

## **Government and Politics**

**Advanced GCE A2 7834**

**Advanced Subsidiary GCE AS 3834**

### **Mark Schemes for the Units**

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**January 2007**

**3834/7834/MS/R/07J**

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This mark scheme is published as an aid to teachers and students, to indicate the requirements of the examination. It shows the basis on which marks were awarded by Examiners. It does not indicate the details of the discussions which took place at an Examiners' meeting before marking commenced.

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

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

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## **CONTENTS**

**Advanced GCE Government and Politics (7834)**

**Advanced Subsidiary GCE Government and Politics (3834)**

### **MARK SCHEMES FOR THE UNITS**

<b>Unit</b>	<b>Content</b>	<b>Page</b>
2595	Elections, Electoral Systems and Voting Behaviour in the UK	1
2596	Politics of the UK	7
2597	Government of the UK	13
2694	US Government & Politics	27
2695	Political Ideas and Concepts	33
*	Grade Thresholds	38



**Mark Scheme 2595**  
**January 2007**

- 1 Using Source A and your own knowledge, describe the main features of the system used for the election of members of the European Parliament. [10]**

(Specification: European Parliament elections)

	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
<b>Maximum</b>	8		2
<b>Level 4</b>	7-8		2
<b>Level 3</b>	5-6		2
<b>Level 2</b>	3-4		0-1
<b>Level 1</b>	0-2		0-1

- AO1** Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the information available in the Source. The obvious features are the size of the constituency, the ability of the 'minor' parties to gain seats, the closed list system in operation and the proportionality of the system. Turnout might also warrant a mark. Go to 5 of the 8 AO1 marks for intelligent use and explanation of that data, but reserve 3/4 marks for own knowledge, such as the fixed term, party choice of candidates, differing turnout from general elections etc. If Source is ignored (and it does happen) then 5 AO1 marks maximum, although watch for Source use by implication.

- 2 Using Source B and your own knowledge, explain what are felt to be the weaknesses of the electoral system used for UK General Elections. [20]**

(Specification: UK Parliamentary Elections. Electoral systems)

	AO1	AO2	AO3
<b>Maximum</b>	16		4
<b>Level 4</b>	13-16		4
<b>Level 3</b>	9-12		3
<b>Level 2</b>	5-8		2
<b>Level 1</b>	0-4		0-1

- AO1** Candidates are expected to utilise the information available in the two Sources. Do not go beyond the top of Level 2 if the Sources are completely ignored. The obvious points to be made from the Sources are the disproportionality between votes and seats in the first one and issues such as the 'minority' situation the winning party finds itself in - especially in England. Other factors like the ability of the Conservatives to get 16% of the vote in Scotland but only a single seat there are creditworthy. There is a huge range of other possible 'weaknesses' such as the wasted vote, unfairness to smaller parties, the built-in Labour bias as seen in 2005 etc. The ideal for full marks is two/three developed points for both Source use and own knowledge.

- 3 Using Source C and your own knowledge, make out a case for reforming the way in which general election campaigns are funded.** [30]

(Specification: *The funding of campaigns*)

	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
<b>Maximum</b>	12	12	6
<b>Level 4</b>	10-12	10-12	5-6
<b>Level 3</b>	7-9	7-9	4
<b>Level 2</b>	4-6	4-6	2-3
<b>Level 1</b>	0-3	0-3	0-1

- AO1** Candidates are expected to make intelligent use of the Source. There are several points there, the secrecy, the way in which the money was raised, who raised it, as well as the purposes for which it was used. 'Own knowledge' could cover issues such as the inability of the minor parties to raise comparable sums, the suspicion that donations lead to an expectation of favours in return and the overlarge role of individual donors in the whole process. Any knowledge of the role and impact of the Electoral Commission merits reward as well. The same applies to the recent Elections and Referendums Act.
- AO2** Remember it is only the case 'for' that is asked for, so any case against has to be combed for factors, which might be relevant by implication. For Level 4 there needs to be three to four clear points made which are fully supported by both the main factors in the Source and some own knowledge. Any candidate who considers the implications of change for the democratic process, and considers also the implications for participation and representation, deserves high marks. The case for the state funding of parties may well get peddled here, and that can be seen to have relevance.

- 4 Using Source D and your own knowledge, discuss the view that there have been few changes in voting behaviour in recent UK general elections.** [40]

(Specification: Voting Behaviour: models, theories and trends)

	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
<b>Maximum</b>	16	16	8
<b>Level 4</b>	13-16	13-16	7-8
<b>Level 3</b>	9-12	9-12	5-6
<b>Level 2</b>	5-8	5-8	3-4
<b>Level 1</b>	0-4	0-4	0-2

- AO1** Candidates are expected to make sensible use of the factors listed in the Source. Previous experience indicates that they might ignore it totally, so those who just repeat their notes on the latest model they have been taught are unlikely to get more than Level 2 at best. There are changes in all the factors mentioned, so Level 4 answers should show an awareness of these. Own knowledge could be issues, the whole rational choice debate, the dominant ideology model etc. There is huge scope there. Good knowledge of recent general elections is of course to be well rewarded.
- AO2** Clearly there is no right or wrong answer here. Candidates who argue only one way, and do it persuasively with proper use of the Source and their own knowledge can certainly get to Level 4, although ideally some balance is preferred. Candidates who refer to the 'academic' analyses of 2005 merit reward. They will be published by then. Any sign of a 'broad' look from 2005 backwards is to be rewarded.

