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Cambridge
Pre-U

Example Candidate Responses (Standards Booklet)

Cambridge Pre-U
Comparative Government and Politics

9770

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Introduction

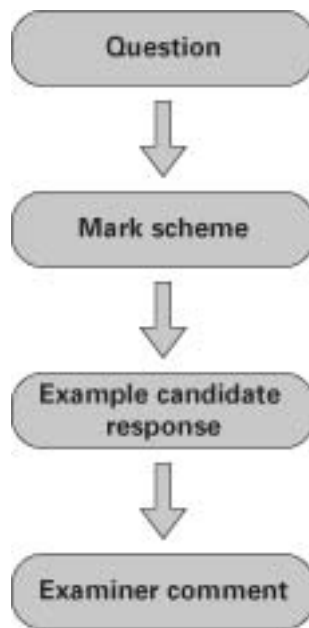
The main aim of this booklet is to exemplify standards for those teaching Cambridge Pre-U Comparative Government and Politics (9770), and to show how different levels of candidates' performance relate to the subject's curriculum and assessment objectives.

Cambridge Pre-U is reported in three bands (Distinction, Merit and Pass) each divided into three grades (D1, D2, D3; M1, M2, M3; P1, P2, P3).

In this booklet a range of candidate responses has been chosen as far as possible to illustrate each band (Distinction, Merit and Pass). Each response is accompanied by a brief commentary explaining the strengths and weaknesses of the answers.

Grades are not awarded on components on each question or on part questions. This booklet therefore draws attention to responses and the characteristics that are considered to illustrate qualities that if repeated on other answers would lead to Distinction, Merit or Pass grade work. There are gaps in this material as in some instances there were no responses at that level. However, where this was the case and Centres study that option they should look at the general characteristics of responses for that level in a different topic as the mark scheme used is generic for the two types of question asked.

For ease of reference the following format for each paper has been adopted:



Each question is followed by an extract of the mark scheme used by examiners. This, in turn, is followed by examples of marked candidate responses, each with an examiner comment on performance. Comments are given to indicate where and why marks were awarded, and how additional marks could have been obtained. In this way, it is possible to understand what candidates have done to gain their marks and what they still have to do to improve their grades.

Past papers, Examiner Reports and other teacher support materials are available on <http://teachers.cie.org.uk>.

Assessment at a glance

Component	Component Name	Duration	Weighting (%)	Max raw mark	Max weighted mark	Type of Assessment
Paper 1	Concepts & Institutions (UK and/or USA)	1 hour 30 minutes	25	100	100	Written paper externally set and marked
Paper 2	Parties and Ideas (UK and/or USA)	1 hour 30 minutes	25	100	100	Written paper externally set and marked
Paper 3	Ideologies and Philosophies	2 hours	25	100	100	Written paper externally set and marked
Paper 4	Contemporary International Debates: contexts and comparisons	1 hour 40 minutes	25	100	100	Written paper externally set and marked

Teachers are reminded that a full syllabus is available on www.cie.org.uk

Paper 1 – Concepts and Institutions (UK and/or USA)

Short essays

These are the shorter questions in the exam and the candidate is required to answer two of this type of question. The questions are marked out of 25 and are expected to take the candidate about 20–25 minutes to answer each one.

Generic mark scheme

Generic marking descriptors: short essays

- The full range of marks will be used as a matter of course.
- Examiners will look for the 'best fit', not a 'perfect fit' in applying the Levels.
- Examiners will provisionally award the middle mark in the Level and then moderate up/down according to individual qualities within the answer.
- The ratio of marks per AO will be 3:2.
- The weighting of marks for each AO should be considered, but this is reflected in the descriptor: marking should therefore be done holistically.
- Question-specific mark schemes will be neither exhaustive nor prescriptive. Appropriate, substantiated responses will always be rewarded.

Level/marks	Descriptors
5 25–21 marks	<p>ANSWERS MAY NOT BE PERFECT, BUT WILL REPRESENT THE VERY BEST THAT MAY BE EXPECTED OF AN 18-YEAR-OLD.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Excellent focused explanation that answers the question convincingly. Towards the bottom, may be a little unbalanced in coverage yet the answer is still comprehensively explained and argued. • Excellent knowledge and understanding of relevant Political terms and/or institutions. Answer is comprehensively supported by an excellent range of concepts and examples that are used to sustain the argument. • Excellent substantiated synthesis bringing the explanation together.
4 20–16 marks	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW MANY FEATURES OF LEVEL 5, BUT THE QUALITY WILL BE UNEVEN ACROSS THE ANSWER.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A determined response to the question with strong explanation across most but not all of the answer. • High level of knowledge and understanding of relevant Political terms and/or institutions. Answer is well illustrated with a variety of concepts and examples to support the argument. Description is avoided. • Good substantiated synthesis.
3 15–11 marks	<p>THE ARGUMENT WILL BE COMPETENT, BUT LEVEL 3 ANSWERS WILL BE LIMITED &/OR UNBALANCED.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engages well with the question, although explanation is patchy and, at the lower end, of limited quality. • Fair display of relevant political knowledge and understanding, but this tends to be used to illustrate rather than support the argument. Explanation starts to break down in significant sections of description • Synthesis is patchy in quality.
2 10–6 marks	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A LIMITED LINK BETWEEN THE QUESTION & ANSWER.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some engagement with the question, but explanation is limited. • Limited explanation within an essentially descriptive response. • Patchy display of relevant political knowledge and understanding that illustrates rather than supports any argument. • Synthesis is limited/thin in quality and extent.

1 5–0 marks	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A CLEAR SENSE OF THE CANDIDATE HAVING LITTLE IF ANY ENGAGEMENT WITH THE QUESTION.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Little or no engagement with the question.• Little or no explanation.• Little or no relevant political knowledge.• Little or no synthesis.
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Full essays

These are the longer questions in the exam and the candidate is required to answer one of this type of question.

The questions are marked out of 50 and are expected to take the candidate about 45 minutes to answer.

Generic mark scheme

Generic marking descriptors: full essays

- The full range of marks will be used as a matter of course.
- Examiners will look for the 'best fit', not a 'perfect fit' in applying the Levels.
- Examiners will provisionally award the middle mark in the Level and then moderate up/down according to individual qualities within the answer.
- The ratio of marks per AO will be 1:2.
- The weighting of marks for each AO should be considered, but this is reflected in the descriptor: marking should therefore be done holistically.
- Question-specific mark schemes will be neither exhaustive nor prescriptive. Appropriate, substantiated responses will always be rewarded. Answers may develop a novel response to a question. This is to be credited if arguments are fully substantiated.

Level/marks	Descriptors
5 50–41 marks	<p>ANSWERS MAY NOT BE PERFECT, BUT WILL REPRESENT THE VERY BEST THAT MAY BE EXPECTED OF AN 18-YEAR-OLD.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Excellent focused analysis that answers the question convincingly. • Excellent sustained argument throughout with a strong sense of direction that is always well substantiated. Excellent substantiated conclusions. • Excellent understanding of relevant Political knowledge (processes, institutions, concepts, debates and/or theories) illustrated with a wide range of examples. • Towards the bottom, may be a little unbalanced in coverage yet the answer is still comprehensively argued. • Candidate is always in firm control of the material.
4 40–31 marks	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW MANY FEATURES OF LEVEL 5, BUT THE QUALITY WILL BE UNEVEN ACROSS THE ANSWER.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A good response to the question with clear analysis across most but not all of the answer. • Argument developed to a logical conclusion, but parts lack rigour. Strong conclusions adequately substantiated. • Good but limited and/or uneven range of relevant knowledge used to support analysis and argument. Description is avoided.
3 30–21 marks	<p>THE ARGUMENT WILL BE COMPETENT, BUT LEVEL 3 ANSWERS WILL BE LIMITED AND/OR UNBALANCED.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engages soundly with the question although analysis is patchy and, at the lower end, of limited quality. • Tries to argue and draw conclusions, but this breaks down in significant sections of description. • Good but limited and/or uneven range of relevant political knowledge used to describe rather than support analysis and argument.
2 20–10 marks	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A LIMITED LINK BETWEEN QUESTION AND ANSWER.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited engagement with the question, with some understanding of the issues. Analysis and conclusions are limited/thin. • Limited argument within an essentially descriptive response. Conclusions are limited/thin. • Factually limited and/or uneven. Some irrelevance. • Patchy display of relevant political knowledge.
1 9–0 marks	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A CLEAR SENSE OF THE CANDIDATE HAVING LITTLE IF ANY ENGAGEMENT WITH THE QUESTION.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or no engagement with the question. Little or no analysis offered. • Little or no argument. Assertions are unsupported and/or of limited relevance. Any conclusions are very weak. • Little or no relevant Political knowledge.

Section A: UK Concepts and Institutions

Question 1

Explain how power is shared between the Westminster Parliament, the Scottish Parliament and the Welsh Assembly. [25]

Mark scheme

Explain how power is shared between the Westminster Parliament, the Scottish Parliament and the Welsh Assembly. [25]

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the evaluation and the argument. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

The purpose of this question is to explain how power is divided between the three institutions.

The candidate could explain that there are **three categories of power** that can be devolved, namely **administrative** powers, **financial** powers and **legislative** powers.

The question requires:

- The candidate to show an **understanding of some of the powers that are reserved for the Westminster Parliament** e.g. Constitutional changes, foreign policy, defence policy, economic and financial policy, trade and commerce.
- The candidate should also show an **understanding of the powers devolved to the Scottish Parliament** e.g. health, education, local government social services, housing, varying tax rates, criminal and civil law and public transport.
- Finally the candidate should include an **understanding that the powers devolved to the Welsh Assembly** are similar to those of the Scottish Parliament but they are more limited, in particular and very importantly the Welsh Assembly does not have legislative or tax-varying powers.

Example candidate response – Distinction

Under New Labour, various powers were devolved from Westminster to newly created institutions such as the Scottish Parliament and Welsh Assembly. ~~Established~~
~~in 1992~~

Scottish
 The Scottish Parliament has primary executive powers, and it is able to legislate in most areas, including education, welfare and tax and policing. It is therefore able to introduce policies different to the rest of Britain in these areas; for example Scotland's standards quality for free university in Scotland, and the Scottish Parliament provides free care for the elderly. However, Westminster retains control over some areas, such as foreign affairs, demonstrating that the Scottish Parliament is not free to do as it pleases in all areas. As a consequence of the aforementioned areas which the Scottish Parliament does have the power to legislate on, Scotland also has its own legal system which differs to that of the UK. This can lead to inconsistency between the English and Scottish systems, for example in May 2011 a Scottish newspaper broke a superinjunction granted in an English court.

Welsh
 The Welsh Assembly currently only has secondary powers, meaning that it is free only to alter legislation passed by Westminster and not to create legislation itself. This has led to ~~changes~~ ^{NHS} ~~in~~ ^{in Wales} ~~greater~~ ^{greater} independence from Westminster legislation for example, ~~the~~

but the policy is generally far more consistent
 with Westminster than Scotland's, for instance, since
 the Assembly only has secondary powers. This is set
 to change however, a recent referendum saw Wales
 vote overwhelmingly for increased powers to be given
 to the Assembly (63.5% voted in favour), meaning
 that soon Wales may have powers more similar to
 those of Scotland, and will perhaps be less dependent
 on Westminster.

When discussing devolution, two things should be kept
 in mind. Firstly, both the Scottish Parliament and Welsh
 Assembly are reliant on an annual 'block' grant
 from the Treasury. They do not have independent
 revenue if the exchequer decided to slash or
 stop funding altogether, both institutions would
 be powerless. Secondly, and most importantly,
 Parliament is still sovereign in the UK, meaning
 that Westminster could dissolve the Scottish
 Parliament and Welsh Assembly just as easily as
 it established them. While unlikely, this demonstrates
 that the Westminster Parliament is still far more
 powerful than any devolved institutions.

Substantiated synthesis bringing explanation together LS

(23)

Examiner comment – Distinction

The candidate should focus on explaining how power is shared between the three institutions. There should be a balanced explanation of all three institutions and the links that connect them. This answer has achieved those objectives and has provided a good explanation of the powers.

The answer is well structured and has provided a paragraph each on the Scottish Parliament and the Welsh Assembly and has explained the links for each of them with the Westminster Parliament. Most of the explanation has been developed with some relevant examples.

The candidate also explained that some powers were shared and this showed a sound understanding of the concepts involved in this question. The answer would have been enhanced if the difference between an assembly and a parliament had been explained more fully.

Mark awarded = 23 out of 25

Question 2

Explain the functions of the House of Commons.

[25]

Mark scheme

Explain the functions of the House of Commons.

[25]

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the evaluation and the argument. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

The purpose of this question to focus on explaining the range of functions of the House of Commons. There are a number of functions that candidates could include, such as:

- The role of '**sustaining government**'. The House of Commons usually supports the government giving it authority and legitimacy.
- **Legislation**. Formal process of passing laws. In order for a law to be enforced in the courts, it must be passed through the formal procedures of both Houses of Parliament.
- **Law making**. This is to be distinguished from legislation. Through Private Members' Bills and free votes the House of Commons can play a part in creating laws.
- **Making government accountable**. Basic principle of British parliamentary system that ministers answer to Parliament, particularly the House of Commons.
- **Representation**. The House of Commons represents the people. When it debates an issue the people as a whole are involved.
- **Redress of grievances**. MPs frequently take up issues raised by their constituents with relevant ministers and officials.
- **Influence**. Government is subject to variety of influences e.g. pressure groups and the media. The House of Commons can be regarded as another avenue for influence.
- On occasions the House of Commons **can determine the nature of a government** following a General Election when there is no clear outcome.

Example candidate response – Pass

2 The House of Commons, being the elected chamber of our bicameral parliament, holds the powers of legislation and representation, along with the vital role of scrutiny, being its main functions.

1- Legislating is the foremost function of the House of Commons. A strength of our First Past the Post electoral system is that we usually elect a strong and stable government (with the 1974-9 and, it could be argued, current coalition being exceptions). This strength of government and also the parliamentary sovereignty means that laws can be effectively and quickly passed. Legislation happens in 5 stages: First reading, second reading, committee stage, debate and vote, before being passed onto the House of Lords for revision and scrutiny.

F? Another important function of the House of Commons is representation. The 646 MPs are each elected by a constituency to represent them in parliament, a key feature of our representative democracy. MPs can represent through using their vote in the commons, through debate, committees and, if applicable, in cabinet. MPs have to take representation into important account as it is their constituents votes which give them legitimacy, and a job. No matter how high a minister climbs within his party, unless he represents his constituency there is a chance he will lose his/her seat.

D?

3 A final key function of the House of Commons is scrutiny. Among accusations of 'Elective dictatorship', a phrase coined by Lord Hailsham, it is important that the Commons shows a degree of self-scrutiny, mainly of the executive. The executive is scrutinised in a number of ways. Firstly through debate in house, mainly the Prime Ministers Questions, which gives the house a weekly opportunity to directly scrutinise the Prime Minister, mainly by the opposition party and leader. A second method of scrutiny is select committees, whose role it is to scrutinise certain aspects of the commons. For example the scrutiny of Blair's executive after failure to find weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. A final method of scrutiny is votes. Despite the roll of party whips and lack of secret ballot, a backbench rebellion could scrutinise, and bring down, an executive which it is unhappy with, the famous example being Margaret Thatcher in 1989.

Engages well but explanation is patchy. L3

Examiner comment – Pass

This question, which concerned the functions of the House of Commons, expected the candidate to explain a range of functions. This candidate identified three functions, namely legislating, representation and scrutiny. Therefore, the response was engaging with the question but the explanation was patchy.

In dealing with the first function (legislating), the candidate did not fully explain the function of the House of Commons' role in passing legislation and commenting on the importance of both debates and committees, rather the candidate focused more on explaining the strengths of first-past-the-post system of elections. Therefore, the response drifted away from the purpose of the question.

The second function identified was representation and here where the candidate provided some useful and relevant information it tended to be generalised. More detailed explanation with some appropriate examples would have improved the quality of the answer.

The third function, scrutiny, was explained reasonably well but some relevant and detailed examples would have enhanced the quality of the explanation.

Overall, the response made a reasonable attempt to address the question but did not explain the functions fully. It, therefore, reflects the first bullet point in the generic mark scheme for Level 3 which says 'Engages well with the question, although explanation is patchy'.

Mark awarded = 13 out of 25

Question 3

Explain the strengths of an uncodified constitution.

[25]

Mark scheme

Explain the strengths of an uncodified constitution.

[25]

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the evaluation and the argument. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

The purpose of the question is for candidates to explain the arguments put forward by opponents of a written constitution to justify the existence of an uncodified constitution. Candidates do not need to include all the following arguments but should be judged on the quality of their explanation.

- The sovereignty of Parliament would be lost because a **written constitution would remove the most basic feature** of the British political system.
- The **unelected judiciary would become more influential** because the courts would more likely to be used to resolve constitutional disputes.
- There would be a **loss of flexibility in the system**.
- The feature of 'strong' government would be lost because the **government would lose some of its power to act decisively**.

Example candidate response – Merit

1 An uncodified constitution simply means that the constitution is not only written down in one place/document. In the UK it means that flexibility and that sovereignty is held within parliament rather than the constitution which means that parliament is granted greater powers. It also means that in Britain the constitution is made up of several different elements that give it more depth than the USA codified constitution. The main components are Statute Law, Common Law (Judge made law), Works of Constitutional Authority, Conventions and now EU Law. Israel and New Zealand are the other two major democratic countries with an uncodified constitution.

2 The main strength of an uncodified constitution is the fact that it is very flexible. It can move with the times and react to political realities. The flexibility of the UK constitution has allowed Britain to change and evolve in ways that a codified constitution such as the American model would not have allowed. Examples being devolution and membership to the EU/EC. The flexibility given by having an uncodified constitution allows each government of the day to create any law it wishes (within reason, government could not ban elections because the public would rebel), this also means that each government is not bound by previous governments and crucially cannot bind its followers.

3 Another strength of the constitution being uncodified is that it means parliament is sovereign, not the constitution. This gives parliament and intern government greater strength and stability because it is not undermined by the constitution. In Britain the strength of parliament and strong government is placed at the forefront of politics, an example being the election system FPTP which generally creates strong governments with large majorities (the exception being the current coalition government where no party had an absolute majority). Therefore the strength that the uncodified constitution gives parliament through its sovereignty is an important strength of the uncodified constitution in the UK.

4 Another argument that constitution should be uncodified is that where the constitution ends, tyranny begins (John Locke), which means that if there is a codified constitution where it ends, because it cannot possibly be all encompassing, there will be chaos. The US constitution attempted to amend this fault in its codified constitution in the Bill of Rights, in which the 9th Amendment states all powers not written in the constitution are granted to the states. This shows that the uncodified nature of the British constitution allows for more of a blend between laws that are written, statutes and laws that are not, because of the inclusion of conventions and works of constitutional authority that help clarify how the country should be run.

Strong explanation across most of the answer

16

Examiner comment – Merit

This question concerned the strengths of an uncodified constitution. In their introduction the candidate provided a good attempt to define an uncodified constitution. However, rather than giving some examples of other countries that have uncodified constitutions the candidate would have done better to identify some of the strengths that they would be going on to explain.

After the introduction, the candidate provides some good explanation for three strengths. Namely, that such a system is 'very flexible', 'means that parliament is sovereign' and 'that where the constitution ends, tyranny begins'. There are several ways in which this answer could have improved in order to attain a distinction level. A wide range of strengths could have been provided as there was no reference to the role of the judiciary. Some more detailed examples could have been included, particularly in the last paragraph.

This answer meets the criteria provided by the first bullet point from the generic mark scheme for Level 4. It provides 'a determined response with strong explanation across most but not all of the answer'.

Mark awarded = 16 out of 25

Question 4

To what extent do pressure groups damage the democratic process in the UK?

[50]

Mark scheme

4 To what extent do pressure groups damage the democratic process in the UK? [50]

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the evaluation and the argument. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

There is a range of issues that candidates may discuss and they could include the following:

A) Arguments that **pressure groups are a positive element** in democracy:

- They act as an **effective channel of communication** between the governed and the Government.
- They provide **opportunities for people** to actively take part in the political process.
- They ensure that minority groups and **interests are heard**.
- They can act as **important checks** on the power of the State.
- They can act as a **channel for discontent**, which uses peaceful means, and, therefore, possibly preventing disorder and violence.

B) Arguments that **pressure groups are a threat** to democracy:

- They can be seen as **vehicles for 'vested interests'**.
- Pressure groups themselves **may not be democratic organisations**. Therefore, they might become merely reflections of elitism rather than true pluralism.
- Some pressure groups, political parties and/or the media **might become too influential** as a result of their financial resources and links with political parties.

Example candidate response – Merit

4 In recent years there has been within the UK an increasing popularity and involvement of pressure groups. Many argue that ~~s~~ pressure groups damage democracy, although in many cases they actually serve to enhance and fulfil it.

There are many ways in which pressure groups damage the UK's

<p>Y_1</p> <p>little dev.</p>	<p>democratic process. Firstly this is through the undemocratic nature of their own internal organisations. In many groups, such as FIFA and the FA, the leader is appointed, not elected by the members. By encouraging support for such groups one is promoting an undemocratic process, thereby damaging UK democracy.</p>
<p>Y_2</p> <p>more detailed analysis needed</p>	<p>Furthermore, the success of the pressure group is often linked to wealth. Groups with large amounts of money, and chequebook groups such as the National Trust and Greenpeace, have the capacity to pay larger sums of money in lobbying MPs and ministers, and so are more likely to be able to achieve change for their viewpoint. This places unequal weight on the views of what is not always necessarily a majority. This is undemocratic.</p>
<p>Y_3</p>	<p>Also, groups with insider status can enact more change than those with outsider status. For example, in law the</p>

National farmers' union (WFO) has to be consulted upon proposed changes to agriculture and farming laws, and under a labour government trade unions traditionally have greater influence. The acquiring of insider status is somewhat dependant on size, and also on the similarity of ideas between the party and the pressure group, and is not chosen by the electorate. This is undemocratic.

Moreover, political participation should come through political parties, and the fulfillment of the social contract theory. With increasing pressure group participation, mirroring increased voter apathy, it can be argued that the democratic process is being undermined by the existence of pressure groups.

On the other hand, there is also evidence that pressure groups do, in fact, promote the democratic process. A key way in which this is done is by encouraging participation. A study showed that 18 to 24 year olds are more likely to vote in a Big Brother election than a general election. This shows a great voter apathy. Yet 70% to 80% of the population belong to

More examples needed

Y4

N1

a pressure group, and 45% belong to two. Therefore a greater contribution to the democratic process is achieved through pressure groups, compensating ~~for~~ the decline in political party membership. This helps, rather than hinders, the democratic process.

$N/2$ Secondly, pressure groups provide an outlet for participation. Often the electorate may feel they and their ideas are removed from the political system. Pressure groups, however, mount campaigns (such as Greenpeace buying the land for the third runway) and organize marches (like Unlock Democracy to encourage Nick Clegg to push for electoral reform). Such events help the electorate (and those not of the electorate) to feel part of the democratic process, thereby giving them a voice and strengthening democracy.

$N/3$ In addition, pressure groups promote the idea of pluralism. In a true democracy there are 'many voices', and the opinions of the minority are often ignored by politicians who wish to win elections, thus creating an (undemocratic) dictatorship of the majority. Through pressure groups,

however, minority views are represented (such as the Asexuality Visibility and Education Network (AVEN), who represent the 1% of the electorate who are asexual), ~~the~~ 'unmodern' or ~~the~~ 'non election winning' beliefs (that may be popular but are often ignored), are also represented, as seen with pro-life groups such as Stand True or SPOC (Society for the protection of unborn children). In a state ~~formed~~ traditionally founded on liberal beliefs such as toleration and diversity (both of which are prominent in a democratic process), promoting a pluralist society aids, rather than damages, the democratic process.

Furthermore, pressure groups enable the government to respond to the feeling of the electorate. The ~~the~~ pressure group 'Mothers Against Knife Crime' recently campaigned successfully to get the sentence for murder with a knife increased to twenty five years. The snowdrop campaign following the ~~the~~ Dunblaine massacre caused the possession of a handgun to be illegal. Pressure groups provide a key way to show the

government the mood of those they represent, far more effectively than the social contract theory which only fulfils that purpose at elections. As democracy is government 'by the people, of the people, for the people', by showing the opinions of the electorate pressure groups enable the government to achieve its purpose, thus helping democracy.

Concl.

In conclusion it cannot be logically said that pressure groups on the whole damage the democratic purpose of the UK. Whilst there are aspects to their relationship with the government that may be deemed undemocratic, their existence does, in reality, actually ~~enhance~~ enhance and strengthen democracy.

Some
u.

Good response with some clear analysis for most of answer but more detailed evaluation and judgement needed.

Level 4

35

Examiner comment – Merit

The purpose of this question is to provide a balanced set of arguments that discuss whether pressure groups damage the democratic process in the UK.

This answer provided a competent response to the question asked. There was a good attempt to provide a balanced argument. After a brief but focused introduction, the candidate provided four arguments that pressure groups do damage the democratic process, which was followed by four arguments against the statement. In the conclusion there was an attempt to provide a judgement on the question asked.

However, in each part of the answer there were aspects of the explanation and discussion that could have been improved. Firstly in the introduction there could have been more explanation of some of the political terms that were going to be used in the answer. For example, what does 'democratic process' mean? In the main part of the answer there could have been more detailed analysis and evidence provided when explaining some of the arguments. Finally, there could have been more evaluation of the relative importance of some of the arguments and this would have led to a more substantiated judgement. It is often the quality of the evaluation in an answer that separates answers that achieve a Merit award rather than a Distinction.

Mark awarded = 35 out of 50

Example candidate response - Pass

Y ₂	<p>Additionally, they hinder democracy due to the insider status that many of them hold. This means that plurality is at threat for every certain parts of society would have a better say in legislation than other. An example of this is the insider status that ASH holds. This anti-smoking pressure group had a huge say in the government over anti-smoking legislation whereas the outsider pressure group Fitest, who are pro-smoker's rights, had no say in government legislation. Thus, due to the potential of insider pressure groups in the government, pressure groups can hinder democracy.</p>
Dev.	
Y ₃	<p>Moreover, pressure groups damage democracy through the fact that many pressure groups are sectional-narrower to all and also internally undemocratic. This could mean again that pressure groups hinder pluralism within society as only certain people can join certain groups such as the National Union of Teachers and also many do not allow democracy within the group. For example, the chairman and president of the FA have no say and both unelected and fans, players and managers have almost no say in the group - as if the pressure group.</p>

N₁

der

On the other hand, it can be said that pressure groups do not damage democracy. Pressure groups can be seen to benefit democracy firstly for it promotes and pluralist society and also allows people to become involved in the democratic process. This can be seen in the fact that 70-80% of people will join a pressure group in their lifetime and also the RSPB has more members in it than all British political parties put together. Thus, pressure groups are good for the democratic process as they promote political participation in a way that more people will become involved.

N₂

Furthermore, another way pressure groups benefit democracy is through the fact that they ~~also~~ help to keep a check on the government. This is because insider groups can help to reform the government when making laws to make the laws more feasible with the vast majority of the electorate. This can be seen in the fact that groups such as the Bee Keeper's association are referred to on environmental issues to ensure that any policy could benefit as much of society as possible.

N₃

In addition, pressure groups help the democratic process through the vital education that they provide to the electorate on many

important issues, thus, helping the electorate to make a better informed decision in the democratic process. ~~Therefore~~ This can be seen in the recent adverts that were shown on behalf of plane shipid that highlighted the extent of plane travel on the polar ice caps, causing the demise of the polar bears. Therefore, pressure groups help to make a better informed decision for the electorate, so, helping the democratic process in the UK.

Some
Repeat:
Y4

Nevertheless, pressure groups damage democracy due to the sectional interests of many of them. Certain groups have very narrow interests and have very small membership however have an equal influence as larger groups despite the fact that they only benefit some parts of society. An example of this would be the ~~Association~~ ^{National} ~~Association~~ ^{Association} of Teachers, a group that is only for teachers. This group amongst others have fought for legislative change in education that would only benefit their narrow interests.

~~Finally, pressure groups can help the democratic process~~

Conc

In conclusion, pressure groups have a great impact on the democratic process within the UK. It can be thought that pressure groups can impact the democratic process both negatively as well

as in a positive light through factors such as education and political participation.

Attempt to give balanced argument with some development of ideas but limited substantiated judgement. Level 3 (29)

Examiner comment – Pass

The purpose of this question is to provide a balanced set of arguments that discuss whether pressure groups damage the democratic process in the UK.

This candidate provides a balanced argument with some development of some arguments. However, some of the examples are not fully explained and, therefore, some of the attempts at judgements become assertions. For example in the second paragraph the example provided is the 'Countryside Alliance' but the only real piece of information provided is that there were over 300,000 people who protested. There was no explanation of when, where, how and how effective the Alliance were.

This continues throughout the answer and towards the end there is some repetition. The conclusion is a brief summary without providing a clear substantiated judgement.

Therefore, overall the answer provides a satisfactory attempt to address the question. The basic structure of the answer is sound and if the candidate had provided more detailed explanation and examples the quality of the answer would have been greatly improved.

Mark awarded = 29 out of 50

Question 5

To what extent have Prime Ministers become more 'presidential' since 1979?

[50]

Mark scheme

5 To what extent have Prime Ministers become more 'presidential' since 1979? [50]

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the evaluation and the argument. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

The purpose of the question is to focus on a discussion of the powers of the Prime Minister. Candidates might be advised to attempt to define 'presidential' in order to provide a criteria for judgment. Candidates need to provide a balanced discussion and the following provide some of the arguments that could be included:

A) Arguments that Prime Ministers are becoming more 'presidential'

- **Formal powers** of the Prime Minister are considerable and recent PMs have used them.
- There are **no constitutional limits** to the power of the PM.
- **Fusion of executive and legislative branches** of government gives the PM direct influence over both.
- The apparatus of **government is hierarchically organised** with the PM at its head.
- The **office of PM has increased in size** over time.
- PM's importance is **magnified by media attention**.
- PM represents the country in **widely publicised international meetings**.

B) Arguments that PM's power is restricted:

- Modern government is so complicated that **one person cannot possibly control it**.
- PM has **powerful and ambitious rivals in office**. Some may be ignored, but not all.
- Important **political factions within the Party need to be represented** in the Cabinet, which means there is a need for collective leadership.
- The **media can be a powerful critic** of the PM. Can be weakened by a hostile press.
- **Senior cabinet figures can also attract political limelight** and represent the country abroad.
- **The PM's office is relatively small** compared with the Civil Service.

The various points need to be illustrated with examples since 1979.

Example candidate response – Distinction

5) Presidentialism is a term bandied about by a number of political theorists, but largely by name with the political theorist Michael Foley (1993) [2000] who is deemed as the repository of information on the subject. It is the process by which Prime Ministers tend to ape their Presidential counterparts. It might be naïve to say that Prime Ministers are becoming increasingly 'presidential' because no matter how adept the leader, the parliamentary system of government will prohibit him from the omnipotence of the President, however it is certainly true that Prime Ministers have become

<p>focused into</p>	<p>receptacles of much more power since 1979.</p>
<p>Y 1</p>	<p>Firstly, it can be said that Prime Ministers have become increasingly presidential because of their propensity to employ what Foley termed 'spatial leadership'. This is the inadvertent or concerted effort to create ideological space between their parties and governments. Prime Ministers are therefore able, by distancing themselves from the political machinery, fashion a personal, inimitable ideological stance for themselves (as typified in Thatcherism and Blairism).</p>
<p>More evidence needed</p>	<p>Secondly, Prime Ministers have tended to emulate the perquisites of a presidential system of government by harnessing a 'populist outreach'. This refers to the Prime Minister's propensity to cast himself as an ideological outsider or alien an anti-establishment figure with an affinity for the public at large. The Prime Minister begins to pride himself on tapping into the zeitgeist and becoming attuned to the mood and</p>
<p>Y 2</p>	<p></p>

Swing of public opinion. Blair arguably succeeded in tapping into the mood of the nation by placing himself as a pillar of reassurance after the 7/7 bombings. Brown, although less adept at this phenomena, managed to obtain an early boost in his premiership in the infancy of his term as Prime Minister when he registered the mood of doubt supporting the nation after flooding, dead and the resurgence of foot and mouth (although he was unable to capitalise on this early success through his procrastination over when to call a general election).

Secondly, since 1979 Prime Ministers (or prospective Prime Ministers) have tended to forge personalised election campaigns (an implicitly American novelty). This had crystallised in the recent 2010 TV debates which many called a 'new low in demagoguery'. Due to the media obsession with celebrity of all kinds, the Prime Minister has been forced to become a 'political celebrity' himself and be telegenic and adept in front of the camera. This failed dismally.

Once again for Gordon Brown, who has often been pilloried for his ineptitude in front of the camera (as demonstrated in his publicly ridiculed YouTube appearance in which he outlined plans for an MP payback scheme in the aftermath of the expenses scandal). ~~When Gordon~~ While Gordon Brown faltered abysmally, Nick Clegg was quite ironically, able to use his third party status in order to convey himself (at least in the first debate) as a 'man of the people' (utilising the populist outreach option Foley noted).

Finally, Prime Ministers have tended to, in the case of landslide majorities, characterise themselves as endowed with a personal mandate. The landslide majority on Tony Blair in 1997 (1999 and 2001/05) seemed to imbue him with the political will to doggedly pursue a regime change in Iraq, despite electoral opinion and internecine conflict. Thatcher may also have felt this personal mandate (as if the le-

order, not the party, has secured the victory in 1979, and in the aftermath of the 1982 Falkland's War.

However, despite the ways in which Prime Ministers can ape Presidents (of which there are an inordinate number), it is unfeasible that ~~the~~ presidentialism could ever occur in practice. For instance, the UK's parliamentary system of government means that Prime Ministers are appointed through parliamentary elections (not a separate electoral system as displayed in the US).

~~So~~ Secondly, no matter how inordinate the powers of the Prime Minister become or how ostensibly defunct the outmoded model of cabinet government is, it remains that no matter how much of an indelible mark a Prime Minister puts down on the political landscape, they cannot survive a political coup, or withstand the resignation of some of the 'big beasts' of cabinet who, through internal popularity and/or public identification, become almost unassailable. This was typified most men-

Orally by Margaret Thatcher in 1990 whose recalcitrant Euroscepticism had begun to disenchant her cabinet. Major resignations included Michael Heseltine (1986) Foreign Secretary, Geoffrey Howe (Deputy Prime Minister, 1990) and Nigel Lawson (Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1989).

To compare and contrast however, no matter how denuded Gordon Brown's premiership ~~is~~ is he suffered eight backbench revolts in his first month and has the dubious title of the shortest serving Labour leader in their political history. He survived a number of aborted coups and calls for resignation (as highlighted by James Purnell, the then Health and Pensions Secretary) ~~there~~.

Hence, whilst to Presidents the cabinet is a mere 'sounding board' the Prime Minister will always be, no matter how much they try to contest it, indivisibly linked to their cabinet.

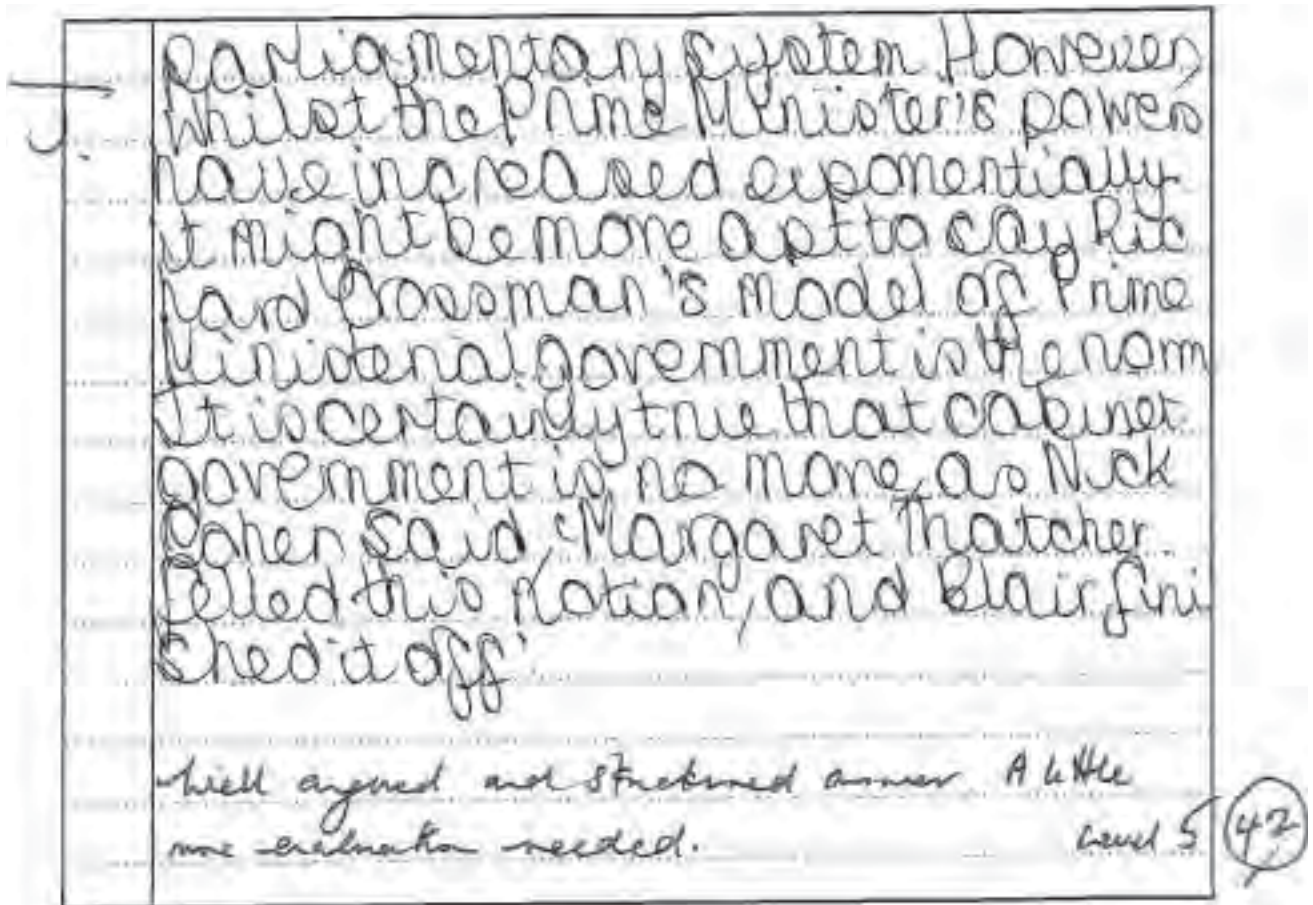
Prime Ministers ~~have also~~ ~~cannot~~ cannot be said to have fully opened Presidentialism.

