

# Mark Scheme Summer 2008

GCE

# GCE Government & Politics (8067/9067-9070)

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## **Contents**

#### AS Mark Schemes

1.	Unit 6491: People and Politics	4
2.	Unit 6492: Governing the UK	21
3.	Unit 6493: The Changing UK System	38

#### A2 Mark Schemes

#### Route A:

1.	Unit 6494: UK Political Issues	50
2.	Unit 6495: The EU and European Issues	57
3.	Unit 6496: Policy-making in the UK	64
Route I	3:	
1.	Unit 6497: Introducing Political Ideologies	68
2.	Unit 6498: Other Ideological Traditions	78
3.	Unit 6499: Ideological Development in the UK	87
Route (	2	
1.	Unit 6500: Representation in the USA	93
2.	Unit 6501: Governing in the USA	111
3.	Unit 6502: Comparative UK and US Politics	130
Route I	D:	
1.	Unit 6503: Introducing International Politics	140
2.	Unit 6504: Issues in International Politics	151

3. Unit 6505: International Politics and the UK 164

# AS Mark Schemes

### <u>Unit 6491</u>

Question Number	Indicative content
1(a)	A pressure group is an organised group of people that aims to influence policies and actions of government. The 'insider/outsider' distinction is based on a group's relationship to government. 'Insider' groups enjoy regular, privileged and usually institutionalised access to government. Examples include the CBI, the BMA and the NFU. 'Outsider' groups are groups that are either not consulted by government or consulted only irregularly and not usually at a senior level; they therefore try to exert influence indirectly via public opinion campaigns. Examples include CND, ALF and Stop The War Coalition.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-1	Poor to weak knowledge and understanding. A superficial, weak
		distinction between an insider and an outsider pressure group.
Level 2	2-3	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding. The distinction
		will be understood, but not fully developed and complete. There
		may be errors in the definition of one type.
Level 3	4-5	Good or better knowledge and understanding. The distinction will
		be manifest and clear. Examples may advance and enhance the
		response.

1(b)	
	Outsider groups and high-profile insider groups attempt to influence public opinion in a variety of ways. These include the following. Many outsider groups use forms of popular mobilisation and protest, such as demonstrations, marches and petitions to demonstrate both the strength of their commitment and the extent of their public support. More innovative and theatrical forms of protest politics have been employed in recent years. These include the People's Fuel Lobby, which in 2000 blockaded fuel depots and blocked roads to pressure the government into cutting fuel taxes, the Countryside Alliance, Stop the War Coalition and Make Poverty History. In many cases, such methods are aimed at attracting newspaper and television coverage. Other ways of influencing public opinion include the use of academics, other specialists (particularly by environmental groups) and the use of celebrities to contribute to news and current affairs television programmes, and advertising campaigns as have been mounted by a wide variety of pressure groups including trade unions and businesses. In cases such as strikes, blockades, boycotts and sit-ins, public-opinion campaigns involve forms of direct action, examples including the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp in the 1980s and, more recently, SHAC (Stop Huntingdon and Animal Cruelty). Other salient points describing methods of how pressure groups influence public opinion may be advanced.
Laure Marsh	

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-5	Poor to weak knowledge and understanding. Fails to develop with clarity how pressure groups influence public opinion. No clear understanding of the processes.
Level 2	6-10	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding. May advance one point clearly, but a narrow understanding of the processes influencing public opinion.
Level 3	11-15	Good or better knowledge and understanding. Advances clearly knowledge and understanding of how pressure groups influence public opinion. May reference examples precisely to develop this.

Question Number	Indicative content
1(c)	Pluralists and elitists have differed markedly on the distribution of political power via group politics. While pluralists believe that power is widely and evenly dispersed in society, elitists hold that it is concentrated in the hands of the few. Those who argue that groups are effective in distributing power more widely use some of the following arguments:
	• Groups represent interests that are ignored by the electoral process, which is more orientated around majority views and the interests of large groups. In this sense, pressure groups are effective in representing minority groups and people with minority or unfashionable views. Examples include religious, racial and ethnic minorities.
	• All pressure groups have access to some power or influence based on a variety of strategies available to them. Those with little money can still exert influence on government through the use of outsider strategies such as popular protests and grassroots activism.
	<ul> <li>Group power has become more widely dispersed as the number of access points within the UK has expanded, with the establishment of devolution, the introduction of the Human Rights Act and the growth of European integration.</li> <li>Competition between and amongst groups disperses power very effectively. For example, trade unions developed to counter the interests of business, and environmental groups and even the anti-globalisation movement have done in recent years.</li> </ul>
	However, elitists and others have argued that pressure groups concentrate power in a number of ways:
	• Groups have greatly unequal access to resources. Those that possess political power, insider status and high levels of organisation tend to dominate the political process and exert disproportional influence on government. This particularly applies in the case of business groups and especially multinational corporations.
	<ul> <li>Many groups are effectively excluded from the pressure group universe because they lack resources and/or may be very difficult to organise; examples include children, asylum seekers, the mentally ill, NHS patients and so on.</li> <li>Some groups are ignored by government and treated as</li> </ul>

ideological outsiders, having therefore very little policy influence. These groups include the peace movement and the animal rights lobby
Candidates will be rewarded for demonstrating an awareness of both sides of the argument, but also for evaluating their arguments in the light of evidence in order to reach a reasoned conclusion.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-10	Poor to weak knowledge and understanding. Limited analysis and evaluation of political information. A failure to engage and fully comprehend the remit of the question. May produce material which is tangential rather than central to the debate.
Level 2	11-20	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding. Adequate analysis and evaluation of political information. Provides salient detail and information. May lack a balanced perspective to fully advance the response. Expansive detail and scope may be absent, thus unable to provide sustained analysis and evaluation.
Level 3	21-30	Good or better knowledge and understanding. Effective analysis and evaluation of political information. Developed focussed and reflective knowledge and understanding. Adheres closely to the remit of the question. Shows balance and considered reflection.

Question Number	Indicative content
2(a)	Political parties have a number of functions. These include representation, policy formulation, educating the public, participation and the mobilisation of the electorate, the recruitment of leaders and the organisation of government. Responses should show an understanding of how each function is carried out. For example, parties provide representation largely by developing policies designed to appeal to significant sections within the electorate, thus enabling the winning party in an election to claim a popular mandate to carry out its policies.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-1	Poor to weak knowledge and understanding. Fails to develop clarity in describing two functions. May perhaps describe features with a loose connection to political parties' functionality
Level 2	2-3	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding. Perhaps one function clearly highlighted with a second less clear, or poorly constructed.
Level 3	4-5	Good or better knowledge and understanding. Two functions described with accuracy and precision.

Question Number	Indicative content
2(b)	Parties promote political participation in two main ways. First, they provide opportunities for citizens to join political parties and therefore help to shape party policy and, if they are lucky, government policy. Party members can engage in a wide variety of constituency activities, ranging from campaigning and electioneering to sitting on committees and helping to run a constituency party. This can enable a proportion of party members to stand for and possibly hold public office as local councillors or even MPs. Second, in their efforts to win government power and political support, parties aim to mobilise the electorate and encourage voters to vote. They do this through a process of campaigning at local and national levels. This is the sense in which parties are, at heart, electoral machines, operating through the building up of loyalty and identification amongst the electorate.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-5	Poor to weak knowledge and understanding. Lacks any developed understanding of how political parties promote participation
Level 2	6-10	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding. Clear ability to show how political parties promote participation, may have examples which demonstrate this knowledge and understanding.
Level 3	11-15	Good or better knowledge and understanding. Able to show clear perception of how political parties show participation. Examples may advance and enhance the response.