**2595**

**Mark Scheme**

**January 2007**

**Mark Scheme 2596  
January 2007**

- 1 (i) Explain the meaning of the term “active citizenship”. [5]**  
**(ii) Describe the duties of a UK citizen. [5]**

(Specification: *citizenship, definition; rights and duties of active citizenship.*)

	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>A03</b>
<b>Level 4</b>	7-8		2
<b>Level 3</b>	5-6		2
<b>Level 2</b>	3-4		0-1
<b>Level 1</b>	0-2		0-1

- (i)** Four marks awarded for accurate definition, according to the degree of detail offered. Candidates might outline how a citizen may become actively involved in the local community and opportunities available to a citizen for participation in politics. “Active citizens” take responsibility for some of the things that need doing in society, rather than expecting the state to do them.
- (ii)** Four marks awarded for accurate description, according to the degree of detail and example offered. Reward all relevant suggestions. These could include statutory duties such as paying taxes or jury service as well as voluntary ones such as voting in elections or social duties such as participating in the community.

Up to 2 marks overall for the organisation and presentation of the answer (AO3).

**2 Describe the roles of party conferences in the Conservative and Labour parties.****[20]**

(Specification: political parties, role of party conferences.)

	<b>A01</b>	<b>A02</b>	<b>A03</b>
<b>Level 4</b>	<b>13-16</b>		<b>4</b>
<b>Level 3</b>	<b>9-12</b>		<b>3</b>
<b>Level 2</b>	<b>5-8</b>		<b>2</b>
<b>Level 1</b>	<b>0-4</b>		<b>0-1</b>

Candidates should provide increasing degrees of detail as they move through the mark levels. At Level 1 there will be only basic knowledge, perhaps references to only one party. For Level 4, expect candidates to identify a range of roles for each party.

Labour conference roles include:

- the ultimate authority in the party, conference decides the policy framework from which the next manifesto will be drawn and sets party rules.
- it is the place where the leader and deputy are *normally* elected.
- to allow ordinary members to air views in public.
- the conference approves or rejects recommendations of policy commissions.
- to make ministers debate and defend their policies if the party is in government.
- to enable communication upwards and downwards within the party.

For the Conservative conference, expect some of the following:

- the Conservative conference has no formal powers to make party policy.
- a rally for party members.
- conferences endorse policies already decided by the leadership.
- to test out new ideas.
- conference decisions are advisory only.
- to enhance the status of ministers or shadow ministers.
- to give an opportunity for communication between the party's leadership and its ordinary membership via the media.
- to improve the image of the party, to demonstrate unity and support for the leader, and
- to appeal to voters.

Reward candidates who provide examples, especially from the recent conferences. Whilst the question does not call for reference to Liberal Democrats or other minor parties, references to their conferences should be rewarded.

**3 Critically examine the ways a pressure group contributes to representative democracy.** [30]

(Specification: pressure groups: implications for the democratic process)

	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>A03</b>
<b>Level 4</b>	10-12	10-12	6
<b>Level 3</b>	7-9	7-9	4-5
<b>Level 2</b>	4-6	4-6	3
<b>Level 1</b>	0-3	0-3	0-2

**AO1:** Reward candidates who discuss a range of the following:

- the increased participation in the democratic process;
- offer a clear political choice;
- a check on government power;
- representation of minorities;
- sources of expertise and knowledge;
- a means of political recruitment and
- the introduction of a long term view into politics.

Mention of a contribution achieves a mark; development of the point and examples increases the mark level. Reward use of relevant example/illustration.

**AO2:** Candidates should evaluate a range of these contributions. Points could include:

- participation may be easier for the middle classes;
- tendency to take a narrow sectional approach (NIMBY groups?);
- pluralist stagnation may result;
- minorities may sometimes frustrate majorities;
- the expertise may be biased;
- those with commercial muscle or who are prepared to use violence may succeed disproportionately.

Award the level according to the sophistication and number of these considerations.

**4 Discuss the view that there is little ideological difference between the two major parties of the UK.** [40]

(Specification: political parties; philosophy and ideology; internal party democracy.)

	AO1	AO2	AO3
<b>Level 4</b>	13-16	13-16	7-8
<b>Level 3</b>	9-12	9-12	5-6
<b>Level 2</b>	5-8	5-8	3-4
<b>Level 1</b>	0-4	0-4	0-2

For AO1, candidates might show an understanding of the concept of political ideology, eg a set of ideas which propose reform intended to make significant changes to the nature of society. Candidates might note that the term 'ideology' is rarely used by politicians who instead refer to 'values' or 'principles'.

Reward candidates who make reference to 'end of ideology' arguments or relate consensus to social changes such as the nature of social class or other socio-economic developments.

Areas covered might include some of the following:

- state acceptance of the free market and private enterprise.
- flexible labour markets, accompanied by a safety net of legislation such as minimum wage.
- a Welfare State which nonetheless encourages the private sector involvement.
- direct taxation on individuals and businesses should be kept down.
- greater opportunities for women, members of ethnic and other minorities and those who are economically deprived.
- resistance to any significant further political integration in EU.
- there should be some balance on law and order policy between authoritarian measures and attacks on the social causes of crime.
- Britain's relationship with the USA is vital and must be protected.

For AO2, candidates should assess the significance of the perceived homogeneity between the parties. Mark according to the range, depth and sophistication offered. They might consider some of following:

- is ideological politics a cyclical phenomenon? A post-war consensus ultimately gave way to sharp divisions in the '70/'80s.
- managerialism – parties compete on the basis of their ability to manage the state rather than fundamentally change the state.
- a weakening of ideology may be indicative of a stable, mature society that lacks fundamental division.
- is politics better without ideological conflict?

At Level 3/4, candidates should offer a balanced answer, recognising that whilst there are obvious areas of consensus between the parties (eg on foreign policy areas, mixed economy, parliamentary democracy, etc) there are nonetheless important areas of fundamental disagreement (eg on aspects of constitutional reform, education reforms, and relations with EU). Answers that accept the question in an unchallenging way are likely to be limited to Level 2 at most.