N4 Also because, as a parliamentary officer, the Prime Minister is head of government, not head of state (he therefore does not wear 'two hats' the way Barack Obama does).

N5- Finally, some political theorists have argued that the Prime Minister will never emulate the President, simply because of the news media of the UK. The political theorist Rose has argued that UK news lacks the reverence of USA news and other countries' mass media. UK news tends to operate on a 'good news' vs 'bad news' contingent and so if the news thinks disparagingly of a Prime Minister, it will demonstrate this.

der This was exemplified in the last members of Blair's premiership when he became little more than a 'lame duck' Prime Minister. Fury over the illegal war in Iraq blighted him. Also, the news were incredibly derisive towards Gordon Brown and arguably made his premiership in the last stages untenable.

One Overall the Prime Minister is circumscribed from Presidentialism because of the sheer mechanics of the



Examiner comment – Distinction

The purpose of the question is for the candidate to discuss whether Prime Ministers are becoming more 'presidential'. Therefore, there should be arguments and evidence to support the case that they are more 'presidential' and arguments and evidence that they are not. This is what the candidate provides in a clearly structured answer.

In the introduction the candidate provides a definition and explanation of the term 'presidential' which is an effective way to start an answer. This is followed by developed explanations for four arguments that support the argument that PMs are more 'presidential'. The candidate then provides five arguments to disagree with the question and these arguments are also well explained with a good range of appropriate and detailed examples.

In the conclusion there is a judgement provided to answer the question. However, the answer could have been improved still further if there had been more evaluation of the arguments, so that there was a clear indication as to which arguments were more important than others.

Mark awarded = 42 out of 50

Section B: US Concepts and Institutions

Question 7

Explain how power is shared between the Federal and State governments.

[25]

Mark scheme

Explain how power is shared between the Federal and State governments.

[25]

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

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Specific

The purpose of the question is that Candidates could initially explain the concept of Federalism in the US. They might briefly explain that there was a significant debate amongst the Founding Fathers concerning the relationship between central and state governments. Eventually a compromise was found with both federal government and state governments having their own powers and each checking the other.

The candidate should then briefly explain the separation of powers between the federal and state governments. There are three categories of power:

- **Powers exercised only by federal government.** These include foreign policy, defence policy, trade regulations, and currency regulations.
- **Powers only exercised by state governments.** These include taxation on property and goods, control of local government, control over city government.
- **Powers exercised by both federal and state governments.** These include enforcement of criminal and civil law, health care, welfare and housing, transport, taxation and education.

Example candidate response – Merit

7 1-2	<p>The power shared by the Federal and State governments is codified in the Constitution. The constitution is the guidelines of the government written by the founding fathers with the intention of creating a united states of America based on a system of checks and balances and also a separation of powers.</p>
1	<p>Before the constitution the federal government had little to powers other than to tax and represent America. The founding fathers, especially Hamilton, argued for a large centralised federal government where the larger states were more represented. Madison and his Connecticut compromise argued that a Federal government needed to be strong but the states needed their own power too. The federal government has the power to declare war and make treaties with international relations. The states do not exercise this right because of fear that they would break away or declare war on each other.</p>
2 1-2	<p>The federal government has the right to tax the people. However this is only a right of the House of representatives in Congress. This is because when the English ruled America they taxed with no representation; one of the biggest issues for the causation of the war of independence. The house of Reps is voted directly by the people and is therefore taxing with representation. The states do not have the right to tax. It may appear that the federal government has a lot of power but in fact due to the 10th Amendment "all powers not stated in the constitution lie with the states". This includes capital punishment which all but 12 states have. California one of the largest of the states</p>
3 1-2	

has recently been pleading for a bill to ban civil partnerships and homosexuals. Although this is an issue of great dispute, nowhere in the constitution does it say that California's government can't exercise their rights this way.

4. The power of the Federal and state governments has changed and shifted over the years. Incidents like Little Rock in the 1960's are an example of a state enforcing their laws and federal powers overriding them. Court cases such as ~~Roberts vs. Wainwright~~ and Wallace vs. Jeffries are examples where federal governments especially the Supreme Court, have disputed with state rulings of representation for common and poor people in court and also religion.

5. During George Bush's presidency arguably we saw an increase in federal power with the 9/11 bombings because in a case of emergency a president and their federal team can act in the best interest of the people and take quick and direct action such as the Patriot act and the setting up of the defence committees.

Therefore power is shared by the constitution laid out by the Founding Fathers as a representation of what would work best, the constitution clearly works if it has lasted so long and has managed to unite the states. Power also changes and adapts to the times to keep the states and federal government in a state of progression and compromise.

Focused response is to some development. 4/4

Examiner comment – Merit

This question asked the candidate to explain how power is shared between the Federal and State governments. After a brief introduction in which the candidate is focused on the key issue, but does not give a clear definition of some of the terms, the candidate provides a good attempt to explain the division of powers.

The candidate identifies five issues: firstly an explanation of the early debate concerning federal power, then the power of declaration of war, followed by taxation, the issues of the changing nature of the division of power and finally the argument that federal power has increased since 9/11. These five issues are dealt with reasonably well but with varying degrees of success. In particular, the last issue needed more explanation and clarification. There was a focused conclusion with an attempt to provide some evaluation.

This answer did not fully identify the specific powers that government has and then show how these are divided between the federal and state governments and explain that some of them are shared. It is worth remembering that these short answers allow the candidates to show their understanding of the factual knowledge for the paper (in this case, institutions and concepts) and their ability to explain this concisely.

Marks awarded = 16 out of 25

Example candidate response – Pass

⑦ Federal vs State.

Pre 1900 - Federal and State Separation
 FDR + CBS Co-operative Federalism
 Bush Sr Clinton - Return to state power
 Bush Jr - Homeland Sec etc.

The Creation of the Constitution by the founding fathers in 1787 established one of the world's best known federal systems of government. It was the aims of these 55 men to create a system that could not be plagued by tyranny, therefore ~~the~~ Lord Acton once said 'absolute power corrupts, absolutely' so the federal nature was designed to distribute power between states and institutions so no clear leader would ever emerge, whilst at the same time separating it from the 'MOS' that was the American citizens. The nature of federalism has however

evolved significantly since the last was written. Prior to 1900, most of the political power was invested in the states, as stated in article 10 of the bill of rights, which declared any unenumerated powers to be in their hands. It was this era that saw serious ~~conflict~~ conflict between states, most notably the Civil War, with the government in Washington with little power over regulation of states.

2 The nature of federalism changed during the great depression, which left state governments struggling to handle unemployment and the increasing numbers of homeless people. From ~~this emerged~~ emerged the theory of Co-operative federalism in which the government would provide much of the aid needed to states, which would in return sacrifice ~~much~~ a large amount of control over how it was spent. The best example of this was "The New Deal" as implemented by President Roosevelt in the 1930's, creating a large economic stimulus nationwide

Which individual states had little control over. Another advocate of co-operative federalism was President Lyndon Johnson who implemented the Great Society during his presidency in the 1960s.

Co-operative federalism has ~~recently~~ however become unfavourable, ~~but~~ however became unfavourable in the late 1980s and 1990s, with presidents such as Reagan rolling back control of the states. Reagan is once quoted as saying "Big government cannot solve the problem, government is the problem". ~~Bush~~ and Clinton continued to appeal to a more conservative audience ~~with~~ during his presidency.

The tax relationship between federal and state government can be clearly read largely to circumstances with 9/11 sparking the introduction of the "Homeland Security" office of homeland security, sacrificing state rights in favour of greater overall security. ~~to~~ Bush President George W. Bush further moved away

From state powers with his economic stimulus package, and reshuffle of the Federal bureaucracy following hurricane Katrina.

F7 It is clear that the relationship between Federal and state power has been constantly variable since the Constitution was written. Although in theory most rights reside in the States, ever since McCulloch vs Maryland in 1816, the balance of large powers has shifted more towards the Federal government. Some powers but question specific powers not analysed. 23

Examiner comment – Pass

This question asked the candidate to explain how power was shared between the Federal and State governments. The candidate provided a general explanation of power sharing by making useful references to the Constitution and some concepts such as ‘cooperative federalism’. The candidate then continued to explain how some aspects of federalism have changed. Although these issues show knowledge and understanding of some aspects of federalism the explanation did not fully answer the question.

In the introduction the candidate should have provided a clear definition and explanation of the term ‘federalism’. Then the focus of the answer should have centred on identifying specific powers that are exercised by governments and explaining how these are shared between the federal and state governments. For example, foreign policy and defence policy are only exercised by federal government while education and taxation on property are only exercised by state governments. The candidate could then have gone onto explain that some powers, such as law enforcement, health care and housing are shared by the two levels of government.

It is worth remembering that these short questions allow candidates to demonstrate their understanding of their factual knowledge for the paper and their ability to explain this concisely.

Mark awarded = 11 out of 25

Question 8

Explain the functions of the Senate.

[25]

Mark scheme

Explain the functions of the Senate.

[25]

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

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Specific

The purpose of the question is for the candidate to explain the main features of the Senate. There is a wide range of information that the candidates could include. The main areas that could be expected are:

1 Composition

The main points that could be included are:

- There are 100 Senators – 2 from each State
- Senators are elected for a 6-year term of office.
- Every 2 years one-third of the seats are contested.
- Senators must be 30 years old or more.
- Senators have been US citizens for nine years or more,

2 Some features/aspects

- The Vice-President is the President of the Senate.
- President of the Senate cannot vote, but does have a casting vote in the case of a tied vote.
- Senate Majority leader is a key figure, who is chosen by the members of the largest party in the Senate.
- Senate Minority leader plays a similar role for the smaller-represented party.
- Both Parties have their own committees
- Senators sit on Congressional committees.
- From time to time, all Senators will meet to discuss matters of common concern. Such sessions are known as caucuses or conferences.
- Senate has few formal rules.
- Generally Senators have more influence than individual members of the House.
- Party pressures are fewer.
- The Senate's principle responsibility is foreign affairs.
- Senators tend to have high status because they represent a large number of people and serve long terms of office and have a national profile. The Senate can offer an effective starting point for those considering a presidential bid.

Example candidate response – Distinction (D1)

PLAN: over see exec. ^{scrutinise} ^{clearance.}
 Political thicket → judicial appoint
 → 8 thinkers versaille → Bork Miers
 → treaties. -appoint Bolton
 → Bill → impeach → Nixon
 legislation Clinton
 → Filibuster

The congressional Senate consists of 2 member representatives of every state and they are elected every 6 years in staggered elections of $\frac{1}{3}$ every 2 years. Arguably, their main role is to discuss and approve legislation. ~~that~~ that is either introduced into the senate or that comes from the House of Representatives, ~~as they have a 6 year term~~ due to their

2 they are seen to be above the 'political thicket' and therefore able to make decisions that are less based on 'bringing home the bacon' and more on what is right for the USA. They also have the power to filibuster legislation, which is to literally ~~tear~~ ~~it~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~death~~, the longest being 27 hours, a filibuster can be overturned by a 60-40 majority but this is often hard to reach. The other key function of the senate is as a check of the executive, founded from the principle of separation of powers and checks and balances. The senate has to approve all executive appointments including federal ~~judges~~ and supreme court judges. They use a process of hearings and interviews, Supreme Court judge Clarence Thomas said that these were brutal and that he would not want to be nominated again. The Senate is also able to reject nominations such as

D Reagan's Robert Bork in 1987, and Bush's Harriet Miers. ~~for~~
 These rejections can be based on past history of the nominee, their experience or ideological stance. The senate also has the power to approve or reject

6. Treaties made by the executive; ~~A~~ some key rejections include the Treaty of Versailles with President Woodrow Wilson and SALT 2 with Carter. One of the more controversial functions of the senate is the power to

7. hold hearings of impeachment and to ~~physically~~ actually impeach the president. This power was used in ~~1978~~ 1974 with Nixon, after the Watergate scandal, however he resigned before impeachment and Clinton in 1998, however only 3 senators voted against him. This power is arguably the most significant check of the president. Overall the key functions of the senate is the scrutiny of legislation and the executive.

Excellent substantiated explanation

LS

25

Examiner comment – Distinction (D1)

This answer has provided a focused explanation of seven functions of the Senate. The explanations are succinct but are detailed as well with some relevant examples. The whole answer shows a clear understanding of the issues and concepts involved in the question.

Mark awarded = 25 out of 25

Example candidate response – Distinction

8. The Senate plays a fundamental part in the ^{US} Machinery of Government, acting as part of Congress as the legislative body, whilst also ~~is~~ fulfilling additional roles such as oversight, particularly of the executive branch.

Most significantly, the Senate is a legislative body

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with its primary function of creating, discussing, amending and implementing legislation in coherence with the House of Representatives. ~~Since the Constitution and there are key differences between the House of Representatives and Senate that affect the functions of both, one of which being that the Senate is made up of 2 members from each state.~~

2

Therefore the Senate is not entirely representative, and as a result plays a less significant role in issues of finance, however its role in financial affairs is by no means non-existent. The Senate does, however exercise exclusive power of oversight on the executive, being the ability to accept or reject both treaties and

D

appointments made by the President. For example the Senate has rejected both the Treaty of Versailles and SALT 2 (1979) treaties under the Wilson and Carter presidencies as well as rejecting to federal Judge appointments by George W. Bush between 2001-2005. From this we can clearly see the Senate fulfilling its advise

3

and consent function, that acts as a check on Presidential power. The separation of powers therefore clearly effects the various functions of each branch, and in this case shows the Senate acting as a check on executive power. ~~The Senate also has a key function~~

~~The Senate also~~ has a key function during the impeachment process conducting the trial themselves following the House's role of gathering evidence. This function therefore applies to both the Judiciary and executive, acting as an effective check on both. As highlighted earlier the Senate has the exclusive function of rejecting or ratifying treaties, which highlights the key role of the

4.

5. Senate is foreign affairs, particularly when compared to the House of Representatives. This function is somewhat limited by the extensive use of executive agreements, of which 5000 have been made compared to just 900 treaties. The Senate therefore has many functions, in relation to both legislation and oversight, many of which act as checks through the separation of powers and exclusive powers held by Congress.

Well explained answer with sound knowledge 25 (21)

Examiner comment – Distinction

This question concerns the functions of the Senate and there are a number of functions that could be included in answer. This candidate provided five functions which were clearly identified and well-explained. The first function was that the Senate is a 'legislative body'; the second was 'its role in financial affairs'; thirdly, 'its advice and consent function' and fourthly the 'senate has a key function during the impeachment process'. Finally, its role 'in foreign affairs'.

The answer was well structured and provided supporting examples. However, this answer could have been improved further if the candidate had provided more supporting evidence and explanation as to why some of the functions were more important than others. The candidate referred to some of the functions as 'key' functions but did not fully explain why they were 'key' functions.

Mark awarded = 21 out of 25

Question 10

Assess the role of the Supreme Court in upholding the rights of American citizens.

[50]

Mark scheme

Assess the role of the Supreme Court in upholding the rights of American citizens.

[50]

General

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Specific

The purpose of this question is for the candidate to focus on a balanced discussion of the importance of the Supreme Court in US politics. There is a range of issues that could be discussed and that include:

Arguments that Supreme Court is important:

- The **Court has a wide jurisdiction**: Article III of the Constitution.
- **Judicial review extends beyond the legal system to the actions of government**, both Federal and State.
- The **Court's judgements can only be reversed through the process of constitutional amendment**.
- The Court has **immense authority and prestige**.
- The **Court judges are protected from the pressures of public opinion** due to the fact that they are appointed for life.
- The **Supreme Court created a wide appellate jurisdiction for itself** in Marbury (1803) and Fletcher (1810).

Arguments that the Supreme Court is not important:

- The **Court is limited in its ability to enforce its rulings**.
- The **Court has no power of initiative** and cannot consider a hypothetical legal question.
- **Congress has powers over the federal courts**.
- **Congress has the power of impeachment**.
- **Congress can initiate a constitutional amendment** if they oppose a ruling of the Court.
- The **Court, in the long run, cannot ignore public opinion**.
- **It can only rule on cases deemed 'justiciable'**.

Example candidate response – Distinction

10 Article III of the US Constitution states that 'The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in a Supreme Court.' This makes the Supreme Court the highest court of appeal in the USA, and it plays an important role in upholding the rights of American citizens due to the fact that the Constitution is sovereign in the USA and since it is the job of the ~~big~~ Supreme Court to interpret the Constitution, it effectively decides what rights citizens have.

1+ The case of Marbury vs Madison in 1803 gave it the Supreme Court the power of judicial review, meaning that its judgements are legally binding and are effectively law, because they set a precedent. This also means that the court can strike down laws passed by Congress if it deems them unconstitutional, which is a vital check on the power of Congress.

2+ Checks and balances exist because of the founding fathers' fear of tyranny, and the power of judicial review enables the Supreme Court to protect the ~~rights~~ rights of Americans in the event of Congress becoming too powerful. Judicial review also provides a check on the power of the President, for example the Clinton vs City of New York case in 1998 saw

the Supreme Court derive the like-item sets in-
 constitutional. The constitution ~~modernly~~ implies
 limited government, and cases such as this have
 seen the Supreme Court preserve that principle and
 therefore (albeit indirectly) protect the rights of citizens.

While the US constitution is ^{codified} ~~unmodified~~ and
 relatively ~~often~~ rigid, the Supreme Court exercises
 some degree of modernity through judicial review, thus
 upholding the rights of citizens which may be more
 relevant now than when the constitution was written in
 1789. As a result, some rights may be implied
 rather ~~than~~ than explicit. For example, the famous
 case of Roe vs Wade in 1973 ruled that women
 had ~~a~~ the right to access an abortion. Now,
 this is not directly mentioned in the Constitution
 because this issue was simply not relevant in 1789,
 but the court inferred from the third amendment
 (which protects 'against unreasonable search') that
 citizens have a right to privacy, and therefore a
 woman should have access to an abortion ~~if she~~
~~wants~~ ~~as~~ so wishes. However, the extent to which
 the Supreme Court is able to preserve rights in
 this way is controversial because much depends on
 two judicial philosophies: activism and
restraint. The former favors a modern interpretation of
 the constitution, whereas the latter ~~sets~~ suggests that
 it should be interpreted word by word. The Roe
 v Wade decision was an example of judicial
 activism since the Burger Court (1969-1982) was

① ✓ a ~~relatively~~ ^{comparatively} activist one. Whilst philosophy a ~~particular~~ ~~particular~~ particular court tends to follow, it will still protect the rights of US citizens in a modern way by providing a recent ~~interpretation~~ ~~interpretation~~ interpretation of the constitution.

In recent times, the US Supreme Court has played a role in upholding the rights of minorities in particular (although we could agree that this has not been the case throughout its history). For example, the Brown vs Board of Education case of 1954 was a landmark for the civil rights movement, and we could agree that it began a process which went on to lead to a civil rights act, a voting rights act, and affirmative action.

R ✓ Therefore by upholding the ~~act~~ rights of citizens, it can be seen how the Supreme Court can ~~help~~ indirectly contribute to the advancement of rights.

2- However, while the Supreme Court clearly has an important role to play in protecting and ~~upholding~~ upholding the rights of US citizens, it must be noted that it is unable to do so alone.

While Supreme Court judgments are legally binding across all 50 states, there have been instances in the past where some states have not upheld its judgments. The best example of this is the aforementioned Brown vs Board case, when various Southern states ~~of~~ refused to follow the court's ruling. In the end, President Eisenhower had to

eg ✓

Examiner comment – Distinction

This question expects the candidates to consider arguments about the role of the Supreme Court.

Overall the candidate provides a focused and well explained discussion of the question set. There are a number of arguments provided for both sides of the discussion with a good range of relevant and explained examples. There are a number of occasions during the answer where a judgement is provided which in turn leads to brief but focused judgement in the conclusion.

There are two ways in which this answers could have been improved. Firstly, some of the argument could have had a little more explanation. For example, in the second paragraph the Marbury case could have been explained in more detail. Secondly, the conclusion should have provided more evaluation of the issue.

Mark awarded = 45 out of 50

Example candidate response – Distinction (D1)

PLAN: → Article 3 → Supreme Court uphold constitutional and protect rights.

Based on interpretation

↓
 100% con. → ^{constitution says} judges ^{highes.}

Should be judicially active in protecting rights → Brown '54
 → Miranda ~~54~~
 → Roe '73

~~Should~~ 'legislate from Bench.

However strict con.
 ↓
 Judicial restraint
 Should only intervene when bans vs uncon.

avoid the ←
 influence of judge based on original who can 'twist intent' → Scalia and mould' Jefferson "dead"

→ uphold rights in oversight sep.
 ↳ line item veto
 → argue that they becoming involved in politics → not protecting rights at all breaching con.

→ ordinary vs citizens = judicial? Political?
 can't get to SC. Dtoqueville
 ↳ only 100 cases a year also lower judges + civil servants
 lots of money ← decide what gets seen

also in the nature of court changes \Rightarrow Warren = v. liberal others not so much

\swarrow
 \downarrow

Secular civil + unusual e.g. Buck Bell '27
 - Con. amendment
 - Size in change
 \rightarrow New deal rejection of - protecting rights!

Article 3 of the constitution explains that there must be a supreme court of America to uphold the constitution and uphold the rights of the people. However, this can be seen as difficult for the court to do. Firstly, the constitution and how to uphold it is based on interpretation, therefore the role of upholding rights ~~changes~~. Loose constructionists argue that the constitution and its meaning varies through time and situation: 'the constitution is what the judges say it is' Justice Hughes. This links to the idea of judicial activism, or 'legislation from the bench' this where the court

is proactive about protecting the rights of the people. For example in the case of *Brown v. BOARD OF EDUCATION* in 1954 it allowed the desegregation of schools and *Roe v. Wade* in 1973 that allows abortion, these show how the court is active in protecting rights. However, another interpretation is strict constructionism and the doctrine of original intent where one shouldn't interpret the meaning of the constitution to suit their own needs but stick to its original meaning. This limits to Justice Scalia described the constitution as 'dead' so far it therefore it cannot be changed or as Jefferson described it 'twisted and shaped into any form'. This limits to the idea of judicial restraint, in that the Supreme Court only steps in when something is severely unconstitutional. The different interpretations of the

constitution influence how it can uphold the rights of the people. One can argue that the Supreme Courts oversight role in separation of powers adds to its ability to protect the rights of the people. It can veto any ~~act of congress~~ if deemed unconstitutional. For example the line item veto in 1996 ^{with Clinton} which allowed the president to choose which parts of a bill he vetoes. This was overturned in the Supreme Court so they can protect the people from acts of congress. However, the Supreme Court's involvement in politics is questionable.

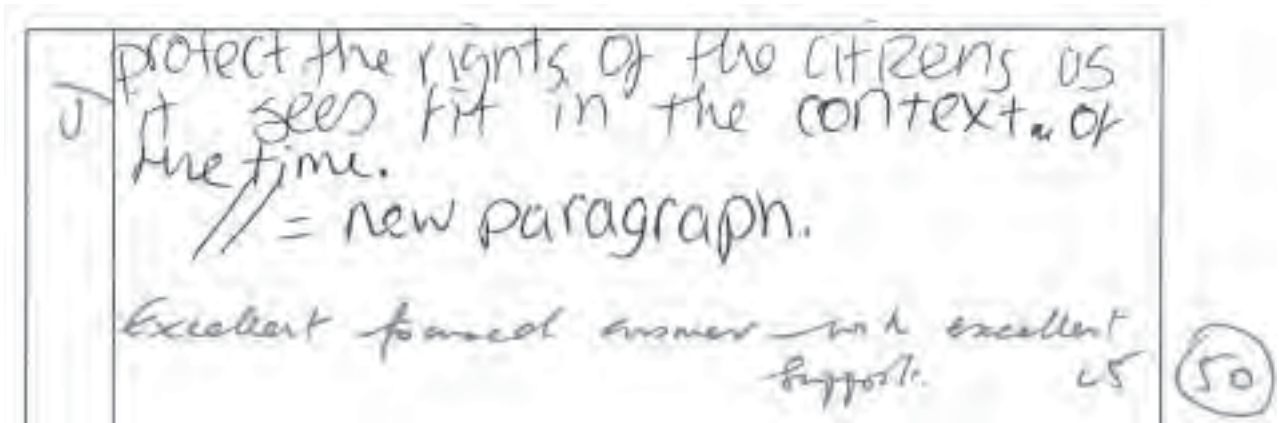
De Tocqueville said political questions become judicial questions and some argue this is breaching the ~~to~~ constitution and separation of powers and therefore the rights of the people. Also ~~the~~ Also due to the fact that constitutional amendments can override court ruling, for example the 13th and 16th override

- the Dredd SCOTT case of 1857 suggests that the Supreme Court's role in upholding rights can be undermined and overturned. ~~Also~~ The fact that very few cases reach the Supreme Court, only about 100 a year, and these are decided by lower judges and the civil servants, the court cannot pick cases, implies that it is difficult to get a case heard, undermining its role in protecting citizens rights. The nature of the court also plays a role in it as a more conservative court will have different opinions on rights as a liberal one. Federalist paper number 78 ^{by Hamilton} says: 'nothing contributes more to the courts firmness and independency or permanency in office'. However, this means a judge's personal beliefs play a key role, which can equal to a weak role in upholding

the rights. For example, Judge
 Anthony Scalia claimed that
 torture was, not 'cruel and
 unusual punishment' as it
 is not a punishment, this is
 arguably a breach of rights
 and yet because he is a judge
 he can decide what the
 constitution is interpreted as.
 The nature of the court in
 affecting its role is also
 seen in F.D. Roosevelt's
 New Deal programme, as
 the conservative court
 rejected his proposals frequently.
 This leads into the size of
 the court, as it is not
 specified in the constitution
 so it can be changed to
 suit the needs of the
 executive. For example,
 President Grant added 7
 members to the court to pass
 the economic legislation, they
 all then resigned. This is
 a clear way in which the
 court can be undermined
 and leading to a weak role
 in protecting citizens rights.
 Finally, the fact that despite

being the supreme court in America they have no power to enforce their ruling, so they can rule in favour to protect the rights of the people but they cannot ~~pro~~ enforce it. This is seen in the case of Brown v Board of Education as ~~that~~ it did not set a time scale for the desegregation of schools, so many schools merely ignored it. However, the second Brown case said they must do it with 'speed'.

De jure, the supreme court is designed to uphold the constitution and rights of the people. However, it is open to criticism as it has some weaknesses and ~~it~~ is subject to influence so, some argue that de facto it cannot fulfil that role. Overall however, the ~~supreme court~~ no system can be designed perfectly, so within the realms of the US system of government the supreme court endeavours to



Examiner comment – Distinction (D1)

This question expects the candidates to consider arguments about the role of the Supreme Court.

This answer provides an excellent example of a balanced and developed argument. The answer provides four arguments in favour of the Court and five arguments against [note that it is not necessary to always to have an equal number of arguments on both sides]. The arguments are well explained and supported with relevant examples.

There is a focused conclusion which provides a clear judgement on the question that was asked. It is a substantiated judgement which shows a clear understanding of both sides of the argument.

Mark awarded = 50 out of 50

Example candidate response – Pass

Q10 PIAN SC. constitution.

Article 3.
 "All judicial power shall be granted in one Supreme Court and in such inferior courts that Congress from time to time shall ordain and establish".

Minority rights.
 Dredd Scott. 1857
 "All ~~African Americans~~ ^{blacks} are not American citizens... All blacks are slaves and possessions of their owners."
 P v F 1898
 B v B of E T. 1954.
 Bakke 1978.
 Grutter v Bollinger 2003.

SC. follows the flag or not
 bet the S.C. follows the elections returns.

SC. may void any act that it believes is unconstitutional.

Political Rights of Prisoner.
 Miranda the
 Hamis v New York
 Hamdi v Rumsfeld.

Political.
 Baker v Carr
 Davis v Budemer
 Bush v Gore.

Abortion.
 Roe v Wade.

Hamilton no 78.
 "nothing contributes more to the courts firmness and independence as permanency in office"
 Activist v Restrained.

> Conservative
 in nature
 "Constitution is dead"
 scalia

"If my fellow citizens wish to go to hell it is my duty to help them on their way"
 Oliver Wendell Holmes.

"I do what I think is right and let the constitution catch up"

The Founding Fathers created the Supreme Court as more of

The creation of the Supreme Court was more of an afterthought. It is solely dependent on the other branches of government to enforce its decisions. Its role was to act as the guardian of the constitution and to oversee the other two branches of government. Taft stated that the Supreme Court should only take cases that "involve principles in respect to the public ^{importance} ~~interest~~ and governmental interest". Thus, the Supreme Court permits cases which where ~~see~~ a party has behaved unconstitutionally and perhaps betraying the rights of American citizens.

Article three outlines that the Supreme Court justices shall serve lifelong tenures ~~unless~~ and can only be removed through death, disability, retirement, resignation and (once ever and unsuccessfully) impeachment. Hamilton commented in ^{the} Federalist number 78 that "nothing contributes more to the courts firmness and independence than permanency in office". Brown v Board of Education of Topeka 1954 has been noted as one of the courts most activist decisions. Previously, in ~~cases like~~ Dredd the Dredd Scott case the court had held

that "blacks could not be citizens of the United States (and) all blacks were slaves and possessions of their owners!" Later in Plessey v Ferguson 1896 segregation was upheld in a decision declaring "separate but equal." Thus, Brown v Board of Education upheld the rights of American citizens. The President and Congress had failed to address the 'race issue' de jure perhaps fearing their positions. It could therefore be argued that ~~the Supreme~~ because justices are appointed for life they felt enabled to make such a controversial decision. On the otherhand, some commentators have argued that because America was under pressure in its foreign policy by other countries to rid itself of racial prejudice and segregation America had to prove itself that it upheld that "all American citizens have the right to life liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Brown v Board was a 9-0 decision which is extremely rare suggesting that justices were under pressure to vote in the way that they voted.

2- De jure the court interprets the constitution, de facto interpretations of the constitution vary from justice to justice and over time.

As stated previously 9-0 decisions are rare and plurality decisions of 5-4 are far more common. Plurality decisions support the notion of "nine politicians on a bench" as they show a deep divide ~~between~~ splitting the court. Right wing justices tend to be nominated by right presidents although some have been mistakenly made. Right wing justices generally ~~are~~ literal in their interpretation of the constitution. Scalia a prominent conservative justice stated that "the constitution is dead" showing how he believes that it's written in stone. In a case on torture Scalia voted in favor of torture saying that it wasn't ~~against~~ the "cruel and unusual punishment" because it wasn't a punishment. ~~Unfortunately~~ Ironically George W Bush hosted a ^{celebration} of *Brown v Board of Education* in 2004 but on the same day criticized a Massachusetts Supreme Court ruling that favored gay marriage. Bush said ^{ironically later} "the sacred institution of marriage should not be damaged by a few activist judges." This shows us how the credibility of the ~~court~~ ~~judges~~ is not always marred by how judges ~~constitute~~ constitution and its ~~true~~ content" ~~is sometimes~~ which is designed to uphold the rights of American

citizens is sometimes marred by politically based decisions.

Originally, the court attempted to withdraw itself from the political thicket however "political issues become legal issues" and in Bush v Gore 2000 the court de facto chose a president. Justice John Stevens stated that "The winner may never be known but the identity of the loser is clear. The nations confidence in the judge as a neutral guardian of the constitution". Clearly, the votes of those citizens which were discounted and never allowed to be recounted was ~~clearly~~ ^{mostly} a political decision.

In conclusion, the court has upheld the rights of the American citizens. Cases such as Brown v Board, Roe v Wade, and Miranda all protect the rights of individual citizens. However, the Supreme Court was intended to be conservative making either decisions based on precedent (Brown v Board was the eleventh attempt by the Supreme Court to overturn Plessy) or ~~fairly~~ ^{clearly} identifiable in the constitution. Thus, as Sir Oliver Wendell Holmes once said "If my fellow citizens want to go to hell

labelling analysis with some support.

63 (26)

it is my job to help them on their way:
 Thus, the Supreme Court follows the election returns and but does not always do what is right for individuals such as women, blacks and native Americans.

Examiner comment – Pass

This question expects the candidates to provide an explanation of arguments that, on the one hand, demonstrate why the Supreme Court is important in upholding the rights of US citizens and, on the other hand, why the Court is not so important. Overall the candidate attempts to address the question by providing some arguments for both sides of the discussion. However, there is some imbalance, in that there are four arguments against and only two arguments for. Therefore, as the mark scheme suggests there are a wider range of arguments that could have been deployed on both sides of the discussion.

Also the structure of the argument could have been better organised. After the introduction, there is an argument in favour of the statement and that is then followed by four arguments against. Finally another argument in favour is presented. The structure of the answer would have been better if the line of argument had been explained explicitly and links had been made more clearly from one argument to another.

More detailed evaluation of the various arguments would have provided more support for the attempt at a judgement in the conclusion.

Mark awarded = 26 out of 50

Question 11

11 “The most serious weakness of the US Constitution is its inflexibility.” Assess this view. [50]

Mark scheme

“The most serious weakness of the US Constitution is its inflexibility”. Assess this view. [50]

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for ‘best fit’, not ‘perfect fit’. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the evaluation and the argument. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

The purpose of this question is for candidates to focus upon a discussion of the weaknesses of the US Constitution.

The candidate should write at least a paragraph arguing that the **main weakness is inflexibility**.

Some of the arguments that could be used are:

- The process of amending the Constitution was made intentionally difficult
- An amendment must be proposed by either a two-thirds majority in both houses of Congress or by a special constitutional convention convened by two-thirds of Congress
- Any amendment arising would have to be ratified by three-quarters of the States.
- No constitutional convention since 1787
- Over 10 000 amendments proposed only 33 gained the required majority in Congress and only 27 ratified by the States.

The candidate should also discuss **the relative importance of other weaknesses**, such as:

- In the wake of the recent elections, such as 2000, the Electoral College system has been criticised and regarded as a weakness
- There is growing criticism of the constitution which prevents change taking place, for example:
 - Checks and balances have gridlock over some issues, such as the Equal rights amendment. At times it is difficult to make a decision due to insufficient agreement between different branches of government
- Weakness of political parties has added problems for reform, particularly in easing the tensions between the President and Congress.
- The system of government lacks accountability. Power is widely distributed; it is difficult to know who is responsible at times.

Example candidate response – Merit

21 "The most serious weakness of the US constitution is its inflexibility"

There are many that will agree with this view and argue that the constitution is outdated and is not able to deal with modern issues and ~~is~~ did not determine issues of Globalisation. Loose constructionists will argue that the constitution needs to be flexible in order to be sustainable and is in fact durable because of its flexibility in interpretation. A constructionist however would argue that the Founding Fathers intended to ~~then~~ make the constitution as inflexible as possible to maintain America as American.

Scalia, a supreme court judge, said that "the constitution is dead" which meant that the constitution ~~was~~ is not alive to live and breath and change. The constitution is exactly what it was intended to be and that must be maintained in order to keep the states united and maintain stability. A constructionist would argue the constitution as a document of original intent and that when the Founding Fathers sat in Philadelphia they produced a document which has endured a civil war, over 40 presidents and has created a successful system of federal and state governments which has made America the super power it is today. The ~~then~~ inflexibility of the constitution is arguably its biggest strength; Hamilton argued about the supreme court "nothing makes someone more accountable to the constitution than permanence in office" Federalist Paper 78. Hamilton argues that permanence is what upholds the

constitution and makes it so successful.

- 3 + One can argue that its weakness is its inflexibility because it means that issues such as civil rights in the 1960s was almost impossible to be amended. The Founding Fathers were all middle, upper class white males with land. Arguably they did not represent or consider issues such as racism or slavery. The NSCC fought hard to amend the constitution with cases such as Plessy vs Ferguson where blacks were classed "separate but equal" and it wasn't until 1954 and Brown vs Board of Education that the Supreme court recognised that a change needed to be made constitutionally to ensure that blacks had the same rights as all American citizens.

4. Many will argue however that the effectiveness of the constitution would decrease if it was easily amended. In order to make a constitutional amendment it has to be proposed, scrutinised and agreed by all three branches of government; judicially, executive and legislative. If the constitution could be amended by the proposal of just one of these branches then the checks and balances would not be carried out and one branch would also become more powerful. Arguably the federal government needs the constitution to be focused on broader issues in able to keep above the political thickets and uphold the rights of American people. The constitution is not flexible because it is relative of American climate, not its weather. It does not change

because the popularity of culture changes, it upholds tradition and conservative values that America is proud of. Jefferson said "we must specify our rights" and that is the main function of the constitution.

1- Despite people like Scalia saying "the constitution is dead" there have been times when the ~~constitution~~ ^{supreme court} has been more considerate and sympathetic when interpreting the constitution. Many argue that with the Bush administration during 9/11 crisis the supreme court took a step backwards. Bush was able to wire the phone lines of all suspected terrorists as well as freeze their bank accounts. The supreme court saw this as a time of emergency where the imperial president has increased power and the scrutinisation of their work is not seen as important. Arguably this is seen in a positive light because the president can work quickly and effectively in order to protect the citizens. On the other hand many will argue that the constitution should be considered in every decision to ensure that no body or organisation is too powerful at any point.