Question Number In	Indicative content
2(c) A p p k t t iii c v v t d d v t t e S n t t 5 p p p D a a S T iii a iii 5 p p p D a s S T t iii 5 p p D D a s S T t iii 5 S n t t 5 S n t t 5 S n t t 5 S n t t 5 S n t t 5 S n t t 5 S n t t 5 S n t t 5 S n t t 5 S n t t 5 S n t t 5 S n t t 5 S S n t t 5 S S n t t 5 S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S	Indicative content A variety of concerns have been raised about the decline of political parties, even leading some to talk of a crisis in party politics in the UK. First, many argue that parties have become less effective in promoting political participation and mobilising the electorate. The evidence for this is the fall in voter turnout in the 2001 and 2005 general elections (59 per cent and 61 per cent respectively). Parties may have contributed to declining voter turnout in a number of ways. These include the growth of technocratic politics, meaning that parties are less likely to develop moral or ideological visions that show voters what they 'stand for'. Moreover, the growth of consensus politics has meant that parties have failed to offer voters meaningful choices at election time. Second, parties have declined markedly in terms of their membership size. By 2007, fewer than 1 per cent of people across the UK belonged to political parties, down from 7 per cent some 50 years before. About 800,000 people now belong to political parties, much lower than the membership size of a range of pressure groups, including the RSPB and the National Trust. Declining membership size means that parties have a shrinking activist base and are recruiting politicians from a smaller and smaller pool of talent. Third, there has been a decline in party identification, reflected in a decline in the extent to which sections of the electorate are aligned to particular parties. The number of 'strong' party identifiers has halved since the early 1970s. This has made voting patterns increasingly volatile. On the other hand, political parties form governments and provide opposition to the government of the day, and party unity continues to determine the relationship between government and Parliament. There has been a rise in Nationalist parties in Scotland and Wales buoyed by electoral success. The Liberal Democrats are a significant force in both local and national politics. UKIP and the Green Part

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-10	Poor to weak knowledge and understanding. Limited analysis and evaluation of political information. Lacks any developed understanding of the alleged decline in importance of political parties in the UK. Weak knowledge and understanding restricts the analytical platform.
Level 2	11-20	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding. Adequate analysis and evaluation of political information. Able to make and advance credible arguments on the basis of sound knowledge and understanding. However, the response will lack an encapsulating and full consideration of the question. Only one side of the question may be addressed.
Level 3	21-30	Good or better knowledge and understanding. Effective analysis and evaluation of political information. A full and complete comprehension of the remit of the question. Will be supported by coherent and contemporary detail which serves to support the critical evaluation of the topic.

Question Number	Indicative content
3(a)	Power is the <i>ability</i> to influence the behaviour of others, usually through rewards or punishment. The most obvious examples of power are the use of force or coercion (the police or the military) and the use of resources or money (the influence of major corporations over government). Authority, by contrast, is the <i>right</i> to influence the behaviour of others, based on an acknowledged duty to obey. Authority can therefore be defined as 'legitimate power'. Examples include the right by virtue of his or her office of the prime minister to dissolve Parliament (legal-rational authority) and the personal influence that a party leader can exert over party members and followers (charismatic authority).

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-1	Poor to weak knowledge and understanding. Superficial and narrow comprehension of both concepts. Examples may be erroneous or absent.
Level 2	2-3	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding. Aware of the difference between the concepts and able to advance realistic examples but the definition and distinction is not fully complete.
Level 3	4-5	Good or better knowledge and understanding. Supported by pertinent examples the definition and distinction is complete and developed.

Question Number	Indicative content
3(b)	Legitimacy means rightfulness, the quality that confers on an action or institution a willingness to accept or obey it. Legitimacy is therefore crucial to the maintenance of political stability, the alternative being the use of intimidation or violence to force citizens to obey. Legitimacy is maintained in the UK in two main ways. First, it is upheld by electoral and democratic processes, through which citizens effectively consent to being governed. This applies through a system of regular, free and fair elections that are based on the principles of universal adult suffrage and political equality. Referendums can further strengthen legitimacy. Second, legitimacy is maintained by the fact that government conforms to a framework of established rules, operating through a constitution. These rules (even though they are 'unwritten' in some cases) allocate duties, powers and functions to the various institutions of government and broadly define the relationship between government and the people. As government is rule-bound, its actions are more likely to be seen to be rightful or acceptable, and not as arbitrary. Finally, legitimacy may be maintained in the UK through traditionally accepted routes, these may be applied to the role of the Crown, the House of Lords and the judiciary.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-5	Poor to weak knowledge and understanding. Fails to appreciate the remit of the question. Much of the response may be tangential or irrelevant.
Level 2	6-10	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding. Able to comprehend how legitimacy in the UK is advanced. However, the base of knowledge may be restricted and thus be unable to develop a full or expansive portrait.
Level 3	11-15	Good or better knowledge and understanding. Able to appreciate the nature of legitimacy and how this is advanced in the UK.

Question Number	Indicative content
3(c)	As a representative democracy, the extent of democracy in the UK can be judged on the basis of the control that the public exerts over its politicians. This control is exercised in a number of key ways:
	• Elections in the UK are democratic to the extent that they are free and fair, are based on universal suffrage, and provide the basis for electoral choice through party and candidate competition. The UK has had a system of universal adult suffrage since 1928, and 'one person, one vote' has operated in the UK since 1948.
	<ul> <li>Democracy in the UK largely operates through Parliament, which establishes a system of representative and responsible government, linking government to the people. Parliament therefore acts as the 'debating chamber of the nation'.</li> <li>Pressure groups supplement the system of electoral democracy by giving a political voice to minorities, allowing citizens to exert influence between elections and providing an increasingly important vehicle for political participation beyond</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>the act of voting.</li> <li>The quality of democracy in the UK has increased since 1997 in a number of ways. These include the wider use of referendums, the establishment of devolution, and the use of PR electoral systems for a range of newly-created government bodies.</li> <li>In the UK there are extensive civil freedoms and rights associated with the political system which advance democracy.</li> </ul>
	However, the extent of democracy in the UK has also been criticised for a number of reasons:
	<ul> <li>Key political bodies, such as the monarchy and the House of Lords, are not elected and therefore not subject to democratic accountability.</li> <li>The Westminster voting system is not proportional and so distorts popular political preferences, leading to a system of plurality rule in which no government has had an electoral majority since 1935.</li> <li>There is a lack of descriptive or characteristic representation in the UK, reflected in the under-representation of women, otheric minerities, the working class and so on in local councils.</li> </ul>
	ethnic minorities, the working class and so on in local councils and Parliament.

<ul> <li>There has been a decline in important forms of political participation, notably in voter turnout and party membership, that indicates increased civic disengagement. Declining popular participation raises concerns about the effectiveness of the democratic process.</li> <li>European integration allegedly weakens democratic processes within the UK because of the EU's 'democratic deficit'.</li> <li>Arguments have been advanced that civil freedoms and rights have been restricted in recent years in the UK.</li> </ul>
Responses should consider these or other arguments, enabling a balanced and reasoned conclusion to be reached on the basis of the evidence examined.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-10	Poor to weak knowledge and understanding. Limited analysis and evaluation of political information. Fails to provide developed understanding in order to be able to criticise and evaluate the debate. Little or no contemporary evidence provided.
Level 2	11-20	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding. Adequate analysis and evaluation of political information. May lack a developed or complete balance. There will be some detail and contemporary evidence of the contested view of democracy in the UK.
Level 3	21-30	Good or better knowledge and understanding. Effective analysis and evaluation of political information. A balanced and rounded consideration of democracy in the UK.