Candidates might also refer to areas of difference to provide a context for the question, assisting their analysis.

**2596**

**Mark Scheme**

**January 2007**

**Mark Scheme 2597**  
**January 2007**

## GENERAL MARKING INSTRUCTIONS

When marking, examiners must use both this mark scheme and the Assessment Matrix (Appendix B of the subject specifications).

### The Assessment Matrix

Broadly speaking, and depending on the question, examiners should look for:

- a balanced and well-focused answer;
- which correctly identifies a number and range of relevant and important factors;
- in detail;
- and communicates these clearly in a logical, fluent and coherent style;
- containing few, if any, errors of grammar, punctuation and spelling.

And credit answers which display knowledge and understanding of:

- current examples;
- political concepts, theories and language;
- other political systems including the EU;
- parallels, connections, similarities and differences.

### The Mark Scheme

The mark scheme is indicative of the kinds of points likely to be raised by candidates in answering the questions, however, because of the nature of the subject of Government and Politics, they cannot be regarded as definitive and the professional judgement and training of individual examiners will inevitably apply.

All substantive issues surrounding the paper will be settled at the standardisation meeting and through the arrangements made by OCR to ensure a consistent approach by all examiners. Examiners should contact the Principal Examiner if they have any concerns about the way an individual script should be marked.

Examiners must refer to the OCR booklet 'Instructions to Examiners' issued in each examination session for details about administrative procedures.

**Marks**

- The mark for a particular question is obtained by applying the mark scheme and Assessment Matrix.
- The maximum number of marks for each assessment objective is as follows:

	AO1	AO2	AO3	Total
<b>Part a. of all questions</b>	8		4	12
<b>Part b. of all questions</b>	8	16	4	28
<b>Total</b>	16	16	8	40

**Assessment Objective 3**

- Up to four AO3 marks can be awarded for each part question.
- Where a full-length answer is provided:
  - two marks should be used to credit the ability to construct clear arguments and explanations and to provide a range of evidence and to communicate these in a clear, structured manner, making use of appropriate political vocabulary;
  - two marks should be used to credit spelling, punctuation and grammar.
- Where answers are short, examiners must use their judgement: a very short answer which meets the above criteria should not necessarily be awarded full marks for AO3.

- 1 (a) Explain what a constitution is. [12]  
(b) Discuss the view that the British constitution has been subject to fundamental change since 1997. [28]

[Specification: What a constitution is and does; recent changes to the UK constitution]

**Explain what a constitution is.** [12]

**AO1 [8] AO3 [4]**

- Candidates must display knowledge and understanding of what a constitution is along the lines that it is:
  - a fundamental statement of laws;
  - covering the power, functions and duties of the various organs of the state;
  - and the rights and duties of the individual (in relation to the state and other individuals);
  - which usually enjoys a status higher than the ordinary law;
  - and is often entrenched.
  - A constitution therefore describes functions and sets limits.
- ‘Sources’ and ‘principles’ of the UK constitution are relevant only to the extent they illustrate what a constitution is.
- To reach Level 4, candidates must be able to identify and explain a range of features but do not expect great depth.
- Credit candidates who are able to use a range of contemporary examples, including non-British ones.

**Discuss the view that the British constitution has been subject to fundamental change since 1997.** [28]

**AO1 [8] AO2 [16] AO3 [4]**

- For AO1 marks, candidates must display knowledge and understanding of changes made to the constitution since 1997, for example:
  - House of Lords reform;
  - *Constitutional Reform Act, 2005*;
  - devolution, including Northern Ireland,
  - *Human Rights Act, 1998*;
  - new electoral systems for Europe, Scotland, Wales and London;
  - *PPERA, 2000*;
  - use of referendums;
  - Bank of England;
  - *Freedom of Information Act*;
  - anti-terrorism legislation etc;

- For AO2 marks, candidates must discuss whether the British constitution has been subject to fundamental change since 1997. Such a discussion should cover some of the following points:
  - the number and range of reforms;
  - the importance (or lack of it) of individual reforms;
  - the collective impact (or lack of it) of the reforms.
- Reward focus and balance, but distinguish between description (AO1) and analysis (AO2).
- Level 4 answers will offer a discussion that is clearly focussed on whether the British constitution has been subject to fundamental change since 1997 - or not - and there will be some attempt at a balanced analysis.
- Candidates who provide answers which are short, poorly focussed, lacking range and/or depth and which present only one side of the argument should be placed in the lower levels.
- Reward any attempt to delineate different points of view.
- Credit candidates who are able to use contemporary examples.

- 2 (a) Outline the main features of the membership of the House of Commons and the House of Lords. [12]  
(b) Discuss the view that parliament is unrepresentative. [28]

[Specification: accountability and representation; membership of House of Commons and House of Lords.]

**Outline the main features of the membership of the House of Commons and the House of Lords.** [12]

**AO1 [8] AO3 [4]**

- Candidates must display knowledge and understanding of the main features of the membership of the House of Commons and the House of Lords and should include some of the following:
  - Commons: elected (mention can be made of the qualifications for membership), mainly male, middle-aged and white, overwhelmingly educated to degree level, bias towards the professions and business, party allegiance, presence of the government, front and back benchers, the Speaker;
  - Lords: unelected (part hereditary, part appointed, part ex-officio), mainly male, middle-aged and white, presence of bishops and law lords, presence of parties and features of party allegiance, presence of government. Better candidates may mention crossbenchers, 'working peers' and the lack of payment.
- To reach Level 4 candidates must be able to identify and outline a range of features, but do not expect great depth.
- Candidates who outline the features of one chamber should be placed in Levels 1 or 2.
- Credit candidates who are able to use contemporary examples and data.