2- One can ~~argue~~ ^{recognise} that the Founding Fathers had a very hard task when writing the constitution; to ~~decide~~ what was best for the country after a time of war and unsettlement, as well as appealing to all the states. The Bill of Rights was added on as the first 10 amendments in order to get the states to unite. One can argue that the constitution's inflexibility is its weakness because it is perhaps 'colourblind' or

1/50

outdated and very hard to amend. Others will argue that if it was flexible it would not be as durable and as successful as it has been. One can ~~argue~~ ^{note} however that the Supreme Court interpret the constitution and perhaps what they say it is, it becomes. ~~Because the judges are permanent~~ they are unaccountable and removed from ~~the~~ politicisation of elections and party lines. Earl Warren was described as "a big damn fool mistake" because one in the court he had not responsibility to be representative to what the President wanted him to think or do. One can argue that the constitution is successful because it has lasted and endured the test of time. Its conservative lines and traditional values are what have kept it important. Its inflexibility ~~is~~ its biggest strength because it is removed from politics and culture, but sits above the government as a watchdog to all.

3- F? J?

Good response with clear analysis across most but not all of answer. 44

(36)

Examiner comment – Merit

The purpose of this question is for candidates to discuss the weakness of the US Constitution.

After a relevant and focused introduction, the candidate provides four arguments which are focused on the weakness that is named in the question; namely 'inflexibility'. The explanation and evidence provided is competent and well organised. The candidate goes on in the second part of the answer to provide a discussion about other aspects of weaknesses of the constitution. There is an attempt to provide a judgement in the final sentence.

It is in the second part of the answer where improvement could be made. In this type of question where there is a named issue, in this case 'inflexibility', it is advisable to clearly indicate that there are other issues to be discussed and then to provide a clear explanation and evaluation of those 'other' weakness. Evaluation, in this context, requires a focus on 'most serious' in the question. The evaluation must be relative.

Mark awarded = 36 out of 50

Paper 2 – Parties and Ideas (UK and/or USA)

Generic mark schemes

Generic marking descriptors for Papers 2 (short essays)

- The full range of marks will be used as a matter of course.
- Examiners will look for the 'best fit', not a 'perfect fit' in applying the Levels.
- Examiners will provisionally award the middle mark in the Level and then moderate up/down according to individual qualities within the answer.
- The ratio of marks per AO will be 3:2.
- The weighting of marks for each AO should be considered, but this is reflected in the descriptor: marking should therefore be done holistically.
- Question-specific mark schemes will be neither exhaustive nor prescriptive. Appropriate, substantiated responses will always be rewarded.

Level/marks	Descriptors
5 25–21 marks	<p>ANSWERS MAY NOT BE PERFECT, BUT WILL REPRESENT THE VERY BEST THAT MAY BE EXPECTED OF AN 18-YEAR-OLD.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Excellent focused explanation that answers the question convincingly. • Towards the bottom, may be a little unbalanced in coverage yet the answer is still comprehensively explained and argued. • Excellent knowledge and understanding of relevant Political terms and/or institutions. Answer is comprehensively supported by an excellent range of concepts and examples that are used to sustain the argument. • Excellent substantiated synthesis bringing the explanation together.
4 20–16 marks	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW MANY FEATURES OF LEVEL 5, BUT THE QUALITY WILL BE UNEVEN ACROSS THE ANSWER.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A determined response to the question with strong explanation across most but not all of the answer. • High level of knowledge and understanding of relevant Political terms and/or institutions. Answer is well illustrated with a variety of concepts and examples to support the argument. Description is avoided. • Good substantiated synthesis.
3 15–11 marks	<p>THE ARGUMENT WILL BE COMPETENT, BUT LEVEL 3 ANSWERS WILL BE LIMITED AND/OR UNBALANCED.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engages well with the question, although explanation is patchy and, at the lower end, of limited quality. • Fair display of relevant political knowledge and understanding, but this tends to be used to illustrate rather than support the argument. Explanation starts to break down in significant sections of description • Synthesis is patchy in quality.
2 10–6 marks	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A LIMITED LINK BETWEEN THE QUESTION AND ANSWER.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some engagement with the question, but explanation is limited. • Limited explanation within an essentially descriptive response. • Patchy display of relevant political knowledge and understanding that illustrates rather than supports any argument. • Synthesis is limited/thin in quality and extent.

1 5–0 marks	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A CLEAR SENSE OF THE CANDIDATE HAVING LITTLE IF ANY ENGAGEMENT WITH THE QUESTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or no engagement with the question. • Little or no explanation. • Little or no relevant political knowledge. • Little or no synthesis.
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Generic marking descriptors for Paper 2 (full essays)

- The full range of marks will be used as a matter of course.
- Examiners will look for the 'best fit', not a 'perfect fit' in applying the Levels.
- Examiners will provisionally award the middle mark in the Level and then moderate up/down according to individual qualities within the answer.
- The ratio of marks per AO will be 1:2.
- The weighting of marks for each AO should be considered, but this is reflected in the descriptor: marking should therefore be done holistically.
- Question-specific mark schemes will be neither exhaustive nor prescriptive. Appropriate, substantiated responses will always be rewarded. Answers may develop a novel response to a question. This is to be credited if arguments are fully substantiated.

Level/marks	Descriptors
5 50–41 marks	<p>ANSWERS MAY NOT BE PERFECT, BUT WILL REPRESENT THE VERY BEST THAT MAY BE EXPECTED OF AN 18-YEAR-OLD.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Excellent focused analysis that answers the question convincingly. • Excellent sustained argument throughout with a strong sense of direction that is always well substantiated. Excellent substantiated conclusions. • Excellent understanding of relevant Political knowledge (processes, institutions, concepts, debates and/or theories) illustrated with a wide range of examples. • Towards the bottom, may be a little unbalanced in coverage yet the answer is still comprehensively argued. • Candidate is always in firm control of the material.
4 40–31 marks	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW MANY FEATURES OF LEVEL 5, BUT THE QUALITY WILL BE UNEVEN ACROSS THE ANSWER.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A good response to the question with clear analysis across most but not all of the answer. • Argument developed to a logical conclusion, but parts lack rigor. • Strong conclusions adequately substantiated. • Good but limited and/or uneven range of relevant knowledge used to support analysis and argument. Description is avoided.
3 30–21 marks	<p>THE ARGUMENT WILL BE COMPETENT, BUT LEVEL 3 ANSWERS WILL BE LIMITED AND/OR UNBALANCED.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engages soundly with the question although analysis is patchy and, at the lower end, of limited quality. • Tries to argue and draw conclusions, but this breaks down in significant sections of description. • Good but limited and/or uneven range of relevant political knowledge used to describe rather than support analysis and argument.
2 20–10 marks	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A LIMITED LINK BETWEEN QUESTION & ANSWER.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited engagement with the question, with some understanding of the issues. Analysis and conclusions are limited/thin. • Limited argument within an essentially descriptive response. Conclusions are limited/thin. • Factually limited and/or uneven. Some irrelevance. • Patchy display of relevant political knowledge.

<p>1 9–0 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A CLEAR SENSE OF THE CANDIDATE HAVING LITTLE IF ANY ENGAGEMENT WITH THE QUESTION.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Little or no engagement with the question. Little or no analysis offered.• Little or no argument. Assertions are unsupported and/or of limited relevance. Any conclusions are very weak.• Little or no relevant Political knowledge.
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Section A: Parties and Ideas in the UK

Question 1

Explain what is meant by parliamentary democracy.

[25]

Mark scheme

Explain what is meant by parliamentary democracy.

[25]

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the relevance and quality of explanation. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

The purpose of the question is to focus on explaining the term parliamentary democracy. Candidates do not have to include all the features in order to be awarded the higher levels. The explanation could include:

- **A political system where elected representatives put forward views in a representative organ of government known as a parliament. In that parliament the democratic trends of the country are practiced. The leaders and representatives in such a system acquire political power by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote.**
- **Democracy is a system of government whereby there is a separation of power.**
- **Competitive elections**
- **Freedom of political expression**
- **Freedom of speech**
- **Freedom of the press**
- **Citizens enjoy legitimised freedoms and liberties**
- **Accept the rule of law**

Example candidate response – Merit

Parliamentary democracy is a form of government; a parliamentary democracy, such as the UK is centered around parliamentary Sovereignty. This means that constitutionally parliament is sovereign and has the power and authority to create whatever legislation they like. The word democracy is key in that it means that parliament is given its legitimacy through elections. The UK House of Commons (the more powerful house of parliament) is made up of MPs from various political parties and in a parliamentary democracy the selection of parties is key to making parliament legitimate. A legitimate democracy is defined as one where there is full suferage, a plurality of ideas and multiple competing parties to choose from. Parties are incredibly key in parliamentary democracies in that they make up parliament (in the UK the House of Commons rarely has independent candidates elected to it). Parliament legislates, represents the public, and scrutinises the government. In a parliamentary democracy soveregnty is given to parliment by the constitution, but parliament is formed and legitimised through elections.

17
L4 detail/development
4 Bit more
not a
full
answer

Examiner comment – Merit

This candidate began by talking about Parliamentary democracy in general terms but did not define the whole notion of Parliamentary democracy and drifted off the point by talking about political parties and did not really get to the grips with the notion. The explanation needed to discuss key characteristics such as freedom of political expression; freedom of speech; freedom of the press; acceptance of the rule of law as well as defining the whole notion of what the Parliamentary system entails.

Mark awarded = 17 out of 25

Example candidate response – Merit

Britain today has a parliamentary democracy, a key feature of which is fusion of powers. The Legislature and Executive are in the same branch of government. In the case of Britain they are both housed in the Commons one of the two houses of parliament. The reason for having a parliamentary democracy in the UK is that it has allowed parliament to be strong. A theory that proves that there is fusion of powers in a parliamentary democracy is Elective Dictatorship which suggests that during periods between elections governments have a monopoly over power due to parliamentary democracy and fusion of powers because there are no checks and balances.

Parliament is sovereign in the UK, unlike the codified constitution which is sovereign in the USA. Parliamentary sovereignty is a key aspect of parliamentary democracy in the UK because it is where power descends from in British government. All powers granted to government, the devolved parliaments and assemblies and local government are granted by parliament and are only possible because parliament allows them to do so. Through parliamentary sovereignty, governments have the power to write and unwrite laws, form and reform legislation legitimately.

In a parliamentary democracy power descends from the centre downwards, unlike in a federal democracy. This means in the UK through devolution the Scottish parliament and the Welsh Assembly have power, but only what is granted to them by government, and it can be removed by an act of parliament. An example of parliamentary power are the debates taking place over independence in Scotland and how much independence should be allowed. This is an example because, to a certain extent it is irrelevant how much the Scottish people and the Scottish Parliament wants independence because all decisions have to pass through the Commons and Lords in parliament before any thing is changed because of the system of parliamentary democracy.

Therefore Parliamentary Democracy means that government is granted its power through the sovereignty of parliament where power is held in the centre.

Examiner comment – Merit

A bright opening ensued and the candidate talked about the diffusion of powers which is a very good way to begin a definition of Parliamentary democracy. The second paragraph talked about Parliamentary sovereignty which was again very relevant, but this continued on in the third paragraph. The candidate should have discussed issues such as freedom of political expression, freedom of speech, freedom of the press and the rule of law and how they relate to the notion of parliamentary democracy. A reasonable answer ensued but the mark was moderate because a lot was missing.

Mark awarded = 13 out of 25

Question 2

Explain what the rights and duties of a citizen are.

[25]

Mark scheme

Explain what the rights and duties of a citizen are.

[25]

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the relevance and quality of explanation. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

The purpose of the question is to focus on explaining what the rights and duties of a citizen are. Candidates do not have to include all the features in order to be awarded the higher levels. The explanation could include:

The rights of a citizen are:

- **Protection of the law**
- **The right to own property**
- **Freedom of movement**
- **Healthcare and social security in time of need**

The duties of a citizen are:

- **To vote in all elections**
- **To help the police deal with crime**
- **To get work and provide for one's old age**
- **To help the local community**
- **To become involved in major political and social issues**
- **To get involved in voluntary and charitable work**

Example candidate response – Merit

In a democracy citizens have many rights and many duties all of which descend from the democratically elected governments and grant governments the power to legislate and govern. There are positive and negative human rights, negative in short means nothing added by government and positive meaning added to what already exists. Important negative rights include the right to food, water, shelter, and life while positive freedoms include concepts such as the minimum wage, it is important to remember that different parties and different ideologies have different beliefs about rights. In the UK the rights of the citizen are written down in the Human Rights Act which descends from membership of the EU. The Human Rights Act clearly lays down the rights of citizens in the UK and has helped protect the rights of citizens. An example being where the Law Lords, now of the Supreme Court decided against the terrorist 90 days imprisonment act as they claimed it was against human rights.

Follows!

There are also other rights of citizens that descend directly from democracy such as the right to vote in free and fair elections. This is an important aspect of democracy in the UK and universal suffrage that was fought for firstly by the Chartists in the end of the eighteenth-hundreds and then by the women of the suffragettes/gists in the early nineteen hundreds, which was intern granted. Therefore an important right of citizens is the right to elect representatives in elections. However, this is also an important duty to ensure the legitimacy of government and in some countries such as Australia it is deemed to be so crucial that voting is mandatory.

2

In electing government and taking the rights granted to citizens by government there are also duties. It is important to the success of democracy and any government that the citizens obey the laws passed by government. On the other hand it is also a duty of the people to scrutinise government and the elected parties which can be done through membership to pressure groups, demonstrations, strikes and also through elections where parties are elected and unelected depending on their success in government or opposition.

3

18

3 points

made, needed

detail + answer question.

Examiner comment – Merit

The answer discussed the whole notion of the rights and duties of a citizen. Examiners were looking for both concepts to be equally well explained. The answer began by discussing many issues such as positive or negative human rights but at this point the candidate went off the question. After that, the duties of a citizen were largely ignored. As a result of a lack of balance and a paucity of examples to support arguments, a moderate mark was awarded.

Mark awarded = 13 out of 25

Question 3

Explain what is meant by multiculturalism.

[25]

Mark scheme

Explain what is meant by multiculturalism.

[25]

General

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Specific

The purpose of the question is to focus on explaining the term multiculturalism. Candidates do not have to include all the features in order to be awarded the higher levels. The explanation could include:

- **The acceptance of various cultural divisions for the sake of diversity that applies to the makeup of a specific place**
- **The celebration and recognition that distinct groups in society have a right to maintain distinct cultures and that there is no overarching thread that holds them together**
- **Equal status to distinct ethnic and religious groups**
- **The idea that no one culture is superior or perfect and can be strengthened by peaceful co-existence and being able to learn from other cultures**
- **Integration, assimilation and co-existence should be at the forefront of this concept**

Example candidate response – Pass

Multiculturalism has been considered a very relevant issue recently within the UK, with some people arguing that the immigrating which leads to this melding of cultures is ruining the country. Multiculturalism is defined by its name; it is about the mixing of different people and cultures and traditions within a country. The UK is often described as a hugely "multicultural" country in that especially in big cities like London there is a huge diversity of races, languages, and cultures. The argument that multiculturalism is a positive thing states that a diversity of cultures and peoples leads to new ideas and is an incredibly positive thing for a country. Arguments against multiculturalism are usually centered around the idea that immigration is bad for a country and that foreigners steal UK jobs. Multiculturalism affects schools, the work place and consumer goods, Indian restaurants, for example are a frequent sight in the UK and many people see this as an example of how multiculturalism has benefited the UK. Schools with a multicultural element could be a positive way of introducing children to different languages and cultures and breaking down prejudices early on. This illustrates how multiculturalism is the way in which different cultures affect a country.

L2
8
P

1. Main
given

Examiner comment – Pass

The question on multiculturalism was not well done. A brief definition was attempted and included statements such as 'it is about the mixing of different people and cultures and traditions within a country'. This was an interesting opening statement, but then the candidate went off at a tangent and talked about issues of multiculturalism in big cities like London and then about arguments against multiculturalism in its various forms. What was needed was a detailed explanation of the concept, and then consideration of issues such as cultural shifts, the acceptance of cultural diversity, the celebration and recognition of distinct groups in society and notions of equality between different ethnic and religious groups. Candidates also needed to discuss matters such as integration, assimilation and co-existence.

Mark awarded = 8 out of 25

Question 4

'Tony Blair's legacy to the Labour party will be largely negative and divisive.' Assess this view. [50]

Mark scheme

'Tony Blair's legacy to the Labour party will be largely negative and divisive.' Assess this view. [50]

General

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No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the evaluation and the argument. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

The purpose of this question is to focus on a discussion of the perception that Tony Blair's legacy to the Labour party is largely negative and divisive. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following are some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in favour

- **The legacy of the Iraq war**
- **Presidential style government**
- **Use of spin doctors usurping cabinet colleagues**
- **Alienation of the left wing of the party via abandonment of clause four**
- **Undemocratic internal structure, top down rather than bottom up**
- **Embracing Thatcherite principles**
- **Gordon Brown continued the Blairite tradition in his unpopular premiership**
- **Long term economic problems handed on**
- **Falling party membership**
- **His policies increased the trend towards alternative politics**

Arguments against

- **Three successive electoral victories**
- **Unprecedented economic growth**
- **The Labour party needed to become more mainstream and acceptable to the middle classes**
- **Constitutional reform and devolved power**
- **Strong leadership over Iraq**
- **Britain became an internationally recognised power, e.g. intervention in Kosovo**
- **Reorganisation of the internal structures of the party**
- **Reduced power of the Trade Unions who had far too much power**
- **The left wing of the party needed to be curbed and clause four was anachronistic**
- **Increased the number of women in the parliamentary party**
- **Ended the conflict in Northern Ireland**

Example candidate response – Merit

Tony Blair is without doubt one of the most successful election winning Labour Prime Ministers of the 20th and 21st centuries. This is because he won three elections, 1997, 2001, 2005 all of which with large majorities that gave, in theory, the Labour party power to make large changes in the UK. However, in making the Labour party electable again Blair was forced to create New Labour. A party that was built around Tony Crosslands' 'Third Way' Essentially a combination of the Thatcherite economic Free Market policies and a form of social democracy. Many argued that Blair was Thatcher with a human face and his move away from the traditional socialist Labour party lacked depth and a true ideology. However, Blair was the Labour leader who was able to complete the work of firstly Kinnock and secondly Foot in making Labour a viable electable party which they had not been for large parts of the previous fifty years since Attlee's government of 1945-51.

To make the party more electible Blair strongly believed that he needed to move the party further to the right and intern the centre of British politics. He believed that for too long Labour had been in the wilderness persueing outdated and in some case disproven socialist policies that did not appeal to a growing middle class Britain. Apart from the extreme left of the party many agreed that change was necessary to make the party competitive with the media friendly. On the surface Blair gave Labour a serious facelift, he focused on using the media as an ally through which he was able to promote the Labour party, as New Labour. He did this through the use of spin doctors and media advisors, the likes of Mandlson were able to give the party a new fresh image that attempted to make the party more media and people friendly; a legacy of media involvement that will be continued not only by Labour but by the Conservatives also. In many ways this was Blair biggest strength, he was a leader who new how to win the favour of the people and media and this made him and New Labour an election winning machine, or at least while people could only see the surface and not what was underneath the show and talk. Therefore one of Blair's largest legacies was that he made the Labour party media friendly and electible by presenting a party that was fresh and in touch with the population. A legacy that certainly is not negative or divisive.

On the other hand when the Labour party and its policies are examined more closely it becomes brutally clear that for all of Blair show and flair there was little substance underneath and what substance and ideology there was, it was not one coherent with Old Labour. When Blair and his closest allies met at the begining of his time as Labour leader they looked back over the post war years and came to the conclusion that Labour's traditional policies of Kiensian economics, nationalisation and welfarsim had been largely unsuccessful. Although it was clear that the NHS and the welfare benefits systems that had been put in place by Attlee (after the Beverage report 1942) were hugely successful and popular and should maintained and built on, it was also clear that whenever Labour had tried to move further to the left they had either been unsuccessful in government or destoyed in the polls. Therefore Blair believed that Labour needed a change in ideology and focus. In response to this belief he reformed the famous Clause IV and shifted the party away from its trade unionist socialist roots towards the Third Way of New Labour. In many ways Blair was correct in the move because it did, on the surface make Labour a viable alternative to Conservatism because they offered the clearly successful economic policies of Thatcher in a nicer more friendly and conserring way to the electorate which made Labour very attractive. However, in the long term when it became clear that actually this made the Labour party an impressionist party of the Tories the oppersit effect took place. Now the electorate saw Labour as a kind of conservative party but a conservative party not quite as good as being conservative, as the Conservatives themselves.

Many criticise Blair for having the power to make large changes and to do great things in Britain, but failing to do so. He was clearly unable to make large changes in the UK because of a clear lack of direction and ideology. He had the chance to implement electoral reform and make other large constitutional reforms to bodies such as the greatly criticised unelected House of Lords and although he was successful in producing the Hereditary Peers Act which removed all but ninety-two hereditary peers from the Lords he failed to go any further. He also failed to make changes to health care and the welfare state which were greatly needed, although in his defence he did increase spending it is clear that just throwing money at institutions is often not enough to make real positive change. An other example where Blair will leave a negative legacy on the country as well as the Labour party was his ethical foreign policy approach, that at first was believed and understood by many to mean a peaceful foreign policy actually meant that Blair intended to promote ethical, democratic, christian values across the world. The result of which was the hugely unpopular wars in Iraq and Afganistan. The net result of Blair's failure to make the most of his large majorities and ethical foreign policy is that the British electorate has been left with a bitter taste of the Labour party which was unable to govern effectively.

Thus the Labour party of today is in many ways unelectable, because it has little to no policies or ideas, although this is partly explained by the fact that Ed Milliband has only been Labour leader for less than a year and is therefore only now forming the new ideologies and policies of the Labour party of 2010's. In terms this means that the success of Blair in making the party media friendly and electable is a legacy that will stay with Labour into the future but the negative and divisive legacy of New Labour's copy cat Third Way will probably be torn up and thrown away by Milliband if he stands any chance of making Labour electable again in the long term. Therefore it can confidently be claimed that in the short term Blair, by uniting the party in the centre, tore apart the parties left and its USP of socialism and therefore, combined with Brown's inadequacy as a leader made Labour unelectable in the election of 2010 and any that will follow until the party is again reshaped with clear policies and ideology that is current and relevant, but also deep and viable.

*A good answer will
an effective balance
exist = the discussion
no error.*

38

L4

Examiner comment – Merit

The introduction was reasonable. The second paragraph began by talking about the changes that Blair made to the Labour party through the creation of New Labour, the roles of Peter Mandelson and Alistair Campbell, and the way in which Blair transformed the Labour party's negative perception amongst the press. The paradox in the question was then discussed and a more critical analysis of Blair's superficial approach on clause 4, the Third Way and the negation of its traditional roots ensued. This made good reading as it showed the candidate was answering the question. This was then continued and a number of criticisms of Blair were made over constitutional reform, changes to health care and his aggressive and unpopular foreign policy. The conclusion was reasonable but rather brief and talked about the legacy of Blair to the modern party and the accusation that it is now unelectable.

The major point to note about this essay is that it had the makings of a good answer where the paradox was understood and arguments on both sides were deployed. The biggest weakness of the essay is that these arguments were not backed up by any detailed and rigorous analysis. The candidate tended to be too superficial in their coverage. What was needed was more depth and understanding to augment some of the perceptive analysis. At the highest level, candidates need to offer depth, rigour, selectivity and precision.

Mark awarded = 38 out of 50

Question 6

'Conservatism represents a popular and relevant political ideology in contemporary Britain.' How far do you agree? [50]

Mark scheme

'Conservatism represents a popular and relevant political ideology in contemporary Britain.' How far do you agree? [50]

General

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Specific

The purpose of this question is to focus on a discussion of the view that Conservatism is a valid political ideology in contemporary Britain. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following are some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in favour

- **The positives of reduced state intervention by 'rolling back the frontiers of the state'**
- **Radical alteration of the relationship between the individual and the state based on ideas of classical Liberalism**
- **The principle of deregulated labour markets, welcomed by many**
- **Liberal private ownership especially during the Thatcher period**
- **The positive effects of price stability via a tight monetarist economic policy**
- **Changes made by Cameron have made the party electable again, caring capitalism and the big society idea**
- **Historically since the second world war seen as the natural party of government**
- **A flexible and adaptable ideology, constantly evolving as an idea**

Arguments against

- **'Quasi presidential' style of Margaret Thatcher based on confrontation not consensus**
- **Wanted an end to the period of consensus and egalitarianism of the 1960s and 1970s, seen as a negative and unpopular by many**
- **Too much emphasis on business and the rich, less popular with working classes**
- **The party of England, grossly unpopular in Wales and Scotland**
- **Neglected the working classes; too much emphasis on a tight monetarist policy with its attendant consequences**
- **Three successive electoral defeats have severely dented its popular image**
- **Policies have been perceived to be extreme e.g. on Europe and immigration the 'nasty party'**
- **Conservative ideology has had to mimic New Labour to become popular and relevant again**

Example candidate response – Merit

Conservatism has often been called an anti-ideology in that conservative ideas are about preserving tradition and "conserving" political systems and traditions and it is also a pragmatic, realist ideology which is against the so called radical beliefs of other ideologies such as socialism. However there are some core values to the conservative ideology which cannot be ignored; the preservation of tradition, the rule of law and order, the organic society, the free market and, in the case of One Nation conservatism, a paternalist view of society. It has been argued that the UK is an inherently conservative country and there is evidence to support this claim, such as the way that the conservative party has, arguably, dominated post-war politics, and how the UK maintains traditions, such as the Monarchy and the way that in general the people of the UK support other conservative values such as strong law, order and justice. However there is also a counter-argument to this claim in that actually most inhabitants of the UK do not support conservative ideas; most people actually vote for parties other than the conservatives in elections, so could it be argued that conservatism actually isn't that popular in the UK, and this reduces its relevance in contemporary British politics.

Supporters of the idea that conservatism is currently the most popular and relevant political ideology in the UK would argue that this is illustrated not only by the political success of the conservative party but also by the way that the people of Britain inherently support conservative ideas such as strong law and order and the preservation of traditions both political and otherwise. An example of this support of tradition is how the recent royal wedding was such a huge and popular event throughout Britain, the street parties, the bunting and the huge viewings on national television show that the British people are in fact huge supporters of national traditions. The recent referendum on whether to change the voting system to AV could also be used as an example of how the British people are inherently conservative; the results of the referendum were strongly against voting reform, preserving First Past the Post as our electoral system and thus supporting the conservative idea that our electoral system has developed "organically" and has been proven to work by time and therefore should not be changed. The political success of the conservative party also illustrates how popular and relevant the conservative ideology is; from 1979 to 1997 the UK had consecutive conservative governments, Margaret Thatcher's government was especially popular, and her premiership lasted for 13 years, the longest since well before the war. And even when the conservatives were voted out in 1997, the Labour party had to radically change to be elected; changing clause 4 of their constitution in a way that appears to support the free market and arguably, the Labour party had to become more "conservative" than it previously was to be elected. And even when the conservative party was not in government, it was still the second most powerful party in the UK and its relevance in UK politics was clear as the Shadow government, scrutinising the Labour government.

However, many people would argue that that conservative party and the conservative

political ideology is not in fact that popular in Britain. They would argue that, since the war, the conservative party has never won a majority of the vote, and in fact in the last election 63% of the electorate voted against the conservative party and the turnout for recent elections has been so low (the lowest in 2005 at only 53%) that the percentage of people in the UK who are actually interested enough in the conservative party to vote for them is very low. Membership of the conservative party has also been in a decline since the war, partisan dealignment means that most people no longer feel strongly enough associated with the conservative party to be a member. It could also be argued that the most successful post war conservative prime minister was in fact not a conservative, Margaret Thatcher has often been described as too radical to be a true conservative and is often instead thought of as a Neo-liberal. This shows that in fact the conservative party successes have not in fact been down to conservative ideology, and it can be argued that conservative ideology is in fact irrelevant within the conservative party. Even in David Cameron's new government, it can be argued that liberal ideas appear more strongly than conservative ones. It can also be argued that the idea that Labour became more conservative in order to be elected in is incorrect, most of New Labour's changes show instead a swing towards liberal ideology. People against the idea that conservatism as a relevant ideology would argue against the idea that people in Britain are inherently conservative and that the use of the referendum as an illustration of how Britain is conservative is in fact irrelevant; the referendum only showed that people were against AV as an alternative to FPTP and not that people were against voting reform. These arguments can be said to illustrate how conservatism has been decreasing in popularity and relevance in contemporary Britain.

There are many powerful arguments to show that conservatism is not the most popular and relevant political ideology in contemporary Britain and that Conservatism has been decreasing in popularity for a long time, even within the conservative party there are examples of how conservatism has been declining, such as Thatcher's successful, non-conservative ideas. However, it would be ignorant to claim that conservatism is not still relevant and popular as an ideology, many elements of the conservative party are still strongly conservative, and David Cameron has made an attempt to move away from Thatcher's radical ideas. And it is impossible to ignore the way that some traditions, such as the monarchy, are strongly upheld in a conservative way in the UK. So, in conclusion, while conservatism is perhaps not the most popular and relevant political ideology in contemporary Britain, it is still clearly represents a popular and relevant political ideology in contemporary Britain.

L4
48

Both sides covered and explained in context.

Examiner comment – Merit

The candidate began with an interesting and solid introduction in which both parts of the question were discussed. The candidate then talked about the fact that the conservatism does represent a popular and relevant political ideology. The main body of the essay began by discussing the notion of tradition by citing the Royal wedding; the political success of the Conservative party under Margaret Thatcher and the way in which the Labour party had to mimic it in order to be successful. Four useful points were discussed and explained, although they could have been developed more. The candidate then went on to discuss the counter-argument and showed the balance required for a high-level answer discussing the fact the conservatism has many detractors as an ideology and is not as powerful, popular and relevant as some commentators would make out. The candidate made a number of useful points by citing the low Conservative turnout in the last election and the fact that it has seen a decline in its membership base since the war. The negative elements of the Thatcher era were also noted. The conclusion was reasonable but tended to sit on the fence. What was needed was a firm judgement (perhaps hinted at in the last three lines of the conclusion). In general terms, the essay also needed more factual evidence to support the claims it made.

Mark awarded = 40 out of 50

Section B: Parties and Ideas in the US

Question 7

Explain what is meant by Libertarian.

[25]

Mark scheme

Explain what is meant by Libertarian.

[25]

General

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Specific

The purpose of the question is to focus on explaining the term libertarian. Candidates do not have to include all the features in order to be awarded the higher levels. The explanation could include:

- **A belief in maximising individual and economic liberty**
- **The maintenance of robust property rights**
- **That social order develops out of individual liberty**
- **A belief in minimising or abolishing the state**
- **That individuals have rights against forcible government interference**
- **A belief that the proper use of coercion used by a government is defensive or to rectify an error**
- **That governments are bound by the same social principles as individuals**

Example candidate response – Distinction (D1)

7 Explain what is meant by libertarian

Plan philosophical = JS. Mill - ^{only men} ^{concern the} ^{reason} Jefferson ^{quotes} ^{specify} ^{sovereign} ^{tyranny}

- expanding the realm of the individual
- freedom market economic - Friedman
- free to
- associated with neo-liberalism, ^{+ Tea Party} ^{economic} ^{Reagan} but it does not put order over liberty.
- stricting the state principle threat
- socially free to do what ^{I starve the beast} you want → support gay marriage!
- Fraction of Republican party ^{abortion} ^{etc.}
- accept need for ^{some} gov departments
- libertarian party 1972 - reaction
- negative liberty ^{to lib experience}
- Nozick - Rights / property based ^{libertarian}

The key principle behind the libertarian philosophy is the realm of the individual. In a desirable society the individual would be free to explore his/her natural abilities and rise or fall in a free market capitalist economy. As a result government ~~regulation~~ ^{or involvement} in economic affairs is considered to always be a negative thing, and to some extreme libertarians or fiscal conservatives can be likened to the encroachment of

totalitarianism. It was thought by Mayek, a key think tank in laissez-faire economics, that socialism had resulted in the ^{of 5} greatest liberal experiment seen in the US under FDR and LBJ which would eventually head to government control and striction into peoples political freedoms as well as their economic. This right wing economic view is shared amongst many libertarians, but their views aren't just seen in political philosophes and members of the libertarian party, an essential third party established in 1972, but also in president Reagan. He claimed to 'get government off the backs of the people', cut taxes and privatise many industries to introduce profit motive, hence increasing their efficiency + freedom. Also the new right wing movement of the 'Tea Party', which is becoming of increasing significance and has been thought to influence the 'wave' of public support for the Republicans in the 2010 midterms, has many identifications with libertarian economics, claiming

to 'starve the beast' through base cuts.

Although, libertarians ^{are} unique to neo-liberalism, associated with 'Reaganomics', because unlike this ideology they do not give priority to order and social cohesion over liberty. It is an atomistic political belief which believes in restraints being removed in order to access freedom. This concept of negative freedom was criticised by Obama, he believes that the constitution and the separation of powers that it holds most important was very effective in saying what the government can't do to you, but it leaves out what it should do on your behalf. This is a case for positive/enabling freedoms such as affirmative action. Libertarians find this argument counter-intuitive considering in their opinion government and its regulations are the principle threat to liberty so therefore any extension of it into the life of the individual will restrict that freedom.

This sceptical approach was embraced by the founding fathers, in particular Thomas Jefferson who said, 'you have to specify your liberties' the bill of Rights is crucial to understanding the libertarian psyche of the American people. Rights based libertarianism goes hand in hand with the emphasis on property rights and to bare arms. Historically these were rights that ensured the government could not violate the 'social contract' and they could be held accountable. The only time libertarians consent to government intervention was when the rights + freedoms of an individual were threatened, this position was put forward by JS Mill around the time of the constitution's conception and still held dear today. Friedman, an economic libertarian said the only government departments he believes are just are those dispensing justice and those protecting internal/external threats to liberty, which the department of homeland security ironically comes under, which ~~most~~^{at least} Americans consider to be a violation of privacy and constitutional boundaries.

Although their policies in the social area have been more centrist, some would even say left wing as they disagree with restrictions on gay marriage / abortion / marijuana use. As a result they would like to see power diffused back to the states and they would support referenda and initiatives as ways of making policy, bottom up system

L5 (25) An outstanding answer

Examiner comment – Distinction (D1)

The candidate began this question very well and showed a clear understanding of the whole notion of Libertarian philosophy. The candidate talked about the freedom of the individual to explore his natural abilities and rise and fall in the free market capitalist economy and how it affected libertarianism as a result. The candidate discussed government regulation involving economic forces and how they could always be a negative thing. Some historical context ensued and also a discussion of how economic conservatives likened the state's encroachment as totalitarianism. There were some excellent references and a very good section on Ronald Reagan about his claim to get government off the backs of the people. In summary, the whole notion of libertarianism was very well covered. There was a good reference to the Tea Party and how their brand of libertarianism is supporting popular republicanism. The discussion in the last section was equally impressive and the candidate talked about atomistic political beliefs, negative freedom and the whole notion of linking libertarian thought into the ideas of the founding Fathers. The discussion of JS Mill was very relevant as was the mention of Milton Friedman's economic libertarianism which was clearly understood in context. The last section was an excellent summary. This was an outstanding answer.

Mark awarded = 25 out of 25

Question 8

Explain the role of political lobbyists.

[25]

Mark scheme

Explain the role of political lobbyists.

[25]

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the relevance and quality of explanation. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

The purpose of the question is to focus on explaining the importance of political lobbyists. Candidates do not have to include all the features in order to be awarded the higher levels. The explanation could include:

- **They can help influence the decisions made by governments**
- **They provide direct and individual access to policymakers for their paymasters**
- **They provide expertise on certain key issues**
- **They influence senators and congressmen on key policy issues**
- **Influence policy at state level**
- **They represent wealthy clients or interest groups on major issues**
- **Many have experience of politics and provide continuity**
- **Provide a two way communication between legislators and their organisations**
- **Sometimes write legislation and whip bills**
- **Their activities are covered by law, namely the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 and the Lobbying Disclosure Technical Amendments Act of 1998**
- **They can represent a variety of organisations including non profit organisations**

Example candidate response – Distinction

8 PLAN

- all forms of gov. People → congress + state
- lobbyist promote interests + issues and try to influence decisions to further own
- lobbyist promote of - freedom spee - voting for all state positions
- ↳ U. publically sometimes
- ↳ Benefits → freedom diversity opportunity. e.g. NRA
- ↳ disvalant → too much influence ⇒ ex. Iron triangles etc. NAACP
- ↳ money
- ↳ too much money involved.

money

A political lobbyist is someone who aims to influence ~~the~~ a decision in government in order to further their own interest, gain support for an issue, or override or block a decision. They are present in all forms of government from state deputies, up to congress and even the President; and a lobbyist can gain great access to all

forms of government due to the fact that US government is based upon freedom of speech and is set out in the first amendment. The fact that most positions in US government are elected also allows for influence as there is plenty of opportunities for access and influence on all levels. Some of the benefits of lobbyists is that it caters for the huge diversity in US politics and society and the wide range of beliefs and opinions can be represented; it in many ways also allows great freedom as anyone can lobby anyone to promote any issue and there are a wide range of lobbyists from the National Rifle Association (NRA) to the Christian Coalition and the NAACP. Lobbying gives great opportunity for all opinions to be heard and for people to have a significant stake in the government. However, there are some disadvantages to lobbyists as well, for example many argue that there is too

much influence held by lobbyists and that this weakens the ⁴ democratic nature of US government as representatives and decisions are controlled by lobbyists rather than what is right for or chosen by American citizens. It ~~can also lead to iron triangles, between members~~ It can also lead to iron triangles between members of government, lobbyists and committees within government whereby the lobbyist controls the decisions of both and ⁵ no one else can get a say. One can also argue that lobbying takes away freedom as the most successful lobbyists spend huge amounts of money in furthering their issue, leaving someone with less funds without a say, this takes away freedom and undermines the democracy. However, due to the pluralist nature of US government, the ⁶ diversity of the society and the open government system, lobbyists will always be present and have ⁵ influence over government. (22)

6 points made
 clearly made
 with range and
 depth

Examiner comment – Distinction

The answer started well with a clear definition of the role of a political lobbyist. The candidate talked about 'the aim to influence a decision in government in order to further their own interests'. The candidate clearly understood that political lobbyists operate at all levels of American government and clearly understood that there are plenty of opportunities for access and influence. The section on the benefits of lobbying was very relevant and some examples of interest groups such as the National Rifle Association Christian Coalition and the NAACP clearly showed that the candidate understood the issues. What was also impressive about this answer was the fact that the candidate identified the weaknesses of political lobbyists and their excessive influence in the American system. The section on iron triangles clearly placed lobbying in context and the last section on money and lobbying clearly understood that lobbyists have an important part to play. The answer offered a number of points clearly made with both range and depth.

