes atom and for because they are maily from pat grand A second some of British he is convertions. are not wrother or made charty by on body bol caller has been con Nort mer hure. besields prolition correct the return of corrections obviously mplos hat ney cannot be passed being is they can door and trap descente less, convertions plang a very cole in bday laring in here wery key compts are he results of commons. for example, how he prime minister is aparted, or the sufficientian which government multiples should realize is governed by concerion. ((b) continued) Red third source of the MK's constitution is stubile Les. This wars low what is made by particul. At This is the most common of the threes on a regular basis by the government at the class. It can asuly be changed though by the agramments successories and hate convertines when are charged and 1632. The worked togethe has my (c) ..... strengths, and any any weekenstes. In this essay I will to asso the strengths of the Wiss construction deterve to Not erect have strength's apply. The first staym is small that the de need had learbadied conduction has place it is worth our an extended presed of Re- society and its values as constantly works which repaires the down to change and watch ne day age, with this procent with con evolut to reflect No relieves of the Bristill people & A considered considered is not configured and and would be defined to show which ended be

which has andred Prodente. markel The UKs form of government produces a responsible R. Sec.122 clecks ed para Partyagaverate A Art concernation of the and the contract the Spart of the second ne electorate for all ne r charans. A made daring the form. In my two of the sperment the & is allowly a responsibility when news the see in responsible for the mistres made , again this belos journed up governant where the general cheed a possible known or offers, and or makes JOOKS cesse ansible decisions ((c) continued) gesette the theil was active for in the Sales of the restrict model is the fast the it's prome The preducer a strong and center desert for los wheel ne executive and the legislature are fixed. This the give The oppretrained the port to art quick by such ( as part by woonpressioned the product some the first by a water to the second between the sold bring for home be been and the And version My and the state ball contraction and and Almost any but . Ft was by we be then and declarue wheel the attress maps on hint or good the -se Ny contractor solo fee future Day proly the Sheary - becar se Deg borne service p-p. tro But Any the place Sharphis weeky and strange and pay out to be? fresh any the is that it has anothered three Has in cently chose so? save of the handreds of plan performent to the plan performent the plan performance of the to this card madernie the land whe then and

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Here is an example of a clear, well explained account of two features, as mentioned in the source. Note how the candidates has described lack of entrenchment



Make sure you identify from the source exactly what you are being asked to identify, including the correct number, usually two or three. Do not add anything from your own knowledge at this stage. Always add some of your own explanation to what is in the passage. Be careful not to confuse 'features' with 'functions'.

## **Question 2**

This was an unpopular question. Questions on the judiciary have always tended to be avoided by many candidates and clearly this was a prime example, though the material needed could largely be taken from recent political developments. 2(a) perhaps looked more challenging than it actually was, the source clearly explained the overlaps between legal and political issues and why judges became involved in such controversies. 2(b) should have been a relatively straight forward question but it was clear that many candidates did not have enough knowledge of recent well-publicised issues relating to the HRA to be able to tackle the question. However, a much more serious problem was to be seen in a majority of the answers seen. This was a continuing belief demonstrated that the HRA and the ECHR emanate from the European Union. While this is a misconception which is common among the general public, it should not be a mistake that politics students make. It is clear that many candidates must have been taught this in lessons, which is very worrying. This error compromised many answers because candidates were mixing up human rights cases with sovereignty issues concerning the EU.

As expected Abu Qatada figured commonly in answers and this was a positive feature, as were discussions of Belmarsh. More able candidates pointed out that the HRA had tended to politicise the judiciary, as discussed in the source, and this was a high level of response. The very best candidates introduced the debate on a 'British Bill of Rights', but too many spoiled their answer by suggesting the HRA was one of the drivers behind an EU referendum. It may well be, but it needed to be pointed out that this is an error, whatever many people believe.