**Discuss the view that parliament is unrepresentative.** [28]

**AO1 [8] AO2 [16] AO3 [4]**

- For AO1 marks, candidates must display knowledge and understanding of the unrepresentative (and representative) nature of parliament, for example:
  - the unelected nature of the House of Lords;
  - unrepresentative aspects of the electoral system for the House of Commons;
  - the social and political composition of the Commons and Lords;
  - the nature of party organisation and discipline.
- Better candidates will also be aware of what being 'representative', and therefore 'unrepresentative' might mean.
- For AO2, marks candidates must discuss the extent to which both houses of parliament are unrepresentative of the electorate. Such a discussion should cover some of the following points:
  - how far the Commons and Lords are typical of the electorate;
  - how far the Commons is unrepresentative because it does not accurately reflect the wishes of the electorate as expressed at general elections;

- how far MPs are able to represent the views of their constituents (delegate theory);
  - how far strong party discipline limits the freedom of MPs to represent their constituents;
  - the absence of any formal representations of regions or interests but the continuing presence of hereditary peers and the lords spiritual.
- Better candidates may be aware of theories of representation (eg Heywood's distinction between the delegate model, the representative model, mandate model, resemblance model) but these are not required.
  - Reward focus and balance, but distinguish between description (AO1) and analysis (AO2).
  - Level 4 answers will clearly focus on whether parliament is unrepresentative - or not - and there will be some attempt at a balanced analysis. Better candidates will also appreciate that much depends on what you mean by 'unrepresentative'.
  - Candidates who provide answers which are short, poorly focussed, lacking range and/or depth and which present only one side of the argument should be placed in the lower levels.
  - Credit candidates who are able to use contemporary examples.

- 3 (a) Outline the convention of individual ministerial responsibility. [12]  
 (b) Discuss the view that individual ministerial responsibility is no longer important in British politics. [28]

[Specification: Responsible government, including the collective and individual responsibility of ministers]

**Outline the convention of individual ministerial responsibility.** [12]  
**AO1 [8] AO3 [4]**

- Candidates must display knowledge and understanding of the main features of the convention of individual ministerial responsibility and should include some of the following:
  - its status as a 'non-statutory rule';
  - the basic principle that each minister, and not departmental officials, are responsible, or answerable, for the actions of their department, whether taken with the minister's knowledge and consent or not;
  - explanatory, amendatory and sacrificial forms;
  - role responsibility and personal responsibility.
- Better candidates will clearly understand to whom ministers are responsible (parliament in particular, but also the PM, their party and the electorate) and that ministerial responsibility does not necessarily mean that ministers resign if they make a mistake, but do not expect great depth.
- To reach Level 4, candidates must be able to identify and outline a range of features of the convention, but do not expect great depth. Candidates who restrict themselves to resignation alone will not get beyond Level 3.
- Credit candidates who are able to use contemporary examples.

**Discuss the view that the convention of individual ministerial responsibility is no longer important in British politics.** [28]

**AO1 [8] AO2 [16] AO3 [4]**

- For AO1, marks candidates must display knowledge and understanding of the extent to which the convention of individual ministerial responsibility has been observed in recent years, for example:
  - ministers defending their departments and policies in parliament - or not;
  - ministers apologising for their own or their department's mistakes - or not;
  - ministers resigning in compliance with the convention - or not.
- For AO2, marks candidates must discuss the view that the convention of individual ministerial responsibility is no longer important in British politics. Such a discussion should cover some of the following points:
  - the convention continues to operate, in that ministers continue to explain, apologise and occasionally resign in response to the doctrine, for example, in the case of resignation, Carrington, Robinson, Mandelson (x2), Morris, Hughes, Blunkett;

- however, there have also been a number of occasions when it has apparently not worked, and when ministers have failed to explain, apologise or resign immediately, for example, Currie, Baker, Lamont, Mellor, Mates, Hamilton, Howard, Davies, Byers;
  - further, the reappointment of Mandelson, Morris, Hughes and Blunkett might suggest that resignation/sacking is not the punishment it used to be;
  - also, few ministers since 1945 have resigned because of mistakes made by their civil servants - most minister have resigned for personal or political reasons;
  - and since 1988 government by agency has made it more difficult to distinguish between the policy failure of ministers and the administrative failings of agencies;
  - much depends upon the political climate and the willingness of the prime minister to stand by a minister or to seek a scapegoat.
- Reward focus and balance, but distinguish between description (AO1) and analysis (AO2).
  - Level 4 answers will clearly focus on whether the convention of individual ministerial responsibility is still important in British politics - or not - and there will be some attempt at a balanced analysis.
  - Candidates who provide answers which are short, poorly focussed, lacking range and/or depth and which present only one side of the argument should be placed in the lower levels.
  - Credit candidates who are able to use contemporary examples.

- 4 (a) Outline the main features of the rule of law. [12]  
(b) Discuss the view that the judiciary has too much power in the British political system. [28]

[Specification: the rule of law; role of the judiciary; power of the judiciary, relationship between the legislative, executive and judicial branches.]

**Outline the main features of the rule of law.** [12]

**AO1 [8] AO3 [4]**

- Candidates must display knowledge and understanding of the main features of the 'rule of law' and should include some of the following:
  - the general principle that everyone is equal before the law and that everyone is equally subject to the law ie that the law is supreme and not an individual or the government and that nothing and no one is above the law;
  - and the practical consequences of this ie that the law is applied to all equally and indiscriminately; that no one should be punished except for a breach of the law; that fair and consistent procedures should be applied in all legal cases; that the law is interpreted and applied by judges who are independent of government and free from political influence.
- To reach Level 4, candidates must be able to identify and outline a range of features, but do not expect great depth.
- Credit candidates who are able to use contemporary examples, though this is likely to be unusual.