Question Number	Indicative content
4(a)	An election is a method of filling an office or post through choices made by a designated body of people, the electorate. Examples of an election include general elections, which are full parliamentary elections in which all the seats in the House of Commons come up for re-election (Westminster elections). The results of an election are binding, whereas the results of a referendum may be consultative, and not obligatory. Elections have specific time constraints and are compulsory whereas referendums are an optional choice chosen by the government of the day. A referendum is a vote in which the electorate can express a view on a particular issue of public policy. It is therefore a device of direct democracy. Examples of referendums in the UK include the 1997 devolution referendums in Scotland and Wales.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-1	Poor to weak knowledge and understanding. A superficial and weak awareness of the distinction between a referendum and an election.
Level 2	2-3	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding. The distinction will be understood, but not fully developed or complete.
Level 3	4-5	Good or better knowledge and understanding. The distinction will be manifest and clear. Examples may advance and enhance the response.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-5	Poor to weak knowledge and understanding. No developed understanding of the situation in the UK in a post-1997 context. May state referendums but show no comprehension of the reasons for their use.
Level 2	6-10	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding. Aware of referendums since 1997 indicating the reasons for their use. The detail may be incomplete or not fully developed.
Level 3	11-15	Good or better knowledge and understanding. Developed and well documented, able to place in context the reasons for the use of

		referendums since 1997.
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Indicative content
Referendums can be said to be effective in promoting democracy for a number of reasons:
• Unlike elections, they provide voters with an opportunity to exercise direct influence on government, ensuring, literally, government 'by' the people. They are thus a form of genuine democracy, whereas representative democracy, operating through elections, may allow professional politicians to misrepresent or simply ignore public opinion (as over the Iraq War).
<ul> <li>Referendums enable public opinion to be tested on specific issues, which is not possible in elections. Elections are at best very blunt weapons, in that it is assumed that by voting for a party electors are endorsing all its manifesto commitments. Referendums, in contrast, focus on specific issues and allow the electorate to give a clear verdict.</li> <li>Referendums have been said to be particularly effective in promoting political education. They stimulate argument, debate and discussion precisely because they focus on specific policy proposals. Elections, by contrast, may appear to be just beauty contests, in which personality and image play a dominant role.</li> </ul>
However, others argue that elections are more important to democracy than referendums. This may apply for a number of reasons:
<ul> <li>Elections are the central feature of democratic government, the core link between government and the people. Elections give the public an opportunity to make or unmake governments. They therefore invest government with democratic legitimacy or transfer government power from one party to another. Referendums, by contrast, are limited democratic tools that may help to determine public policy but do not otherwise affect the democratic legitimacy of government. Referendums do not give the public the ability to remove the government of the day.</li> <li>Elections may be more effective than referendums in upholding the principle of government 'for' the people. This is because representative democracy, operating through elections, places the control of decision-making in the hands of professional politicians, who generally have higher levels of education, expertise and experience than the general public. This should</li> </ul>

<ul> <li>the people. Referendums, by contrast, place decisions in the hands of the average citizen, who may have little genuine interest in or understanding of political issues.</li> <li>General elections in particular are usually more effective in stimulating popular participation than referendums. Even allowing for the reduced turnout in 2001 and 2005, electoral turnouts have generally exceeded referendum turnouts, notably in Wales (50 per cent), London (34 per cent) and Northeast England (48 per cent).</li> </ul>
Responses should consider these or other arguments as part of a balanced, evidence-based answer that leads to a reasoned conclusion.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-10	Poor to weak knowledge and understanding. Limited analysis and evaluation of political information. Failed to fully appreciate the remit of the question. Shows an inability to link referendums or elections to the promotion of democracy.
Level 2	11-20	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding. Adequate analysis and evaluation of political information. Able to relate referendums and/or elections to the promotion of democracy.
Level 3	21-30	Good or better knowledge and understanding. Effective analysis and evaluation of political information. Clear ability to relate both referendums and elections to the promotion of democracy.

<u>Unit 6492</u>

Question Number	Indicative content
Question Number 1(a)	<ul> <li>The key aspects of the modern role of the prime minister include the following.</li> <li>Prime ministers are chief executives, or heads of government. In this role they make governments, in the sense that they appoint all ministers and are responsible for promotions, demotions and sackings.</li> <li>They direct government policy in the sense that prime ministers define the government's overall strategic goals, paying, usually, particularly close attention to economic policy and foreign policy.</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>Prime ministers are also the chair of the cabinet and manage the cabinet system and are responsible for organising government, including setting up, reorganising and abolishing government departments and being responsible for the civil service.</li> <li>Prime ministers, as leaders of the largest party in the House of Commons, exercise effective control over Parliament. Note that party leadership is not a role unless referring specifically to the government party.</li> <li>Prime ministers provide national leadership, particularly in times of crisis.</li> <li>Finally, Prime Ministers have an international role in representing their country abroad, negotiating with foreign states, international organisations and is commander in chief.</li> </ul>

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-1	Only one role identified with a poor to weak explanation.
Level 2	2-3	Either one role well explained or two or more roles with limited
		explanation. Possibly some blurring between powers and roles.
Level 3	4-5	At least two roles are correctly identified and accurately
		explained.

Question Number	Indicative content
Question Number 1(b)	<ul> <li>Prime ministers have considerable scope for managing and controlling the cabinet. This happens in a number of ways:</li> <li>Prime ministers use their powers to appoint and dismiss ministers and reshuffle cabinets as a means to maintain control.</li> <li>The doctrine of collective responsibility also adds to prime ministers' power to control.</li> <li>Prime ministers chair cabinet meetings, manage their agendas and discussions, and sum up decisions (votes are rarely held in cabinet). This enables prime ministers to structure cabinet debate and to manage the decision-making process.</li> <li>Prime ministers convene cabinet meetings and decide how often they will be called and how often they will last. For example, cabinet meetings are now usually held once a week, not twice a week, and under Blair they sometimes lasted no longer than 30 minutes.</li> <li>Prime ministers may hold private meetings with ministers and</li> </ul>
	twice a week, and under Blair they sometimes lasted no longer than 30 minutes.
	cabinet. • Prime ministers decide the number and nature of cabinet committees, sub-committees and ministerial groups. They appoint their members and chairs, the prime minister usually chairing the important cabinet committees. This enables prime ministers to control the proposals and recommendations that cabinet committees make to the full cabinet, effectively pre- determining cabinet outcomes.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-5	Only one method identified with limited explanation or more methods with no explanation.
Level 2	6-10	Either two methods, explained with examples, or possibly more with less developed explanations and/or use of examples.
Level 3	11-15	At least three methods are correctly identified and explained showing good knowledge and understanding with appropriate examples.

Question Number	Indicative content
1(c)	There has been a trend, associated in particular with prime ministers such as Thatcher and Blair, for UK prime ministers to behave more like executive presidents, usually through the rise of personalised leadership. The absence of a codified constitution means prime ministers can interpret their role as they wish. Arguably some recent prime ministers have adopted more presidential role. Evidence for this trend can be seen in a number of ways:
	<ul> <li>There has been a growth of 'spatial leadership', through the tendency of prime ministers to distance themselves from their parties and governments, representing themselves as 'outsiders' and developing a personal ideological stance.</li> <li>There has been a tendency towards 'populist outreach', in that prime ministers have increasingly tried to speak <i>for</i> the nation</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>over major events, political crises or simply high-profile news stories.</li> <li>Election campaigns have become increasingly personalised as the mass media has emphasised personality and image in a battle between the prime minister and the leader of the opposition.</li> <li>Because of their prominence in electoral campaigning, modern prime ministers have sometimes claimed a personal</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>mandate, enabling them to act as if they are the ideological conscience of their party or government.</li> <li>There has been a trend for prime ministers to rely on handpicked special advisors rather than on the cabinet itself. Many have therefore concluded that the cabinet has been downgraded, now functioning as only a 'sounding board' for the prime minister</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>and not as the basis for executive policy-making.</li> <li>In recent decades foreign policy has become more prominent including the European Union and prime ministers' involvement has appeared more presidential.</li> </ul>
	However, such trends may mean that UK prime ministers increasingly resemble presidents, not that they have, or can, become presidents. Prime ministers cannot become presidents because the UK system of parliamentary government ensures that they have to act in and through the cabinet system and the parliamentary system. Constitutionally prime ministers are not heads of state, have no separate source of authority and, as heads of government, only govern on the authority of parliament.