Mark awarded = 22 out of 25

Question 9

Explain why trade unions are weak in the USA.

[25]

Mark scheme

Explain why trade unions are weak in the USA.

[25]

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit' not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the relevance and quality of explanation. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

The purpose of the question is to focus on explaining why trade unions are weak. Candidates do not have to include all the features in order to be awarded the higher levels. The explanation could include:

- Pressure groups are far more powerful than trade unions
- Membership of American trade unions is declining
- Trade unions have little representation at the highest levels of power
- The idea of economic equality is to some extent antithetical to the American Dream, so trade unions less relevant
- The entrepreneurial attitude of the American Dream makes trades unions in America less appealing
- Disinterest in trade unions amongst young workers
- The erosion of organized labour's legal rights
- The need to concession bargain resulted in wage reductions and the curtailment of fringe benefits
- Divisions between unions e.g. in 2005 AFL-CIO affiliates broke from the rest of the labour federation and formed their own alliance
- Socialism as a concept is weak in the USA and this has impacted on the power and influence of trade unions

Example candidate response – Distinction

9) Why trade unions so weak

- no socialism
- Reagan
- meritocracy

The absence of socialism in the US has always been something people have disputed, and as a key ingredient to socialism is a united and agitated working class, which is also absent, there ~~has~~ been little trade union influence in America.

In countries such as Britain, France and Russia, there has been an aristocratic class with ~~sub~~² subordinate workers and a history of class repression. However, America does not have this historical baggage and due to the constitution which specifies, "all citizens are born equal", class has not been a factor that promotes particular agitation. However, this is a De Jure acknowledgement and the gap in wealth can't be ignored in the US which explains how there was support for FDR and his 'new deal' which provided 'Relief' of the poor for its flagship policy. This still doesn't explain however the weakness of trade unions. I believe it goes deeper than wealth and into American psychology, + their American creed. The emphasis on hard work and endeavour creating wealth + not accepting government handouts, can be reflected in their self-sufficient work ethic. The idea of a meritocracy and as colonial founder John Smith once said, "he that shall not work neither shall he eat", is indoctrinated.

3

4

into their mentality and does not lend itself to trade unionism.

Also one has to acknowledge the scepticism of the Republican right towards organised labour groups which interferes with the function and flow of free market economics. Reagan most readily embodies this as can be seen all throughout the 1980's, this is then reflected over the Atlantic in Britain with the Thatcherite movement. Showing the modern dominant Right-wing scepticism has effected trade unions internationally, but their lack of ideological roots in America were detrimental to their prominence and weakness.

Also the lack of Democrat presidencies after LBJ in the 1960s - ~~at~~ only Carter and Clinton - is indicative of a universal shift towards the right and the anti-socialist policies they were keen to represent. Arguably the working class / trade union movement failure to mobilise is a result of the civil Rights agenda.

The grievances and suppression of African Americans and other ethnicities throughout history has been more predominant than any work force. Whereas in Britain there were poor houses and struggle to find food 'bread + knife' problems, Americans (if you were white in practice) were given the vote under 15th amendment and a representative assembly, House of Representatives which dealt with finance has always sought to bring home the bacon to its constituents. This rights given to most working class men meant that their frustration didn't have to be channelled into 'unions' + 'movements', unlike African Americans as we can see throughout the 60's.

L5 (23)

A well
 focused
 and relevant
 answer
 plenty of examples to
 illustrate
 material

Examiner comment – Distinction

The candidate began by placing the whole notion of socialism in some historical context by comparing the development of American trade unions to the situation abroad and arguing initially that America 'does not have this historical baggage due to the Constitution' and that all citizens are born equal. He went on to discuss the idea that the American psychology is often cited as a reason why trade unionism has never developed in the USA because of the American emphasis on hard work by generating wealth and not accepting government hand-outs. It was also argued that Americans believe in their self-sufficient work ethic 'he that shall not work shall not eat'. The candidate then went on to acknowledge the scepticism of the Republican right towards organised labour groups and the idea that the free market and not economics dominates the American psyche. The shift to the right in American politics also perpetuates anti-trade union mentalities and, arguably, the working class trade union movements failure to mobilise was also a result of the civil rights agenda. An interesting finishing point talked about the privileges given to American citizens by the first Amendment notion of the idea of representative assembly and the fact that financial incentives to work harder always saw them 'bringing home the bacon'.

Mark awarded = 23 out of 25

Question 10

'Interest groups in the USA damage rather than enhance democracy.' Assess this view. [50]

Mark scheme

'Interest groups in the USA damage rather than enhance democracy.' Assess this view. [50]

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the evaluation and the argument. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

The purpose of this question is to focus on a discussion of the view that interest groups damage rather than enhance democracy. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following are some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in favour

- **Money becomes the all deciding factor 'the best democracy money can buy'**
- **Interest groups tend to work for specific and not the common interest**
- **Unelected and unaccountable**
- **On occasions by pass democratically elected senators and the executive**
- **The revolving door syndrome is unpopular with many and the excessive influence that political lobbyists enjoy on Capitol Hill**
- **Some interest groups alienate mainstream public opinion with direct action which is deemed inappropriate e.g. abortion and gun crime**
- **Interest groups can cause disharmony, i.e. two interest groups working on the same issue**
- **Larger interest groups such as the NRA tend to have too much influence**

Arguments against

- **They provide expert knowledge on specific issues**
- **They help formulate policy**
- **They are a sounding board for the legislature**
- **They are the route for wider participation in a democracy**
- **They allow citizens to participate in politics between elections**
- **Ensure that the views of minorities are heard, e.g. old age pensioners, homosexuals and the disabled**
- **Make government aware of alternative views outside mainstream political parties and the bureaucracy**
- **They generate new ideas on issues that political parties do not have time to discuss**
- **Elite theory is not democratic per se**

Example candidate response – Distinction

10 PLAN

→ what is an interest group?
 → damaging? 1
 → too much influence
 links to money → undermines
 2 and how much democracy
 they spend on

alternatives candidates → what does
 to stop this money get in return?
 McGold
 corrupts the system? → a. are can. winning
 because public want them
 and they are best or
 cause they got most
 money + support 3.

→ limits freedom 7
 of government + people soft money
 to change gov. adverts etc.
 ↳ IG get in the
 sheer numbers way.

→ 5 Iron triangles → committees.
 revolving doors

→ makes a vote worthless? 6

→ Enhancing?
 → diversity
 → access → get peeps involved
 → speech + expression
 → issues get heard
 → pluralism at its best takes
 power away from centre.
 ↳ ultimately answer to people

10. An interest group in American politics is a ~~body~~ body of people who all share the same interest or belief or who are even against the same thing and aim to promote this through influence in government. This influence can be made through support of a candidate, protests, ^{int'l} financial donations, promotions any way in which they can be heard. However, some argue that this influence has become too great and is damaging US democracy.

One could argue that interest groups have too much power and influence within government and this undermines democracy. ⁺¹ This links to the money that is involved and how much they spend on supporting a candidate in an election, either in the 'hard' money of donations or the 'soft' in advertising campaigns, ^{eg,} if they can also use money to promote their issue nationally and gain more interest on it. The money that

Interest groups spend on candidates leads to the question of what do they get in return for the money, a change of vote, a rider on a bill or even ~~the~~ support of an issue. This undermines democracy as ~~it~~ some argue that it leads to a situation where the candidate with the most financial support wins the election, not necessarily the best one for the job, they even argue that it creates a system where the most corruptible candidate wins.

However, there has been legislation to attempt to limit the amount interest groups, PACs and individuals can donate to candidates for example the McCain Feingold act. However some suggest it has been unsuccessful.

This can lead to a situation of iron triangles and revolving doors. An iron triangle is where an interest group has influence over a congressional committee and a key congressman in that committee, and they use that to further their own interest. This damages democracy as it becomes about what the

interest group wants not the electorate. A revolving door is when a congressman retires and immediately becomes a part of a business of interest group who have supported them in the past, this gives the group inside access and influence over government. ~~There~~ Another damaging aspect to interest groups is the fact that they can limit the freedom of speech and change of the American people, they can get in the way of what the people want, stopping democracy. This links to the sheer number, there are roughly 4000 official groups and ~~10~~ 10,000 unofficial that operate in government. The ~~so~~ great amount of groups can make it almost impossible for another opinion to be heard as they have a tight grip over government. Finally, one can argue that due to these reasons, in many ways interest groups can make votes worthless that nothing will change whether one votes or not, a prime example

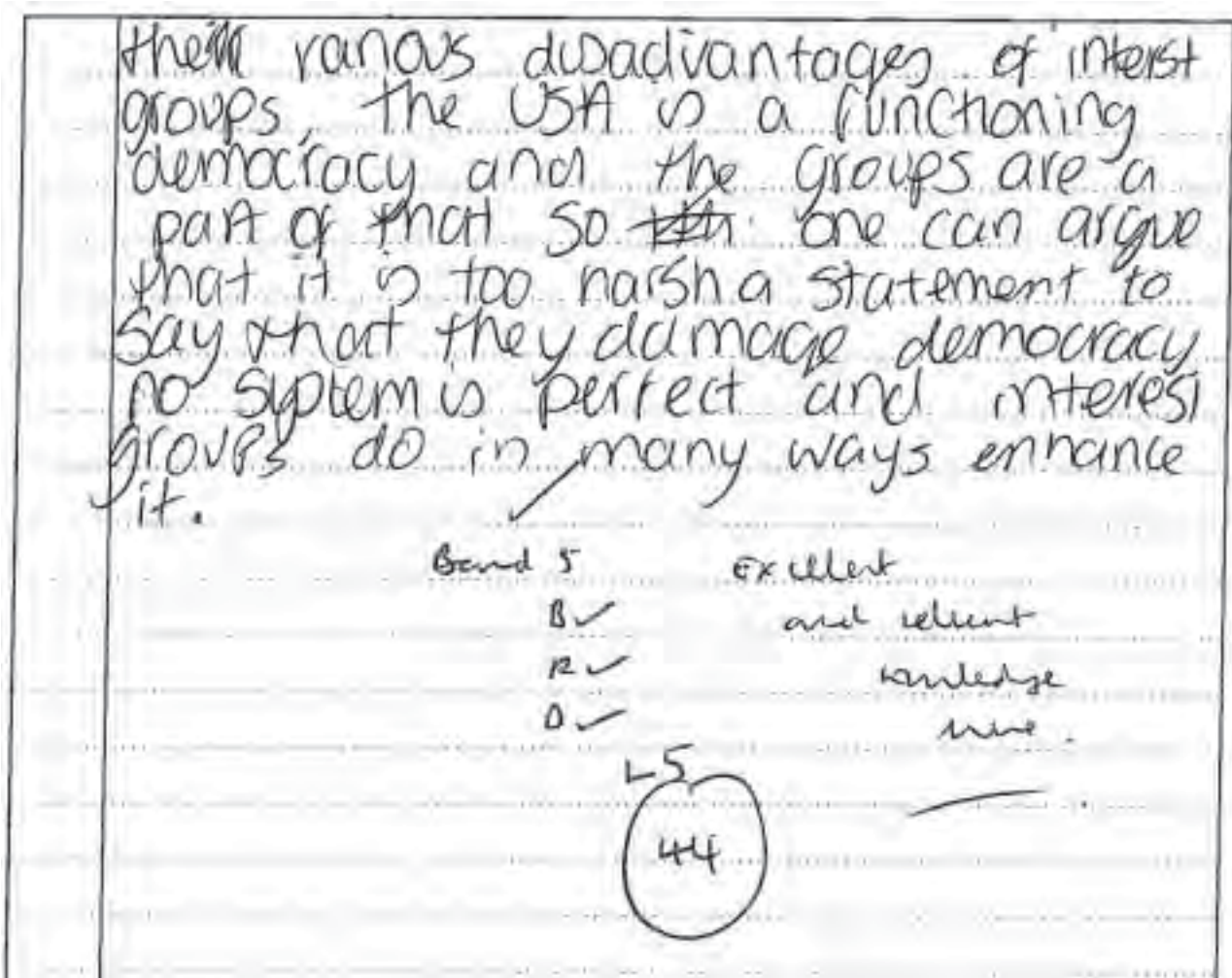
+4

of this being Obama's Healthcare reforms, or attempts on the regulation of gun control; because interest groups have such influence any attempts to go against them are worthless.

How on the other hand, one can argue that there are many enhancing features of interest groups that aid democracy. For example, they create a way in which the huge diversity of beliefs, races, & religions, opinions that sit within US society can be heard, there can be a group for every voice. In this way they enhance democracy as they provide a way in which everyone can have a say. Linking to the fact that they provide great access to government to every citizen, they get people involved in government. This is done with the use of public campaigns on the television, radio, billboards, any way in which they will be heard. This supports the key principle of freedom of speech and expression that sits so

key in US society. Many argue that interest groups are a way for issues to be heard, people to express their opinion and democracy to be at its best. Many argue that ~~if~~ they are a way in which pluralism can work best, they take power away from the centre of government and put it into the hands of the people. One can also argue that despite the powerful appearance of interest groups, due to the system of staggered elections, members of government ultimately answer to the electorate, and interest groups do not damage democracy.

Overall, one can argue that in many ways interest groups can be seen to damage democracy as they have a lot of influence over government and a lot of money to maintain this influence. However, they also give huge benefits to democracy in that they provide a platform for people to express their views no matter how diverse. So, ~~if~~ despite



Examiner comment – Distinction

This essay was done well because it offered a balanced response – one of the key discriminating factors in a high mark being awarded on the long essay answer. What was impressive about this answer was that the candidate clearly understood that all interest groups have both positive and negative effects on the American political system. The essay started with a good discussion of the way in which interest groups undermine democracy through money and undue influence. The candidate was fully aware that the legislation had been introduced to curb the amount of money that interest groups, PACs and individuals can exert. The McCain-Feingold legislation was discussed as well as iron triangles and revolving doors. The sheer number of pressure groups was also clearly explained and how they undermine democracy; for example, too many interest groups can make it almost impossible for another opinion to be heard. The evaluation point came halfway through the essay where the candidate clearly changed tack and talked about the benefits of interest groups by discussing the ways that they do not undermine democracy and talked about the great diversity of belief; greater access; the principle of freedom of speech and expression that is so ingrained in the American psyche. That the government ultimately answers to the electorate and interest groups only adds to this. The answer finished with a good conclusion in which the candidate was able to discuss both pros and cons. For an even higher mark, there needed to be more of a judgement made in the conclusion. The candidate tended to sit on the fence. In summary, the answer displayed balance, relevance and a good deployment of both sides of the argument with the question always at the forefront of an impressive response.

Mark awarded = 44 out of 50

Question 11

'The Democratic Party is most successful when it adopts a distinctive liberal democratic platform.' How far do you agree? [50]

Mark scheme

'The Democratic Party is most successful when it adopts a distinctive liberal democratic platform.' How far do you agree? [50]

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the evaluation and the argument. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

The purpose of this question is to focus on a discussion of the view that the Democratic Party is more successful when it adopts an identifiable democratic profile and visible liberal identity. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following are some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in favour

Recent Democratic success has been a result of:

- A moral foreign policy, e.g. withdrawal from Iraq and less wholesale support for Israel
- Positive attitudes to climate change
- Dynamic policies on healthcare, retirement pensions and childcare
- Positive policies towards African American and Latino minorities
- Openly taking the party back to its Liberal wing
- Building up contacts with the white working classes
- 'Remembering the forgotten man' as Roosevelt once claimed
- The charismatic Liberal leadership of Obama
- Gore and Kerry lost in 2000 and 2004 for being too right wing

Arguments against

- Clinton's New Democrat shift in 1992 and 1996 Presidential election, successful on both occasions
- Clinton distanced himself from Liberalism and traditional tax and spend policies
- Clinton balanced budgets
- Hardened policies on criminality
- Aggressive non Liberal foreign policy
- The enhanced role of The Democratic Leadership Council in formulating policy, i.e. alienating core and swing voters
- The historical legacy of the 1960's especially in the South
- Not Liberal in the sense that it led to a reaction under Bush towards neo-conservatism and extreme republicanism

Example candidate response – Merit

- ① Democrat Party most successful when it adopts a distinct liberal agenda.
- new measure success - support or sustaining
 - FDR New Deal - ^{Reaganian} Economics ^{neo-lib backlash}
 - LBJ Great Society - civil Rights enabled by liberal war on court
 - Clinton - ^{breakdown of new deal coalition} ^{lost south for} ^{success in attack} ^{classical liberalism issue De Facto} ^{generals} ^{generals}
 - New Democrat reposition health care himself not successful - even in united congress!!!
 - Obama - ^{democratic} lost in midterms, big time
 - Tea Party - ^{got women, minorities, workers to vote and} ^{backlash} ^{extreme} ^{always} ^{Right}
 - "black nationalist"

It has been said by Neustadt that in American politics 'liberalism' is a dirty word but that actually it is a force for progression and change. Moreover the distinctions have to be made between economic classical liberalism such as Adam Smith promoted with ~~free~~ free market economics such as was adopted by Reagan and libertarian movement and modern liberalism the idea of

the enabling, force for good state which seeks to provide an equality of opportunity for its citizens. This is the type of liberalism aligned with the ^{modern} democrat party, post new deal.

FDR after a couple of years waiting for the economy to self regulate itself as *Laissez-faire* economic had always claimed, decided that he would not let the ^{crisis} aftermath of the wall street crash in 1929, get any greater. He decided to employ a mixed economy, which Keynesian economics provided. By increasing government spending and regulation the economy recovered and his policy of 3 R's (Relief, Recovery and reform) not only won him four terms, but also pathed the way for modern liberalism in the democrat party, which also can be considered a success due to the ⁺² alignment that happened with many working class and less fortunate looking to the democrat party. Truman replicated the welfare support and intervening role of -

+1
historical context.

government in the 'four deal, as did Kennedy in the 'new frontier' + + 3 then in the 1960s so did LBJ with the 'great society' ✓

LBJ's 'great society' was indeed if not the most then certainly one of the most social liberal administrations American politics has ever seen. It successfully got Brown vs Board through the courts and after ~~so~~ centuries of legislation and Supreme court cases addressed + 4 civil rights in a de facto manner. By not accepting the de jure rights given in the 13th + 14th + 15th amendments, he has arguably mentally liberated many African Americans from physical and mental poverty. Such decisions as affirmative action though have been met with mixed opinions, although they allow racial minorities to escape years of discrimination against their colour. It arguably undermines the meritocratic principle that American liberalism is built on and further entrenches discrimination (whether it be against whites) into the US.

Also the support of the women (liberal) court can not be underplayed. Without this KBJ's 'great society' ideals may have never become reality. Also one has to ask how success is measured, and if it is through popular support then it is worth noting the many southern democrats such as Strom Thurman actually distanced themselves from the party because of its overtly modern liberal agenda. KBJ said 'we have lost the south for a generation'.

Also another aspect behind this question is that not all American presidents have adopted a overtly liberal approach. After devastating defeats in 1964 mid-terms, with an increasing sympathies ~~seem~~ towards the Republican "contract with America" manifesto put forward by Gingrich, Clinton repositioned himself through the 'new democrats' and association with the democrat leadership council. This policy of transmutation meant Clinton could gain support from the south through his, '3 strikes + your

out', benefit restrictions and claiming
 'the era of big government is over'.
 It is even said his far from liberal, -2
 in terms of FDR + LBJ, policies were
 what won him back the support
 during his impeachment trials
 from his party with only 1 member
 of the democrats voting in favour
 of all far articles, although this
 maybe explained by increasing
 partisanship. Moreover perhaps if
 Obama recognised the conservative
 shift in the American electorate
 then the democrats wouldn't
 have lost in 2010 mid terms. With
 his \$787 billion fiscal package
 and healthcare being popular
 amongst many including Tea
 Party activists.

Last balance, good on how liberal
 agenda is sustained,
 little on other
 side.

24 (35)

Examiner comment – Merit

This candidate began with a not wholly relevant discussion of the notion of liberalism which needed to be linked into the question in order to make it more relevant. The candidate agreed with the question and then went on to talk about the historical development of a liberal democratic platform beginning with Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal legislation which really showed a good grasp of the whole notion of the question (namely the Democrats were more successful in adopting a more liberal ideology). This angle was briefly continued with discussion of Truman but was best initiated through a discussion of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society where a number of relevant points were made which included a discussion of civil rights and affirmative action. Against that, the fact that these policies caused issues with southern Democrats was also recognised. The counter-argument was not as well done and this is where the candidate lost marks. There was some discussion of the new Democrat agenda put forward by Clinton but this part of the answer was limited. Far more detail was needed on Clinton shifting to the right in 1992 and 1996 and, for example, how he distanced himself from liberalism and traditional tax and spend policies, how he hardened policies on criminality and how he pursued an aggressive non-liberal foreign policy. An essay must give a balanced answer with a number of points made to support the arguments and address the issues in the question.

Mark awarded = 35 out of 50

Paper 3 – Ideologies and Philosophies

General comment

Grades are not awarded on components on each question or on part question. This booklet therefore draws attention to responses and the characteristics that are considered to illustrate qualities that if repeated on other answers would lead to Distinction, Merit or Pass grade work. There are gaps in this material as in some instances there were no responses at that level. However, where this was the case and Centres study that option they should look at the general characteristics of responses for that level in a different topic as the mark scheme used is generic for the two types of question asked.

For (a) questions, candidates to reach the higher levels should:

- ensure the comparison is point by point
- ensure the comparison is about the issue/issues in the question and not just a general comparison (unless that is what is required)
- where appropriate place the passages in context to help to explain their argument/message (but context must not be the focus of the question as they are not 'gobbets')
- consider how 'typical' of the particular ideology the views expressed are and whether they represent a particular strand within that ideology.
- explain and develop their points of comparison thoroughly

For (b) questions, candidates to reach the higher levels should:

- pursue an argument throughout the essay
- have a view about the issue in the question which they can express in the opening paragraph and argue through to reach a supported JUDGEMENT – a judgement about the issue in the question is vital
- use theorists to support their argument, not simply describe what theorists said about the issue
- ensure they consider different elements of an ideology, for example classical or new liberalism, the different types of dictatorship or anarchism, etc.
- define any key terms in the opening paragraph and use these as criteria around which to structure their argument. This may also involve acknowledging the different strands of a theory.

Generic mark schemes

Generic marking descriptors for sub-Q (a) [short essays]

- The full range of marks will be used as a matter of course.
- Examiners will look for the 'best fit', not a 'perfect fit' in applying the Levels.
- Examiners will provisionally award the middle mark in the Level and then moderate up/down according to individual qualities within the answer.
- The ratio of marks per AO will be 1:1.
- The weighting of marks for each AO should be considered, but this is reflected in the descriptor: marking should therefore be done holistically.
- Question-specific mark schemes will be neither exhaustive nor prescriptive. Appropriate, substantiated responses will always be rewarded.

Level/marks	Descriptors
3 15–10 marks	<p>ANSWERS MAY NOT BE PERFECT, BUT WILL SHOW EXCELLENT UNDERSTANDING OF THE TEXT AND RELATE IT STRONGLY TO THE QUESTION.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Excellently focused response that brings out the similarities and differences in the extracts in a sustained, point-by-point comparison that understands the views being expressed, relates parts to the whole seamlessly and answers the question convincingly. • At the top end, uses examples from beyond the two texts under discussion to amplify the explanation/provide context. • Towards the bottom, may be a little unbalanced in coverage yet the answer is still comprehensively argued. • Excellent understanding of relevant political knowledge (processes, concepts, debates and/or theories). • Candidate is always in firm control of the material.
2 9–5 marks	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW REASONABLE UNDERSTANDING OF THE TEXT, OR RELATE A SOUND UNDERSTANDING LESS STRONGLY TO THE QUESTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explanation that makes a solid attempt to respond to the question, identifying some of the substance of the comparison but does not make the comparison explicit (listing rather than juxtaposing points) and/or shows a limited understanding of the views. • No further examples and/or context are provided. • Limited understanding of relevant political knowledge, illustrated with limited examples from the text under discussion. • Unevenness in the coverage of material.
1 4–0 marks	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW LITTLE UNDERSTANDING OF THE TEXT AND LITTLE ATTEMPT TO RELATE TO THE QUESTION.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Only the most basic comparison between the passages and the most basic understanding of the similarities/differences. There is little or no engagement with the question. • Little if any engagement with the material. The answer may paraphrase the passages and/or compare the factual material in them rather than the views that they offer. • Little or no awareness of relevant political knowledge, with no sign of understanding.

Generic marking descriptors for sub-Q (b) [full essays]

- The full range of marks will be used as a matter of course.
- Examiners will look for the 'best fit', not a 'perfect fit' in applying the Levels.
- Examiners will provisionally award the middle mark in the Level and then moderate up/down according to individual qualities within the answer.
- The ratio of marks per AO will be 1:3.
- The weighting of marks for each AO should be considered, but this is reflected in the descriptor: marking should therefore be done holistically.
- Question-specific mark schemes will be neither exhaustive nor prescriptive. Appropriate, substantiated responses will always be rewarded.
- NB Answers are required to make critical use of political ideas and texts studied during the course. Responses which fail to enter into critical discussion of ideas and texts are very unlikely to attain a mark above Level 1.
- Evaluation refers to the argued weighing up/assessment of factors in relation to their significance in explaining a issue or in explaining linkages between different factors.

Level/marks	Descriptors
5 35–29 marks	<p>ANSWERS MAY NOT BE PERFECT, BUT WILL SHOW SOPHISTICATED UNDERSTANDING OF THE QUESTION AND DRAW COMPREHENSIVELY FROM THE IDEAS AND TEXTS STUDIED IN THEIR RESPONSES.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Excellent focused critical analysis and full evaluation of ideas and texts that answers the question convincingly. • Excellent sustained argument throughout with an excellent sense of direction that is strongly substantiated by an excellent range of supported examples. Excellent substantiated conclusions. • Excellent understanding of relevant political knowledge (processes, concepts, debates and/or theories). • Towards the bottom, may be a little unbalanced in coverage yet the answer is still comprehensively argued. • Candidate is always in firm control of the material.
4 28–22 marks	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW MANY FEATURES OF LEVEL 5, BUT THE QUALITY WILL BE UNEVEN ACROSS THE ANSWER.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A determined response to the question with clear critical analysis and evaluation of ideas and texts across most but not all of the answer. • Argument is strong and sustained, showing clear awareness/understanding, but parts are underdeveloped and/or the range of substantiating evidence is not even across the answer. Strong conclusions adequately substantiated. Description is avoided. • Good understanding of relevant political knowledge.
3 21–15 marks	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A SOUND UNDERSTANDING OF THE QUESTION AND DRAW FROM THE TEXTS STUDIED IN THEIR RESPONSES.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engages with the question although analysis and evaluation of ideas and texts is patchy and, at the lower end, of limited quality. • Tries to argue and draw conclusions, but not well sustained and supporting evidence is patchy. There may be significant sections of description. • Reasonable understanding of relevant political knowledge.

<p style="text-align: center;">2</p> <p style="text-align: center;">14–8 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A LIMITED UNDERSTANDING OF THE QUESTION AND A LIMITED USE OF/REFERENCE TO TEXTS STUDIED.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some engagement with the question, but analysis and evaluation of ideas and texts are limited/thin. • Limited argument within an essentially descriptive response. Irrelevance may characterise parts of the answer. Conclusions are limited/thin. • Understanding of relevant political knowledge is limited and/or uneven.
<p style="text-align: center;">1</p> <p style="text-align: center;">7–0 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW LITTLE UNDERSTANDING OF THE TEXT AND LITTLE ATTEMPT TO RESPOND TO THE QUESTION.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or no engagement with the question. Little or no analysis or evaluation of ideas and texts. • Little or no argument. Assertions are unsupported and/or of limited relevance. Any conclusions are very weak. • Little or no relevant political knowledge.

Question 1(a)

Passage A

The liberty of man, in society, is to be under no other legislative power but that established, by consent, in the commonwealth; nor under the dominion of any will, or restraint of any law, but what that legislative shall enact, according to the trust put in it.

(John Locke, The Second Treatise of Civil Government, 1690)

Passage B

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.

(American Declaration of Independence, 1776)

(a) Compare these two views on consent and the limits to government power. [15]

Mark scheme

(a) Compare these two views on consent and the limits to government power.

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected, but the question asks candidates to compare and answers in levels 2 and 3 needs to show evidence of genuine comparison of the similarities and differences between the two passages. Answers might use matters of provenance, date and context to aid their comparison. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the comparison. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

In Passage A Locke rejects the idea of any form of government established without the expressed consent of the people. This was a revolutionary idea at the time he was writing. Locke expressed the need for a real contract between people and the government, not merely a notional device and this contract would have to be constantly confirmed. Passage B supports Locke's view that government must be by consent and makes the contract that Locke hints at a reality. Passage B develops the ideas of Locke and establishes the rights of individuals, and therefore, by implication, asserts the appropriate limits to government power. The last phrase in Passage B implies that individuals are the only judge of what is best for them. Both passages mention the right of liberty and turn individuals into citizens with rights, rather than just subjects who had only obligations to obey. The passages also enable people to accept that it was possible to hold different beliefs without threatening public order and security. Passage B puts greater emphasis on the freedom of the individual to find their own place in society and the idea that we are born fundamentally equal and inherit equal rights, which limit the powers of government.

Example candidate response – Distinction

Both passages are based on the principles of classic liberalism although it can be argued that the American Declaration of Independence (ADI) was written in a manner that would still be appropriate today and therefore also includes elements that are included in modern liberal ideology. Despite the fact that passage A was written nearly one hundred years earlier both passages have a lot in common and it is not impossible that the writers of the ADI would have been influenced by the likes of Locke and other early liberal thinkers. Both passages A and B talk about consent, Locke is clear that the 'Liberty of man, in society' is established by 'consent', passage B agrees that consent is important but suggests that the 'unalienable Rights' given to man through consent in Locke's eyes are 'endowed by their Creator' rather than by the man's consent. Passage A claims that the liberty of man is also linked to 'commonwealth', through the advocacy of commonwealth Locke is arguing that all men are equal in a similar way Passage B argues that 'all men are created equal'.

Handwritten notes: "consistent", "similar", "argues", "direct comparison"

Passage B lays out the limitations of government when stating the rights of man, 'Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness'. These three principles have been and are crucial to Liberalism in the USA and the limitations placed on government through the sovereignty of the constitution. Passage B similarly states that the liberty of man in society cannot be 'under the domination or any will, or restraint of any law, but what the legislative shall enact' which means that Locke also believed in limiting governments power to its legislation therefore maintaining the liberty of man in British society. However, Locke in passage A does not believe that the pursuit of Happiness is crucial to the liberty of man as he argues that man will be able maintain freedom through his consent to government, 'according to the trust put in it'.

Handwritten note: "compared"

Therefore, although both passage A and B are similar in believing that consent and limited government are crucial to the maintenance of the individual and freedom of man. Passage B places greater emphasis on the importance of 'unalienable Rights' while Locke in source A places greater importance in the decision of man to 'consent' to government, legitimising it and maintaining its right to maintain the liberty of man.

Handwritten notes: "J", "reach it"

L3

12

Examiner comment – Distinction

The candidate starts with a clear comparison between the two passages and this was a feature of the answer, with consistent comparison of both the similarities and differences of the two passages. The candidate is able to identify the key issues raised in the passages and shows a clear understanding of the political concepts that are being discussed. The comparisons are supported by brief quotations from the passages which are always relevant to the points being made and are clearly explained and linked back to the question set. The answer explains fully the points of comparison and ideas are well developed. Although the two passages largely agree, the candidate is able to pick up on the point of difference about the 'pursuit of happiness' at the end of the second paragraph. The final paragraph reaches a clear and supported judgement that follows logically from the rest of the answer.

Mark awarded = 12 out of 15

Example candidate response – Merit

L1	<p>Passage A and Passage B are both views on the rights of government over man, in terms of both consent and Natural rights.</p> <p>The first comparison to make is that Locke views the "liberty of man" as being outlined by the legislative commonwealth. The American Declaration of Independence places focus for rights on not any government at the the forefront, but instead them being ^{endowed} endowed by their creator. Locke Locke makes no mention of any natural rights, and instead focuses upon the 'positive freedoms' which government will give him, with his consent. The Declaration of Independence takes a more positive approach, mentioning the 'negative freedoms', which no government can ^{should} take away.</p> <p>Secondly Locke takes the view, it seems, that the liberty of man, seemingly giving it the most importance, is "to be under no other legislative power but that established, by consent, in the commonwealth". In contrast, the American Declaration of Independence makes it clear that at the forefront of importance are "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness".</p> <p>Though both views are coming from a liberal approach, both place importance on the individual: Locke through the "trust" each man has in ^{its} governance, the Declaration through each person's "equal and "unalienable rights".</p>
L2	Reasonable U but not fully clear
7	

Examiner comment – Merit

The opening provides a general overview of the two extracts, but the ideas are not expanded. This is characteristic of this answer. The candidate is able correctly to identify some points of difference between the two passages, but the ideas are not fully developed or explained. The response relies heavily on the content of the passages and does not fully explain the concepts or ideas that are raised by them. The range of issues covered by the answer is also somewhat narrow, particularly as the points are not developed and the candidate fails to pick up on any points of similarity. There is some attempt at an overall judgement in the final paragraph, but this is limited and again relies heavily on quotations from the passage which are not compared in terms of similarity or difference.

Mark awarded = 7 out of 15

Example candidate response – Pass

1a) As a German student, my understanding of these texts is limited. However, in Passage A, John Locke, who believes in the existence of natural rights, expresses his view that individuals should be governed by no other government but the one they gave their consent to. The American Declaration of Independence, on the other hand, talks more about equal rights than the consent to government power and in fact doesn't mention the idea of public consent at all.

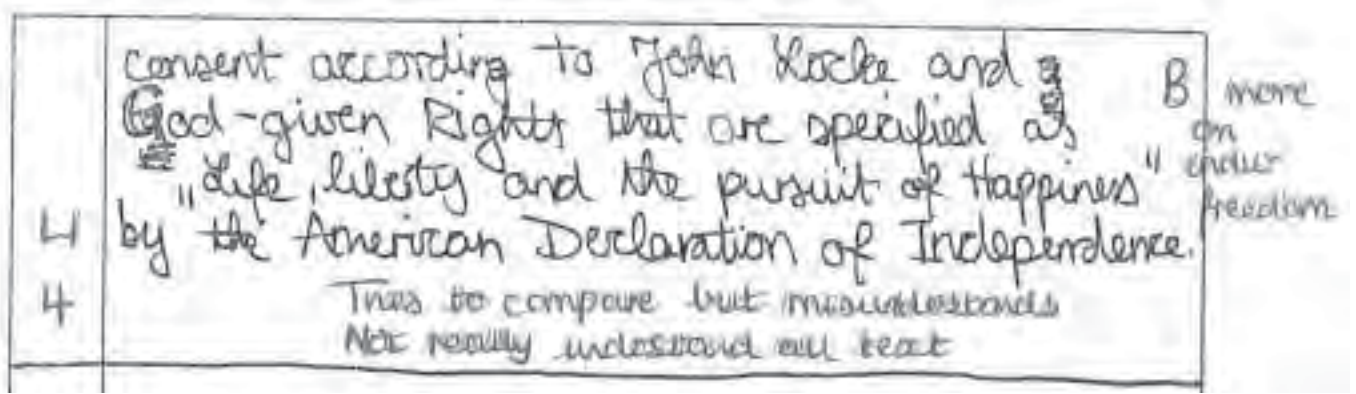
but B develops A

Locke also specifies by saying that the liberty of man should only be under the legislative power ~~of~~ established in the commonwealth, while the A.D.I. keeps its views rather vague. The American Declaration of Independence ~~also~~ clarifies "certain unalienable Rights" such as "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness" and "thus already ~~also~~ puts a limit on government by granting these rights that can't be taken away by anyone but the people of the United States of America. John Locke, on the other hand, ~~puts~~ views the limits to government power as something that is up to the people to decide ~~with~~ with phrases like "according to the trust put in it" (the legislature) and "by consent". He thus talks about the people having a certain amount of input in government power. Hence, the limits to government power are ~~also~~ public

need to focus on limit & consent

misses point

so emphasis similar



Examiner comment – Pass

At this level, responses often fail to understand the key issues raised by the passages and this is reflected in this response. The candidate fails to understand the second extract and how the ideas and concepts raised in the first passage are developed in the second. There is drift from the focus of the question, which should be on consent and limits to government power, to a more general attempt to compare the passages.

Mark awarded = 4 out of 15

Question 1(b)

Passage A

The liberty of man, in society, is to be under no other legislative power but that established, by consent, in the commonwealth; nor under the dominion of any will, or restraint of any law, but what that legislative shall enact, according to the trust put in it.

(John Locke, The Second Treatise of Civil Government, 1690)

Passage B

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.

(American Declaration of Independence, 1776)

(b) Assess the importance of toleration in liberal beliefs

[35]

Mark scheme

(b) Assess the importance of toleration in liberal beliefs.

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What is important is the quality of the critical analysis and degree of evaluation. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question. Further, they are required to refer to specific theorists to support their answer. Any answer that fails to do so cannot be given a mark above level 3.