2(c) was better handled on the whole than parts (a) and (b). This was probably because the issue of judges versus politicians has appeared in some guise or other in the past. Many candidates used the question to demonstrate their knowledge of issues relating to judicial neutrality and independence and this was a valid approach. It was encouraging also to see candidates discussing issues relating to accountability and the electoral mandate. The very best candidates brought in issues concerning the application of the rule of law and even the impact of the media on issues considered in the courts.

To achieve level 3 marks it was only necessary to include at least three issues, at least one from the source and at least one from the candidate's own knowledge. Of course, more than three are welcome, especially as there may be a lack of depth which can be compensated for by more range. Examples should be included and are almost always a prerequisite for achieving the very top of level 3 for assessment Objective 1.

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they have been ill-treaked. An example is the de + AA in Abbey national us office of pair trading cape, which finan wat the office of Anis trading illegitivately accessed faccounts of Abbelly Secondy on offect of the HRA is that that has been more un print between the Judirizing and the executive (government). This is because, as Mr judiciary enjoys independence of Fecurity of tenure, they can make decisions against the gatering government, ruch as the 2010 come where the government wied to prese de Graneial accests of fascarist suspects, which was tuled as a violetia of haman rights by the courts. Finally the HRA is enforced by the judiciary through case law and judicial sevients. As a reput the judiciary To becomes the governmenter body which has ultimote ((b) continued) power. As a result, the HRA causes the sovereignty of porliament to be challenged, which goes against the UKC (UNCONGOID) constitution. This was seen in the Belmark Cone 2004, where the Judicisty rund against the Brliamentany regislation which summed them to detain tarrarist asspects without fuir trial the has had many effects on the UK's The political system, the most important of which are increase in Juciaria veriens to shall in the routed, the carplies between / en ecutive and judisionry ludich on both Sheded 11 the source), and the way in which the Judiciery Ale porchischy of Parliament.



This is an example of a plainly expressed answer, clear in its meaning, with material both from the source and from the candidate's own knowledge. Three issues are explained clearly. The candidate has also included two appropriate examples. There may be better answers possible, with more issues raised and more examples, but this is an example of the minimum needed to achieve all the marks available.



Always include material from both the source and from the candidate's own knowledge. Ideally, two examples of each. It is also important to include examples. In order to gain marks under assessment Objective 2 it is necessary to explain each point fully and clearly, including material on causes and effects as well as information on links between institutions and processes. In this case, that might include explanations of why and how the HRA has tended to bring judges into politics. This candidate successfully linked HRA judgments to the sovereignty of parliament. Despite the poor handwriting this is an example of a good response to 1(a), demonstrating that the candidate is able to identify the correct information from the source and can also add some of his/her own explanation. This is a full, clear answer, ideal for part (a) answers.

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Marks are not removed for handwriting. As long as it can be read it will be credited. This is just readable so gets by. Anything worse and it might have lost marks. Fortunately it is clearly expressed and so achieved full marks.



For (a) part questions you have to identify the correct information, to describe it clearly and to add some explanation to clarify what it means. All three requirements are met here.

### **Question 3**

This was a popular question although the focus on the coalition clearly caused problems for students who had prepared for the kind of questions that have appeared in the past - on, for example, presidentialism or on the extent to which prime ministerial power has grown. While such preparation undoubtedly helped with this year's question, candidates varied in their ability to adapt their material. More able candidates focused on the question itself and clearly demonstrated a good deal of knowledge of contemporary coalition politics and its effects on the position of the prime minister.

A second issue which was common, was that many candidates discussed the effects of coalition politics on government as a whole, rather than on the prime minister specifically. This approach attracted credit, of course, because the prime minister is affected by whatever affects government as a whole, but only the best candidates were able to focus on the prime minister specifically. This is a perennial issue with questions on the prime minister, so students and teachers are urged to differentiate between the prime minister as an individual and the government in general. For example, it is common to see candidates erroneously writing that 'prime ministers make laws' or something similar. It is accurate to describe the prime minister as something like 'pre-eminent policy maker within government', but that is not the same as making laws which are actually drafted by government and promulgated by parliament. Similarly the coalition has caused the Conservative leadership to amend or even abandon some policies, but not all these policies have been the responsibility of the prime minister specifically.