This implies that the cabinet and the majority party in particular remain powerful (potential) constraints on even 'presidential' prime ministers. Thatcher was effectively deposed by her backbenchers and was told to go by her cabinet. Blair was substantially weakened by growing backbench disloyalty,
restiveness within his cabinet and the considerable power that he had allowed Gordon Brown to amass. Such constraints do not apply in presidential systems in which the president is separately elected and has formal control over the executive branch of government. The recent problems encountered by Gordon Brown clearly demonstrate the limitations of prime ministerial authority. Brown is clearly having difficulty in adopting a presidential style.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-10	Very poor to weak knowledge and understanding. Little analysis and evaluation of political information. Possibly purely descriptive. There will be an absence of examples or examples will be used inappropriately.
Level 2	11-20	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding. Adequate analysis and evaluation of political information. Possibly a well developed one-sided argument or a balanced evaluation which is less well developed. Some examples may be used.
Level 3	21-30	Good to excellent knowledge and understanding. Effective analysis and evaluation of political information. Evaluation must show some balance even if a firm conclusion is reached. Wide use of examples from recent times should be made.

Question Number	Indicative content
2(a)	Judicial independence is the principle that the actions and decisions of judges should not be influenced by pressure from other bodies, notably the executive and Parliament. It therefore implies a strict separation between the judiciary and other branches of government.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-1	An inaccurate or inadequate definition, possibly confusing independence with neutrality.
Level 2	2-3	Some understanding of the concept but less than a full definition. Material dealing with the way in which independence is maintained such as security of tenure may receive some credit if a definition is implicit.
Level 3	4-5	A clear and explicit definition including the ideas of freedom from political intervention and the concept of separation of powers.

Question Number	Indicative content
Question Number 2(b)	<ul> <li>Judicial independence is one of the key principles of the constitution, rooted in the idea of the separation of powers. It's important for the following reasons:</li> <li>A strict separation between the judiciary and other branches of government enables judges to apply the law as their own experience and legal training dictates, rather than as ministers, civil servants or parliamentarians would wish.</li> <li>As such, judicial independence is a vital guarantee of the rule of law. The rule of law holds that the law should 'rule' in the sense that it applies to all conduct and behaviour and covers both private citizens and public officials.</li> <li>Crucially, the law acts as a constraint on government itself, preventing the government from acting arbitrarily and ensuring a 'government of laws' and not a 'government of men'. If</li> </ul>
	the principle of judicial independence is violated, ministers may be able to act as though they are 'above' the law.
	• Independence ensures that individual rights and liberties can be effectively upheld by the judiciary and protected from executive interference.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-5	Only one reason identified with a very poor to weak explanation or more reasons with no explanation. Illustrations will be absent or poorly used.
Level 2	6-10	Either two reasons, explained with examples, or possibly more than two reasons with less developed explanations and/or use of examples. If exceptionally well developed and illustrated, an answer with only one reason may be allowed.
Level 3	11-15	Three or more reasons are correctly identified and explained showing good knowledge and understanding with appropriate examples. If explanations are exceptionally well developed and illustrated, an answer with only two reasons may be allowed.

Question Number	Indicative content
2(c)	Judges and ministers have come into conflict in recent years for a variety of reasons:
	to more rulings against the government and state. The implementation of the Freedom of Information Act is having a similar effect.
	• The introduction of the Human Rights Act 1998 has further contributed to conflict by increasing judges' ability to act to protect civil liberties. For example, the government's attempts to restrict access to social security on the part of asylum seekers

was overruled by judges in 2003.

Clashes between judges and the executive have attracted considerable media and political attention and, in many cases, have occurred over important issues of public policy, indeed senior judges clashed with the government over the reform of the judiciary including the creation of the Supreme Court. However, such conflicts are by no means routine and have generally been restricted to disagreements on issues to do with civil liberties. Judges, after all, have no capacity to overturn Acts of Parliament and executive decisions that come into force through statute law have to be accepted by the courts, even though there may be disagreement over how the detail of such laws should be interpreted.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-10	Very poor to weak knowledge and understanding. Little analysis and evaluation of political information. Possibly purely descriptive. There will be an absence of examples or examples will be used inappropriately.
Level 2	11-20	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding. Adequate analysis and evaluation of political information. The extent of balance in the evaluation will vary. Some examples may be used. Responses are likely to deal with the two aspects of the question, i.e. why and to what extent, unevenly. If only one of these aspects has been covered, it may reach this level if well developed.
Level 3	21-30	Good to excellent knowledge and understanding. Answers must address both aspects of the question i.e. why and to what extent conflicts have increased. Effective analysis and evaluation of political information. Evaluation must show some balance even if a firm conclusion is reached. Reference to a changing situation such as the passage of the Human Rights Act can be interpreted as answering the question 'to what extent?'. Wide use of examples from recent times should be made.

Question Number	Indicative content
3(a)	The role of the House of Lords is the following:
	<ul> <li>Legislative role which includes the formal passage of bills, revision of legislation, initiation and delaying, forcing the Commons and the government to reconsider legislation.</li> <li>Deliberative role, considering the great issues of the day.</li> <li>Judicial role as the highest court of appeal in the UK.</li> <li>Scrutiny of the executive.</li> <li>Representation of various groups and interests in society.</li> </ul>

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-1	Only one role identified with a poor to weak explanation.
Level 2	2-3	Either one role accurately explained or two or more roles with limited explanation.
Level 3	4-5	At least two roles are correctly identified and accurately explained or a response that is confined to the various aspects of the legislative role provided there is full coverage of the legislative role.

Question Number	Indicative content
3(b)	The House of Commons consists of MPs. Each MP is elected to represent a parliamentary constituency. MPs are almost always representatives of a party and are subject to a system of party discipline (only two independent MPs were elected in 2005). By contrast, no members of the House of Lords are elected. There
	<ul> <li>are four bases for membership of the Lords:</li> <li>Around 600 peers are life peers, who are entitled to sit in the Lords for their lifetime.</li> <li>There are 92 remaining 'hereditary' peers.</li> <li>There are 26 'Lords Spiritual'. These are the bishops and archbishops of the Church of England.</li> <li>There are 12 Law Lords, or 'Lords of Appeal in Ordinary'. These are the most senior judges in the UK and they carry out their work through the Appellate Committee of the House of Lords.</li> <li>There are over 100 peers who are crossbenchers and are therefore independent of party allegiance. While one party normally has a majority in the House of Commons, no such majority exists in the House of Lords.</li> <li>The age of members of the Lords is typically higher although the gender and ethnic profiles of the two Houses are broadly similar.</li> </ul>

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-5	Only one difference identified with a very poor to weak explanation or more differences with no explanation.
Level 2	6-10	Either two differences, explained with examples, or possibly more than two differences with less developed explanations and/or use of examples. It may be that answers are purely descriptive of each Chamber.
Level 3	11-15	Three or more differences are correctly identified and explained showing good knowledge and understanding with appropriate examples.

Question Number	Indicative content
3(c)	The House of Commons has, in theory, enormous formal power. The Commons is a sovereign legislature, able to make, unmake and amend any law it wishes, with the House of Lords only being able to delay legislation passed by the Commons. Moreover, only the Commons is able to remove the government of the day, which it does by defeating it on a vote of confidence on a major issue. However, the influence of the house of Commons over legislation and its capacity to constrain the executive is often in practice much more meagre. This is because the Commons is routinely controlled by the executive through the combined influence of the Westminster voting system (which usually gives the government majority control of the Commons) and the party system (which usually enables ministers to control their backbenches). In addition, the formal mechanisms designed to ensure accountability in the Commons - notably Question Time and departmental select committees - are often relatively weak and have limited policy impact. On the other hand, there has been a long-term trend to greater backbench influence in the Commons, brought about by declining levels of party unity as MPs become better educated and more assertive. This, however, has been counterbalanced by a tendency towards landslide majorities, allowing governments more easily to resist backbench and opposition pressures.
	The formal powers of the house of Lords are, by contrast, unimpressive, the Lords can only delay legislation passed by the Commons for a single year and has no capacity to delay so-called money bills. The Lords cannot remove the government of the day and only has an outright veto over limited matters such as the sacking of senior judges and the delay of parliamentary elections. However, in practical terms, the Lords often has greater influence over the government than the Commons. For example, during Blair's first government, 1997-2001, the government was undefeated in the Commons but experienced no fewer than 353 defeats in the Lords, although the vast majority of these were on relatively technical matters. The greater influence of the Lords can be explained in four main ways: • The party system is much weaker in the Lords than the Commons. Being non-elected, peers cannot be forced to toe a
	party line. Moreover, there are a considerable number of 'cross