Specific

Toleration is a key feature of liberal philosophy and it follows directly from Mill's principles of individual liberty. However, it can also be argued that his view was predated by Locke, although his concerns were primarily with religious toleration. There may be some reference to his dictum 'That every man may enjoy the same rights that are granted to others.' Although the question of religious toleration was an important issue in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it was Mill who widened the area of debate and concerned himself with every sphere of life. Liberalism came to be concerned with freedom of expression and the toleration of other people's beliefs, values, thoughts and faiths and their rights to express them openly.

In the twentieth century liberal groups have given attention towards minority groups, such as homosexuals, ethnic and religious groups. They have opposed all forms of censorship in the media and the arts.

Liberals have been associated with the toleration of different beliefs and views, however it should also be noted that there is a limit to toleration. This is most noticeable where the security of the state or the freedom of the individual is threatened, or if people are being encouraged to commit crimes, act in a violent way or discriminate against any group, then freedom of expression should be curtailed. This attitude links back to Mill's view of freedom, that we should be free as long as our actions are self-regarding and do not do harm to others.

There are other aspects of liberal toleration that candidates might consider. Liberals are sympathetic to the idea that individuals are influenced by their social and economic circumstances and are therefore not always responsible for their own actions. It might therefore be argued that those involved in anti-social behaviour may do so because of social consequences beyond their control. Liberals are therefore more likely to be more tolerant in their outlook and propose measures to help individuals reform their behaviour, rather than simply punish them.

Liberals are also more likely to be more tolerant over issues of personal morality. Consideration might be given to issues such as sexual behaviour, abortion, homosexuality, same sex-marriage. Liberals may take the view that these are personal matters and are not the concern of the state or others.

Example candidate response – Distinction

16 The liberal perception of human nature is that each individual has certain unique, innate qualities, and that this is an undeniably good thing. By perceiving people as different, liberals have to reconcile individual rights with a healthy, stable society and ~~therefore~~ their emphasis on the importance of toleration ^{sets} ^{scene} achieves this. By ~~stressing~~ promoting toleration, liberals can retain a focus on each individual while promoting the notion that differences in ideology, race, religion, nationality or whatever it may be are ~~celebrated~~ accepted. ^{with} ^{to} ^{under} ^{stand} ^{mode}.

One reason that one could agree that toleration is a vitally important component of liberal beliefs is that it enables liberalism (which asserts the importance of individualism) with democracy (which by its nature is a ^{reason}).

minorities

Mull



explanations
ump

but
attempt

majoritarian system) in order to protect the rights of minorities (of whatever description) and ~~these~~ individuals alike. Liberal democracy has flourished for this very reason, and prominent liberal thinkers such as John Stuart Mill have praised democracy on the basis that it 'improves' all who participate in the democratic process by exposing them to issues and arguments which they have not encountered in their everyday lives. Mill sees this as a positive thing because, ~~as~~ so long as people are tolerant, ~~they~~ their lives will be improved by this increased knowledge. Without tolerance though, democracy could breed conflict if minorities felt that they were being undermined by ~~the~~ ^{the} majority. However, it is possible to agree that liberal democracies do not ~~need~~ ~~tolerance~~ necessarily ~~need~~ need tolerance; until the 1960s African Americans were persecuted in a country usually considered extremely liberal. In this case, the ~~idea~~ ^{idea} notion that ^{feared} government should play a minor role in the people's lives, coupled with the promotion of states' rights (both ~~two~~ things which are said also agree as 'liberal ideals') hindered tolerance. This suggests that there may be an internal conflict between tolerance and other liberal values.

Tolerance has ~~to~~ a significant effect on the liberal ~~perception~~ ^{perception} notion of a ~~good~~ ^{good} a

governments role. Classical and modern liberals alike agree that people have certain rights or 'negative freedoms' which John Locke outlined as 'life, liberty and property'. Therefore ~~it is~~ ~~the~~ ~~more~~ some sort of government is required to protect these rights since it is widely accepted that, to some extent, a state of nature would be a 'state of war' as Hobbes suggested, and therefore having a government is desirable. Now, since liberals believe in 'negative freedoms', it logically follows that government can legitimately act in order to protect these. If this was the case, it is reasonable to assume that ~~the~~ government was protecting ~~an~~ an individual or group against a threat to the life, liberty or property, and therefore was promoting toleration. It is highly significant that even staunch classical liberals would agree that a government may act in this case, since it is clear that toleration is considered by all liberals to be more ~~important~~ important than one individual's right to act as they please at the ~~expense~~ ^{expense} of others. This is ~~not~~ in some ways a reflection of Mill's harm principle which states that power can only be exercised over an individual by the government to 'prevent harm to others' and, in other words, ~~to~~ ensure toleration. This suggests that toleration is a ~~rather~~ extremely important aspect of liberal beliefs.

Hobbes

arg

arg

Mill

It is clear that, while toleration is important to liberals, it can at times conflict with other fundamental parts of liberal beliefs. Freedom for example, is also essential to liberalism, ~~as~~ as this is usually taken to mean freedom of expression (among other things). So, what if a person wishes to ~~publish~~ make a speech denouncing toleration? Should they be tolerated, or allowed to undermine an important feature of liberalism? This conflict often rears its head, ~~as~~ such as when BNP leader Nick Griffin appeared on a BBC question time. Voltaire's A well known Voltaire quote provides the answer: 'I detest what you say, but will defend to death your right to say it.' This clearly implies that freedom ought to be more important than toleration. So, while toleration is ~~a~~ undoubtedly an important feature of liberal beliefs, others (notably freedom and individualism) are in fact more important and sometimes toleration must be sacrificed ~~to~~ in their favour.

Does focus on qn, determined answer
 Some support for - how compared with arg

Examiner comment – Distinction

The response is consistently focused on the question and does attempt to address its demands throughout, producing a solid response. In the opening paragraph, the candidate is able to place the issue of toleration in the context of liberal philosophy. The candidate is able to provide a range of supported reasons as to why toleration is important to liberal beliefs. Moreover, in some instances the candidate evaluates their importance and this is often supported by reference to appropriate theorists, such as Mill and Hobbes. It is pleasing that the response uses the theorists to support the argument and does not simply describe their beliefs with little link to the question. The candidate also attempts a balanced response, although at the end of the second paragraph this might have been developed further. In most instances, the points made are fully developed and examined as is witnessed in the third paragraph, where once again theorists are used rather than simply described. The conclusion does acknowledge the limitations to the importance of toleration and this again provides an effective balance which allows an overall judgement to be reached.

Mark awarded = 25 out of 35

Example candidate response – Merit

1b) In the history of Liberalism, no matter the form, Tolerance has always been one of the key elements of the ideology next to freedom and justice. Already the French philosopher Voltaire said: "I detest what you say, but I shall defend to the death your right to ~~say~~ say it." This quote alone shows an element of tolerance by tolerating certain things for the greater good of society. Tolerance ~~is~~ is of great importance in liberal beliefs as it is required ~~for~~ in a society so that each individual can be different as they wish. In a liberal democracy where there is freedom of speech, a pluralist society with different religions, different cultures etc. a certain degree of tolerance is required in order for individuals to live in ~~cohesion~~ cohesion. This tolerance goes until another citizen's freedoms and rights are ~~not~~ infringed. The political philosopher John Stuart Mill, who is considered one of the key thinkers in classical liberalism, once said: "Freedom deserves the name ~~of~~ ^{is} ~~that~~"

imp
of
tolerance
stated

Mill

the ~~per~~ ~~persuading~~ pursuing of our own good in our own way as long as we do not deprive others of ~~theirs~~ their's or impede their efforts to obtain it."

This quote proves the importance of tolerance in liberal beliefs as making it an essential part of the ideology itself.

Tocq
develop

Alexis de Toqueville also talks of the importance of pluralism in a democracy, hence the idea of a civil society, so that there is not a certain section in society that gets too dominant. Here again tolerance is required in order to take actively part in society. One also needs to keep in mind that we are all individuals ~~we~~ who need to decide for themselves what's best for them as in what brings them satisfaction and happiness or utility as it is called in Utilitarianism, a liberal concept by

Bentham

Jeremy Bentham. Here again we all need to be tolerant to let other ~~not~~ individuals live their ~~too~~ life as it brings them happiness. ~~We are~~ For example, I ~~we~~ may not like the fact that ~~over~~ my neighbor owns a bull terrier, however I need to tolerate his dog like he tolerates my music, so that we can both enjoy what brings us satisfaction and happiness and what fulfills our lives. This toleration is required up until

13	<p>the point that may However, if my neighbor's dog attacked me it would cause me pain and huge dissatisfaction, and would infringe on my personal freedoms and rights. That would be where the tolerance stops.</p>
17	<p>the end of my required tolerance. Engages with qn + some ref to texts</p>

Examiner comment – Merit

At this level candidates attempt to engage with the demands of the question and there is an attempt to construct a relevant argument. The candidate also shows a sound understanding of relevant theorists and does not simply describe their views, but tries to use their ideas to pursue an argument. The answer does show an understanding of the relevant concept of tolerance and this is reflected in the reference to Voltaire. However, some of the ideas need greater development, as is the case with the reference to de Tocqueville and Bentham. The answer would benefit from a conclusion which reached an overall judgement as to the importance of tolerance in liberal beliefs.

Mark awarded = 17 out of 35

Example candidate response – Pass

At the heart of Liberal beliefs is freedom, which liberals support with tolerance, diversity, equality of opportunity and others. The toleration of others is key to many of these: mainly in that toleration towards others equates to an infringement of their personal liberties.

analyse his views

explain sig

As Voltaire said "I detest what you say but I will defend to my death your right to say it", this quote seems to sum up the necessity of toleration to the fight for liberalism. Voltaire saw freedom of speech as being an important part of a truly liberal society and freedom of speech for one man means the tolerance of another in hearing his views.

Voltaire

expl

It is a debate within Liberalism that true freedom for all is impossible, as everyone has to be restricted from ~~from~~ harming the freedom of others. Tolerance is part of this, as it is hard for one person to be free if society does not tolerate his freedom: even if he is legally allowed it.

expl

An example of the need for toleration in liberal beliefs is the recent rise in multiculturalism. Liberals believe in freedom and diversity, therefore multiculturalism is a liberal doctrine. Yet however legal it may be, a multicultural society cannot flourish without the tolerance of the old society and nation.

Though tolerance is not one of

drift from qn

Rather D

The first ideas given in any summary of Liberal beliefs. Liberalism focuses upon liberty, and individuals, ensuring that they are free to pursue whichever path they most desire. Tolerance may hinder this pursuit, but there are a multitude of other factors. Social injustice, poverty or a non-representative government/corrupt ~~the~~ dictatorship are more obvious examples of how our freedom may be confined.

It also depends upon the Liberal thinker. John Locke focuses on the self-centred nature of mankind, and would see tolerance as an outcome of certain societies rather than a key liberal belief. Rousseau in comparison believed in the 'compassion' inherent in people, and would therefore hold tolerance as one thing which comes with liberal respect of others: therefore is important.

Overall Tolerance seems to be a key aspect of liberal belief, as even though it may not be a core belief, it is one of the most important supporting concepts of each belief. A liberal society would inherently ~~to~~ need ~~the~~ tolerance, therefore it's importance should not be overlooked.

hammed U of qn 4 of thinkers - drift to D.

L2

10

Examiner comment – Pass

The answer begins by outlining some of the key liberal beliefs and acknowledges that toleration forms a key part of this and briefly links it to the idea of liberties. However, the answer does not build on this in a convincing manner. There are also occasions, as in paragraph five, when the candidate drifts from the question and describes reasons why liberty may not be achievable. The candidate is able to explain why toleration is important to liberals, but as the answer progresses it becomes more descriptive and is not well supported by reference to relevant political theorists, which is a requirement of this paper. When the answer does refer to John Locke and Rousseau, the focus is descriptive with little attempt to link their ideas to the specific demands of this question. The conclusion attempts to reach a judgement, but it is not convincing and the final statement is very generalised.

Mark awarded = 10 out of 35

Question 2(a)

Passage A

What we need now is a far greater degree of personal responsibility and decision, far more independence from the government, and a comparative reduction in the role of government.

(Margaret Thatcher, Conservative Political Centre Lecture, "What's wrong with politics?", 1968)

Passage B

[Our] mission is to advance and promote traditional American values that are rooted in the conservative principles of national sovereignty, economic patriotism, limited government, and individual freedom.

(Mission Statement of The American Cause, 1993)

(a) Compare the views that these two extracts offer on New Right Conservatism.

[15]

Mark scheme

2 Conservatism and the Nation

(a) Compare the views that these two extracts offer on New Right Conservatism.

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected, but the question asks candidates to compare and answers in levels 2 and 3 needs to show evidence of genuine comparison of the similarities and differences between the two passages. Answers might use matters of provenance, date and context to aid their comparison. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the comparison. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

In Passage B there are clear features associated with New Right Conservatism; answers should recognise limited government and individual freedom, and these are reflected in Passage A where Thatcher talks about the limited role of the state and a greater degree of personal responsibility. In Passage A Thatcher views society more as a collection of individuals, not as an organic whole and calls for greater freedom which she believed was necessary for wealth creation. She wants to see more individual incentives. However, the ideas in Passage B do show some of the distinctions between the US brand of conservatism, as represented by thinkers such as Buchanan, and the UK and the rest of Europe. Some candidates might point out that US new right ideology also focuses on the issue of religion, which is not mentioned in A. For writers such as Buchanan, religion cannot be separated from politics, and morality is strictly based on a traditional brand of fundamentalist Christianity.

Where the two passages also differ is in Passage B's inclusion of National Sovereignty and economic patriotism. National Sovereignty, in Passage B, suggests that US new right thinking is determined to protect US interests and might even be seen as arguing for isolationism, denying that the US has any global responsibilities or that it should be influenced by any other power or organisation. Candidates might suggest that to some extent this is supported by Thatcher's view on British interests and her relationship with the EU. The mention in Passage B of economic patriotism is closely linked to the idea of national sovereignty. It argues that the US should be concerned only with its own economic interests. There is no consideration of the benefits of world trade and that the first duty of the government is to protect US industry from competition through subsidies or tariffs. Some candidates might argue that this contradicts the free market economics espoused by Thatcher. However, it might also be suggested that Buchanan's views are supported by those in the UK who were opposed to further European economic integration. Passage B also argues for American values and might therefore be seen to oppose multiculturalism, arguing that there should be one dominant culture in the US and that all citizens should adopt it. Candidates might argue that this position is similar to the right wing of the Conservative party in the UK.

Example candidate response – Distinction

Both passages emphasise the importance of the ~~the~~ ~~the~~ individual, which is a key ^{similar} aspect of New Right Conservatism. Margaret Thatcher, in passage A, states that people need 'far more independence' which corresponds with passage B and its promotion of 'individual freedom'. This reflects the start of the New Right which are much to classical liberalism, ~~which~~ an ideology which sees the individual as ~~superior~~ superior to government, ~~whereas~~ which it views with great suspicion.

This ~~classic~~ classic liberal influence on the New Right can be seen again in passage A where Thatcher calls for a 'comparative reduction in the role of government'. Passage B illustrates the same view of the New Right when it calls for 'limited government'. ~~whereas~~ Interestingly, passage B describes this as a 'conservative' principle whereas passage A makes no ~~to~~ direct reference to conservatism. This makes a slight difference between ~~the~~ ^{the} New Right in America and the New Right in the UK: the former aligns itself with conservatism in the sense of concerning ~~conservative~~ what it sees as constitutional principles, whereas in the UK the New Right, when advocated by the Thatcher government, was an unapologetic shift away from the conservatism of the post-war consensus.

similar
elev

valid
expt

Passage B certainly ~~states~~ ~~on~~ implies that 'patriotism' is a key part of New Right Conservatism in the USA; it ~~states~~ outlines what it sees as 'American values'. In contrast to this Thatcher seems keen to focus on the importance of individualism rather than the nation, ~~although~~ suggesting again that patriotism was less important to New Right

Conservatives in the UK than in the USA, although it should be noted that later on, as Prime Minister, Thatcher ~~supported~~ put a huge amount of resources into ~~the~~ ~~cost~~ re-capturing the Falkland Islands, so ~~she~~ ~~clearly~~ ~~was~~ ~~the~~ ~~at~~ patriotism was clearly important to her too.

Well focused on qn, range clear

In order to assess the extent to which neo-conservatism ~~is~~ ~~is~~ ~~important~~ to has adopted traditional conservative ideology, it is first important to outline the key ~~core~~ 'traditional' ~~conservative~~ conservative beliefs and compare them to the values and ideology promoted by neo-conservatism. Tradition, law and order, property, human imperfection and optimism are the most important, ~~fundamental~~ fundamental beliefs of conservatism and while neo-conservatism is clearly influenced ~~by~~ by some of these, it has not adopted ~~new~~ all of them.

Neo conservatives place considerable importance on what it perceives as traditional values, but this is not precisely the same interpretation of tradition as in conservative ideology. Neo-conservatives ~~place~~ ~~the~~ ~~at~~ advocate traditional social

values which in their view were eroded by the growth of permissiveness since the 1960s, so in general terms they oppose abortion and sex details before marriage, and along with homosexuality,

Examiner comment – Distinction

The answer focuses clearly on the precise demands of the question and avoids a general comparison of the two extracts. The opening paragraph provides a strong focus and the candidate makes an overall comparison of the views offered in the two extracts. This sustained comparison is a focus of the response, but the candidate is also able to fully explain the ideas in the two extracts. The candidate also acknowledges that the extracts do differ – a point that could have been further developed to show the differences between British and American New Right views. The answer might also have benefited from placing the extracts in their wider context of the development of conservative thinking in the two countries. Even without this, however, this is still a well focused answer that is based on a direct comparison of the two extracts in relation to the question.

Mark awarded = 12 out of 15

Example candidate response – Merit

<p>general sets scene</p>	<p>2a New Right conservatism takes the fundamental principles and traditions within conservatism, and applies these through neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism. The 'New Right' was adopted there by Thatcher and Reagan, in America, and dominated the political agenda for many years.</p>
<p>little real comparison</p>	<p>In passage A, taken from Margaret Thatcher's lecture: 'What's wrong with politics?', she argues that in the UK "we need... far more independence from government." This is an idea which has arisen due to the influence of liberalism, and the emphasis on the individual. that has arguably arisen due to the influence of liberalism, and the emphasis on the individual. Alike Thatcher, the Mission Statement of the American Cause outlines the value of limited government, an idea very much fundamental in American politics and entrenched into the codified constitution, through checks and balances. Therefore</p>
<p>similar</p>	<p>Similarities also arise in each passage in regards to 'individual freedom' as explored in the American Cause, and a 'reduction in the role of government', as stated in Thatcher's lecture. These similarities arise due to the same values embodied in New Right conservatism, adopting the Burkean views of</p>

Small, yet effective government, and the reliance on the individual, not the state.

However if we look at the times of writing: Passage A 1968 and Passage B 1993, as well as the context of this time we can see how the views of New Right conservatism are deeply centrist in terms of practice.

explains context

In passage A, written before Thatcher ~~was~~ becoming Prime Minister in 1979, she speaks of the issues within society at the time and the countries need to break away from the post war consensus that had been dominating politics for 30 years and had led to the stagnation of the economy and morality within Britain. She perceived the New Right as being a way to transform society and government in Britain, ~~by~~ harking back to the core conservative values and principles for example the reduction in the role of government, as seen in Thatcher's huge reduction in public spending during her time in office and the make up of the, at the time, very bureaucratic nature of the Civil Service.

On the other hand, passage B adopts the New Right's conservative approach in terms of 'Neo-conservatism', with

some
stuff

a focus on exporting the 'traditional American values'. As stated in the passage, their mission is to 'advance and promote' the conservative principles of National Sovereignty, economic patriotism, limited government and individual freedom, very much adopted by W. Bush junior's Government, in particular the invasion into Iraq and Afghanistan.

In conclusion, passage A offers ~~a~~ more of a vision of New Right Conservatism in the UK, whereas passage B depicts the consensus view in American politics at the time of the New Right and Neo-conservatism being a authoritative value that should be exported and promoted across the world.

Does provide context but limited comparison
Best fit

L2
6

Examiner comment – Merit

The opening paragraph is generalised and fails to make use of the two extracts provided whereas candidates should at least outline the overall message of the two extracts in relation to the question set. The focus of the answers in this section is comparison, but the first main paragraph of the answer deals largely with Passage A and makes little real comparison even when a brief comment about extract B is made at the end of the paragraph. The following paragraph does draw attention to some similarities between the two passages, although the comments are very generalised and not developed. The candidate rightly tries to place the passages in context, but the error over the date of Thatcher becoming Prime Minister detracts from the response and, again, the two extracts are dealt with sequentially. The comments about extract B are more convincing and help to lift the quality of the answer, particularly the ability to link it to Bush's government. In the conclusion, the candidate shows some awareness that the two extracts represent the British and American strands of New Right Conservatism, but this should have been developed in the answer as it goes a long way to explain the differences.

Mark awarded = 6 out of 15

Example candidate response – Pass

New Right Conservatism.

Privatisation. (Populism).
 Less Government Intervention (less welfare).
 Reaction.
 one = National Conservatism.

"Rolling back the frontiers"
 "Government is not the solution to our problems
 government is the problem."

Conservatism is a fundamentally pragmatic ideology. The New Right is an umbrella term ~~assigned to~~ encompassing both social and fiscal ~~and~~ conservative principles. It was a reactionary movement against the social liberal agenda era i.e. (FDR's New Deal, Attlee government and LBJ's Great Society). *general overview*

The period between the 1930's and 70's began with ~~the~~ economic ~~crisis~~ "The Great Depression" and ended in the early 70's with Depression due to the ^{price of oil} quadrupling. *hooks focus*

In order to counter the earlier depression of the 20th century ~~welfare was s-a~~ Keynesianism was embraced. However, when in the early 70's economic crisis struck again this was seen ^{by some as a} ~~as~~ failure failed economic theory. Conserv The Conservative Party

led by Thatcher advocated monetarism. This theory was sourced from ~~two key~~ ~~the~~ works of two key economists, Friedman and Hayek (who wrote *The Road to Serfdom*). The New Right ideology adhered to principles of "personal responsibility" as mirrored in passage B "individual freedom". New Right thinkers thought that the welfare system had encouraged welfare dependency. Thus Thatcher initiated an agenda which began "rolling back the frontier". Thatcher as MacMillan said "sold the family silver", she privatised national entities such as coal and gas. Again, in the Mission statement of The American Cause, 1993 ~~the~~ it states that its mission is to promote "limited government". A key New Right value as illustrated by Reagan when he said "government is not the solution to our problems" "government is the problem".

Both passages are ^{the} ~~embasue~~ ^{principles of a free-market, Hayek} of New Right ~~principles~~ ~~Milton~~ and Friedman are advocates of Adam Smith's theory of the economy as an invisible hand which ~~se~~ ~~regulation~~ ~~on~~ itself and left alone will prosper. ~~On the other hand,~~ ~~passage B~~ seems ~~more~~ to advance traditional American values but Thatcher was far more committed to the economy than

New Right Theory

some UKR

No real link to passages

links to thinkers

© UCLES

Does not really use passages

L4

Examiner comment – Pass

This response fails to score well as the answer makes very little use of the passages and is more like a general essay. It is important for candidates that the passages are the driving force behind their answers and that contextual knowledge or reference to other theorists is used solely to explain the extracts and the similarities or differences. It is only at the very end that the response makes a clear reference to the extracts, and this imbalance between the extracts and contextualisation ensures that the answer remains in the lowest mark band.

Mark awarded = 4 out of 15

Question 2(b)

Passage A

What we need now is a far greater degree of personal responsibility and decision, far more independence from the government, and a comparative reduction in the role of government.

(Margaret Thatcher, Conservative Political Centre Lecture, 'What's wrong with politics?', 1968)

Passage B

[Our] mission is to advance and promote traditional American values that are rooted in the conservative principles of national sovereignty, economic patriotism, limited government, and individual freedom.

(Mission Statement of The American Cause, 1993)

(b) How far has neo-conservatism adopted traditional conservative ideology?

[35]

Mark scheme

(b) How far has neo-conservatism adopted traditional conservative ideology?

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What is important is the quality of the critical analysis and degree of evaluation. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question. Further, they are required to refer to specific theorists to support their answer. Any answer that fails to do so cannot be given a mark above level 3.

Specific

Candidates will need to display a clear understanding of the key conservative beliefs and are likely to compare these with neo-conservatism. They may suggest that there are different strands to neo-conservatism and point to the ideas of the New Right, which contain both neo-liberal and neo-conservative views. However, divisions within new right thinking have created a challenge for conservatism. Although the new right was suspicious of the growth in state power it was also concerned with potential social disorder resulting from increased freedom, permissiveness, lack of social responsibility and challenges to authority. Therefore neo-conservatives have adapted aspects of the origins of conservatism, and this explains the term neo-conservatism, to the modern world.

Neo-conservatives support the free market as a way of allocating resources, but they have argued that this must be balanced against the need for authority and social order. In the same way that Burke stressed the need for good order and took a paternalistic view of the role of the state, so too has the New Right. Neo-conservative thinkers, such as Bell, have argued that there has been a decline in personal responsibility and respect for authority and that this needs to be addressed as, if not, it could lead to a decline in the work ethic needed to sustain the dynamism of the capitalist system and that western societies need moral renewal. Neo-conservatives have therefore advocated a return to traditional values of diligence, religiosity and the traditional structure of the nuclear family. It has resulted in an emphasis on duty, obligation and communal identity, much of which were features of traditional conservatism. There are also similarities in the strong stance taken on law and order issues, attempts to restore traditional values and morality. In order to combat the forces unleashed by market forces and neo-liberals commitment to self interest neo-conservatives have emphasised the need for authoritarian measures. Candidates might make reference to Conservative law and order policies in the 1990s to support this assertion. Concern for respect for authority was a strong element in traditional conservative thought and this was reinforced in neo-conservative thinking with an emphasis on prisons as a means of solving anti-social behaviour. Neo-conservatives also have adopted a firm position on national security. There may also be mention of issues such as a heavy emphasis on national self-interest and patriotism, opposition to excessive immigration and cultural diversity and opposition to European political integration.

Some candidates might suggest that within the USA there are other strands to neo-conservatism such as a strong religious element to moral and social issues and an insistence on protection for US industry from foreign competition.

Some may suggest that it is a combination of neo-liberal views on the economy and welfare and neo-conservative views on law and order, moral values and national security.

Example candidate response – Distinction



After decades in which conservatism seemed near to, if not in decline, doing little but slow down, and moderate the supposedly inevitable march towards socialism, the collapse of the Soviet Union coincided with the rise of Neo-Conservatism, a vigorous and radical ideology created from a mixture of Neoliberalism, seemingly the dominant ideology of our time, and traditional conservatism. Followers of the New Right often consider themselves to be well within the conservative tradition. However, this view is challenged by both supporters and opponents of the New Right. Scruton, an opponent of the New Right, regards neoconservatism as a radical liberal ideology far removed from conservative principles, whilst Hazek, the godfather of the movement, always regarded himself as a liberal.

sets
sceneaware
debate

It is clear that neoconservatism constitutes a decisive break from the 'One-Nation' version of conservatism advocated by those such as Asquith. The

NOT
similar
arg

Hayek	<p>post-war consensus in Britain and the post-new deal consensus in the USA, fully supported by neo-conservatives, was regarded by new right thinkers as tantamount to socialism. Indeed, Mises believed that the reduction of increased role of the state in providing welfare and, helping the better worse off in society and lessening divisions would lead to a dictatorship. The neoconservatives generally support the slashing of government spending on all but the military and law and order, policies which hit the poorest hardest and increase divisions in society. However, paternalism is not entirely absent from neoconservative thought. Part of the motivation for the war pursued by the Bush administration was to establish democracy and 'freedom' for those without access to American virtues, such as a paternalist sentiment.</p>
but	<p>There is clear cohesion between traditional conservatism and neoconservative thought in other areas as well. Neoconservatives, despite their calls for a smaller state, value authority, and evidence for this can be seen in the patriot act.</p>
similar	
explains where similar	

passed by the Bush administration in the aftermath of 9/11, giving the government access to private, commercial without warning. Support for 'family values' is also a key part of neoconservatism, as can be seen from the vocal opposition to gay marriage, abortion and 'permissiveness' in general from the New Right. Perhaps the clearest fusion between ^{and} conservatism and neoliberalism comes from the sacred status of property in both ~~the~~ ideologies. Neoconservatives are strong believers in the nation, a fundamental plank of traditional conservative thought, and this can be seen in the vigorous pursuit of America's national interest as perceived by the Bush administration with scant regards for human rights, international law and the sovereignty of others.

similar

arg

support

However, whilst Neoconservatives clearly hold many of the values of traditional conservatism, it is clear that the 'new world order' brought about by the dominance of neoliberalism, referred to by Fukuyama in 'the end of history', has been highly damaging to these very

Fukuyama

sees
paradox

conservative values. In an increasingly globalised world, the ~~role~~ status of the nation is weakening under the force of global economic and demographic changes unleashed by the very neoliberal ~~policy~~ economic policies advanced by the New Right. ~~As~~ Conservatism began as a reaction to change, yet neo-conservatism has brought about one of the greatest periods of ~~loss~~ ~~in~~ human history, which has led to the breakdown in traditional family, religion and social values.

explains
diff

It is the desire for radical, revolutionary change that separates neoconservatism furthest from traditional conservatism. ~~Although Margaret Thatcher talked about a return to 'victorian values',~~ Neoconservatism does not seek to conserve, but to turn back the clock to an idealised past. By imposing a vision of society it goes against the concept of the 'organic society' advanced by traditional conservatives. Indeed, the radical right-wing minorities which infiltrated the British conservative party and the American republican party bear

many similarities to the Marxist, 'vanguards', vocal minorities forcing through a ~~revolution~~ an ideological revolution.

In conclusion, it is clear that many of the values which underpin traditional conservatism also underpin neoconservatism. However, there is a fundamental conflict at the heart of the ideology between ~~a neoliberal economy~~ the core values and neoliberal economics which puts everything at the mercy of the market. Margaret Thatcher claimed that there was 'no such thing as society', ^{but, within the individual} but it seems as if ~~the methodical~~ ^{weakening of society by} ~~weakening of society by~~ ^{neoliberal} markets has also weakened the values she, and other neoconservatives, stand for. ~~It is hard to reconcile individual freedoms with~~

possibly wrong
J

Examiner comment – Distinction

The response is clearly focused on the demands of the question throughout and the candidate pursues an argument which is supported by reference to a range of theorists. The opening paragraph clearly explores the debate raised by the question and even here the candidate is able to make reference to theorists to support this. The candidate has a clear structure to their argument, examining the differences and then the similarities before seeing and explaining the paradox. This clear structure and line of argument is characteristic of responses at the higher levels. The second paragraph pursues a balanced argument, and what is noticeable is that the response is driven by the argument with theorists used to support the line pursued, rather than simply described. This approach continues in the next paragraph, although this would have benefited from reference to theorists. However, the remainder of the answer returns to the very high levels that have been apparent in the opening and the candidate reaches a clear judgement in the final paragraph which follows logically from the rest of the response.

Mark awarded = 30 out of 35

Example candidate response – Merit

<p>2b)</p> <p>merit</p>	<p>When looking at the term 'neo-conservatism', it is clear that its prefix of (-neo) suggests that the ideology in question has reformed. ^{valid}</p> <p>How Despite this however aspects of the traditional ideological beliefs still are still maintained to varying degrees, tying it to its original ideological form. In this case Conservatism.</p> <p>Neo-conservatism, predominantly believes</p>
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In the importance of the family, Christian beliefs and in some forms moral absolutism within the US. Neo-conservative figures such as George W. Bush can be seen to embody such principles; however aggressive foreign policy is also a key factor – seen through the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq in the name of 'freedom and democracy.' This is also seen within Thatcher's tenure, a 'New Right' UK prime minister, within the Gulf Wars.

Moreover the 'modern compassionate conservative' as David Cameron calls himself has also been seen to pursue interventionist foreign policy. For example after human rights violations in Sudan. Neo-conservatism does not solely traditionally. Conservatives believe that security is integral to a government's main role, to protect its nation. Aggressive foreign policy can be seen as a modern translation of this ~~Burkean~~ Hobbian concept.

To conserve and promote gradual change is also a traditional conservative value. Burke talked of 'liberal conservatism' thus promoting 'organic reform.' However one can argue that when looking at neo-conservatism within the USA, their push to unite church and state is in fact promoting radical change despite what is constitutionally forbidden; stating that ~~the~~ church and state must remain separate. Confirming to the Madisonian belief in separation

defines
r/c

FP

suggests
similar
but
could be
clearer

change

differ

of powers, as celebrated and promulgated by Montesquieu.

Tradition

~~Traditional values of conservatism~~ In addition, Tradition is crucial to conservatism.

Values such as the importance of social institutions can be seen throughout the ideology, ~~at~~ ~~such~~ particularly in neo-conservatism – keeping aspects of social/Christian conservatism found in the US.

The family in many ways creates the basis of some conservative thought such as the emergence of neo-nationalist conservatism, stressing the importance of paternalism. A paternal figure in power reaffirms a nation's stability and sense of security. A monarchical figure for example can be seen as paternal, an idea which is echoed in Hobbes' body politic where the monarch is there to enact the will of the people. This stress on ^{paternalism and the} family can also be achieved in a different form of conservatism however, moral absolutism.

~~As~~ As Porillo suggests, "If there were no political nastiness there would be no need for conservatism" – 1996. Moral absolutism can be viewed as merely a response to the emergence of socialist thought, due to conservatism's reactionary nature as an ideology. In the US this strong belief in a moral code, often fuelled by Christian beliefs, can be

Seen through conservative opposition to ^{similar} gay marriage – most recently resulting in its repeal in California. Furthermore cases such as *Roe vs. Wade* in the 1970s is still a hotly debated issue. Conservative figures most often then not disagree with the Supreme Court's ruling to legalise abortion. Judge Nominees such as *Bork* were often criticised due to their belief that the *Roe vs. Wade* decision should be repealed due to their ideologically influenced political thought.

Moral absolutism has also taken form ^{similar} in neo-conservatism in the UK, with Thatcher. Most notably through Section 28, banning the promotion of homosexuality in schools.

Classical liberalism has also been a key ^{liberalism} influence in conservatism. Within neo-conservatism or the New Right this has taken shape through the emergence of neo-liberal opinions. The importance of individual rights ~~has~~ to a degree created ~~an~~ obsessive individualism. Focusing on the individual and their family. Policies during Thatcher in the mid 70s to 80s resulted in family tax benefits, child benefits, going to the mother – a revolutionary concept. Moreover Thatcher's 'right to buy' scheme allowed a growth of the middle class, giving many the chance to

own property. An indivisible right, especially according to Locke who believed that every citizen deserved the right to, "life, liberty and the acquisition of property" - pure American constitutionalism in a nutshell.

Fundamentally a traditional conservative would uphold the belief in tradition, social institutions, ~~and~~ paternalism and organic reform. & within neo-conservatism these principles are present however due to the nature of conservatism, have adapted into what is relevant in the modern day both socially, economically and in foreign policy. Not always well linked to an, but some argument

13
21

Examiner comment – Merit

The answer displays a reasonable command of the topic, but the material is not always clearly and explicitly linked to the exact question set. The opening paragraph is quite general and would benefit from a clear definition of the concept of neo-conservatism as the observation made is generalised. However, the answer does attempt a fuller definition in the second paragraph, but a definition of the key term or terms in the question is best done in the opening paragraph. In defining neo-conservatism, the answer might have picked up on the differences between American, British or European strands. In this paragraph, the candidate suggests that neo-conservatives do adopt the traditional idea of security, but this is not fully developed; neither is the reference to 'Hobbesian' (sic) concept. The following paragraph follows a similar pattern, although this time discussing a difference. Again, the idea is not fully developed and the reference to a theorist is only made in passing. The main paragraph on tradition does attempt to explore issues in greater depth, but the material is not always directly linked back to the question and as the paragraph progresses it becomes more descriptive with no reference back to the question. This is echoed in the paragraph on liberalism as the answer loses a clear sense of argument and direction. It is only within the conclusion that the response does try to link material back to the actual question and reach a very limited judgement.

Mark awarded = 21 out of 35

Example candidate response – Pass

Neo-Conservatism has always included key traditional conservative principles, amongst them being the endorsement of tradition, the idea of social order and national sovereignty. However, Neo-Conservatism took these principles to a new level as it partly concentrates on foreign policy and the export of its values in order to secure national security. One ~~for~~ famous example is ~~a~~ former President George W. Bush who was a traditional conservative or in Republican at first but then changed his conservative attitude completely after the ~~so~~ tragic event of the ~~the~~ 11th of September 2001 when the twin towers

of the World Trade Center were ~~attacked~~ aim of a terrorist attack that had its origins in Al Qaeda, a terrorist group based on Islamic fundamentalism. After this event government spending ~~increased~~ sharply and a new department was built, the Department of Homeland Security.

* on Defence

~~Looking at this example one doesn't directly think of traditional conservatism as it displays increased government spending and~~ one could argue that these actions are connected with the belief in paternalism, a key aspect of traditional conservatism as often displayed in the works of key thinkers Benjamin Disraeli ~~and~~ and Edmund Burke. However, what followed afterwards was an export of liberal American western values which has no connection to the traditional conservative ideology at all. Nevertheless, Francis Fukuyama argued that these policies by George W. Bush weren't neo-conservative at all as he ~~writes in~~ states in his book 'After the Neo-Cons'. All in all one could ~~not~~ argue that ~~Neo-Cons~~ Neo-Conservatives have a lot in ~~common~~ common with traditional conservatives when it comes to the idea of law & order and national security. However, in traditional conservatism there

so?

how?

some attempt

L2	are key elements of the belief in the class system which is completely absent in Neo-Conservatism.
10	limited U of qn + little ref to text.

Examiner comment – Pass

The response reflects many of the characteristics of answers at this level. The answer is largely descriptive and does not provide a clear answer to the question set. Many of the points made, such as at the start of the second paragraph, are little more than assertions and although there is reference to theorists their ideas are not explored or linked to the question. Towards the end there is an attempt to argue, but again it is little more than assertion as no evidence is provided to support the claim.