**Discuss the view that the judiciary has too much power in the British political system.** [28]

**AO1 [8] AO2 [16] AO3 [4]**

- For AO1 marks, candidates must display knowledge and understanding of power of the judiciary in the British political system, for example in relation to:
  - statutory interpretation;
  - judicial review;
  - European law (EU and ECHR).
- And:
  - their formal independence;
  - their wider role.
- For AO2 marks, candidates must discuss the view that the judiciary have too much power in the British political system. Such a discussion should cover some of the following points:
  - the power of judges to interpret British law - statutory interpretation, judicial review - and the broader consequences of this power, for example, their role in 'creating law';
  - the power of judges in relation to European law (both the EU and the ECHR);

- the limits on these powers;
- principles of the constitution such as the rule of law, the sovereignty of parliament and the separation of powers.
- issues in relation to security of tenure and dismissal;
- the wider role of judges, for example, in conducting inquiries.
- Reward focus and balance, but distinguish between description (AO1) and analysis (AO2).
- Level 4 answers will offer a discussion that is clearly focussed on whether the judiciary have too much power in the British political system - or not - and there will be some attempt at a balanced analysis.
- Candidates who provide answers which are short, poorly focussed, lacking range and/or depth and which present only one side of the argument should be placed in the lower levels.
- Credit candidates who are able to use contemporary examples.

- 5 (a) Outline the roles of the principal institutions of the European Union. [12]  
(b) Discuss the view that the European Union is a democratic organisation. [28]

[Specification: power, accountability, representation; main institutions (of the EU); the institutional relationship between the UK and the EU; current issues, for example . . . democratic deficit]

**Outline the roles of the principal institutions of the European Union.** [12]

**AO1 [8] AO3 [4]**

- Candidates must display knowledge and understanding of the roles of the principal institutions of the EU and should include the following:
  - the European Council (heads of state who make the major decisions about the future of the EU);
  - the Council of Ministers (principal decision-making body of the EU, consisting of ministers from each member state);
  - the European Commission (the permanent bureaucracy which carries out EU policy, but also the major source of ideas);
  - the European Parliament (elected representatives from each member state);
  - the European Court of Justice (interprets and enforces European law).
- To reach Level 4, candidates be able to identify and outline the roles of a range of institutions, but do not expect great depth.
- Reward candidates who mention other institutions, for example, the Committee of the Regions or IGCs.

**Discuss the view that the European Union is a democratic organisation.** [28]

**AO1 [8] AO2 [16] AO3 [4]**

- For AO1, marks candidates must display knowledge and understanding of the democratic – or otherwise - nature of the principal EU institutions, both individually and collectively, for example:
  - their membership and how they are chosen;
  - their powers and influence;
  - their accountability;
- And:
  - how decisions are made.
- For AO2, marks candidates must discuss the extent to which the EU can be regarded as a democratic - or undemocratic - organisation. Such a discussion should cover some of the following points:
  - the view that the EU is unrepresentative, unaccountable, secretive, bureaucratic, remote and stimulates only low levels of participation;
  - the nature of the various institutions: the inter-governmental nature of the Council, the power of the Commission which acts as both the executive and legislature, the existence of appointed and therefore unaccountable commissioners, the limited role for the elected EP, secrecy/lack of

- transparency of the decision-making process, MEPs lack of accountability, the influence of pressure groups and special interests;
- but, at the same time, the 'democratic' features of the EU, for example: the way in which the EP is chosen, the increasing powers of the EP, the legislative process and the checks and balances built into the system eg the ECJ;
  - and the accountability of some governments indirectly through referendums (Maastricht, EU constitution) and domestic elections.
- Reward focus and balance, but distinguish between description (AO1) and analysis (AO2).
  - Level 4 answers will offer a discussion that is clearly focussed on whether the EU is a democratic organisation - or not - and there will be some attempt at a balanced analysis.
  - Candidates who provide answers which are short, poorly focussed, lacking range and/or depth and which present only one side of the argument should be placed in the lower levels.
  - Credit candidates who are able to use contemporary examples.

**2597**

**Mark Scheme**

**January 2007**

**Mark Scheme 2694  
January 2007**

	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
<b>Level 4</b>	10-12	10-12	5-6
<b>Level 3</b>	7-9	7-9	4
<b>Level 2</b>	4-6	4-6	2-3
<b>Level 1</b>	0-3	0-3	0-1

**1 Discuss the principal weaknesses of presidential primaries.** [30]

(Specification: Presidential Elections: nominating process)

AO1: Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of presidential primaries which may include: a definition; open and closed primaries; the invisible primary; front loading; New Hampshire primary; Super Tuesday; winner-takes-all and proportional primaries; growth in number and importance of primaries. Reward candidates who illustrate their answers with examples from the 2000 and 2004 primaries.

AO2: Expect candidates to discuss the principal weaknesses of presidential primaries which may include: widespread voter apathy and boredom; low and unrepresentative turnout; the length and cost of the process; the role of the media; the possibility of bitter personal battles developing within the parties. Reward those who briefly discuss the fact that primaries do also have certain strengths, though this should not become the focus of the discussion.

**2 Analyse the claim that the two major parties have recently become more ideologically distinguishable.** [30]

(Specification: Political Parties: philosophy and ideology)

AO1: Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the two major political parties which may include: a brief sketch of their historical development including those principal events which have shaped them; their national organisation; their generally decentralised nature; their all-embracing nature; their dominance of American politics.