<ul> <li>benchers', who have no party affiliation.</li> <li>No party has majority control in the Lords. This has always applied to the Labour Party, but since the removal of the bulk of hereditary peers in 1999, it has also applied to the Conservative Party.</li> <li>The removal of hereditary peers has made the house of Lords more assertive and more willing to check the government of the day. This is because peers no longer feel that the chamber is tainted by the predominance of the outdated and irrational hereditary principle. Some peers have even felt that it is the job to compensate for the ineffectiveness of the Commons, especially due to landslide election victories.</li> <li>Although the Parliament Acts make the Lords formally subordinate to the Commons, in practice, governments have been reluctant to invoke them for fear that their legislative programme will be damaged by prolonged 'parliamentary ping-pong'. Rather than battling with the Lords, the government is often more eager</li> </ul>
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Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-10	Very poor to weak knowledge and understanding. Little analysis and evaluation of political information. Possibly purely descriptive. There will be an absence of examples or examples will be used inappropriately.
Level 2	11-20	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding. Adequate analysis and evaluation of political information. Some examples may be used. Responses are likely to deal with the two aspects of the question, i.e. the power and influence of both Houses, unevenly. If only one of these aspects has been covered, it may reach this level if well developed.
Level 3	21-30	Good to excellent knowledge and understanding. Answers must address both aspects of the question i.e. the power and influence of both Houses. Effective analysis and evaluation of political information. There must be explicit comparisons made between the two Houses. Good use of examples from recent times should be made.

Question Number	Indicative content
4(a)	Sovereignty is the principle of absolute and unlimited power.
	Sovereignty may take a legal or a political form. Legal sovereignty
	refers to supreme legal authority: that is, an unchallengeable
	right to establish any law one wishes. Political sovereignty refers
	to absolute political power: that is, an unrestricted ability to act
	however one wishes.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-1	An inaccurate or inadequate definition.
Level 2	2-3	Some understanding of the concept but less than a full definition.
Level 3	4-5	A clear and explicit definition including the aspect of absolute
		power with no higher authority. Excellent answers are likely to
		include the concepts of legal and political sovereignty.

Question Number	Indicative content
4(b)	In the UK, sovereignty is located in Parliament or, technically, the 'Crown in Parliament'. Parliamentary sovereignty is strictly a form of legal sovereignty: it means that Parliament has the ability to
	make, unmake or remove any law it wishes. This applies because of the absence of a codified constitution, the supremacy of statute law over other forms of law, the absence of rival
	legislatures and the fact that no parliament can bind its successors.
	Although legal sovereignty undoubtedly lies with parliament, the location of political sovereignty is less certain:
	• Parliament is not, and has never been, politically sovereign. In practical terms, its power is constrained by factors such as public opinion and the electorate, powerful pressure groups and international organisations. At elections the people become effectively sovereign.
	• The wider use of referendums and the passage of the Human Rights Act has encouraged some to argue that sovereignty has shifted from Parliament to the people, as parliamentary sovereignty has given way to popular sovereignty.
	Other issues concerning sovereignty include:
	<ul> <li>The sovereignty of Parliament may have eroded as a result of EU membership. This has established EU law and treaties as 'higher' than statute law passed by Parliament. However, the capacity of Parliament to pass a law leaving the EU may (technically) preserve Parliament's legal sovereignty.</li> <li>Some argue that devolution has led to a form of 'quasifederalism' in which the Scottish Parliament, Welsh Assembly and Northern Ireland Assembly have effectively become autonomous legislatures.</li> </ul>
	• Some have argued that sovereignty resides more with the executive than with Parliament, although this does not affect the location of sovereignty, which still resides with the 'Crown (executive) in Parliament'.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-5	Very poor to weak knowledge and understanding of the location of sovereignty. Probably with no discussion of the location of sovereignty.
Level 2	6-10	Limited to sound understanding of the meaning of parliamentary sovereignty with some recognition of various challenges to parliamentary sovereignty. A full and accurate discussion purely of parliamentary sovereignty may reach the bottom of this level.
Level 3	11-15	A clear understanding of the meaning of parliamentary sovereignty with good to excellent recognition of various challenges to parliamentary sovereignty. Very good to excellent answers will explore the concept of sovereignty critically in the context of UK government and politics.

Question Number	Indicative content
4(c)	A codified constitution is a constitution in which key constitutional provisions are collected together within a single legal document, popularly known as a written constitution. The UK constitutional system is, by contrast, uncodified in the sense that it is based on a collection of sources and allows Parliament to be technically sovereign. Arguments in favour of a codified constitution include the following:
	• As key constitutional rules are collected together in a single document, they are more clearly defined than in an 'unwritten' constitution. Codification would have the effect of entrenching constitutional rules, requiring a device to ensure there is a consensus for change.
	<ul> <li>A codified constitution would cut government down to size. It would therefore be a solution to the problem of 'elective dictatorship', through which the executive is able to act however it wishes through its ability to control a sovereign Parliament.</li> <li>A codified constitution would be 'policed' by senior judges. As judges are 'above' politics, they would act as neutral and impartial constitutional arbiters, unlike elected politicians at present.</li> </ul>
	• Individual liberty would be more securely protected by a codified constitution because it would define the relationship between the state and the citizens, possibly through a bill of rights.
	• A codified constitution has educational value, in that it highlights the central values and overall goals of the political system, something that may be particularly pressing in an increasingly multicultural society.
	However, codified constitutions may have a number of drawbacks:
	<ul> <li>Codified constitutions tend to be more rigid than uncodified ones, meaning that they become outdated and fail to respond to an ever-changing political environment.</li> <li>Judges are not the best people to police the constitution because they are unelected and socially unrepresentative. The benefit of an uncodified constitution is precisely that it is interpreted and applied by elected politicians.</li> <li>Codified constitutions are legalistic documents, created by</li> </ul>

<ul> <li>people at one point in time. Uncodified constitutions, on the other hand, have been endorsed by history and have an organic character.</li> <li>Codified constitutions are inevitably biased because they enforce one set of values or principles in preference to others. They can never be 'above' politics, and may precipitate more conflict than they resolve.</li> <li>Constitutional reforms since 1997 have effectively dispersed governmental power and created stronger checks and balances within the UK. This, together with the Human Rights Act, means that concerns about excessive government power are now overstated and that a codified constitution is unnecessary.</li> </ul>
Effective responses will consider these and other points as part of a balanced and evidence-based argument that leads to a reasoned conclusion.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-10	Very poor to weak knowledge and understanding. Little analysis and evaluation of political information. Possibly purely descriptive. There will be an absence of examples or examples will be used inappropriately.
Level 2	11-20	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding. Adequate analysis and evaluation of political information. Possibly a well developed one-sided argument or a balanced evaluation which is less well developed. Some examples may be used.
Level 3	21-30	Good to excellent knowledge and understanding. Effective analysis and evaluation of political information. Evaluation must show some balance even if a firm conclusion is reached. Wide use of examples should be made.

<u>Unit 6493</u>

Question Number	Indicative content
1(a)	Labour's mandate was considered weak for a several reasons.
	<ul> <li>The Labour government received just over one third of the votes cast.</li> <li>The turnout was low thus damaging the legitimacy of the mandate.</li> <li>In comparison with previous governments this was the lowest support a government had received since 1929.</li> <li>The Labour government's vote in gaining victory was lower than the vote it received when it was heavily defeated in 1983.</li> </ul>

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-1	Poor to weak knowledge and understanding. Fails to appreciate, understand and comprehend the source. May simply copy out the source in full with no interpretation or political development.
Level 2	2-3	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding. Attempts to explain the source. May to an extent repeat or quote from the source but does move to contextualise it and understand its content. The clarification of the source will not be complete or in full.
Level 3	4-5	Good or better knowledge and understanding. Clearly shows an informed and comprehensive understanding of the source. Able to consider the points in the source and clarify them. Most or all of the points contained in the source will be covered.