Mark awarded = 10 out of 35

Question 3(a)

Passage A

It is clear that capitalism has to be pulled out by the roots. We cannot encourage or even permit selfish attitudes among men, if we don't want men to be guided by the instinct of selfishness, of individuality, by the wolf, the beast instinct; man as the enemy of man, the setter of snares for other men. The concepts of socialism and communism, the concept of a higher society, implies a man devoid of those feelings; a man who has overcome such instincts at any cost; placing, above everything, his sense of solidarity and brotherhood among men.

(Fidel Castro, Speech, 1968)

Passage B

The vision of a true opportunity society replacing the traditional welfare state can be realised only if we deepen the changes we have made... But now, on the foundations of economic stability and record investment, the third term vision has to be to alter fundamentally the contract between citizen and state at the heart of the twentieth-century settlement; to move from a welfare state that relieves poverty and provides basic services to one which offers high quality services and the opportunity for all to fulfil their potential to the full... There is a vast agenda of change to bring about... All of it based on a belief that today people want the power to change their lives in their own hands, not those of an old-fashioned state and government. All of it pervaded by a strong commitment to the values of social justice, equality and opportunity for all.

(Tony Blair, Speech to the IPPR and Demos at Beveridge Hall, University of London, 2004)

(a) Compare the views of Socialism expressed in the two passages.

[15]

Mark scheme

(a) Compare the views of Socialism expressed in the two passages.

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected, but the question asks candidates to compare and answers in levels 2 and 3 needs to show evidence of genuine comparison of the similarities and differences between the two passages. Answers might use matters of provenance, date and context to aid their comparison. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the comparison. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

There is a great deal in these two passages and candidates should not be expected to discuss all aspects in detail in order to achieve the top level, what matters is the quality of analysis. Passage A from Castro is a clear statement of belief that socialism can still be applied to an economically developed world. Castro calls for a high degree of economic equality, whereas Blair accepts inequality. Passage B, unlike A, accepts that we see ourselves as individuals, pursuing our own goals. The extract from Blair's speech upholds the ideas of communitarianism and attempts to balance the idea that society is largely individualistic with the obligation to maintain the integrity of the community as a social entity. In Passage B individuals are expected to take responsibility for maintaining the community, whereas in Passage A the role falls to the state. In Passage B the individual will play an active role in the political process, promoting the community spirit, caring for those less fortunate and caring for the environment. However, in Passage A the role will be played by the state as man is selfish and will not put community interests first. Passage A calls for the destruction of capitalism, whereas Passage B acknowledges the development of a new 'opportunity' society. Passage A adopts a traditional socialist outlook, which is largely a thing of the past in developed countries and Passage B represents the attempts of socialism to adapt to new circumstances.

Example candidate response – Distinction

Socialism.

Sources one and two provide two very different insights into Socialism. Source one, a speech by Castro in 1968 speaks against the individual nature of man, stating "we don't want men to be guided by the instinct of selfishness, of individuality". This belief in total equality goes beyond perhaps even Marx who believed that men were born with different talents, which could contribute to equality of society.

Passage B, by former leader of the Labour Party Tony Blair follows more closely the ideas of French philosopher Babeuf, who notably said "men are born equal, so why not fed and educated equal" (sic), a quote perhaps echoing with Blair himself ~~to~~ who once proclaimed

A sets in context

B in context little comp

his priorities as being
"education, education, education"

differ

Blair's Speech advocates socialism as a ~~good~~ catalyst for universal social improvement, allowing people to "fulfill their potential" not, as Castro may have preferred ~~to~~ - placing, above ~~solidarity~~ everything, his sense of solidarity and brotherhood among men. Similarly Blair sees a "broad opportunity society" one where "economic ~~and~~ stability and record investment" are not ~~just~~ ~~between~~ damaging to socialism, but help is advancement within a welfare state.

~~Clause 4~~

~~Blair's~~ Castro's rhetoric echoes ~~more of~~ Marx and Engels' communist manifesto, which ~~states~~ famously states "workers of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains", an implying a more ~~differ~~ revolutionary approach, Blair on the other hand ~~is~~ is less revolutionary, wishing to build not a communist

Utopia, but even all encompassing society under which ~~not~~ ^{there} is equal rights and opportunities, but does not profess equality of personality and talent. This is synonymous ^{context} with the removal of adaptation of Clause 4 of the Labour Party Constitution which states "by the strength of our common endeavour, we achieve more than we achieve alone"

The two sources clearly show very different approaches and interpretations of socialism. Whilst both ~~also~~ ^{similar} believe in equality of the individual, Castro takes a far more liberal approach. Blair, who ~~was~~ would find more in common with Clinton's "What counts is what works" philosophy.

Although both remain socialist, Blair is clearly a more modern perhaps more diluted interpretation of the original Communist manifesto than Castro's.

L3

11

Does see context + uses other texts
is direct comparison

Examiner comment – Distinction

The response immediately draws an overall, if general, comparison between the two extracts and this comparative approach is maintained throughout, although in some places less strongly. The response is strong in setting the extracts in context and this is used to help explain the differences between the extracts, not simply imparted. It is also encouraging that the answer is able to make comparisons between the writers of the two extracts and other thinkers, with a link to the Communist Manifesto and Clause IV of the Labour party constitution, being the clearest. The response focuses on the key issues in the extracts, such as revolution or social improvement, and develops the points thoroughly with good use of material from the extracts to support the line of argument. The final paragraph provides a convincing overall judgement about the two extracts.

Mark awarded = 11 out of 15

Question 3(b)

Passage A

It is clear that capitalism has to be pulled out by the roots. We cannot encourage or even permit selfish attitudes among men. If we don't want men to be guided by the instinct of selfishness, of individuality, by the wolf, the beast instinct; man as the enemy of man, the setter of snares for other men. The concepts of socialism and communism, the concept of a higher society, implies a man devoid of those feelings; a man who has overcome such instincts at any cost; placing, above everything, his sense of solidarity and brotherhood among men.

(Fidel Castro, Speech, 1968)

Passage B

The vision of a true opportunity society replacing the traditional welfare state can be realised only if we deepen the changes we have made... But now, on the foundations of economic stability and record investment, the third term vision has to be to alter fundamentally the contract between citizen and state at the heart of the twentieth-century settlement; to move from a welfare state that relieves poverty and provides basic services to one which offers high quality services and the opportunity for all to fulfil their potential to the full... There is a vast agenda of change to bring about... All of it based on a belief that today people want the power to change their lives in their own hands, not those of an old-fashioned state and government. All of it pervaded by a strong commitment to the values of social justice, equality and opportunity for all.

(Tony Blair, Speech to the JPPR and Demos at Beveridge Hall, University of London, 2004)

(b) To what extent is communitarianism a rejection of liberal ideas?

[35]

Mark scheme

(b) To what extent is communitarianism a rejection of liberal ideas?

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

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Specific

Although it is clearly at odds with liberal individualism, it has a variety of political forms and answers might consider these. Left-wing communitarianism holds that the community demands unrestricted freedom and social equality, as seen in anarchism. Centrist communitarianism believes that the community is grounded in an acknowledgement of reciprocal rights and responsibilities as seen in both social democracy and Tory paternalism. Right wing communitarianism argues that the community requires respect for authority and established values as put forward by the new right. Some might argue that it is not simply a rejection of liberal ideas but is a continuation of the socialist stress upon fraternity and co-operation. It might be seen as building on the socialist view of the community, seeing it as a means of strengthening social responsibility and harnessing collective energies. It might also be seen as following from Marx's stress upon a classless society or the conservative belief in society as an organic whole. There may even be some mention of the link with Fascist commitment to the indivisible national community.

However, many are likely to focus on its emergence in the 1980s and 1990s as a critique of liberalism, highlighting the damage that had been done by the emphasis on individual rights and liberties over the needs of the whole community. There might be reference to the stress on the importance of common or collective interests. It can be argued that communitarianism emphasises that the self is bedded in the community, that each individual is an embodiment of the society that has shaped his desires, values or purposes. This may be contrasted with the liberal view that the individual is rational. The communitarian view is also important when considering the issue of justice: liberal theories of justice are based upon assumptions about personal choice and individual behaviour, but communitarians argue that these make no sense because they apply to a disembodied subject.

Communitarians argue that they are trying to redress an imbalance in society in which individuals, unrestrained by social and moral responsibility, have been allowed to take account only of their own interests and rights. As a result, society disintegrates: communitarianism stops this and attempts to restore to society its moral voice. However, some may argue that this is not a rejection of liberal thought, but a return to the ideas of Aristotle and his concern for 'politics in the common good.'

It might be argued that because communitarianism has conservative and authoritarian implications it might also be seen as a rejection of liberal ideas. They might argue that it defends existing social structures and moral codes. They might also point to the emphasis on the duties and responsibilities of the individual over his rights or entitlements.

If candidates consider the development of the concept under Fascists they may link it to a rejection of liberal ideas of individual rights and liberties and show how these were violated. There might be mention of it being the very antithesis of individualism as experienced in Nazi Germany with the development of the 'national community.' Although this may be a grotesque misrepresentation of the socialist idea of voluntary cooperation, extreme individualists have warned that any stress upon the collective has oppressive implications and can downgrade the importance of the individual.

Example candidate response – Distinction/Merit

<p>suggests NOT compatible</p>	<p>In his second treatise of Civil government, John Locke, is referred to by some as "the father of liberalism" writes "the liberty of man, in society, is to be under no legislative power, ^{but} than Locke established, by consent. This statement ensures ^{establishes} the freedom of man, something supported by the American Constitution's Declaration of independence's unalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Communitarianism on the other hand leads itself to to ensuring total equality in all areas, in some cases the removal of the rights to ensure the support of benefit of the community - to</p>
<p>contradicts</p>	<p>We see from this a notable contradiction, that to the many aspects of communitarianism are a direct rejection of liberal ideas. Paramount to the philosophy of liberalism is the belief in the freedom of man from control by others,</p>

influence and control by external bodies, this is supported by Rousseau's belief that "man is created equal, and everywhere he is in chains."

Classic liberalism is seen by some as more closely resembling aspects of Conservatism. Emphasis on meritocracy and economic freedom provide a belief in which man's progression is enhanced by his ability to work, and earn property in the form of land and goods. This is a belief epitomised by the earlier quote from the declaration of independence adapted from Coke's belief in the pursuit of "life liberty and property".

therefore not compatible?

Communitarianism on the other hand provides a situation where ~~the~~ land is owned not by individuals within a community, but by the community as a whole. This was practiced in Russia

not compat dev

With the emancipation of the serfs (Agricultural slaves) in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Communitarianism is then much more easily related to socialism, wherein the products of labour are distributed to benefit the community as a whole. Clause 4 of the Labour Party Manifesto, adopted in 1996 by Tony Blair describes how humans can "achieve more together than they can alone." ~~Critical to socialist beliefs~~ ^{referred to socialism}

Communitarianism developed from the texts of Marx and Engels in the early 20th century, whereby a workers revolution would overthrow existing ~~political~~ ^{bourgeois} political structures, and replace them with a system wherein everyone was equal. The collapse of the Soviet Union in the ^{Explains its clear}

Like 20th Century was proof that Communitarianism ~~struggled~~ is inefficient on a ~~that~~ large ^{need to} scale, however ~~but~~ ^{link} Communitarianism is common-
place within African tribes devoid of the corrupting influence of Capitalism. ^{to}
^{gn}

~~Although opposing directly the~~
~~main economic~~

Although both liberalism and Communitarianism promote the advancement of man, both do so in entirely ^{contradict} contradictory ways. Whereas liberalism believes that ~~man~~ ^{the} competition of a meritocracy advances humankind, with welfare to support those on a lower level, ~~and~~ Communitarianism is seen as ~~freedom~~ a reduction of civil liberties. Man may be created equal, but his different talents should be allowed to flourish, not repressed or disregarded.

It is clear to see then,

Conrad

that ~~liberalism~~ Communism
 can be seen as ~~a~~ ~~reject~~
 entirely ~~of~~ contradictory to
 most liberal ideas. It can
 be seen as a rejection of
 the inequalities that arise from
 a meritocratic Capitalist liberal
 Society. ~~At that~~ ~~At~~

Although both ideologies promote
 support of all classes of
 Society, it is clear that the
 methods taken are entirely
 different, and incompatible with
 one another.

I planned in the source booklet,
 maybe that was a bad plan...
 ☹️ This was difficult ☹️

~~Essay~~

L3

Does show contradictory, some weaker parts

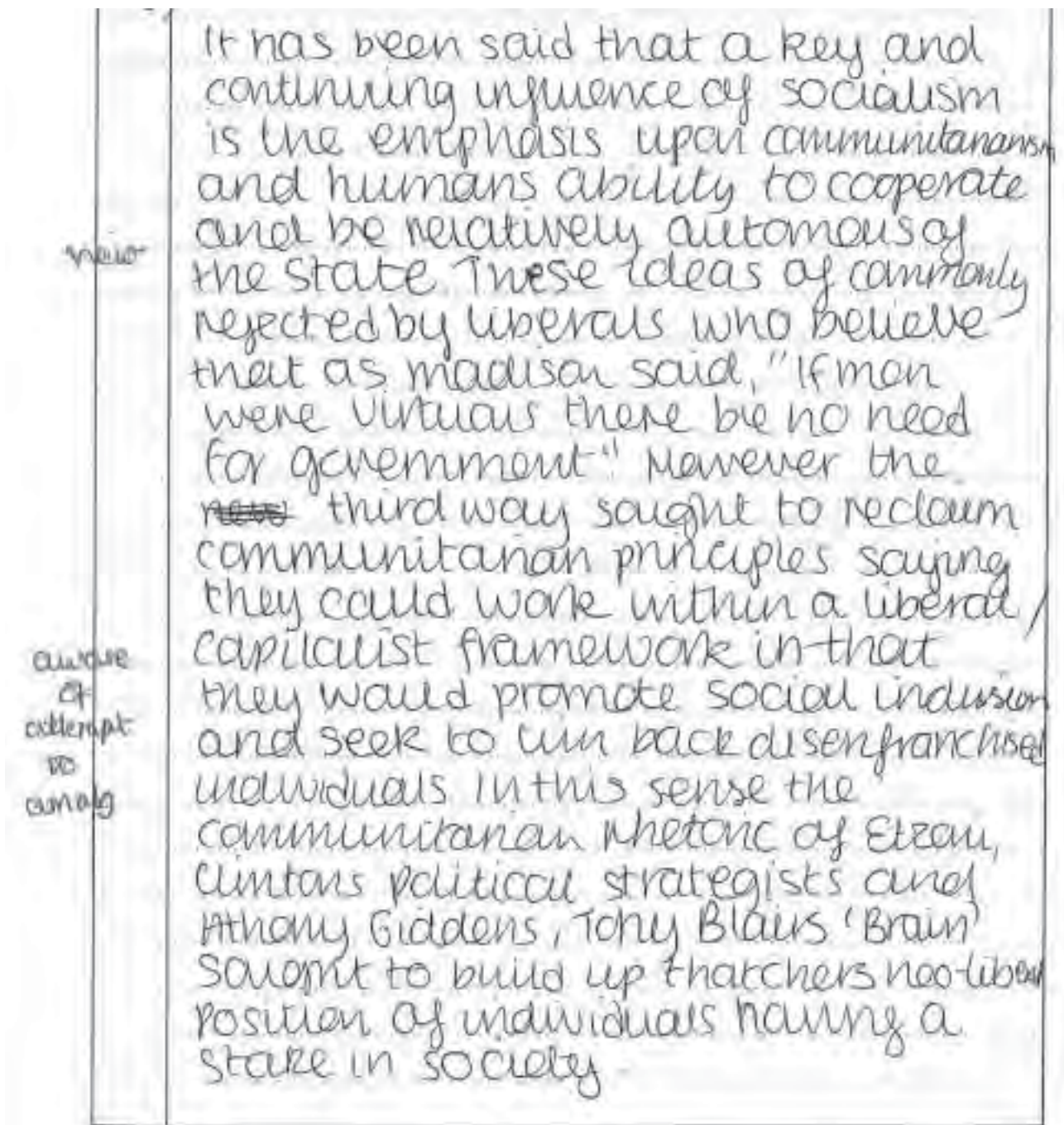
21

Examiner comment – Distinction/Merit

The opening paragraph is very strong and provides a useful model for openings. The response makes use of theorists to set up the debate and also provides a fairly clear explanation of the key concept, in this case communitarianism. The opening part of the response is quite strong as the candidate follows a clear line of argument and links their material back to the question. However, this is not sustained throughout the answer, and the reader is left to make the links between the material and whether it is compatible. The answer does return to a stronger line of argument by linking communitarian ideas to socialism, but this is not sustained when the ideas of Marx and Engels are discussed. This uneven approach continues through to the end where there is a stronger section showing how the views contradict. If this sense of argument had been sustained throughout and been supported by better and wider use of theorists, the essay would have scored more highly. The mark awarded is on the borderline of a Distinction/Merit grade.

Mark awarded = 21 out of 35

Example candidate response – Merit



Indeed, communitarianism is a fundamentally socialist concept ^{explains} in the belief that individuals have ^{commit} a greater need for social identification and willingness to cooperate than to explore their egoism and isolated individualism as some liberals namely classical or neo would assert, such as Thatcher when ^{different} exclaiming, "there is no such thing as society just individuals"

This liberal position derives from the ~~position~~ belief that humans are fundamentally self seeking and corruptible individuals that needs the rule of law to restrain ~~the~~ there less humane ~~groups~~ impulses, Locke vocalised this when ^{he} exclaimed, "without law there is no freedom". However communitarian principles tracing back to ~~the~~ ~~the~~ utopian socialists such as Fourier and Owen's highlighted man's essentially good nature and the ability to create communities based on common ownership and a mutual understanding, these were sometimes referred to as ~~the~~ ~~the~~

^{So does it reject only implies}

'philanasthenes'. This utopian notion although romantic can be seen as realistic and evident in nations that as the president of Zambia said, "have no need to be converted to socialism". The existance of communities ^{Some} within tribal ^{org} cultures can be seen as evidence for its workable characteristics. However, some socialists would say this is because capitalism has damaged the relationships amongst those individuals and whilst liberals would argue that free-market economics furthers society, some communitarians would argue it ^{So} establishes a profit motive which ^{not} makes individuals greedy. ^{reconcile} In fact Hocke + Hobbes assertion that life without government + regulation leads to an unending civil war, could be used by a communitarian socialist as actually a result of individualistic and atomised societies.

However the third way, namely introduced as a policy of triangulation to recapture voters who were convinced

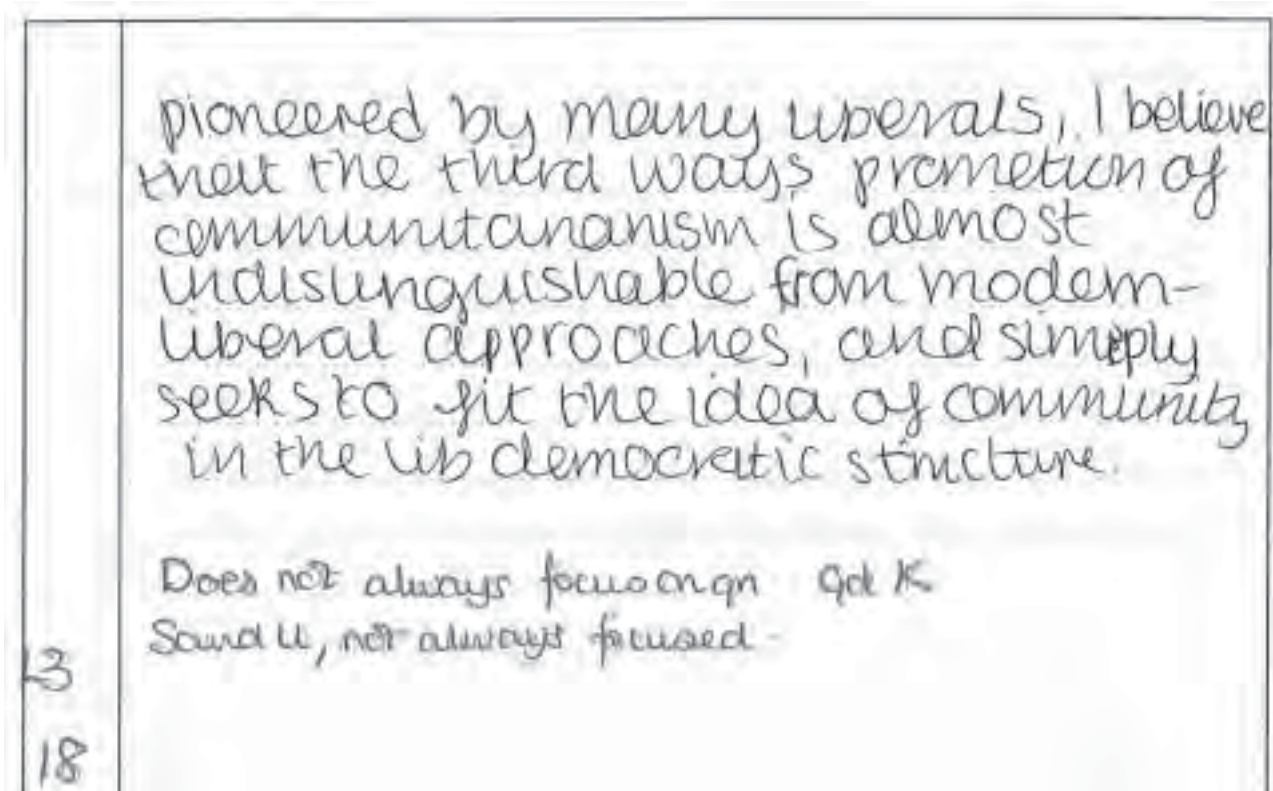
after the fall of communism in 1989, that top-down socialism is dead, as seen in the election results of the late 21st century in UK, Germany + France, sought to revive communitarian principles re-asserting peoples ability to cooperate and humanise capitalism. This can be seen in modern liberal philosophy also, during FDR presidency and HBJ during the 1960s. Further the use of community has been a tool of the third-way to recapture the disenfranchised masses ~~and~~ through redistributive taxation and emphasis on comprehensive education. Also, this position has been commonly associated with democrat Bill Clinton, who has been a pioneer of liberal thinking in terms of his promotion of welfare.

hints at possible

still not emerging in

In conclusion, although essentially communitarianism in its early stages would have insisted upon a common equality of wealth + position to provide social cohesion, which is seen as a threat to individuality and freedom, ~~promoted~~

Better focus



Examiner comment – Merit

Although the candidate shows a sound understanding of the concepts associated with socialism, the answer is not always focused on the demands of the question. The opening paragraph is strong and shows a good awareness of those associated with communitarianism and does make a link back to liberalism. If the candidate had pursued this argument throughout, it would have been an impressive answer because it is clear that the candidate has a sound political knowledge. The third paragraph, despite the considerable knowledge, only has an implied link back to the question. This approach becomes more evident in the next paragraph where the question is not answered directly. The conclusion does link the material back to the question and reaches a clear, if undeveloped, judgement.

Mark awarded = 18 out of 35

Question 4(a)

Passage A

The only way to erect such a Common Power... is, to conferre all their power and strength upon one Man, or upon one Assembly of men, that may reduce all their Willis, by plurality of voices, unto one Will.

(Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 1651)

Passage B

I cannot find any one place or text in the Bible where any power or commission is given to a people either to govern themselves, or to choose themselves governors, or to alter the manner of government at their pleasure. The power of government is settled and fixed by the commandment of 'honour thy father'; if there were a higher power than the fatherly, then this commandment could not stand and be observed... The supreme power, being an indivisible beam of majesty, cannot be divided among, or settled upon, a multitude. God would have it fixed in one person...

(Robert Filmer, *Observations upon Aristotle's Politiques*, 1652)

(a) Compare the views of the two passages on the origins of absolutism.

[15]

Mark scheme

(a) Compare the views of the two passages on the origins of absolutism.

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

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Specific

The passages offer two different perspectives on absolutist theory: Passage B offers a theological version and Passage A a rational version of the theory. Theological theories of absolutism are based on the doctrine of divine right. This is shown in Passage B where the absolute power that a monarch exercises over his subjects derives from, and is analogous to, the power of God over his creation. In Passage B the analogy of the rule of the father over his family is made, but what is important in Passage B is that absolute rule is divinely ordained and upheld in the commandments. Monarchical power is therefore unchallengeable because it is the temporal expression of God's authority. This might be contrasted with Hobbes who argued that the governing body could be replaced if it lost its ability to guarantee security and stability. However, in Passage A the basis of absolute power is a covenant or social contract formed among individuals. According to Hobbes this is undertaken as the only way of ensuring peace and stability. Therefore in Passage A the absolute is a creation of man to ensure stability and order and is the only way it can be achieved, whereas in B it is divinely ordained. Passage B also suggests that this power cannot be divided but must be fixed on one person, whereas A argues that absolute power can be bestowed on an assembly. Both writers would agree that divided sovereignty or challengeable power would be a recipe for chaos and disorder.

Example candidate response – Pass

42 Both passages A and B give views on the implementation of, and need for, absolutism. The views of Hobbes and Filmer are obviously contrasting. Filmer takes a clearly religious approach, and does not see the need for anything but absolutism, from the angle that the bible doesn't mention right for the people either to govern themselves, or to choose themselves governors. He is clearly against democracy, where in contrast Hobbes views democracy as a given, clearly the natural way, and struggles to find a way of absolutism, or "one will", which promotes "plurality of voices".

The views also differ from the angle of how many could, or should, govern. Hobbes speaks of an "Assembly of men" and "plurality" where Filmer makes it very clear that "God would have it find in one person". Filmer is promoting a divine dictatorship, where Hobbes is attempting to create a consensual and benevolent representative dictator.

Though despite their differences, both views view absolutism as a possibility, neither are rule it out. Hobbes mentions the "only way" to absolutism, and Filmer definitely does not suggest the same "way", but they agree that there may in fact be a "way" or all, where many thinkers would deny any "way". Filmer espouses views which are similar to those of Plato in his belief that one

compares

best supports

but still abs

or man

valued

not make

?

<p>Plato</p> <p>L2</p> <p>5</p> <p>but that's wrong</p>	<p>Man governs best: though when Filmer uses the reasoning of having to 'honour thy father', plato comes from a more practical and scholarly reasoning that democracy ignores the best man. Though Hobbes' view is further from Plato as he believes in a 'plurality of voices' to find the single ruler, if there has to be one.</p> <p>Some U of best, but also some confusion.</p>
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Examiner comment – Pass

The answer shows a limited understanding of the passages and is clearly confused by the line of argument taken by Hobbes, seeming unaware that he is arguing for an all-powerful ruler. The candidate does show some understanding, at least at the start of Filmer's view, and explains the religious element, although not very convincingly. The confusion over Hobbes continues in the second paragraph and this confusion makes it very difficult to make valid comparisons. The comments about the 'same way' are rather vague and create the impression that the candidate is struggling to understand the concepts.

Mark awarded = 5 out of 15

Question 4(b)

Passage A

The only way to erect such a Common Power... is, to conferre all their power and strength upon one Man, or upon one Assembly of men, that may reduce all their Wills, by plurality of voices, unto one Will.

(Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 1651)

Passage B

I cannot find any one place or text in the Bible where any power or commission is given to a people either to govern themselves, or to choose themselves governors, or to alter the manner of government at their pleasure. The power of government is settled and fixed by the commandment of 'honour thy father': if there were a higher power than the fatherly, then this commandment could not stand and be observed... The supreme power, being an indivisible beam of majesty, cannot be divided among, or settled upon, a multitude. God would have it fixed in one person...

(Robert Filmer, *Observations upon Aristotle's Politiques*, 1652)

(b) To what extent is nationalism illiberal and intolerant?

[35]

Mark scheme

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General

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Specific

This is certainly true of some forms of nationalism, particularly when nationhood is defined in narrow or exclusive terms. This creates a sharp divide between those who are members of a nation and those who are alien to it. This exclusive nationalism is usually found when a nation is under threat from within or without. This often provokes a sense of unity and is expressed in terms of hostility or resentment. In response to these challenges nationalism offers an ordered, secure and cohesive community, but it usually rejects liberal democratic principles and is often associated with authoritarian creeds. Candidates may use examples from the instances of fascism, which put forward a militant form of nationalism. In this instance, nationalism demands the utter subordination of the individual to the nation. Candidates might mention the work of Charles Maurras in considering this issue. At its extreme, this form of nationalism is upheld by pseudo-scientific doctrines, as was seen in Nazi Germany.

It is also intolerant towards outsiders and will have implications for foreign relations. Within the nation outsiders and immigrants are seen as alien and the same will apply to foreigners outside the nation. It is likely that this will manifest itself in xenophobia and in these instances candidates can argue that it becomes chauvinistic, aggressive and expansionist. Candidates might link these ideas to the outbreak of the two World Wars.

However, candidates can contrast this with the nationalism put forward by liberal democratic theorists. Liberals have argued that nationalism is tolerant and democratic, reconcilable with peace and cosmopolitanism. They argue that a stable and peaceful world will occur as sovereign nations cooperate for mutual benefit. Liberals have developed this idea further and argued that if the central goal of nationalism is achieved, with each nation becoming a self governing entity, the main cause of conflict will have been removed. Liberals also argue that nationalism does not lead to intolerance, but cultural and ethnic diversity enriches society.

There are no suitable good and average example candidate responses available.

Example candidate response – Pass

Nationalism is a doctrine which is in many ways both liberal and intolerant. It is something which is ^{view} increasing in the west due to rising multiculturalism and a more homogenous globalized culture. Though it ^{explains} could be viewed as a natural reaction rather than illiberal or intolerant. ^{rise}

Growth in Nationalism has accompanied globalization and multiculturalism. It is in many ways a reactionary doctrine because of this. ^{view} Fundamentally nationalism is illiberal, because it is linked to extremist groups such as the BNP which clearly restrict the liberty of those in other nations. Nationalism follows the ideas of John Locke: that human nature means we are naturally self-interested. Nationalism could be seen as self-interested as it promotes purely the individual interests of the nation which it resides in. It ^{explains} is fearful of other cultures, ideas and traditions. ^{nm} Therefore restricting them. It is also fearful of citizens from other nations arriving and

Use

undercutting salary levels, another view which is self-focused and restricts other's freedoms. These make Nationalism both illiberal and intolerant. some are

Nationalism also restricts globalisation as it prevents to a certain extent the development of a homogenous society. Diversity and freedom, or liberalism, are connected. Nationalism prevents freedom and liberty therefore through preventing diversity on many levels. It prevents local diversity through attempting to stop multiculturalism, and it prevents global diversity in it's similar dealings with globalisation. some are

There are also issues with nationalism being an ideal represented by, usually, a minority of society, having a larger effect on society than the size of support should be able to control. It is inherently intolerant and clearly restrictive of liberty through a form of tyranny - through of the minority. need to explain how/why

Though nationalism, despite these arguments, is not purely illiberal and intolerant. As mentioned, nationalism is often a purely reactionary doctrine. It could be argued that nationalism is only necessary if another culture has been intolerant of the society which it is attempting to integrate with. Liberals see the importance of equality of opportunity and freedom to pursue happiness, when an individual feels that, whether it be through undercutting a salary or lack of cultural tolerance, their pursuit of happiness is being meninged upon, a nationalist reaction may

	<p>be natural and therefore not so illiberal or intolerant.</p>	
	<p>It also has to be remembered that nationalism as a belief does not have to be illiberal or intolerant as long as it is not acted upon. Nationalism is a more extreme form of patriotism in many ways, therefore can be just a private belief which has no impact upon another man or society.</p>	value
	<p>Overall it seems that nationalism carries the ability to be both illiberal and intolerant as it has no respect for diversity. Nationalism creates hate groups such as the BNP, which are fairly racist and not accepting of the beliefs and rights of others. There is the possibility of nationalism being kept as a purely private belief, though this would seem a naive view and it could be a dangerous doctrine.</p>	value
12	<p>No real use of theorists limited U of Q</p>	

Examiner comment – Pass

The candidate attempts to explain nationalism in the opening paragraph, but this is very generalised and shows little understanding of the key concept or the different types of nationalism. Much of the answer is descriptive and the material considered is not linked to the question as to whether nationalism is illiberal. Where the answer does make links, as at the end of the second paragraph, it is almost an afterthought or bolted on. The argument as to whether it is illiberal needs to be at the forefront of the response. There is some attempt to argue and make a link to the question in the next paragraph and if this had been developed, or a similar approach sustained, the response would have scored more highly. The next paragraph is more typical of the answer as the response fails to explain how or why nationalism is illiberal and relies on an assertive comment. The argument put forward in the penultimate paragraph is unclear. The response makes no mention of relevant theorists, which is a requirement of this paper, and therefore is going to struggle to escape the lower levels. This is made even harder by the limited argument and the failure to link material to the actual question.

Mark awarded = 12 out of 35

Question 5(a)

Passage A

Fundamentalism operates on both psychological and social levels. Psychologically, its appeal is based upon its capacity to offer certainty in an uncertain world. Being religious, it addresses some of the deepest most perplexing problems confronting humankind; being fundamentalist it provides solutions that are straightforward, practical and absolute. Socially, while its appeal has extended to the educated and professional classes, it has been particularly successful in addressing the aspirations of the economically and politically marginalised.

(Andrew Heywood, *Political Ideologies*, 1992)

Passage B

The negative effects of modernization are equally important in understanding the Islamic resurgence. They include massive migration from villages and rapid urbanization of overcrowded cities; the breakdown of traditional family, religious and social values; and the adoption of a Western lifestyle, enthusiastically pursued as a symbol of modernity but also criticised as a source of moral decline and spiritual malaise, corruption, unemployment and maldistribution of wealth... Effective change is to come from below through a gradual social transformation brought about by the implementation of Islamic law.

(John Esposito, *Islamic Fundamentalism*, 1996)

- (a) Compare the views of the two passages on the nature and reasons for the growth of religious fundamentalism. [15]

Mark scheme

- (a) Compare the views of the two passages on the nature and reasons for the development of religious fundamentalism.

General

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Specific

Both passages suggest that a major reason for the growth in fundamentalism has been the social, economic and political problems facing those who feel marginalised from society. Candidates may express surprise that the focus is on the ability to appeal in these areas rather than on religious grounds. However, Passage B does suggest that the breakdown of traditional religious values may explain the growth and this is also hinted at in Passage A where Heywood talks of fundamentalism offering solutions to perplexing problems facing mankind. Therefore candidates may conclude that the development of fundamentalism is a reflection of the need to reassert cultural identity and formal religious observation, restoring traditional family values and morals and, as Passage B states, rejecting corrupt western values. Passage A places greater emphasis on the psychological appeal of fundamentalism, whereas it could be argued that B stresses the link between modernisation and the growth of fundamentalism. It might be argued that one strength of fundamentalism is its ability to offer certainty in a world that is changing rapidly and appears to be rejecting traditional values and some candidates might suggest that this is reflected in the development of Christian fundamentalism and other fundamentalist movements. It can be argued that fundamentalism offers a secure identity and a secure social order in a changing world. However, some candidates might go on to argue that once fundamentalists are in power they have had to borrow ideas from other political traditions and that there is no economic fundamentalism that they can employ. They might therefore suggest that it is ironic that the movements have gained support because of poor economic conditions, but have no blueprint to deal with the problems once they come into power.

Example candidate response – Merit

<u>Passage A</u>	<u>Passage B</u>
<p>Offers certainty in uncertain world addresses deep problems whilst providing simple solutions</p>	<p>Threat to traditional values through western lifestyles</p>
<p>Passage B states that religious fundamentalism is possibly a reaction against 'the negative effects of modernization'. as a reaction against the 'moral decline and spiritual malaise' believed to be the result of a western lifestyle. Passage A describes the nature of religious fundamentalism in more abstract terms, claiming that its appeal is based upon its capacity to offer certainty in an uncertain world. Both passages agree on the economic aspect of fundamentalism, with passage B referring</p>	

B

A

similar

to 'corruption, unemployment and maldistribution of wealth' as leading to fundamentalism which passage a states that fundamentalism has been particularly successful in addressing the aspirations of the economically and politically marginalised.

does compare

However there is some difference between the texts regarding the reasons for the growth of religious fundamentalism.

Differ

Text A emphasises the 'psychological appeal', the capacity of fundamentalism to offer 'certainty in an uncertain world. Text B

places great In contrast, text B places greater emphasis on the 'rapid' changes brought about by modernisation. Text B cites the 'massive migration villages and rapid urbanisation of overcrowded cities' and the 'breakdown of traditional family religious and social values' as key reasons why a movement dedicated to restoring these traditional values has emerged. However, whilst there is a difference in emphasis between the two texts, they provide complementary rather than contradictory analyses of the spread of fundamentalism.

B

complement

L2
9

Based purely on passages so not L3

Examiner comment – Merit

The answer does provide a comparison between the two passages and considers both their similarities and differences, but it does not reach the very top as it is based purely on the passages and does not attempt to place the views offered in a wider context. The candidate develops their ideas and supports these by reference to the extracts to support their argument when considering both the similarities and differences. The candidate also reaches an overall judgement, concluding that the extracts provide a complementary, rather than contradictory analysis of the reasons for the spread of fundamentalism. While the overall judgement might have been developed further, the candidate does display a sound grasp of the views offered by the two extracts.

Mark awarded = 9 out of 15

Example candidate response – Merit

(a) Compare the views of the two passages on the nature and reasons for the growth of religious fundamentalism.

Passage A portrays the nature and effects of religious fundamentalism as "both psychological and social". Passage B, similarly, indicates that religious fundamentalism has increased due to changes in society and is thus of a social nature. Passage B states that religious fundamentalism and the "implementation of Islamic law" is by nature a vehicle for "effective change".