AO2: Expect candidates to analyse the claim that the two major parties have recently become more ideologically distinguishable. This may include analysis of: the significant political changes in the southern states, the break up of the Solid [Democratic] South and the movement of many southern conservative voters (and politicians) to the Republican Party; the divisive nature of the Clinton and George W Bush presidencies especially regarding impeachment (Clinton) and the Iraq War (George W Bush); increased party cohesion in Congress; the Red-Blue divide. Reward candidates who challenge the assumption of the question.

**3 Assess the importance of the roles played by pressure groups in American Politics.** [30]

(Specification: Pressure Groups: roles and functions; arguments for their influence and existence)

AO1: Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of pressure groups and specifically their roles and functions. This may include a definition as well as knowledge and understanding of pressure groups' roles and functions concerning: representation; participation; education; agenda building; prioritising; programme monitoring. Candidates may also draw attention to the numerous access points which may benefit pressure groups. Look for a range of illustrative examples.

AO2: Expect candidates to make an assessment of the importance of the role of pressure groups in different area of American politics. This may be structured in terms of their importance to: Congress (including committees as well as individual members); the executive branch (including executive departments, agencies and regulatory commissions); the courts (in terms of *amicus curiae* briefs and financial support for litigants); the people (in election campaigns and through the media).

**4 Discuss the reasons why the American Constitution has been so rarely amended.** [30]

(Specification: Constitution: Philadelphia Convention; amendments. The Supreme Court: issues concerning judicial review)

AO1: Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of: the U.S. Constitution; the Philadelphia Convention and Founding Fathers; the formal process of constitutional amendment; the Supreme Court's power of judicial review. Answers should be illustrated with examples of both successful and unsuccessful attempts to amend the Constitution as well as with recent relevant Supreme Court cases.

AO2: Expect candidates to discuss the reasons why the American Constitution has been so rarely amended which may include: the complicated amendment process including the need for super-majorities; the intentions of the Founding Fathers; the vagueness of parts of the Constitution allowing interpretative amendment by the Supreme Court using its power of judicial review; the experience over the prohibition amendment in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century; the "unwritten constitution" (ie presidential practice, congressional elaboration).

**5 Evaluate the factors which influence how members of Congress vote. [30]**

(Specification: Congress: the legislative process; party cohesion. Political Parties: philosophy and ideology)

AO1: Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of a range of factors which may influence how members of Congress vote. These may include: political parties; the views of constituents; the administration; pressure groups; colleagues and staff; personal beliefs. They may also display knowledge and understanding of when votes are held in the legislative process as well as voting in the Senate on the confirmation of appointments and the ratification of treaties.

AO2: Expect candidates to evaluate a range of factors. To reach Level 4, candidates will need to have evaluated a comprehensive range of factors. Look for evaluation in terms of the way in which factors will change according to: which member is being considered; the issue being voted upon; the nearness to an election and the margin of victory at the last election; the persuasiveness of both the party leadership and the White House.

**6 Discuss the reasons why some presidents are more effective than others. [30]**

(Specification: The Presidency: theories of presidential power; relations with Congress)

AO1: Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of a number of presidents, their administrations, as well as their successes and failures in terms of legislation, foreign policy etc. They will also display knowledge and understanding of theories of presidential power. Reward candidates who attempt to define what makes an effective presidency and how it might be measured (in terms of re-election, congressional support scores and the president's legacy).

AO2: Candidates will discuss a number of reasons likely to affect presidential effectiveness. These may include: a clear mandate at the previous election; a united party; party control of and effective relations with Congress; efficient staff; power of persuasion; relevant policies; high approval ratings; events/crises; presidential character/personality. Candidates should show awareness that these factors can vary from one presidency to another and even with a presidency.

- 7 Discuss the reasons why appointments to the Supreme Court are regarded as being so important. [30]**

(Specification: *The Supreme Court: membership and appointment process; issues concerning judicial review*)

AO1: Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of how appointments to the Supreme Court are made. This may include: the search for a nominee; possible pools of recruitment; the Senate confirmation process. Candidates should also show knowledge and understanding of the powers of the Supreme Court which contribute to the importance of appointments to this body. Reward candidates who illustrate their answers from appointments made by George W. Bush.

AO2: Expect candidates to discuss a number of reasons why Supreme Court appointments are regarded as so important. These will include: the small size of the Court; the life tenure of appointments; the importance of the decisions made by the Supreme Court in its role as umpire of the Constitution and safeguard of rights and liberties; the politicised nature of the appointment/confirmation process.

- 8 Analyse the effectiveness of the checks which the Senate has on the president. [30]**

(Specification: *The Constitution: checks and balances. The Congress: oversight of the executive branch. Presidency: relations with Congress*)

AO1: Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of a range of checks which the Senate has on the president. These will include their exclusive powers of: confirmation of appointments; ratification of treaties; trying cases of impeachment. These may also include their concurrent powers (with the House) regarding: the scrutiny of the legislation proposed by the president; oversight of executive branch actions; power of the purse.

AO2: Expect candidates to analyse the effectiveness of a range of checks which the Senate has on the president. Look for a balanced answer in which both examples of effectiveness and ineffectiveness are analysed. Expect this analysis to include a discussion of whether these checks are more – or only – effective when the two branches are controlled by different parties.

**2694**

**Mark Scheme**

**January 2007**

**Mark Scheme 2695  
January 2007**

Levels	AO1	AO2	AO3
4	10-12	10-12	5-6
3	7-9	7-9	4
2	4-6	4-6	2-3
1	0-3	0-3	0-1

**1 Assess what is required to make government legitimate. [30]**

(Specification: power, authority and legitimacy)

AO1 Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the concept of legitimacy and its application to the notion of government. Reward reference to factors that transform naked power into rightful authority (eg constitutions, legal codes and popular mandates) and references to the 'right to rule' (Weber), or 'belief in legitimacy' (Beetham). Knowledge should be illustrated with reference to appropriate political thinkers - these might include Aristotle, Rousseau, Weber and Beetham.