Question Number	Indicative content
1(b)	The source asks 'is it fair the electoral reform is introduced for a range of other elections but not for Westminster'.
	The source then develops the suggested benefits of electoral reform.
	<ul> <li>The end of conflict style "adversarial" policy making.</li> <li>The introduction of modernity into UK politics.</li> <li>It would end governments having majoritarian power based on minority support. Government have no clear mandate to act in this way.</li> <li>It would end short-termism in policy making and the mismanagement of politics.</li> <li>Own knowledge on the area may develop detail on the issue of the elective dictatorship theory and may broaden out to cover the unfairness of the current FPTP system ranging from the damage inflicted on smaller parties most notable the Liberal Democrats, the falling turnout and political apathy reflected in low turnouts. It may also cover the lack of political legitimacy held by recent governments. The wider claim of electoral reform is that it would invigorate the UK political process and system. Other salient points may be raised suggesting the benefits of electoral reform.</li> </ul>

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-3	Poor to weak knowledge and understanding. Limited political information. Fails to develop and use the source material effectively; restrictive or poorly defined knowledge. May simply copy out the source in full with no interpretation or political development.
Level 2	4-6	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding. Adequate political information. Some points raised in the source will be clarified and discussed. Own knowledge will be introduced and explained. There may be reliance on source only or own knowledge only. Where this is done alone and where there is precision and full comprehension it may reach top of Level 2.
Level 3	7-10	Good or better knowledge and understanding. Effective political information. A full clarification of the source coupled with informed and perceptive own knowledge.

Question Number	Indicative content
1( c)	The main UK political parties have held changing views of political reform in recent years. Potential answers may include some of the following:
	The Labour Party in opposition prior to 1997 seriously considered electoral reform. They produced the Plant Report and in government they commissioned the Jenkins Report. However, a promised referendum on the Jenkins Report was never implemented. They introduced different voting systems for their constitutional reforms (devolution, elected Mayors and the EU Parliament) hence initially Labour were positive about electoral reform. Two main events appear to have modified this enthusiasm. Firstly, their continued success using the FPTP for Westminster. Secondly, the losses they have suffered under differing electoral systems; Scotland, the EU elections, Wales and more recently the London Mayor. Reference may be made to the reform process for the House of Lords and introduction of elections.
	The Conservative Party has never had leading sections of the party that have considered electoral reform. In opposition since 1997 they have gained greater representation under the AMS system in the devolved assemblies than under the Westminster FPTP system and have been successful in the recent London Mayoral election. This may have softened any outright opposition to different systems. They have no plans if elected to government to change the systems of PR in any area where they have been implemented. However the Conservative Party realises that to change FPTP in Westminster will break the two party monopoly and possible make single party government impossible. As such, given the recent revival of the Conservative Party they have no policies on electoral reform.
	The Liberal Democrats have constantly been in favour of electoral reform in all elections. They have constantly campaigned for a change to FPTP for Westminster, a system under which they suffer. Their preferred electoral system is STV. The Liberal Democrats have prospered when different electoral systems have been introduced. The Liberal Democrats see PR for Westminster as their great opportunity to shape the electoral system and influence the process.
	Other political parties who have gained representation in the UK may favour electoral reform and their attitudes may be referenced.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-5	Poor to weak knowledge and understanding. Limited analysis and evaluation of political information. Little developed or focused awareness how the main UK parties view electoral reform. The response fails to understand the motivation behind each parties'

		position. May only reference one political party.
Level 2	6-10	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding. Adequate analysis and evaluation of political information. Aware of the impact which electoral reform would have for political parties and how it would affect them. The detail may be in outline rather than substantive depth. Possibly may consider only two parties in detail.
Level 3	10-15	Good or better knowledge and understanding. Effective analysis and evaluation of political information. Focused and comprehensive awareness that electoral reform would have for political parties and how it would affect them. At least three UK parties are considered and their attitudes clearly specified.

Question Number	Indicative content
1(d)	There are numerous arguments against reform. There are a range of factors that suggest electoral reform could usher in political instability. There are various dangers which may arise from coalitions which could be noted. There is the clear possibility that electoral reform may pander to the growth of extremism and give a voice to sectarianism. Policy making as a result in the legislature will be fragmented and could become less open and democratic. In turn it may be argued that possible political instability will give rise to economic and social instability and this is a great danger that must be avoided. There is no evidence that turnout and participation may increase given recent results for the EU, Mayoral and Devolved elections. Indeed it may be argued that electoral reform will cloud rather than enhance the publics understanding of politics. Accountability may also be a danger both at a national level for policy failure and at a local level if constituency MPs are replaced by various forms of PR. Stagnation and inertia could follow an election with no political party having the ability to implement its ideas. There is also the danger of what type of electoral reform will be introduced and by whom, with the possibility that it seeks to benefit the government of the day rather than the needs of the country in the long term. Other salient and relevant points may be advanced as possible disadvantages of electoral reform.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-6	Poor to weak knowledge and understanding. Limited analysis and evaluation of political information. A clear inability to develop and consider the possible disadvantages of electoral reform. There may be only one point developed with accuracy and detail. Very limited political vocabulary.
Level 2	7-13	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding. Adequate analysis and evaluation of political information. Displays an awareness of a range of points which indicate the disadvantages of electoral reform. Some of these points may not be fully developed and evaluated. There may be some material inaccuracies but overall a sound comprehension of issues and topics.
Level 3	14-20	Good or better knowledge and understanding. Effective analysis and evaluation of political information. Able to appreciate the possible disadvantages of electoral reform in the UK. Uses credible speculative comments based on logical and informed political insight, these may refer to current electoral changes in the UK. Develops a critique from a range of different perspectives. Good use of political concepts.

Question Number	Indicative content
2(a)	According to the source devolution has not operated smoothly for several reasons:
	<ul> <li>It was slow to become operational in Northern Ireland where the Stormont Assembly was suspended for some time: a situation which has since been resolved.</li> <li>The governments plans for regional devolution also took a set back with the rejection of a regional assembly in the North East in 2004; this prevented regional government being 'rolled out' for other areas in England.</li> <li>Finally the source notes that there has been a lack of 'joined up' or holistic thinking with regard to how a unitary or central state deals with devolved power in an essentially asymmetrical pattern of devolution.</li> </ul>

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-1	Poor to weak knowledge and understanding. Fails to appreciate, understand and comprehend the source. May simply copy out the source in full with no interpretation or political development.
Level 2	2-3	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding. Attempts to explain the source. May to an extent repeat or quote from the source but does move to contextualise it and understand its content. The clarification of the source will not be complete or in full.
Level 3	4-5	Good or better knowledge and understanding. Clearly shows an informed and comprehensive understanding of the source. Able to consider the points in the source and clarify them. Most or all of the points contained in the source will be covered.