Passage B states that religious (specifically Islamic) fundamentalism has grown due to "the negative effects of modernization" such as the "breakdown of traditional family, religious and social values" and due to the westernisation of the world resulting in "moral decline". Passage A, contrastingly, states that its appeal (and thus increase) is due to the fact that it can "offer certainty in an uncertain world" and because it provides "straightforward, practical and absolute" solutions to the "perplexing problems confronting humankind". Both argue that the growth in religious fundamentalism is due to disturbances in humanity, for passage A it is the "perplexing problems confronting humankind" and for passage B it is the "moral decline" and "spiritual malaise, corruption, unemployment and maldistribution of wealth" that encourage people to turn to religious fundamentalism.

Similar
need clear

different

similar

L2
7

No use of context, points not developed

Examiner comment – Merit

The answer does focus on a direct comparison of the similarities and differences in the passages and it is this that helps the answer reach Level 2. However, the ideas are not fully developed despite the candidate's ability to select relevant quotations from the extracts. There is very little explanation of the points that are made and at best when the candidate does explain the similarities or differences the explanation is either generalised or superficial. The candidate does not use any contextual knowledge to help explain the issues raised by the extracts and this also limits the final mark awarded.

Mark awarded = 7 out of 15

Question 5(b)

Passage A

Fundamentalism operates on both psychological and social levels. Psychologically, its appeal is based upon its capacity to offer certainty in an uncertain world. Being religious, it addresses some of the deepest most perplexing problems confronting humankind; being fundamentalist it provides solutions that are straightforward, practical and absolute. Socially, while its appeal has extended to the educated and professional classes, it has been particularly successful in addressing the aspirations of the economically and politically marginalised.

(Andrew Heywood, *Political Ideologies*, 1992)

Passage B

The negative effects of modernization are equally important in understanding the Islamic resurgence. They include massive migration from villages and rapid urbanization of overcrowded cities; the breakdown of traditional family, religious and social values; and the adoption of a Western lifestyle, enthusiastically pursued as a symbol of modernity but also criticised as a source of moral decline and spiritual malaise, corruption, unemployment and maldistribution of wealth... Effective change is to come from below through a gradual social transformation brought about by the implementation of Islamic law.

(John Esposito, *Islamic Fundamentalism*, 1996)

(b) Is anarchism merely an extreme form of liberalism?

[35]

Mark scheme

(b) Is anarchism merely an extreme form of liberalism?

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What is important is the quality of the critical analysis and degree of evaluation. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question. Further, they are required to refer to specific theorists to support their answer. Any answer that fails to do so cannot be given a mark above level 3.

Specific

Both liberalism and anarchism share a fear of the power of the state. Candidates may consider how liberalism and anarchism view liberty, the state and the kind of society they propose to replace the existing order.

Liberals argue that the most important kind of liberty is the absence of external restraint, this is negative liberty. Anarchists agree that this kind of liberty is essential, but liberals argue that there must be laws and limitations on the individual to ensure that his or her freedom does not interfere with the freedom of others, anarchists argue that this is not necessary. According to anarchists in their perfectly moral society each individual will exercise internal restraint, often called 'private judgement.' This might suggest that anarchism is an extreme form of liberalism as there is a greater degree of freedom in the anarchist world. However, anarchism countenances no laws as they insist it is incompatible with freedom, while liberals argue we need laws. However, on positive liberty there is more agreement. Both argue that the societies they propose would maximise individualism and the fulfilment of personal progress and creativity. The freedom they promote would liberate individuals from the restraints of societies which restrict choice and opportunity. Liberation has a positive outcome and the anarchist aim of creating total liberation goes much further than liberalism.

As with freedom, there appears to be a great affinity in their attitudes towards the state. Both are opposed to excessive state power and see the state as a potential enemy. However, there is a vital difference as Liberals see the state as essential to the preservation of liberty as it protects individuals; however anarchists insist that all forms of state are unacceptable. They argue that the state will exercise the power of the few over the many. The state may use force against its citizens and anarchists reject all forms of power and force, even if the state claims they are used for good ends. This is a fundamental distinction. Liberals accept the existence of a limited state, but anarchists will never support any kind of state. Anarchists argue that even a limited state will eventually become powerful.

Anarchists and liberals share a desire to see society as free as it possibly can be. Classical liberals share with anarchists the view that every individual can only reach full potential in a free society. They believe that the freedom of the individual should stand above social constraints. However, anarchists hope that individuals will use their freedom for good ends; liberals accept that individuals may use their freedom for self interest. However, it might be argued that some liberals envisage a society close to an anarchist world of autonomous individuals motivated by egoism. But if collectivist forms of anarchism are considered there are distinctions between the ideologies. The liberal community comes about by an agreement among the people, but for anarchists communities must be totally voluntary and therefore natural. The use of force will not be needed as the community comes about naturally. There is also a distinction about private property. Liberals see the existence of property as a right enjoyed by all individuals, whereas anarchists oppose the preservation of private property. They argue that it creates injustice, inequality and corruption and results in power relationships.

Example candidate response – Merit

There is a strong case to be made that liberty is the fundamental concern of liberalism. As supporters of anarchism would argue that perfect freedom is indeed only possible in an anarchy. There are also convincing arguments to be made that other liberal values, justice, tolerance, diversity and the individual, can be preserved in the absence of the state. Anarchism is, ~~arguably~~ ^{viewed} at first glance, merely taking liberal thought to its logical conclusion. However, liberal thinkers have preoccupied themselves over the centuries not only justifying the state, but, in the case of the modern liberals, advocating a large and powerful state as necessary to the true implementation of liberal values.

Early liberal thinkers developed the concept of the 'state of nature' to in an attempt to understand how the state came about. In this hypothetical society, anarchists agree, liberal

values, can indeed be preserved. At a fundamental level, anarchists argue that the highest level of freedom can only be achieved in the total absence of any government. Similarly, ~~they argue~~ ~~one could argue~~ that the state, ~~as a~~ ~~collective, coercive entity,~~ is also harmful to the individual. Anarchism does not mean an absence of community, and an anarchist would argue that even in the absence of formal law justice can still be done by groups of concerned, public-minded citizens, whether that be retributions for crime or helping the needy. In essence, the liberal anarchist ~~argument~~ ~~is~~ that the state, as a collective, coercive entity, is fundamentally incompatible with the principles of liberalism.

However, these arguments are refuted by liberal thinkers. Hobbes took a fundamentally negative view of human nature, claiming that in the state of nature, people act according to their basic selfish instincts. ~~This would not lead to the relative stability of~~ The chaos

created would make life for the inhabitants of the state of nature 'nasty, brutish and short', as they would not only attack others for personal gain but also in preemptive self defence. In Hobbes' view, the state is necessary because no state, however tyrannical, can make life as miserable for its subjects as life in the state of nature. Locke, too, argued that the state was necessary. The invention of money, he claimed, and the resulting imbalance in wealth, made the state necessary to protect the 'life, liberty and property' of the masses from the predators of the have-nots. ~~Finally, Rousseau~~ The Rousseau, despite a positive view of the original state of nature, argued that, due to the corruption of humanity by society, a return to the state of nature was not possible. According to these early liberal theorists, 'without the law there is no freedom', and as such ~~liberalism~~ anarchism cannot be considered a form of liberalism.

Some drift from anarchy and...

but

arg gets there
hand

This thought was built upon by the 'New liberal' or 'Modern liberal'

need
state
for
liberal

School of Thought, which saw state intervention as essential for the preservation of liberal principles. ~~They argued that~~ Thinkers such as Hobbes and Mill argued that despite being in possession of their negative freedoms, the urban poor had in practice little real freedom than a slave, as they must work in appalling conditions or starve. The modern liberals argued that a comprehensive welfare and education system would 'level the playing field' and provide equality of opportunity and justice impossible within a limited state, let alone in the total absence of the state. Examples of this principle being applied to tolerance and diversity include race relations and anti-discrimination legislation, as well as affirmative action programs.

need
to
take
back
to
anarchism

Disagreements on the role of the state divide liberals to this day. The dominant Neoliberal movement developed as a reaction to the 'socialistic' aspects of new liberalism and advocates a

13

19

ATO

totally free market as the only way to ensure freedom and liberal values, although even Hayek did not dispute the need for some form of 'safety net'. However, whilst views on the state vary from a social good to a 'necessary evil', the existence of the state itself has always been an integral part of liberal thought. If one accepts a positive view of human nature, then ~~some~~ a hypothetical anarchy may indeed have a liberal nature. However, it seems safe to say that if ~~both~~ liberal values are to be ~~preserved~~ upheld and freedoms whether positive or negative, guaranteed, then ~~a state~~ some form of state must be present to do so. Anarchism is ~~not~~

arg

Concl

Examiner comment – Merit

The response displays a sound understanding of the concepts in the question, but if the structure of the argument had been clearer the candidate would have gained a higher mark. The response is focused more on liberalism and only at the end of the paragraphs does the candidate link their ideas back to the concept of anarchism, yet the focus in this topic must be current ideological debates – so the answer should be driven by ideas on anarchism which are then linked to liberalism. This weakness is most noticeable in the third paragraph of the answer. Many candidates do not discuss the different forms of the ideologies under consideration yet this could provide a valuable approach; in this case a number of different types of anarchism could be discussed in terms of extreme liberalism.

Mark awarded = 19 out of 35

Paper 4 – Contemporary International Debates: Contexts and Comparisons

Generic mark scheme

Generic marking descriptors

- The full range of marks will be used as a matter of course.
- Examiners will provisionally award the middle mark in the Level and then moderate up/down according to individual qualities within the answer.
- Examiners will look for the 'best fit', not a 'perfect fit' in applying the Levels.
- The ratio of marks per AO will be 2:5.
- The weighting of marks for each AO should be considered, but this is reflected in the descriptor: marking should therefore be done holistically
- Question-specific mark schemes will be neither exhaustive nor prescriptive. Appropriate, substantiated responses will always be rewarded. Answers may develop a novel response to a question. This is to be credited if arguments are fully substantiated.
- NB Answers are required to compare and contrast several countries/regions. The minimum specified is two, at least one of which must not be the UK or the USA. Answers which break that requirement are very unlikely to attain a mark above Level 1.

Level/marks	Descriptors
5 50–41 marks	<p>ANSWERS MAY NOT BE PERFECT, BUT WILL REPRESENT THE VERY BEST THAT MAY BE EXPECTED OF AN 18-YEAR-OLD.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Excellent focused comparative analysis that answers the question convincingly. • Excellent comparative arguments sustained throughout with a strong sense of direction. Excellent substantiated comparative conclusions. • Excellent comparative understanding of relevant political knowledge (processes, institutions, concepts, debates and/or theories) supported by a wide range of concepts and examples. • Towards the bottom, may be a little unbalanced in coverage (i.e. may rely more on one aspect of the comparison than the other in order to illustrate the argument) yet the answer is still comprehensively argued. • Candidate is always in firm control of the material.
4 40–31 marks	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW MANY FEATURES OF LEVEL 5, BUT THE QUALITY WILL BE UNEVEN ACROSS THE ANSWER.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A good comparative response to the question with clear analysis across most but not all of the answer. • Strong comparative argument throughout, but parallels/contrasts are not always developed. Strong comparative conclusions adequately substantiated. • Strong but uneven range of relevant political knowledge used to support analysis and argument. Description is avoided.
3 30–21 marks	<p>THE ARGUMENT WILL BE REASONABLY COMPETENT, BUT LEVEL 3 ANSWERS WILL BE LIMITED &/OR UNBALANCED.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engages soundly with the question although comparative analysis is patchy and, at the lower end, of limited quality. • Tries to argue and draw conclusions comparatively, but this breaks down in significant sections of description. • Good but limited and uneven range of relevant political knowledge used to describe rather than support analysis and argument.

<p>2 20–10 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A GENERAL MISMATCH BETWEEN QUESTION & ANSWER.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited engagement with the question, with some understanding of the issues. Analysis and comparisons are limited/thin. • Limited argument with limited comparative elements within an essentially descriptive response. Conclusions are limited/thin, with limited comparative quality. • Patchy display of relevant political knowledge.
<p>1 9–0 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A CLEAR SENSE OF THE CANDIDATE HAVING LITTLE IF ANY ENGAGEMENT WITH THE QUESTION.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or no engagement with the question. Little or no comparison offered. • Little or no argument. Assertions are unsupported and/or of limited relevance. Any conclusions are very weak. • Little or no relevant political knowledge.

NB

Substantiated examples and critical evaluation must be drawn from various countries/regions of the world, and candidates will be expected to compare and contrast at least two of these in their answers (neither of which may be the UK or the USA, although either or both may be referenced for supplementary context/comparison).

Question 1

How far do you agree that the only role for a state is to provide for the security of its citizens? [50]

Mark scheme

1 How far do you agree that the only role for a state is to provide for the security of its citizens?

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What is important is the quality of the argument and the comparative analysis. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question. Further, they are required to support their answer with specific examples which are drawn from at least two countries, neither of which may be the UK or the USA (although either or both may be referenced for supplementary context/comparison). Any answer that breaks this paper requirement is unlikely to attain a mark above level 1.

Specific

A discussion is expected of the role of the state, perhaps focussed on a left-right debate. Candidates may argue that the primary role of the state is to protect its citizens through defence on the nation and through the provision of law and order. However, there may well be a focus on whether it should be the **only** role of the state. The Right critiques other roles for the state because they unnecessarily deprive individuals of their earned income, thus liberty, any other role is inefficient and they breed a dependency culture, etc.

Candidates may well draw attention to the notion of the welfare state and the social role of the state, thus expanding the role of the state into other areas. This can be perhaps seen as 'big government' as opposed to 'small government'. This particular view can perhaps be seen in the European Social Model. Some answers may point to other roles for the state such as educating its citizens, providing healthcare, providing jobs, etc. Candidates would also be justified in arguing that a social role for the state is also to look after the security of the citizen.

Some answers may question the ability of some states to even guarantee the security of its citizens, drawing on examples of failed states like Somalia, or point to poorer countries that cannot afford any form of welfare provision.

Candidates may well answer this question in terms of a focus on the national interest of the state and therefore the security of its citizens. This type of answer may delve into some International Relations theory about the best way of conducting international affairs.

Example candidate response – Merit

1 Since the beginning of ~~political~~ political thought, political philosophers have discussed to what extent the government should intervene in the daily lives of its citizens. These discussions have a vast variation as some political thinkers such as the libertarian thinker Robert Nozick believe that the state should be abolished and that there should be no welfare, no health care etc and minimal laws. On the other side there are thinkers such as ~~Karl Marx~~ communist Karl Marx and Vladimir ~~Lenin~~ Lenin who argue that the state should be huge in order to provide for the common good and to ensure social equality.

~~Whether~~ Whether or not the state is to only ~~provide~~ provide for the security of its citizens is a vague question as there are a number of ways to define ~~the~~ the word 'security'. Socialist thinkers ~~would~~ would probably ~~interpret~~ interpret 'security' as 'social security' and would talk about the fair and equal distribution of wealth in order to ensure security from illnesses and poverty by providing welfare and ~~thereby~~ ~~expanding~~ ~~the~~ ~~role~~ ~~of~~ ~~providing~~ ~~security~~ ~~to~~ ~~a~~

found fairly large extent ~~is~~ that involves hugely high rates of taxation. ~~as we can see~~ out of this reason, liberal and to a certain extent conservative thinkers such as John Stuart Mill, Thomas Jefferson, John Locke and Thomas Hobbes would ~~not~~ talk about keeping the state as small as possible and thus be suspicious of high taxes and government regulations. Jeremy Bentham, a utilitarian thinker, once said that individuals seek ~~pleasure~~ pleasure and ~~avoid~~ try to avoid pain and that making these decisions in order to obtain their ~~pleasure~~ pleasure ~~mean~~ ~~to~~ make them truly free, this demonstrates the general suspicion concerning ~~a~~ big governments, and ~~the~~ general importance of individual freedoms and civil rights. Hence, liberal thinkers would interpret 'security' as their citizens being secure from violations of their freedoms and rights.

As one can easily conceive, ~~the~~ the only role for a state to be to provide security for its citizen, is already a larger role than one initially thinks, possibly the largest role that a ~~govern~~ state could have. Looking at Europe and the US one can see how the provision for security can intervene in many people's

daily life's. The compulsory carrying of ID cards in Europe (except the UK), security measures in airports that are steadily ~~increasing~~ increasing, even the ~~arrests~~ arrests of human rights ~~high~~ activists in China are argued to be security measures. In addition to that, people ~~are getting~~ that are suspects when it comes to terrorism are being tortured in various ~~count~~ countries where the lack of human rights is a major issue. In countries in the Middle East such as Afghanistan, Saudi-Arabia and Iraq and in several of African states, ~~people~~ people who steal, even if it is a minor thing such as an apple, can get their hands cut off as a punishment, women that got raped are accused of ~~sex~~ sexual seduction and get ~~stoned~~ stoned as a state punishment and all these things are happening out of so-called security reasons. Even Adolf Hitler justified the ethnic ~~clear~~ social cleansing of ~~jews~~ ~~jews~~ jews in Germany during the 1940s with the argument that Germany and the world in

general would be a more secure place without them.
 Knowing all these things and facts, I can ~~impossibly~~ agree that the only ~~role~~ ^{role} of the state is to provide for the security of its citizens, as ~~there~~ ^{there} are too many ways in that the powerful word security can be interpreted.
 If the role for a state was to be the ~~pro~~ ^{pro} provision of security, it would have to be, as ~~the~~ ^{the} leading liberals argue, the security from the violation of individual freedoms and human rights.
 Engages soundly with the question (particularly at start) loses marks as essay progresses. Good political K+V. 23-25

Examiner comment – Merit

The candidate sets up the debate in the opening paragraph by commenting on the extent to which states should intervene in the lives of its citizens. The candidate shows knowledge by contrasting different theoretical approaches to the role of the state. Furthermore, in the second paragraph, the candidate raises a question over what security actually is and then adds some political thinkers and their basic views. There then follows an attempt to bring in real life examples, though unfortunately, candidates cannot be rewarded for examples from the US and UK. The essay takes on another tack at this point to discuss problems of states using the pursuit of security as an excuse for reducing the rights of their citizens. There is a conclusion to the essay but it does not necessarily follow on from the preceding argument. This answer is reasonably competent and engages soundly with the question, but the debate is fragmented and not consistent, and the examples given break the rubric. The answer shows good but uneven knowledge which could have been used more effectively in analysis.

Mark awarded = 25 out of 50

Example candidate response – Pass

1. One undeniably important role of ~~any~~ any state is to provide for the security of its citizens, but there is a danger in suggesting that this is the only role of ~~any~~ a state, because doing so threatens to disregard other important ~~part~~ functions carried out by numerous states across the globe such as the ~~provision~~ ^{protection} of liberty, ~~protection~~ ^{promotion} of human rights and the provision of welfare and basic public services. Of course, whether or not ~~it~~ it is the role of the state to provide such things, and whether they are as important as the security of citizens is open to debate.

Firstly, it should be noted that the very existence of a state immediately provides a sense of national identity and belonging to ~~at~~ some, if not all of its citizens. Indeed, the right to a nationality is ~~included~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~UN~~ considered by the UN to be a human right. Communitarian ideology emphasises the importance of national identity to ~~be~~ a stable society, since it provides a sense of comfort, and familiarity to people (which communitarians would agree are two of the things which humans desire most). However, while a sense of identity can help maintain a stable, secure society it may also lead to conflict and insecurity if that identity is not shared by the vast majority of the population. Iraq and Turkey, for example, are

together have to the majority of Kurds, who generally do not ~~not~~ share a national identity with ~~Turks~~ Turks, a Iraqis and embrace their ethnic, religious and cultural differences. Since there is no Kurdish state, the presence of Kurds in this area has, historically, led to conflict; guerrilla warfare in Turkey for example. It is clear that in this case, a conflict of national identities detracted from security in Turkey, and so an inevitable consequence of ~~the~~ a state's existence (a sense of national identity) can conflict with an ~~not~~ important role of any state ~~is~~ (maintaining security). Incidentally, the presence of Kurds in ~~Iraq~~ rather than Iraq compelled Saddam Hussein to use chemical weapons against Kurdish settlements; this pursuit of security at the expense of human rights ~~has~~ ~~demonstrates~~ brings us on to another role of a state.

It is certainly the duty of a state to uphold human rights within its jurisdiction; the rights of liberty, freedom of expression and religion, sexuality and so on are universal and must be respected. Now, some would agree that such values are predominantly Western ideals, and that to pursue and promote them is idealistic and unlikely to succeed. ~~That~~ This fails to recognise the reason that these rights ~~are~~ should be ~~upheld~~ upheld: not because they are universal but because failure to do so almost inevitably

leads to unrest and even revolution; so ~~that~~ ~~that~~ therefore by disregarding human rights a state ~~is~~ jeopardises its own security. There ~~has~~ ^{have} been numerous recent examples of this in the Middle East: Egypt ~~which~~ ~~was~~ ~~more~~ ~~future~~ and detention without trial were commonplace under Mubarak ~~and~~ its ~~government~~ ^{president} faced to ~~resign~~ ^{resign} resign, Libya which has ~~always~~ ^{disregarded} disregarded human rights for years ~~to~~ (opposition to Muammar ~~Qaddafi~~ ~~Qaddafi~~ ~~Qaddafi~~ Qaddafi was simply banned), and Libya is now ~~not~~ ^{perilously} perilously insecure. In 2009, protests following a ~~disputed~~ ^{disputed} disputed election in a country which ignores the rights of women saw unrest in a country which had previously been one of the most stable in the region. All of these instances demonstrate that failure to respect human rights can lead to unrest and ~~the~~ ^{its} insecurity, so much that means that, if ensuring security for its citizens is an imperative role for any state, then ~~the~~ ^{protecting} protecting human rights is too.

Hence, ~~in~~ ^{when} ensuring security for its citizens a state must not infringe upon liberty in the process: ~~Benjamin~~ ^{Benjamin} Benjamin Franklin famously said that 'He who sacrifices any essential liberty for temporary security deserves neither liberty or security.' Of course, infringements upon individual liberty which would be unacceptable in some states have been accepted as necessary in others: ~~the~~ ^{Germany} Germany ~~is~~ has

introduced 10 cards, but there was mass opposition to a similar scheme in the UK. That Franklin quote is certainly still relevant today though. Yes, it is the role of a state to ensure the security of its citizens, but it must not do so at the expense of ~~the~~ liberty ~~or~~ or freedom.

If a state fails to ~~provide~~ maintain ~~its~~ internal security then it ~~is~~ may fall into the bracket of 'failed' states. Since Max Weber's definition of a state is that it has 'a monopoly on the legitimate use of force', it is possible to agree that by not safeguarding security a state cannot meet that definition. So, while it is most certainly the role of the state to provide security for its citizens, this is not its only function. As we have seen, the very existence of a state provides some sense of national identity and belonging and, ~~so~~ if a state fails to uphold human rights and essential freedoms then it cannot be termed 'secure' so by definition doing these things must also be ~~part of~~ part of any state's role.

(19)

Examiner comment – Pass

The candidate does not set up the debate adequately by defining security and by discussing the theoretical basis of the question. While the candidate suggests some roles of the state and analyses them in subsequent paragraphs, there is not a coherent development of an argument. The answer does apply balance in trying to argue both sides of the argument, but the two sides of the argument are not particularly related to the other. This response is at the top end of Level 2 and may be seen as a good example of a Pass answer. Whilst there are reasonable attempts to back up the arguments with evidence, they are somewhat forced. There is a lack of overall knowledge, structure and coherence to this answer, despite a solid attempt to answer the question set.

Mark awarded = 19 out of 50

Question 2

'No state should ever intervene in the internal affairs of another state.' Assess this view. [50]

Mark scheme

2 'No state should ever intervene in the internal affairs of another state.' Assess this view.

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What is important is the quality of the argument and the comparative analysis. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question. Further, they are required to support their answer with specific examples which are drawn from at least two countries, neither of which may be the UK or the USA (although either or both may be referenced for supplementary context/comparison). Any answer that breaks this paper requirement is unlikely to attain a mark above level 1.

Specific

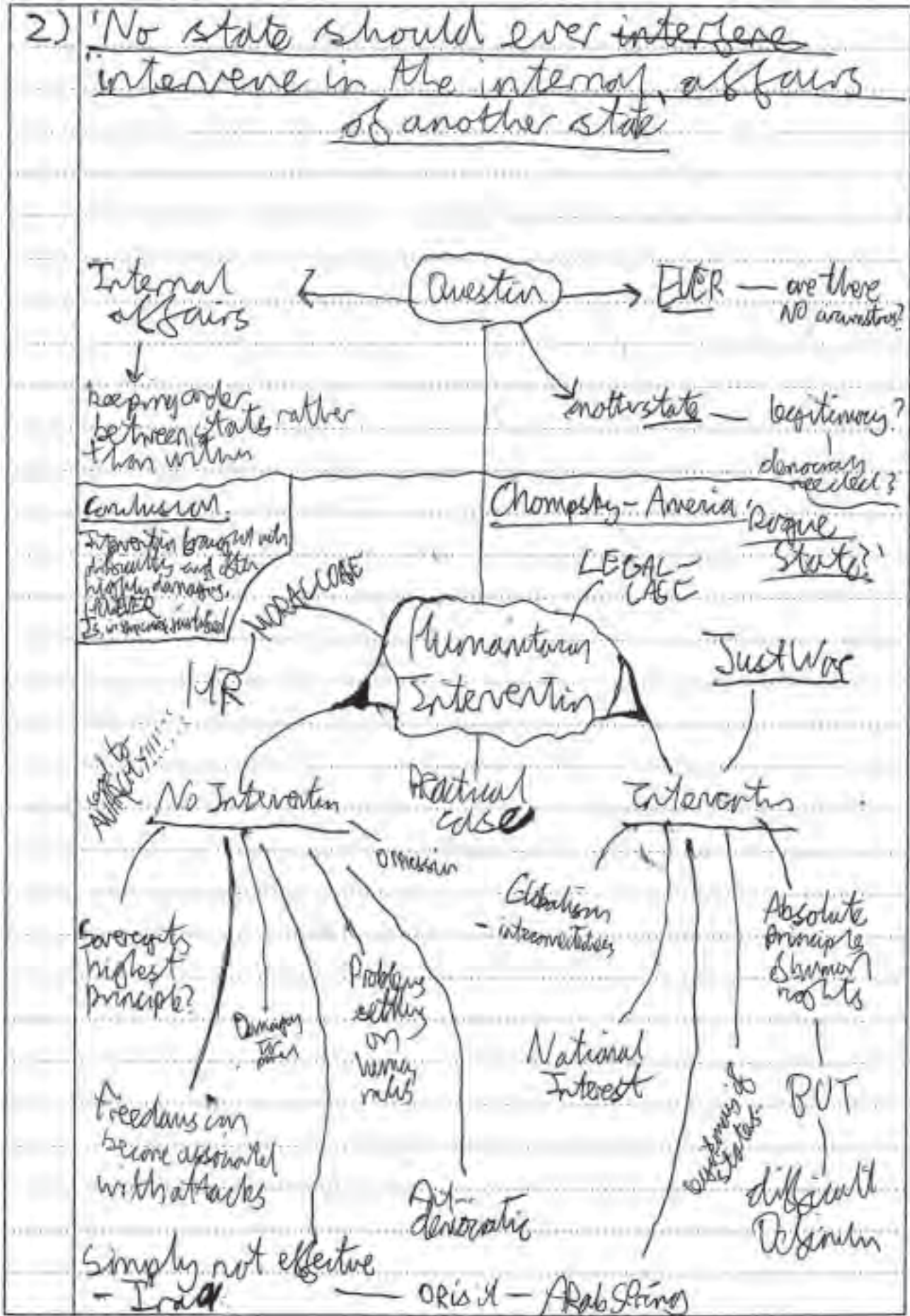
Candidates may show awareness of the Westphalian system, a feature of which is the concept of internal sovereignty and principle of non-intervention of one state in the affairs of others. One issue that may be drawn out is what is meant by 'intervention'? Does it mean only military force, subversive activities, supporting subversive activities, encouraging movements? There may also be a discussion of whether states acting in concert together may be more legitimate in intervening. Can states intervene using the vehicle of the UN? Candidates may also discuss what is meant by legitimacy, is humanitarian intervention legitimate? Other issues that may be pertinent are: what constitutes intervention and what can be considered the internal affairs of a state?

There may well be a focus on the principle of intervening without having been invited to do so by the government of that country e.g. Afghanistan or Sierra Leone. Answers may focus on this approach and argue that the 'coalition of the willing' should not have involved themselves in Iraq, have left Somalia to its own devices, allowed the Serbs free-reign in Kosovo, etc. Candidates may appreciate the complexity of the situation with discussion of *de jure* and *de facto* governments. Can a displaced government call for international intervention?

There may well be arguments for humanitarian intervention on moral or ethical grounds in times of civil war, crimes against humanity or humanitarian crises like in Kosovo. There may also be a discussion of Liberal values and the role of other states in aiding democracy movements in places like Myanmar or Iran. The West's attitude to human rights abuses around the world, like in China or Saudi Arabia, etc. Sophisticated responses may examine the political contexts of intervention, maybe examining when states do intervene. Perhaps intervene when they can or when it is in their national interest to do so. A theoretical debate centred around Liberalism and Realism may take place.

The examples of Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Palestine may all be mentioned.

Example candidate response – Distinction



Since the treaty of Westphalia, the system of international relations has been built upon the principle of state sovereignty. However, in recent years a tension has developed between those who regard the above principle as absolute, and those who advocate intervention in the internal affairs of another state in order to uphold fundamental human rights. This tension can be seen clearly in the current division in the UN between states such as Britain and France, who advocate some form of intervention, and states such as Russia and China, who reject it, over the ~~resp.~~ appropriate response of the international community to the repressive reaction to the Arab Spring by many of the region's despots. Indeed, the UN itself is committed to the contrary aims of the preservation of international order and the upholding of human rights, as laid down in the universal declaration of human rights, and the argument over which moral imperative should take precedence remains to be resolved.

Legally, the issue seems relatively straightforward. ~~As~~ Under international law, no state

may ever intervene in the internal affairs of another state without the backing of a UN security council resolution. Interventions with the support of the UN, such as the current NATO operations in Libya, are ~~under international~~ in legal terms justified, and those without the support of the UN, such as the US led invasion of Iraq, are not. *Jus ad bellum*, the legal requirements needed to begin an intervention, must be considered side by side with *Jus in bello*, the legal requirements for the conduct of war, such as the protection of non-combatants. Given that 90% of the casualties in recent wars have been civilians, it seems as if these legal requirements are often not met.

However, if all legal requirements are met, then according to international law the intervention of one state in the internal affairs of another can indeed be justified.

However, whether or not intervention can be morally justified must also be taken into account. Religious views on the subject range from the Buddhist view that all life is sacred to the Islamic view that a state is justified in helping other peoples fight oppression. The disparity within Christianity allows its adherents to range from strict adherence to 'thou shalt not kill' to a holy war to spread the faith. Much of contemporary debate, though, is based around whether or not there is a universally applicable set of human rights which must be upheld even at the expense of international order. Many western observers would argue that there is, and both the moral codes of most major world religions and the enthusiasm with which people across the middle east appear to be fighting for them suggests that human rights are not, as they are seen by ~~men~~ such as Perle and many non-western authoritarians, simply a western conceit. However, definitions of these human rights are more polarized.

The western philosopher John Locke cites the fundamental human rights as being 'life, liberty and ~~sovereignty~~

property. However, there is a strong argument to be made that the right to life is violated by death penalties in China, ~~the right to liberty~~ many countries including the USA, the right to liberty by every non-democratic state in the world, and the right to property by everything from the extensive state ownership prevalent in Cuba to the high tax rates of many European social democracies. Furthermore, there is debate over whether positive freedoms as well as negative freedoms ~~should~~ should be protected. For example, in the South African constitution the right to a house is enshrined, and a Marxist would argue that under capitalism the wishes of the poor are effectively ignored. The definition of 'rights' is, therefore, highly problematic, and this undermines the case for intervention in the internal affairs of another state.

an
adv. arg.

Furthermore, the moral case against intervention is demonstrated clearly by the obvious failure of interventionist states to who intervene in the internal affairs of others to practice what they preach. For example, the torture and detention without charge prevalent at Guantanamo

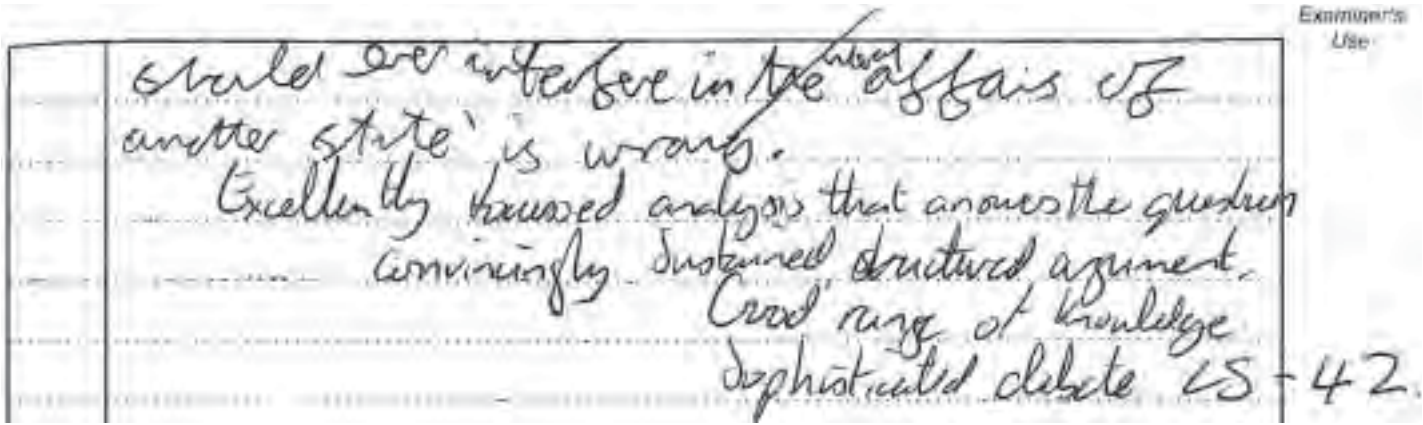
bay, as well as the use of dirty bombs in the Gulf war, expose the hypocrisy of US criticisms of Saddam Hussein and his supposed WMD program. However, these are also weaknesses in the arguments for the preservation of state sovereignty. ~~There~~ There is a strong argument to be made that a state's legitimacy depends not only on its monopoly on the use of legal violence, but also on the level of democracy practised, the level of popular consent, and the extent to which the aspirations of the population can be fulfilled. If this is indeed the case, the moral case for the inviolability of any state is weakened.* However, it is clear that there are serious problems regarding the moral justification for the interference of one state in the internal affairs of another.

There are also severe practical limitations, the principle being that humanitarian interests often cause more harm than ~~the~~ what it was intended to prevent.

*Indeed, an invasion of Syria, which evidently fails all these criteria, would be justified.

As mentioned before, 90% of casualties in modern warfare are civilians, and the changing nature of warfare, such as Gaddafi disguising his military targets as ~~an~~ and using non-combatants as human shields and the increasing involvement of 'civilians' in warfare, means that whatever action taken civilian deaths will always be high. The consequences of the 2003 invasion of Iraq were a virtual civil war and anarchy and intense sectarian violence leading to many more deaths than caused by the actual invasion. The Karzai regime, despite 10 years of support, is still unstable. However, ~~the intervention in~~ if interventions such as those in Bosnia and Libya, ~~intended to~~ did indeed lessen the number of civilian deaths than would otherwise have occurred, then in empirical terms they may well have been justified.

Any intervention in the internal affairs of another state is fraught with difficulty. Many such interventions in recent years have caused more harm than good. However, in some cases intervention has been beneficial, and as such to claim that whatever the circumstances 'no state



Examiner comment – Distinction

The response starts with a concise but accurate discussion of the question in hand, including relevant contemporary examples. The opening paragraph suggests a high level of sophistication and nuance. Subsequent paragraphs show thought, planning and knowledge as the essay develops through its argument. The candidate weaves current, wide-ranging examples with political thought and analysis. This essay shows substantial knowledge and analysis, written with a fluency that is impressive in timed examination conditions, making it worthy of a top level mark.

Mark awarded = 42 out of 50

Example candidate response – Merit

2. - No state? - supra national orgs - Nato
 - Human Rights? - Kosovo - U.N.
 ↳ Protecting themselves - external environment - Libya
 • Iran - is it right to impose our views. Iraq
 Rwanda + Sudan?

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Recently there has been increasing involvement in the internal affairs of nation states by not only states, but more significantly supra-national organisations, built upon agreements between numerous states. Whilst motivations for this involvement has largely been argued as humanitarian, with human rights violations and oppressive dictators used as legitimate reasons to intervene, many have questioned these claims to argue that economic and political interests are largely influencing such decisions. On the basis of human rights and the protection of those unable to protect themselves, surely there is a case for intervention, as organisations such as the U.N would agree. ~~These~~ arguments may be made however, about our right to intervene in such affairs, as this in itself may suggest that our system of liberal democracy and the views held by countries such as the U.S and U.K are superior to others, particularly when considering the influence of economic gains through resources such as oil. ~~There appears to be~~ Moreover there appears to be great inconsistency in policy towards intervention in internal affairs, as will be discussed, which again raises questions over the motivations of intervention by states, through organisations such as the U.N and NATO. Whilst motivations may be questionable and policy inconsistent, ~~it is~~ it is strongly arguable that states should be allowed to intervene

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in the internal affairs of another state, particularly when issues of ~~state~~ human rights and genocide are concerned.