The more successful responses dealt with such issues as prime ministerial patronage, the relationship between the prime minister and his cabinet, the importance of 'quad' government and the general effect a hung parliament has had on the prime minister's authority. Issues such as prime ministerial style, the growth of the 'Downing Street machine' or foreign policy pre-eminence, have little to do with the coalition. It was, however, encouraging to see a good proportion of candidates who were able to show how prime ministerial power has strengthened under coalition, notably pointing out that Cameron is the first prime minister since 1945 who could claim that his government was elected by over 50% of the electorate. Many also correctly pointed out that Cameron has not suffered as many personal political defeats as might have been expected.

Here is an example of a response which constantly tries to focus on the position of the prime minister himself, not just the government as a whole. It is not at the top of level 3 because it has a slightly limited range and there is some lack of depth on the analysis of prime ministerial power. Also, in particular, the candidate seems a little confused over the effects of coalition on the cabinet. However, it is level 3 as it is well focused, clearly expressed and does cover a reasonable range of issues. Positive marking means that the confusing material on cabinet can be ignored.

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it cabinet. In the previous governments such as the Thatcher and Rhair government, there was evidence of a decline in cabinet government. However, the importance of cabinet government has increased with the formation of the coalition government. This is due to the fact that the cubinet contains some Liberal Democrats. such as Vince Cable, which weakens the Prime Minister's power to control cabinet. There is more emphasis on consensus and compromise as the Prime Ministers.

On the other hand, it can be argued that Prime Ministerial power has been strengthened because of the introduction of fixed term partiaments. This has ensured an efficient reform of Partiament. Moreover, this sustains the life of the coalition which effectively deals with the line of the weakness of coalition government. This ensures a stable government, making it easier for David Cameron to pas arive policies because the life of the coalition has been prolonged. For example in May 2013, both Cameron and Elegy amounced their commitment to the coalition.

Furthermore, the coalition government has weakened prime ministerial power due to the fact that it is harder for David Cameron to drive policies through Parliament. When a government has a parliamentary majority, they are ensured the loyalty of their MPs to successful pass through bills. However, Commercen only have a small majority which increases his dependency on the support of other parties, in powtaular the Suberal Demonats

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He has to the and gain their support on bills itsorder to successfully pass bills however this is difficult through their opposition to his bills due to their ideological differences. For example, Cameron's bill on the EU budget was oriended by the Commons.

However, through an increased loyalty from his party, the prime ministerial power has been strengthened. Through the imminent threat of the government breaking clown as a result of the weakness of coalitrons Cameron has inspired devotion and loyalty from his party as they want to remain the ruling party. Also, they have increased loyalty in rapes of being promoted to being centor ministers by comeron. How this is the due to the fact that Cameron's power of patronage is seen to be more important due to his limitations of on the number of conservative ministers in the Cabinet. For example this power is seen in Cameron's 2012 cabinet reshugtle.

In addition, the coalition government has weakened the government because it has decreased presidentialism. In the past, there was an increase in presidentialism as prime ministers had a tendency to 'spatial leadenhip', as evident through the notions of Thatcherism and Blairism. However, it is imperative for David Caneron to maintain the collective symbol of government in order to ensure the unity of the Consumm Party and the Liberal Democrats. If he tried to distance hinself from government it would result in the alienation of the Liberal Democrats which could lead to a breakdown in relations which could and guremment

Further to this Alternatively, it is suggested their primae ministerial power has been re-usealened due to the evidence of adversial politics In the coalition government. Due to the jete opposition of both the Conservative Party and the diberal Democrats' ideologies, they can be obstructions to each other. For a this is apparent in the Liberal Democrats refusal to approve of the conservatives' plan to redraw constituency boundaries after the House of Lords reform put forward by Nick Cling received constituency large backberden. Due to these values David Cameron has a reduced ability to came of this mandate in flar of obstruct from the Liberal Democrats.