Question Number	Indicative content
2(b)	Devolution has proved to be successful in may areas and there are numerous reasons WHY this is alleged to be the case.
	The source indicates success in terms of policy innovations in Scotland that are different and more suited North of the border. These cover education, health care and electoral systems. Success according to the source in Wales arises from flexibility in health and education.
	The source suggests WHY devolution has been a success is because people like self government and have a differing regional agenda showing differing priorities than the Westminster Parliament, in essence this is the principle of subsidiarity where decisions are taken at their lowest level. The source indicates that the reason why the devolution has been a success is because the devolved assemblies in Wales and Scotland were initially guided and supported by a government of the same party complexion though this situation has since changed.
	Own knowledge of may advance detail given in the source further. Scotland has differing policy on tuition fees, there are no trust NHS hospitals, there is wider availability of care for the elderly in their own homes and finally local government has been elected using STV. It is alleged that the Scottish notice these differences for the better and this has engineered civic pride.
	Wales despite having less power than Scotland has also seen civic pride restored and in an attempt to bolster the process of devolution with increased powers for the assembly.
	Both nations have been credited with operating within the EU in a more efficient manner. To date there has been no major discredit to each devolved assembly.
	The office of the Mayor of London and the GLA has brought about additional policy innovation with transport policy and the responsibility for the 2012 Olympic Games. In Northern Ireland devolution has ushered in a period of peace and stability. It can be credited with making a major contribution to the peace process.
	The reasons WHY noted above include a revival in national pride, subsidiarity (decisions made at the lowest political level) thus engineering acceptance and raising participation levels. Finally devolution may be considered a success as it has allegedly stalled the quest for independence. The Mayor of London has added civic pride and a sense of regional identity to the capital.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-3	Poor to weak knowledge and understanding. Limited political
		information. Fails to develop and use the source material

		effectively; restrictive or poorly defined own knowledge. May simply copy out the source in full with no interpretation or political development.
Level 2	4-6	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding. Adequate political information. Some points raised in the source will be clarified and discussed. Own knowledge will be introduced and explained. There may be reliance on source only or own knowledge only. Where this is done alone and where there is precision and full comprehension it may reach top of Level 2.
Level 3	7-10	Good or better knowledge and understanding. Effective political information. A full clarification of the source coupled with informed and perceptive own knowledge.

Question Number	Indicative content
2(c)	The Labour Party as the political party who introduced devolution are keen supporters both of the decentralisation of power as a political principle but they also appear to take pride in the constitutional fabric they have weaved. As such there is an element of "end game" surrounding their approach. Certainly as regards Scotland there are no further plans to devolve any more power from Westminster. For Wales an increase of powers for the Assembly is being gradually implemented following the Richards Report. Labour plans for English regional devolution took a knock in November 2004 and have not since been put back on track. Reference may be made to the suggested early referendum on Scottish independence favoured by the leader of the Scottish Labour Party.
	The Conservative Party back in 1997 were set against devolution but since that nadir have come to accept the process in typical conservative fashion. As regards Scotland there is a ready acceptance of the status quo. It is worth noting that it was PR in Scotland that ushered in the party's revival north of the border. As for Wales in the 2005 manifesto the Conservative Party were keen to roll out another referendum to take a longer term strategic view of the process, with options to end or amend the structure of the Assembly. A growing wave of English independence has at times manifested itself in the Party who have taken more seriously the implications of the so called West Lothian Question and the party is not keen on Scottish MP's influencing English only issues. Malcolm Rifkind proposing an Committee of English only MPs with the sole right to consider and vote on issues which impact on England alone.
	The Liberal Democrats ever keen on federalism as a concept and a reality have always supported devolution. Perhaps what has endeared them to the process is the system of PR by which the elections are held. This has seen both a revival of their fortunes but most importantly a previous share in devolved government in Scotland with Labour.
	The SNP have always viewed devolution as a staging post on the road to independence as such devolution for them is a period of transition. The party has probably gained some satisfaction from devolution in that it has placed the party in the first two elections as the official opposition. The last elections allowed the SNP to become the minority government with Alex Salmond as First Minister the party continues to voice a vociferous scepticism of Westminster politics placing Scotland on the sidelines, for the SNP devolution will never satisfy their demands. In office they have promised a referendum on full independence.
	Plaid Cymru like the SNP has emerged as the main opposition to the Labour Party in Cardiff. The party currently share administrative power with Labour as a result of the One Wales Agreement. However the party has not been as vocal in its demands for independence as the SNP and as such has moved more consensually to improve the current devolution arrangements rather than to supersede them.

All the UK main parties remain committed to the devolution process in Northern Ireland as the only political way out of the continued problems for the province, and despite the earlier suspension of Stormont all view political dialogue via a devolved assembly as the only way forward. Devolution in Northern Ireland is now accepted by the more extreme elements of nationalism/republicanism and unionism. Indeed the opposing parties in Northern Ireland Sinn Fein and The Democratic Unionists now share power.
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Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-5	Poor to weak knowledge and understanding. Limited analysis and evaluation of political information. Little developed or focused awareness how UK political parties view the process of devolution. The response fails to understand the motivation behind each parties' position. May only reference one political party.
Level 2	6-10	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding. Adequate analysis and evaluation of political information. Aware of the views held by differing political parties over devolution. The detail may be in outline rather than substantive depth. The response may possibly consider only two parties in detail.
Level 3	11-15	Good or better knowledge and understanding. Effective analysis and evaluation of political information. A focused and comprehensive awareness of how political parties view devolution. At least three UK political parties are considered and their views clearly specified.

Question Number	Indicative content
2(d)	It can be said that devolution in Scotland and Wales has created both advantages and disadvantages. Responses may include some of the following points.
	The advantages cover several issues. Firstly it can be seen to be the democratic wish of both nations and is their political right. Secondly it relieves the pressure on the Westminster Parliament now able to concentrate on other topics and in this process all the nations of the UK will benefit. It can be seen to be the saviour of the Union in that the calls for full independence in Scotland and Wales have since subsided and politically it has satisfied that possible development. This is despite the calls by the SNP in office in Edinburgh for independence. It has allowed a growth of civic pride and has provided differing political solutions apart from the 'one size fits all' options that may have emerged from Westminster. It has allowed differing electoral systems to be introduced which have advanced legitimacy in both Scotland and Wales. Both devolved bodies have functioned well within the EU and are able to advance regional interests. Essentially it demonstrates political pluralism in action and safeguards political stability.
	The disadvantages have also a wide remit. It has been argued that devolution will begin the road to final independence in a 'much wants more' scenario. As is the current demand of the Scottish government. Sceptics have also pointed to the costs, ranging from the hugely over budget Scottish Parliament to the payment of more political representatives and civil servants. The duplication of politicians is another case in point. It has also been argued that there has not been a full resolution of the West Lothian Question. The spectre of raised nationalism in England is also highlighted. Issues have also surrounded the asymmetrical nature of the devolution process in Scotland and Wales as a source of bitterness for the Welsh Assembly. The declining turnout in 2003 and depressed figures for 2007 did not seem to vindicate the devolution experiment in Scotland and Wales. Indeed the recent elections in Scotland which involved STV for local elections caused much confusion and in the process thousands of spoilt ballot papers.
	Other relevant advantages and disadvantages for the devolution process may be advanced and will be credited accordingly. For example, the lack of constitutional entrenchment for the devolved bodies by some is considered a disadvantage in that it makes these bodies vulnerable to a strong Westminster parliament. Conversely some see this as an advantage for it allows flexibility for constitutional innovation.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-6	Poor to weak knowledge and understanding. Limited analysis and
		evaluation of political information. A clear inability to develop
		and consider the possible advantages and disadvantages of

		devolution in Scotland and Wales. There may be only one point developed with accuracy and detail. Very limited political vocabulary.
Level 2	7-13	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding. Adequate analysis and evaluation of political information. Displays an awareness of a range of points which indicate the advantages and disadvantages of devolution in Scotland and Wales. Some of these points may not be fully developed and evaluated. There may be some material inaccuracies but overall a sound comprehension of both sides of the debate.
Level 3	14-20	Good or better knowledge and understanding. Effective analysis and evaluation of political information. Able to appreciate the advantages and disadvantages of devolution in Scotland and Wales. Able to cite accurately the issues that have arisen in both Scotland and Wales and can in the process make considered analytical judgments based on those facts. Good use of political concepts.