Without intervention by NATO forces in Kosovo in 1999, it is highly likely that millions of ethnic Albanian Muslims would have been slaughtered or permanently removed from their land, purely based on their religion and ethnicity. The intervention of NATO, led by states such as Britain, therefore saved lives on a massive scale and therefore provides a strong argument for the use of intervention. With Super-National organisations such as NATO and the U.N providing regulations and limits to those states' intervention, the operation can be seen as having legitimacy, and ~~is~~ given the increasing interdependence of states upon one another in our increasingly globalised community, is it not the duty of ~~the~~ more stable, developed states to protect those within less stable and sometimes oppressive states? This argument can be seen as limited however, by the many criticisms of ~~the~~ states and Super-National organisations regarding their failure to ensure stability following intervention, suggesting that the inability to do so in actual fact damages the long term stability of those states affected by intervention. This can be seen by the remaining damage caused to Kosovo and Belgrade from NATO ~~air strikes~~, and moreover Kosovo's lack of legal and political status, as it is still considered a protectorate of NATO, with Serbia refusing to recognise it as an independent state. This therefore highlights how intervention does not always necessarily create stability, even ~~if~~ with the legitimacy and support of organisations

Such as NATO, showing clear limits to the effectiveness of intervention.

It has been argued by many states that the internal affairs of one state could have significant consequences for ~~the~~ neighbouring and even distant states, an argument that is particularly relevant in ~~the~~ ^{our} increasingly globalised economic and political system. In the case of Libya for example, David Cameron argues that we cannot have a patch state on the borders of the E.U., suggesting that intervention in the internal affairs of another state is merely protecting the stability of other states by controlling the external environment. This argument can however be seen as evidence of the inconsistency in policy by states regarding intervention, when we compare the decision to become involved in Kosovo in 1999 because of its location in Europe, to the decision ^{not} to intervene in the genocide that took place in Rwanda ^{in 1994}, purely because such events had little effect on the stability and security of other states. Despite the genocide of 800,000 Rwandans in 1994 based on their ethnicity, and therefore clearly a violation of apparent 'universal human rights', no state decided to intervene, therefore severely limiting the argument of human rights as a key motivation for past involvement. The same can be seen in Libya, as the state is deemed to be a threat to stability due to its links with terrorism and training camps, therefore making it a state in which we may intervene, unlike Sudan, which despite the numerous violations of human and ethnic minorities' rights, is seen as less of a threat

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 To ~~see~~ the stability of other states and therefore intervention is unlikely. Some ~~of~~ philosophers such as Hobbes would however support this notion by suggesting it is the primary ~~role~~ role of the state to protect its citizens, and therefore intervening in another state is justifiable ~~on~~ these grounds, supporting the view that states should intervene in the internal affairs of another state if it is in their interest to do so.

Ultimately, states should intervene in the internal affairs of another state ~~if~~ if it can be seen as a direct threat to the stability & security of that state, such as can be seen in Libya, ~~and~~ and previously Iraq. Intervention can also be seen as justifiable on the grounds of human rights such as in Kosovo, however this policy can be seen as highly inconsistent given the lack of intervention in states with clear human rights violations, suggesting that currently the only real motivation for intervention in other states is the economic and political self interest of those states, raising questions on how this can be limited by ~~any~~ supra-national organisations, or as Hobbes refers to them, Leviathan's among ~~the~~ Leviathans.

Engages readily with the question. Some good H+U of interventions. Appropriate debate centring on when states should/shouldn't intervene but inconsistent and at times repetitive. Lacks theoretical reasoning against intervention and is therefore unbalanced.

L3 - (28)

Examiner comment – Merit

The candidate is aware of arguments regarding state intervention in the affairs of other states, although reasons for non-intervention are not divulged early in the answer. Inconsistencies and hypocrisies are identified, as are motivations for intervention, such as preventing genocide. This opening paragraph is long and contains very many (relevant) points, but it is not constructed to the candidate's best advantage. Likewise, the second paragraph makes some arguments for and against intervention, but in a haphazard way. The third paragraph provides some interesting arguments and examples for intervention. The conclusion is quite successful in drawing a number of strands together. The response is reasonably competent and certainly addresses the question. There is patchy analysis and the writing lacks appropriate grammar, but there is enough sustained argument to place it fairly high in the middle band.

Mark awarded = 28 out of 50

Example candidate response – Pass

(2) It was said by James Madison that "you should not go overseas in search of monsters to destroy". This isolationist attitude to foreign policy appears to be outdated in today's global climate, ^{use of} supranational organisations and NGOs such as Amnesty, Red Cross, Red Crescent etc... appear to be a justifiable method of destroying 'monsters' such as poverty, human rights abuses and inequality. However the use of the 'nation' to intervene in the problems of another state is argueably over, the post-west phalian warfare model means that this type of conventional warfare is no longer seen as the best way to approach matters. *expl*

Although, this is a sweeping judgement which ignores the relevance of demand for raw materials and the *under* ~~question~~ of terrorism. Such as can be seen by US+UK involvement in Iraq. Furthermore the concept that internal affairs are not to be corrected by nations invading is undermined by the Vietnam and Korean war in the 60s+70s. *Dispute*

However, the intriguing element to this question is what makes a nation want to subvert the sceptical attitude to war post WW2? It can be understood that problems internally ultimately make that country unstable and contribute to an aggressive foreign policy to deflect the anger within outwards, this was arguably the cause of WW1 and a motivation that Christopher Mitchens says led Iran to invest in nuclear power. Therefore the concept of fortress Europe or an international scene of harmony can be provided by war, and the implementation of a stable democratic system within their country. Arguably this is what the west are trying to install into the middle-east to quell their internal problems and vicious anti-western sentiments.

arguably clearly

~~USA~~ ^A pursuit for international harmony can ultimately be seen in a potential war with Iran, Tony Blair has claimed that he believes going to war with Iran due to potential nuclear weapons with some the

An

international interest, the hobbesian concept of the life in the state of nature, ~~and~~ chaos without order and government, can be transplanted onto the international agenda, war can be justified if it is to prevent international havoc. This can be seen through the justification of proxy warfare during the cold war. ~~Although it wasn't always a nation directly attacking another nation, it supported the ~~protestant~~ ~~and~~ Nations fighting nations because of their suspect flirtations with communism, masked as a ~~unintentional~~ ~~intervention~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~middle~~ ~~east~~ ~~affairs~~.~~

ISSUE OF CONSCIENCE FOR PROTESTANTS
 it was primarily secondary

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The moral question of 'should' nations ever intervene was surely tested in the Kosovo war ~~as~~ as a result of the Serbian - Kosovo muslim genocide. Considering that this ~~was~~ ^{conflict} was born out of the artificial creation of Yugoslavia in the treaty of Versailles, by ~~British~~ ^{mainly the} British + the ~~French~~ French, didn't they have a moral obligation to intervene? The fact is the international

An

organisations such as NATO and the UN are considered responsible to resolving internal problems rather than nation states. Wilson post WWI set up a League of Nations so that an alliance system so strong could be created that war would not be repeated, and ~~in 1919~~ post WW2 it was refined into the UN. This means that in modern day nations are reluctant to become involved because it often means that other states will have to also.

These theories of alliances and vested interests in intervention ~~are~~ ^{can be seen to be} considered more important than violation of human rights. The only reason western countries have become involved in certain middle eastern countries is either because they are client states such as Libya and Egypt which provide resources or because they pose a threat through nuclear power, Iran + Iraq.

If this was not an accurate conclusion then Syria, Sudan and many more which violate the much promoted liberal democratic model would have been

'intervened' with ~~in~~ in their internal affairs'. The question asks if nations should get involved in internal affairs of other states, but the reality is 'should' is not down to morality or 'democratic principles' but economic gains or securing the ~~area~~ ^{the promotion} borders, so power and influence of the west can remain.

Engages with the question but lacks development of arguments. Lists some good reasons for intervention, but doesn't adequately discuss reasons for non-intervention. Therefore unbalanced. Essay tries to argue but lacks clarity and fluency.

63 - 22

Examiner comment – Pass

The essay begins with quite a sophisticated and interesting introduction. What follows, however, is not a clear response to the question asked. Whilst there is relevant knowledge, the link to the question about intervention has to be searched for. The issues are understood, but they are dealt with neither thoughtfully nor systematically. The answer lacks depth and a coherence to the argument.

Mark awarded = 22 out of 50

Question 3

'Interdependence makes conflict between nation-states less likely.' How far do you agree? (50)

Mark scheme

3 'Interdependence makes conflict between nation-states less likely.' How far do you agree?

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What is important is the quality of the argument and the comparative analysis. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question. Further, they are required to support their answer with specific examples which are drawn from at least two countries, neither of which may be the UK or the USA (although either or both may be referenced for supplementary context/comparison). Any answer that breaks this paper requirement is unlikely to attain a mark above level 1.

Specific

Candidates may well start by attempting to define the concepts of interdependence and conflict, as well as clarifying what a nation-state is. Interdependence can be seen as states being mutually dependent on each other. Conflict could be seen to take a number of forms including war, economic sanctions, diplomatic action, trade and economic disputes, etc. Candidates may base their answer around what exactly is meant by interdependence and what exactly is meant by conflict. Candidates may argue that what may be perceived as interdependence is actually one state having a dominant position in the trade (or other) relationship. Also, candidates may conclude that war may be avoided due to interdependence but other conflicts are present.

The candidates may discuss a number of views on this issue. They may argue that indeed interdependence does seem to limit war. This is a liberal perspective that sees globalisation, free-trade and interdependence as a barrier to war. Liberals argue that states can expand power and resources through trade rather than through other means as Realists might suggest. Liberals see trade as a non zero-sum game where two trading nations can both increase their wealth and meet their national interest through trade rather than competing. Liberals also argue that trade generates requirements that can only be met by international trade, and indeed a web of interconnectedness makes war impossible and inconceivable. A further argument is that communication between states and cultures fosters improved relations thus averting conflict. The growth of the EEC/EU may be used as an example of all these arguments in action.

Candidates may argue that trade can lead to conflict as states have more to fall-out over. Also trade is not necessarily equal so therefore can shift relations and power. Indeed, some states have more to lose than others and be more vulnerable to conflict. States might actually see the need to minimise their reliance on foreign trade through military means to reduce their vulnerability. Some states may actually see dominant position in a trade relationship as way of increasing power. Examples here may include the close relationship of the Russian state and its energy industry and the strength of the Chinese economy in manufacturing.

Candidates may argue that other factors prevent conflict. Example of these could be collective security organisations such as the UN and NATO. Candidates may argue that economic relations have no impact upon international relations that the decision-makers within a state may ignore or not consider the economic interests of the state when making decisions. There were close economic ties between the UK and Germany prior to World War One but these did not prevent conflict.

Knowledge of democratic peace theory and complex interdependence theory will be rewarded.

Example candidate response – Merit

3. -1990's saw least deaths for decade in Europe
 ↳ role of supra-national = increased - less among lev.
 ↳ victory of western democracy

* Non-state actors - ~~big~~ conflict - not between states.
 ↳ result of RMA → open war was one sided.

U.N didn't stop Russia

The increasing interdependence between states can be seen as a key factor in reducing the number of ~~inter~~ conflicts between nations. As the events of 9/11 would show however, conflict does not necessarily always involve nation states, and as conflict between states decreases due to interdependence and the increasing role of supra-national organisations, the role of non-state actors such as Bin Laden in creating conflict has become more prominent. Moreover it may be argued that it is the collapse of the Soviet union in ~~the~~ the late 20th century and the consequent 'victory for the west' that has led to the decreasing number of inter-state conflict. The recent revolution in military affairs (RMA) has resulted in a few nations being far superior to other states in terms of military ability and technology, meaning inter-state conflict is far less likely, with non-state actors and guerrilla style warfare being increasingly used, as can be seen in Afghanistan. Therefore whilst interdependence has made conflict between nation states less likely, this is certainly not the only cause and moreover, conflict's ~~or~~ will continue to take place, albeit through non-state actors.

The increasing interdependence between states, both politically and economically, can be seen in the rapid

growth in power and influence of supra-national organisations such as the U.N, E.U and Nato. It can also be seen by the decrease in wars between member states of such organisations, however it must be highlighted that not all states are part of such organisations and are therefore less dependant on other states. Conflicts in Iraq, and recent involvement in Libya clearly shows that ~~the~~ conflict between nations is still possible, however the fact that action is being taken unilaterally by a number of states may suggest that this interdependence is creating a more legitimate conflict, such as ~~the~~ the first Gulf war involving only the removal of Iraq's ~~part~~ part from Kuwait and not the invasion of Iraq (unlike of course the second Gulf war that is). Philosophers such as Hobbes have suggested that despite Leviathan's (states) creating stability within a state, international relations remained in a 'state of nature' as Hobbes described, with nation states seeking peace by removing any threats such as other nation states. Such a system can be seen in history, with states constantly in conflict with one another, however Hobbes suggested that to solve such a problem and ensure stability on an international scale, much like in domestic affairs, a Leviathan would be necessary, to provide stability in return for some rights. Indeed this 'Leviathan among Leviathans' can be seen in organisations such as the U.N and NATO, where they act as a Leviathan between states, supporting the notion that interdependence makes conflict between nation states less likely, as there is increased stability since the introduction of such organisations.

Whilst interdependence can be seen as a key factor in

can	<p>reducing the total number of inter-state conflicts, and the collapse of the Soviet Soviet Union and therefore the victory of liberal democracy can also be seen as playing an integral role in the reduction of conflicts between states.</p>
can	<p>During the post war period, the majority of the conflicts between states can be seen as proxy wars between the U.S and Russia, with Russia supporting one state and the U.S.A the other. The eventual collapse of the Soviet Union therefore resulted in support for these countries disappearing, and as a result a large significant number of nation to nation conflicts ending in the post Cold war era. This</p>
is	<p>supported by the 1990's having the least number of deaths from conflicts between nation states compared to any other decade in the century. The majority of nation</p>
is	<p>states have now adopted the the liberal democratic system, and indeed the other regions that have not done so, such as the middle east, have been the regions that have seen the larger number of conflicts between nation states. This would therefore suggest that it is the the domination of western democracy across much of the world that has reduced the number of conflicts and made conflict between nation states less likely, and not necessarily the increasing interdependence.</p>
is	<p>the Moreover whilst the number of inter-state conflicts has reduced in recent years, the number of internal conflicts has risen, as can be seen in Iran in 1979, Rwanda in 1994, and more recently the revolutions in Tunisia, the Egypt and Libya, therefore showing how conflicts have merely evolved with the changes in</p>

Ideology in recent years.

It is clear to see that interdependence has played a key role in making conflict between nation states less likely, however there are a series of other factors that must be taken into account, the most important of which being the collapse of the Soviet Union and increasing domination of western democracy. Moreover, as inter-state conflict decreases, intra state conflict and the role of non-state actors has become far more significant, replacing the old post-1945 system of war and conflict across the world.

Engages soundly with the question, developing arguments throughout the essay. Good but uneven range of knowledge. Answer doesn't define interdependence and puts alternative reasons for reducing conflict rather than discussing interdependence as a reason.

23-28

Examiner comment – Merit

Interdependence is not defined in the opening paragraph, although the candidate does analyse why there may be a decline in conflict between states. A number of points are brought into the discussion, but these are not adequately separated out. The lack of a definition or explanation of interdependence does, inevitably, limit the marks available to the candidate as we are never sure exactly what the candidate is referring to. There is reference to political and economic interdependence but this is not developed. The candidate successfully brings in the Hobbesian view of the state of nature in international relations and implies the concept of anarchy. There is quite a good historical understanding, with discussion of the Cold War and proxy wars; political philosophy is brought in too. Overall, the response is reasonably competent and it engages soundly with the question. However, the essay is not a tight response to the question. There is not enough explicit focus on interdependence, and therefore trade and economics, and analysis of it.

Mark awarded = 28 out of 50

Question 4

'There is no such thing as universal human rights.' Assess this view.

[50]

Mark scheme

4 'There is no such thing as universal human rights.' Assess this view.

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What is important is the quality of the argument and the comparative analysis. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question. Further, they are required to support their answer with specific examples which are drawn from at least two countries, neither of which may be the UK or the USA (although either or both may be referenced for supplementary context/comparison). Any answer that breaks this paper requirement is unlikely to attain a mark above level 1.

Specific

Candidates might be expected to define the term universal human rights, perhaps within the context of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, particularly noting the inalienability of these rights or that they are 'natural'. Of relevance here could also be the European Convention on Human Rights which gives citizens of most European states access to the ECHR in Strasbourg. Candidates may argue that all humans have these rights by nature of their being and they are an ideal which most states have strived to uphold.

Candidates may argue with the proposition that there are no universal human rights by suggesting that the only rights that exist are legal rights. Human Rights are too abstract and the only rights that exist are those that are guaranteed by law and therefore enforceable. There are numerous examples around the world where human rights have been breached.

A further critique of human rights may be that it is a phenomenon that comes from a Western and Liberal view that is not applicable to all cultures of the world, so that in some ways human rights are not universally accepted or applicable.

Example candidate response – Merit

4 → One would like to believe that across the globe there are some human rights that have become universal, that everyone has a right to. However, it can be argued that despite the ever increasing globalisation and 'watering down' of culture, there can be no such thing as universal human rights.

From a typical Western point of view there are some rights that

U are deemed essential human rights. These include: the right to life; freedom of speech; freedom of movement; the right to a fair trial; the right to equality and many more. Laws like the Geneva convention have attempted to make these rights 'universal'; however, if one looks at different countries it can be argued that rights are not universal.

If one looks at some Islamic cultures and governments it is clear that the definition of universal human rights changes. It must be stressed however that these countries like Saudi Arabia, Iran and Afghanistan do not ignore human rights, it is due to differences in culture and religion, that their definition is altered. Under ~~Sharia~~ Shari'ah law a woman cannot leave her home without a chaperoning male; this was common practice under the Taliban in Afghanistan; this law from a Geneva convention point of view prevents a woman's right to freedom of movement. It is also the custom for a woman to wear a Burqua at all times,

which in many opinions does not allow the woman the right to live as she wishes. Additionally, in such cultures, a woman or ~~the~~ man can be ~~harshly~~ severely punished for crimes such as adultery without any supporting evidence. This, in many ways ~~it~~ does not allow them their right to a fair trial, and especially for women highlights the harsh inequalities in such a culture. This evidence shows that a western ideal of human rights could not fit into ~~some~~ Islamic societies, suggesting universal human rights does not exist.

If one looks at the human right of equality; its definition and extent to which it is practiced varies ~~over~~ across the globe; especially for women. As mentioned above, in countries like Saudi Arabia women have next to no equality with men, ~~they~~ and in some cases cannot even attend school. Also, in India there is a caste system; whereby the darker your skin tone the lower caste

you are, creating deep inequality.
 There is also much racial inequality
 in African countries between black
 people and white people. There is
 also inequality left that remains
 from the colonial period, that in
 the 1990's in Rwanda led to mass
 genocide. The mass varieties of
 inequalities across the globe
 leads one to believe that the human
 right of equality is not universal.

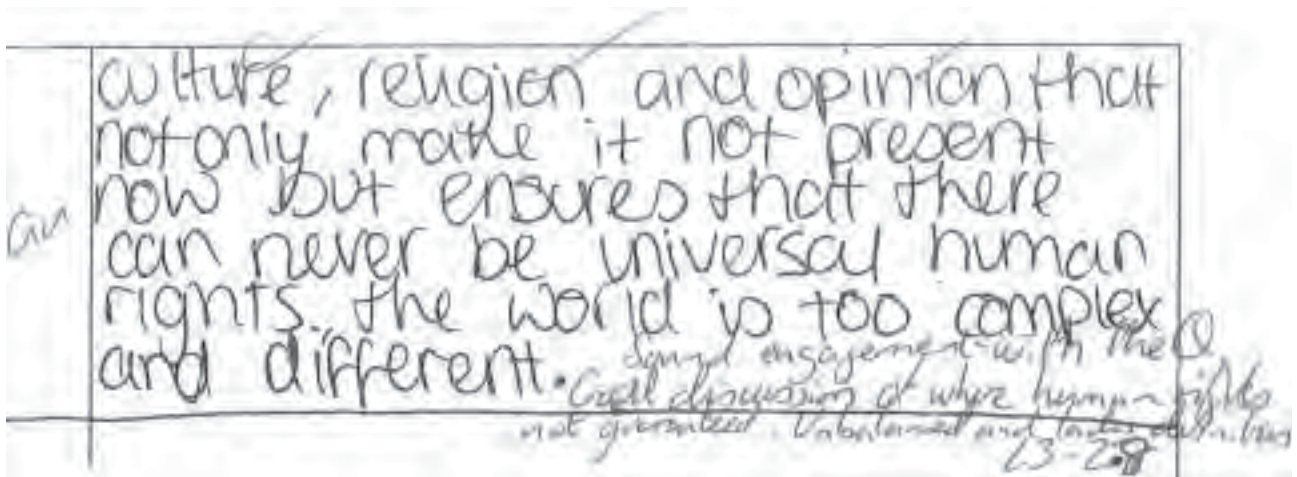
When one raises the question of
 Human rights, it is essential to
 look at countries such as China,
 which until recently have remained
 cut off from the majority of the
 world. With regards to the right
 to life, it can be argued that
 China has an alternative
 definition of it as they have laws
 like the one baby law. ~~that~~
 up to the last few years it was law
 that each family could only have
 one baby, unless you were rich
 enough to pay the fine for
 more. ~~This~~ ~~was~~ ~~the~~ ~~result~~ ~~of~~
 this many babies were left to
 die in the streets. It raises the
 question that if a baby is

not the first child they automatically lose the right to live? Within China, and many other countries like North Korea, Saudi Arabi or Iran. There's wide spread censorship to what people can read, say, hear, and even go Google on the internet. This in many eyes flouts the right to freedom of speech. So, from these examples universal human rights seems harder to reach.

One must also look at western countries, that supposedly have these human rights, as arguably many of them do not. For example, in France it is forbidden for a women to wear a Burqa or any form of head veil as they see it as going against their secular nation. However, many see it as breaking the woman's right to live and express herself as she wishes. This links to the issue of equality and especially gender equality which is ~~seen~~ seemingly apparent in western cultures. Although, in

✓ In Britain alone women earn on average less than men, not to mention other countries where the inequalities are worse. More controversially, the issue of the right to life and abortion is a key theme in Western societies, especially in the USA where religious groups argue that ~~having~~ allowing abortion and ~~to~~ everyone having the right to life are mutually exclusive. This is also apparent in ~~Switzerland~~ Switzerland where euthanasia is legal. There is also the issue of Guantanamo Bay and a prisoners right to a fair trial, as many argue that the prisoners held there, many without trial, are losing their human rights. It is clear that even in ~~the~~ countries that promote these ^{universal} human rights, they are arguably not universal.

In conclusion, it can be suggested that despite the globalised world that we live in universal human cannot exist. There ~~is~~ are too many varieties of



Examiner comment – Merit

The candidate raises an interesting point in the opening paragraph about globalisation and human rights, but it is not developed or explained. The second paragraph gives examples of human rights and a slight indication of their universality. There then follows a relevant discussion on the cultural dimension to human rights, focusing on Islamic culture. In the following paragraphs, there is more relevant knowledge and a discussion of different attitudes to human rights, and their alleged abuses, in various parts of the world, including India and China. An interesting approach is taken by looking at countries which purportedly respect Western human rights ideals, but in practice may not. The candidate follows a coherent and appropriate path throughout this essay. Though the introduction and conclusion don't really set up or conclude the debate in the body of the essay, the body itself does show competence and knowledge enough to sustain a sound engagement with the question.

Mark awarded = 28 out of 50

Example candidate response – Pass

4. "There is no such thing as universal human rights." Assess this view.

Whether human rights, and certain ideas about what human rights are, are universal under current debate around the world. In the previous essay I mentioned how human rights have been used as justification for intervention, but if a universal definition of human rights cannot be reached, then how can we protect them, and how can we justify protecting them?

EW Many people have argued that human rights is just a liberal indulgence and that there can never be a universal set of human rights in a globe so full of different cultures, religions and ideas. They would argue that it is impossible to apply the same rights that are prevalent in Europe to a dictatorship, like China, or to a country formed around religion, like Israel.

EW Most people within contemporary Europe support the idea that democracy is a human right and many other rights associated with democracy, such as freedom of speech and freedom of the press, would not be workable in China, where everything is censored, but, arguably, other rights that are not protected within Europe are protected there, like the right to be protected by communism. In Israel, a human right that is considered key by the Israelis is the right to live there; throughout the world it is largely viewed that the Israelis pushed the Palestinians out of their land and that those who were given the "right to return" are now treated as second class citizens. The Israelis would argue that they are God's chosen people, and that through religion, they have the right to that land and the Palestinians do not have the right to be there and some Israelis have argued that the Palestinians are in fact inferior to them. This goes against "western" ideas about equality of race and religion and many other religions, such as Islam, also have very different views on what human rights are and so how can the same rights that are applied in Europe be applied in states with such radically different beliefs?

EW On the other side of the argument, it can be argued that actually there are some universal human rights. Some supporters of the idea of universal human rights would argue that the most widespread idea of human rights is the western idea of human rights and that the spread and success of western values of rights proves that these rights are universal, and should be universally implemented. For example, the so called "Arab Spring" can be used to support the idea that the right to democracy is a right that more and more people desire and is a right that should be universal. Another argument which supports the idea that there are universal human rights is that more and more countries are signing human rights agreements, such as the European Human Rights Act and the United Nations human rights charter. If human rights are not universal, they would argue, then why are more and more peoples signing up to them? Other supporters of the idea of universal human rights would say that the strongest argument for the existence of universal human rights is that humanity is a single species and therefore there must be some inborn rights that we have; all of humanity shares certain needs, such as the need for food, water, oxygen, and all humans dislike being in pain. And so, can it not be argued that all humans have the right to have these universal needs met and pain and suffering prevented?

Over all, it is clear that across the world there is a huge spread of diverging ideas on what human rights are and whether or not they are universal. And it is clearly true that different rights apply in different parts of the world. However, it is also clear that humanity is made up of one species and while there may be different ideas on what human rights are, there are some rights that should be protected globally, as they apply to the whole species; rights to basic survival needs such as food, water, oxygen prevail throughout the world. The right not to suffer is also a global human right, and while different religions and cultures define suffering differently and disagree on who has the right to be protected from it (and indeed who is human), the idea that humans should not suffer is a universal one.

Engages with the question but lacks depth in argument and knowledge. Balanced towards response.
 23-21.

Examiner comment – Pass

A debate is set up in the opening question, but it does not focus sufficiently on the question asked. Human rights are not explained, defined, or adequate examples given. There then follows a somewhat unconvincing discussion about human rights, though the emphasis on cultural differences is relevant. It is appropriate to bring up the Arab Spring in the subsequent paragraph to illustrate the universality of human rights and perhaps their universal appeal. There are a couple of valid and interesting arguments in the third paragraph, but these are not sufficiently explained or developed. This answer does benefit from its very clear attempt to answer the question, but it is of limited quality and depth.

Mark awarded = 21 out of 50

Question 5

To what extent does globalisation show the need for global government?

[50]

Mark scheme

5 To what extent does globalisation show the need for global government?

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What is important is the quality of the argument and the comparative analysis. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question. Further, they are required to support their answer with specific examples which are drawn from at least two countries, neither of which may be the UK or the USA (although either or both may be referenced for supplementary context/comparison). Any answer that breaks this paper requirement is unlikely to attain a mark above level 1.

Specific

Candidates may be expected to address what globalisation is, which is of course contested and open to debate. Common definitions refer to the increasing interconnectedness of things, the shrinking world or the global village. Aspects of globalisation might include political, economic and cultural aspects.

Candidates may point to problems of globalisation that might include climate change, economic recession, destruction of culture, American imperialism, exploitation, etc. Candidates may suggest that there is a need for a global response to these problems that might lead to global government. On the other hand, candidates may argue that globalisation does need a coordinated response and therefore global government is unnecessary, or indeed that globalisation aside, there is a need for global government because of poverty, environmental change, war, etc.

Candidates may want to define global government, perhaps seeing it as based on the UN, another supranational set of institutions on the model of the EU, or intergovernmental agreements between states, like through G20, WTO, IMF, etc. Candidates may however, see the latter as sufficient to deal with problems brought about by globalisation and consider they fall short of global government.

In many ways,

Globalism is a widely-accepted feature of modern times. The apparent triumph of Neoliberal economics as referred to by Fukuyama in 'the end of history' has led to a new global, capitalist, interconnected economy. The increasing flow of information made possible by revolutions in communication technology has bound the world more closely together. At the same time, the 'global community' now faces some great challenges. In light of the above, there are convincing arguments to be made for the creation of a global government.

Ulrich Beck described a global 'risk society', in which threats such as ~~environment~~ ~~as climate~~ were increasingly cross-border in nature, and used it as evidence for globalisation. It is also a pertinent argument for global government. The ~~perhaps~~ ~~of~~ the greatest threat to humanity is the threat of climate change, an issue which affects the entire world.

an and individual governments are
 powerless to stop. For example, the
 an ~~great~~ emissions cutbacks recently
 announced by the UK government will
 an have little global impact if they
 are not matched by great polluters
 an such as China. Indeed, inter-governmental
 efforts such as the recent talks at
 U. Durban and Copenhagen have generally
 been regarded as failures, as states
 are ^{reluctant} to place the general
 good before their self-interest.

Col/NL

Therefore, it seems as if ~~only~~ a
 global government would be
 best placed to defend humanity as
 a whole from cross-border threats.
 Issues such as terrorism, ~~terrorism~~ ^{terrorism} and drug trade ^{also do not respect borders}

In many economic integration
 also presents arguments for
 global government. The collapse
 U of Lehman Brothers in the USA
 affected countries around the
 world and led to a global recession,
 evidence of the increase in global
 an economic links. Again, a global
 risk such as universal economic
 collapse could be best defended
 against by a global government.

an

The fluidity of capital, which
 allows multinationals to ~~to~~ ^{to} abandon
 any country which enacts policies ~~conter~~

to their interests has led to a
 move to the bottom in terms of
 regulation and restriction on
 the sort of behaviour that
 led to the ~~crisis~~ economic crisis.
 Any ~~country~~ government which does
 attempt to reign in corporate excesses
 will, under globalisation, be punished.
 For example, China has recently been
 forced to lift socialist policies such
 as a ban on the private ownership of
 housing and ~~to~~ allow foreign investors
 to construct golf courses because
 they would not otherwise survive in
 the global economy.

The great injustices brought
 about by global capitalism
 in this manner also present
 a compelling argument
 for global government. Great
 disparities in wealth cannot
 be addressed under current
 conditions because there is ~~not~~
 currently no ~~control~~ over the
~~world's~~ ~~most~~ meaningful control
 over the great multinationals
 many with turnovers greater than
 the GDP of substantial
 sovereign states. ~~Without~~
~~the~~ ~~growth~~. Without some form

of global government to oppression of poor by rich and global south by global north, and the resulting global issues from unemployment in the west resulting from the ease with which jobs can be transferred to the global south, to the great poverty of ~~many~~ ^{those} within the global south unable, due to immigration restrictions, to access the higher ~~standards~~ wages and better social policies available to citizens of the global north.

However, there are many who point to the who dispute this analysis. Neoliberals regard government as the enemy of the market and therefore of freedom. Such 'right hyperglobalists' regard global capitalism as beneficial, ~~not~~ not only to those at the top, and consider immoral any attempt to create some form of global governance to hold it in check. There are also many cogent arguments that the nation ~~state~~ ^{state} itself is far from obsolete, and that national governments

maintain adequate power to address the issues facing the world.

State action in the 'Asian tiger' economies, such as the highly interventionist Japanese Ministry of Trade, has been a direct cause of economic growth, and continues to be so despite a supposedly globalised economy. It could be argued that the recent pledges made by Bill Gates, David Cameron and others to provide money for vaccines are evidence that issues of disease and poverty can indeed be addressed without ~~the~~ a global government. Furthermore, it remains very clear that ~~the people~~ people across the planet regard self government as of great importance. Both the Palestinians and the Kurds have been vocal in their demands for a state. ~~The victory of the regionalist~~ overwhelming victories of the avowedly regionalist parties led by Alex Salmond in Scotland and Nara Chandrababu Naidu in Uttar Pradesh

an

Call
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in

an

over broader ideological parties, as well as the ~~str~~ widely perceived shortcomings of the response to the ~~fall to its~~ the sovereign debt crises of many of its members. ~~can~~ Further suggest that a global government is seen as neither necessary nor desirable.

However, if the great issues of the world today are to be comprehensively addressed in the limited timeframe implied by the speed of climate change, and global inequalities and injustices corrected, then a global government is vital. Although the nation state remains popular, globalisation and local ~~loyalties~~ ~~remain~~ and ~~sectorial~~ loyalties remain most intense, globalisation does indeed show the need for global government.

Excellent, strong comparative argument throughout. Good, clear focus on the question, good structure and political knowledge. Fluent, developed arguments. LS-42

Examiner comment – Distinction

The response starts with good knowledge and definition of globalisation and a good framing of the debate. Though global government is not defined, it is implicit due to the use of intergovernmentalism. Excellent examples reinforce understanding, as does the quality of language and terminology. The arguments put forward are coherent, logical and fluid. Alternatives to global government are explored, such as individual state action and charitable movements. Belief in self-determination is also given as a strong reason for not developing global government. This is a well-crafted, focused answer to a broad question. Candidates could have opted to approach this question in a number of ways, and this candidate brings a number of very clear and appropriate examples and concepts to support the arguments deployed.

Mark awarded = 42 out of 50

Example candidate response – Merit

5 → With the growth of the internet, advances in communication, the ease with one can travel across the globe, not to mention the ongoing use of television ~~across~~ around the world, we are in many ways a globalised society. However, with this globalisation there are many who feel there is more and more of a need for a global government, although many argue it is the wrong course of action to take.

In ~~an~~ a variety of ways one can suggest there is a need for a global government. For example with regards to the economy and trade. Due to the fact that so much of ~~every~~ every countries economies ~~are~~ based on the global stock market and economy, one can argue that there is a need for a global government when there is crisis. This is seen with the recent failures of the Greek and Portuguese economies, which were both bailed out by the EU. A global government could create regulations and give aid with

The growing global economy
 there is also a need for ~~the~~ ^{global} regulation
 of workers and working conditions
 and wages as more and
 more ~~to~~ large companies are
 sourcing their labour across
 the globe. A global government
 would be able to regulate
 and control the global economy
~~government~~ better than
 individual countries that
 function under different laws.

This ~~also~~ links to global law
 with regards to terrorism. It
 can be argued that due to
 globalisation terrorism is
 becoming more apparent due
 to the ease with which its
 affects can be seen across
 the globe, a key example
 being 9/11. If there was a
 global government it would
 be easier to enforce laws and
 prevent such tragedies.

A global government is becoming
 increasingly needed with
~~the~~ third world countries and
 aid for disasters like the

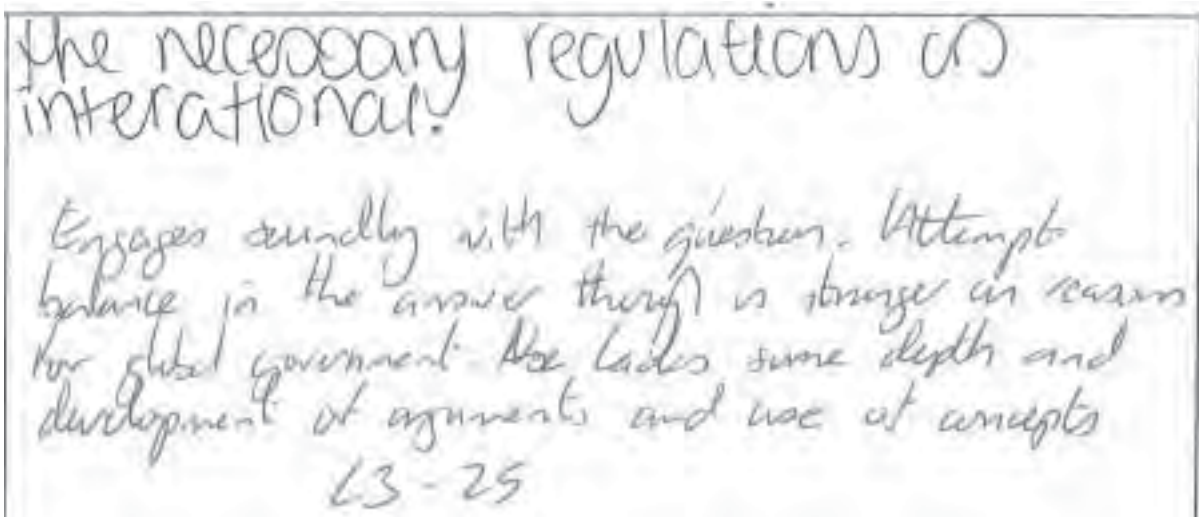
Japan or Haiti. earthquakes. Many argue that with these ~~a~~ such a government problems could be solved quicker and easier.

However, there are some emerging examples of global governing. For example the European Union that has membership from most ~~to~~ countries in Europe can pass laws that even member country must abide to. There is also the United Nations which plays a key role in wars and conflicts. There is also America which is becoming known as the world's policeman' as it arguably takes it upon itself to correct some atrocities and make rogue nations into democratic countries. This is seen with Iraq and Afghanistan. So, one can argue that there is already a growth in global governments.

On the other hand, there is an argument against these global governments. Firstly it can be

argued that they would irradicate individual cultures of countries and the sense of separate nations; heritage would be lost. Also it creates a security risk with those countries who don't wish to join, they could become 'rogue' nations or simply lose out on international trade and become impoverished. There is also a fear that it would create one ~~so~~ global dictatorship by the strongest or largest countries like the USA or China. Also some fear it would be under the control of those countries with nuclear weapons, ~~or courts~~ and are willing to fight with them.

In conclusion, with the growth of ~~the~~ globalisation there are many arguments for the need for a global government. However, it would in many ways be better not to and leave each nation self-governing with their own cultures and traditions, leaving only



Examiner comment – Merit

There is a solid start to the essay, but lack of definitions weakens the opening. The answer shows a fair understanding of the nature of global government, based on regulations, global law, etc. There is some mention of the EU and the UN, but neither is developed. Balance is achieved, with some arguments against global government, though these also lack development. The argument is reasonably competent, but while the answer is accurate, the arguments and evidence are both patchy.

Mark awarded = 25 out of 50

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