AO2 Candidates should examine some of the following: rule based upon operating in the interests of the many as opposed to the few (reference may be made to Rousseau and the general will), the manufacturing of legitimacy through public relations campaigns (reference may be made to Beetham's legitimisation of power), and legitimacy requiring constitutionalism and consent (Weber and right to rule). Candidates who examine a loss of legitimacy for government through a 'legitimacy crisis' (Habermass), should also be rewarded.

**2 Compare and contrast the principal elements of Marxism and social democracy. [30]**

(Specification: Political Ideology, socialism and Marxism)

AO1 Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the principal elements behind the ideology of socialism and its particular strands of Marxism and social democracy. Expect candidates to display specific knowledge on some of the following; the scientific, revolutionary, anti capitalist and proletarian dictatorship aspects of Marxism and comparisons with the reformist, ethical, mixed economy and parliamentary aspects of social democracy. Knowledge should be illustrated with reference to relevant theorists - these might include Marx, Engels, Gramsci, Bernstein, Tawney, and Crosland.

AO2 Candidates should compare and contrast the key aspects of the above theories. They may wish to consider differences in approaches to achieving socialist style states (revolution versus gradualism), the extent of opposition to capitalism (humanising versus abolition), and attitudes to equality (absolute versus relative equality). Candidates who consider elements of similarity (eg attitudes towards human nature, evils of unfettered capitalism, class based analysis and focus on economic equality) as well as highlight differences should access the higher mark bands.

**3 Evaluate the justifications for limiting individual liberty.****[30]***(Specification: rights, liberty and equality)*

AO1 Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the concept of liberty, including its definition and its different forms (eg negative and positive). Understanding of the differing attitudes towards limiting individual liberty should be shown - these might well include conservative and classical liberal perspectives on ensuring the maintenance of law and order, to socialist views emphasising the needs of the common good over the freedom of the individual. Candidates should illustrate their knowledge with reference to relevant theorists - these might include Hobbes, J S Mill, Rousseau, Berlin and Rawls.

AO2 Candidates should examine the need to limit individual liberties and the extent advocated by differing theories. Expect reference to the small extent of limitation advocated by classical liberal theorists linked to the need to protect the liberty of others and the transformation of liberty into licence (J S Mill's very simple principle). Reward those that highlight subsequent criticisms of traditional liberal attitudes that this results only in the 'freedom to starve' for the masses. Contrasts may be made with socialist and modern liberal attitudes that focus on the need to limit the extent of negative liberty in order to enhance through positive liberty the interests of the masses (eg state interventionism). Reward also those candidates that are aware of changing attitudes towards individual liberties in times of peace and war and the demands for limiting individual liberties for the safety of society as a whole.

**4 Discuss the justifications for political revolutions.****[30]***(Specification: political obligation, disobedience and revolution)*

AO1 Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the meaning of revolution and the various theories as to why they occur. Expect reference to the ideas of left wing thinkers such as Lenin and Marx explaining communist revolutions as well as liberal (eg Madison) attitudes on explaining liberal and nationalist revolutions. Candidates may include reference to particular revolutions but should not include long narrative examples on individual occurrences. Knowledge should be illustrated with appropriate reference to theorists - these might include Marx, Lenin, Madison, Arendt and Beetham.

AO2 Candidates should discuss how far revolutions reflect disillusionment with the existing regimes as suggested by liberal thinkers (eg Arendt on Revolution), or are seen as an inevitable progression of history (Marx). Other theories that may be included relate to the extent of a loss of legitimacy for the existing regime (Beetham) and the extent to which revolutions can be seen as a process of cyclical progression (Hegel). Candidates who also question the validity of the theories as well as outline their justifications should access the higher levels of the mark band.

**5 Analyse the most important characteristics of the modern state.** [30]

(Specification: *the nature and purpose of the state*)

AO1 Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the meaning of the state and be able to identify central characteristics. These may include the necessity for sovereignty, territorial limitations on the authority of the state, and the internal acceptance of compulsory jurisdiction. Knowledge should be illustrated with reference to relevant theorists - these might include Hobbes, Locke, Marx, Pareto and Michels.

AO2 Candidates should analyse what characteristics are required for the state to function. They may wish to contrast classical liberal and pluralist perspectives on the neutral state (eg nightwatchman and laissez faire models) with elitist and Marxist perspectives on the state as an oppressive entity. Reward candidates who are able to identify why some characteristics are more important than others - this may focus on the necessity for sovereignty.

**6 Discuss where sovereignty is best located in a democratic state.** [30]

(Specification: *the state and sovereignty and forms of government*)

AO1 Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the meaning of internal sovereignty and how it is applied within democratic regimes. Expect understanding of the principles behind popular and parliamentary sovereignty and variations in the location of sovereignty dependent upon the type of democratic regime (eg sovereignty of the constitution in states with codified constitutions versus parliamentary authority in uncodified systems). Knowledge should be illustrated with reference to relevant theorists - these might include Rousseau, J S Mill, John Austin and A V Dicey.

AO2 Candidates should discuss the justifications for popular sovereignty as outlined by for example Rousseau, highlighting that ultimate authority should reside with the people and be expressed through the general will. Reward those that discuss criticisms of Rousseau's theories, particularly relating to the role of the legislator (see Talmon and the origins of totalitarian democracy). Comparisons should be made with those theorists that see sovereignty residing in legislative bodies, eg Austin and the role of the 'Monarch in Parliament'. Candidates may wish to highlight deficiencies with parliamentary sovereignty leading to 'elective dictatorship' or 'modern autocracy'. Reward those that recognise the problems in defining the most appropriate location due to issues such as federalism and international obligations.