Alternatively, it can be suggested that prime ministerial power has bestrengthined as there has includ been an increase in presidentialism. The current coalition government uses 81 special advisors as opposed to Major who only used 8. This has led to the dostrase UJ the importance of cabinet, rendering cabinet nevely a soundboard for advice. Therefore, the Prime Minister dominates the political process which has furthered due to the recent appointment of To Tahys on as head of Corneron's policy unit. Therefore unlike Bagehot stated the Prime Minister is not 'primes interpore.' In conclusion. I think that the coalition furthered has weaking prime ministerial power.



Notice especially how the candidates has introduced the general issue of 'presidentialism', but has used it to focus on the question. They have noted that there has been a trend towards presidentialism, but this has been halted by coalition, because Cameron is unable to dominate as Blair and Thatcher did, because of the nature of the coalition. There is also some analysis (not always clear) of the effects on prime ministerial patronage.

Note how well organised the answer is. Each new point is signposted and every issue is well evaluated with some balance, albeit with some dubious conclusions (for example, the idea that Cameron is inspiring 'devotion').

There is a clear introduction and a cogent conclusion.



Though this answer could be fuller and could contain better analysis, it illustrates the value of a well organised piece of writing. The very good balance has attracted a high mark for Assessment Objective 2 and has compensated somewhat for the lack of clarity in places in the award of Assessment Objective 3 marks. Good, clear organisation is to be recommended.

### **Question 4**

Most candidates were able to describe and compare the respective formal powers of the Commons and the Lords, usually reaching the conclusion that the Commons remains the more powerful chamber. Slightly less candidates were able to look beyond formal powers to discuss political considerations, such as the lower level of party loyalty and discipline in the Lords, together with the fact that the government does not have a majority in the Lords. There remains a good deal of confusion over the committee systems in each House, with a fair proportion still believing there are departmental select committees in the Lords. Indeed the candidates who discussed the growing importance of the Commons' select committees, including the PAC tended to be strong in most other areas too.

The most common omission was discussion of the behaviour of the two houses, notably the more active House of Lords in recent years. Only the very strong candidates tended to be able to discuss activism on such issues as Welfare and NHS reform. The absence of government defeats in the Commons was viewed by a minority as an indication that the Commons remains susceptible to executive pre-eminence. Indeed it was lack of hard evidence of this kind that tended to hold back the mid-level candidates. Too many answers were too theoretical. However, it was encouraging to see a large minority of candidates who were able to explain that the Lords' enhanced authority, since its reform, has been converted into greater activism. Thus, as ever, knowledge and application of contemporary political developments proved to be a key discriminator.

# **Paper Summary**

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

- A good deal of contemporary knowledge was required, especially for questions 2, 3 and 4. Such knowledge is important both for use as examples and illustrations, but also to ensure that candidates' knowledge is up-to-date.
- There remains much confusion over the origins and status of the Human Rights Act and the European Convention on Human Rights. Far too many candidates still believe it originates and is implemented by the EU, rather than the Council of Europe and the European Court of Human Rights. This serious error should be eradicated.
- Though there is a good deal of knowledge shown among candidates of the *politics* of the coalition, there is too little *conceptual* understanding in relation, for example, to effects on the mandate, accountability, spatial leadership etc.
- Standards of analysis, evaluation and writing skills continue to improve. However, too many candidates demonstrate insufficient knowledge and understanding. Factual knowledge and understanding of issues remains an important key to higher level marks.
- It is clear that too little attention is paid to the political role of the judiciary. This leaves candidates with limited choices when selecting which questions to attempt. Ignoring a whole topic can prove a dangerous practice.

# **Grade Boundaries**

Grade boundaries for this, and all other papers, can be found on the website on this link: <a href="http://www.edexcel.com/iwantto/Pages/grade-boundaries.aspx">http://www.edexcel.com/iwantto/Pages/grade-boundaries.aspx</a>





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