**7 Assess the need for a separation of powers in government.****[30]***(Specification: Forms of government - the separation of powers)*

AO1 Candidates will display knowledge and understanding of the meaning of separation of powers. They may display understanding of the concept by relating it to the ideas of theorists such as Montesquieu, or Madison and use brief examples drawn from its operation, or lack of in modern states. Candidates should be able to make reference to the three functions of government. Long narrative descriptions of its operation in the US or fusion of powers in the UK should receive only limited reward. Knowledge should be illustrated with reference to relevant theorists - these might include Locke, Montesquieu and Madison.

AO2 Candidates should make an assessment of the utility of the concept and may wish to consider the benefits of fragmentation of power for protection of the rights and liberties of the citizenship and minorities. They may wish to consider issues such as the dangers of majoritarianism and the fears of an overly powerful executive. Candidates who also consider some of the potential pitfalls of a separation of powers (eg immobilisme or gridlock and an over powerful judiciary) should access the higher bands of the mark scheme.

**8 Assess which is more important for democracy, government by the people or for the people.****[30]***(Specification: Representation, participation and consent - the nature of political representation; Forms of government - characteristics of democracy)*

AO1 Candidates should display knowledge and understanding of the basis for democracy and the distinction between direct and indirect democracy. Expect understanding of the principles behind direct rule as seen in Athenian, participatory and modern aspects of popular decision making such as the use of referenda and initiatives. Understanding of representative democracy and the limits placed on involvement by the citizenship should also be rewarded. Knowledge should be illustrated with reference to relevant theorists - these might include - Aristotle, Rousseau, Mill and Schumpeter.

AO2 Candidates should assess the importance of direct and participatory systems of democracy (government by the people) in comparison with representative features (government for the people) more prevalent in modern systems. Expect reference to criticisms of direct democratic decision making (elitist arguments advocated by for example Plato and Schumpeter) such as lack of knowledge and dangers of 'mob rule', as well as assessment of some of its qualities (eg improving civic virtue and social solidarity). Candidates in considering the criticisms of direct democracy should assess how representative democracy rectifies these (eg constitutional safeguards and restrictions on government seen in liberal democracy). Candidates may wish to comment on how a number of representative systems still retain elements of government by the people (eg adherence to the principles of popular sovereignty and the use of modern direct democratic devices), thus seeing the concepts of government for and by the people as a continuum as opposed to being mutually exclusive.

**Advanced GCE English Literature (7828/3828)**  
**January 2007 Assessment Session**

### Unit Threshold Marks

Unit		Maximum Mark	a	b	c	d	e	u
<b>2707</b>	Raw	60	45	40	35	30	25	0
	UMS	90	72	63	54	45	36	0
<b>2708</b>	Raw	60	48	42	37	32	27	0
	UMS	120	96	84	72	60	48	0
<b>2709</b>	Raw	60	51	45	39	33	28	0
	UMS	90	72	63	54	45	36	0
<b>2710</b>	Raw	60	48	42	37	32	27	0
	UMS	90	72	63	54	45	36	0
<b>2711</b>	Raw	60	52	46	41	36	31	0
	UMS	90	72	63	54	45	36	0
<b>2712</b>	Raw	60	49	44	39	34	30	0
	UMS	90	72	63	54	45	36	0
<b>2713</b>	Raw	60	48	42	37	32	27	0
	UMS	120	96	84	72	60	48	0

### Specification Aggregation Results

Overall threshold marks in UMS (i.e. after conversion of raw marks to uniform marks)

	Maximum Mark	A	B	C	D	E	U
<b>3828</b>	300	240	210	180	150	120	0
<b>7828</b>	600	480	420	360	300	240	0

The cumulative percentage of candidates awarded each grade was as follows:

	A	B	C	D	E	U	Total Number of Candidates
<b>3828</b>	20.6	46.0	75.0	89.5	98.4	100.0	252
<b>7828</b>	24.7	53.9	93.3	100.0	100.0	100.0	94

**94 candidates aggregated this session.**

For a description of how UMS marks are calculated see:  
[http://www.ocr.org.uk/exam\\_system/understand\\_ums.html](http://www.ocr.org.uk/exam_system/understand_ums.html)

Statistics are correct at the time of publication.

**Advanced GCE Government and Politics (3834/7834)**  
**January 2007 Assessment Session**

### **Unit Threshold Marks**

Unit		Maximum Mark	a	b	c	d	e	u
<b>2595</b>	Raw	100	75	67	59	52	45	0
	UMS	90	72	63	54	45	36	0
<b>2596</b>	Raw	100	71	63	55	47	40	0
	UMS	90	72	63	54	45	36	0
<b>2597</b>	Raw	100	92	81	70	59	48	0
	UMS	120	96	84	72	60	48	0
<b>2694</b>	Raw	90	71	63	56	49	42	0
	UMS	90	72	63	54	45	36	0
<b>2695</b>	Raw	90	70	61	53	45	37	0
	UMS	90	72	63	54	45	36	0

### **Specification Aggregation Results**

Overall threshold marks in UMS (i.e. after conversion of raw marks to uniform marks)

	Maximum Mark	A	B	C	D	E	U
<b>3834</b>	300	240	210	180	150	120	0
<b>7834</b>	600	480	420	360	300	240	0

The cumulative percentage of candidates awarded each grade was as follows:

	A	B	C	D	E	U	Total Number of Candidates
<b>3834</b>	23.8	52.4	66.7	90.5	95.2	100	23
<b>7834</b>	0	55.6	88.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	9

For a description of how UMS marks are calculated see;  
[www.ocr.org.uk/OCR/WebSite/docroot/understand/ums.jsp](http://www.ocr.org.uk/OCR/WebSite/docroot/understand/ums.jsp)

Statistics are correct at the time of publication

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