# A2 Mark Schemes

## Route A

#### <u>Unit 6494</u>

Question	Number	Indicative content
Question Number 1		Controversies about tax can be viewed on both a general political level and on a specific level. The general conflicts include such issues as the gradual rise in the tax burden towards 42% of GDP, assertions by other parties that much of the tax used to improve public services has been wasted, criticisms by Lib Dems and the Left of the Labour Party that taxes have become more, not less regressive. The Conservatives have asserted that taxes are too high although they make no firm commitment to reducing tax levels. Criticisms of so-called 'stealth' taxes have continued to be heard since 2005, within a growing climate of tax aversion among the public and within the media. The desirability and/or effectiveness of 'green taxes' has been matter of some conflict. There have been specific controversies concerning inheritance tax, Capital Gains tax, non-domicile tax, rising local taxation, and petrol taxes. Above all there has been a major political controversy over the abolition of the 10% tax band.
Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	0-6	Brief and generalised remarks about taxation. Responses concentrate on how rather than why. There are important omissions, with only a limited range of relevant points raised.
Level 2	7-12	A reasonable range of issues with some degree of accurate understanding. Attempts to address the issue of 'why' vary from limited to sound. A range of controversies will be described varying from limited to sound.
Level 3	13-20	Both aspects of the question will be addressed in a range and depth varying from good to excellent. Answers will address aspects of both the general controversies and some of the more specific issues about particular taxes.

Question Number		Indicative content
Question Number 2		Two main categories of issue are relevant here. First, there are the issues relating to statistics. Some crimes - burglary, car crime for example - are declining, as are overall crime levels. On the other hand, serious crimes, notably robbery and violence, have been increasing. There are also disputes over the measurement of crime, with discrepancies between government stats, the British Crime Survey and measures of fear of crime. These tell conflicting stories. Second there are issues relating to perceptions. Thus we have seen increasing media concerns with gun and knife crime, the growth in gang activities and drugs issues. There has been considerable controversy over how effective ASBO's have been. Anti-terrorism measures maybe relevant together with some assessment as to how effective they have been. Whatever the statistics say, there is a perception that anti crime policy is still failing and fear of crime is increasing.
Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	0-6	Largely descriptive rather than evaluative responses. Attempts to address the issue of whether policies are working will be absent or weak. Answers are likely to contain a limited range of comments about current crime issues, with little or no analysis. Statistical material is likely to be completely absent.
Level 2	7-12	There will be descriptions and explanations of both crime issues and arguments concerning the success or failure of anti crime policy. These will range from limited to sound. Although both the descriptive and evaluative elements of the question will be addressed, it is likely that the balance will be towards description. Some generalised statistical evidence is likely to be used
Level 3	13-20	A balanced answer, with evaluations ranging from good to excellent. A good range of issues will be raised and there will a great deal of critical awareness of different perceptions of the success or failure of crime policy. There will be some use made of statistical evidence, though this need not be extensive or detailed. However, it will be accurate.

Question I	Number	Indicative content
3		Multiculturalism is a belief and a movement that suggests that Britain now contains a number of significant ethnic, religious and cultural groups. Further, in a multicultural society they should be able to live in the same society with little or no conflict and there will be extensive tolerance of different cultures, lifestyles and beliefs, provided these do not threaten the peace and security of the state and society. Multiculturalism also suggests that diversity enriches a society and is to be celebrated. Minority rights and interests should be respected and protected. Multiculturalism addresses racial issues by encouraging tolerance and understanding between communities. It has also been enshrined in legislation which outlaws discrimination and promoted equal opportunities. Education and the work of the (former CRE) have been important vehicles in translating multiculturalism into better race relations. However, Trevor Phillips has pointed out the dangers of increasing 'ghettoisation'. There have also been continuing charges that various organisations, including the Police, are still institutionally 'racisist'. Recent increases in immigration and migration have placed additional stresses on race relations which may reduce the effectiveness of multiculturalism.
Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	0-6	Understanding of the nature of multiculturalism will be absent or tenuous. There may be some valid remarks about the modern state of race relations, but little or no attempt to relate these to multiculturalism.
Level 2	7-12	There will be some accurate understanding of multiculturalism demonstrated. An attempt will be made to connect multiculturalism to the state of race relations and the treatment of racial differences, which will vary from limited to sound.
Level 3	13-20	A strong and very secure understanding of multiculturalism is demonstrated. The way in which the link between the movement and the treatment of racial differences can work is clearly and cogently explained. Level 3 answers will be especially strong in demonstrating the linkages.

Question N	lumber	Indicative content,
Question Number 4		The reforms of the NHS have included the creation of relatively independent hospital and health trusts, foundation hospitals and performance targets and tables, with a system of rewards and sanctions. There have also been improved conditions for workers in the NHS and new contracts for doctors designed to improve patient care. The establishment of priorities has been depoliticised by the creation o of NICE. Despite reforms there have been a number of problems including financial difficulties, the persistence of postcode lotteries, MRSA and other hospital based diseases. While some areas have improved such as waiting lists, times and cure rates for many conditions, it is often claimed that these figures are either patchy or simply manipulated. There are many claims that mismanagement has meant that much of the increased expenditure has been wasted and not used on frontline services.
Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	0-6	Answers are likely to be descriptions of a range of health service issues with little or no evaluation. The range and depth of issues addressed will vary from very poor to weak. There will be little or no critical awareness of health service performance.
Level 2	7-12	A sound range of issues will be raised. Evaluation of the performance of the health service will vary from limited to sound. It may well be that evaluation will be unbalanced to some extent. There will be some critical awareness of different interpretations of performance, but this will not be extensive.
Level 3	13-20	Level 3 responses will show evaluation varying from good to excellent. There will be a good range of issues raised and much critical awareness of interpretations, demonstrating clearly that evidence can be manipulated or viewed in different ways. Evaluations will be well balanced.

Question N	Number	Indicative content,
Question Number 5		On the face of it most sectarian conflict has disappeared. Power sharing has been restored and even extreme politicians such as Adams, McGuinness and the Paisleys are sitting together in the assembly and in government. There has been little public violence and it appears that all the paramilitaries have either ceased operations or are disbanded. However, there have also been examples of continued sectarianism in the province. Little progress has been made in creating a religious balance in the police service. There was some violence in the marching season and sporadic rioting. Albeit on a minor level. Conflict remains over educational provision, with little sign of agreement over multi-faith schooling. There is still much evidence of discriminatory practices in employment, education and housing.
Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	0-20	Responses will be largely or totally descriptive with little or no evaluation. Mostly generalized comments about how peace has come about and the indications of lack of sectarian conflict. brief reference may be made to political developments, but with no depth.
Level 2	21-38	There will be some sensitivity shown to the extent of the reduction. This will contain some balance, but depth and range will vary from limited to sound. Effective examples of both signs of peace and of continued conflict will be included, though these points may not be fully developed.
Level 3	39-60	An accurate and well developed range of evidence will be deployed. There will be a well balanced approach, with evaluation ranging from good to excellent. Responses will go beyond superficial evidence and look at issues in some depth and with some sensitivity.

Question N	Number	Indicative content,
Question Number 6		The principles of the welfare state must be stated, preferably explicitly, but acceptably implicitly. These include quality, universality, freed delivery of services, compulsory nature etc. These have been eroded in some ways, for example, health charges of various kinds, tuition fees, postcode lotteries, rationing, loss of provision, notably in housing and reduced benefits, as in pensions. On the other hand reference can be made to extensive increases in funding, extensions in health and education provision (such as more treatments, pre school and higher education) Reference may- though this is far from a requirement for a good response - to actions by devolved government such as Scottish abolition of tuition fees and free care for the elderly, abolition of prescription charges in Wales. The issue of private sector involvement through PPPs, PFIs, private health, city academies etc. does not necessarily erode the principles of the welfare state, though some, including unions, argue that it does. Reference can be made to the fact that most principles remain intact, most services remain free, there is universal provision and a great deal of equality, though extended means testing might be referred to.
Level Level 1	Mark 0-20	Descriptors Answers are likely to be generalised assessments of the
		performance of the welfare state, with patchy coverage, lack of depth. Evaluation will be absent or will vary from very poor to weak. Little or no reference will be made to principles of the welfare state.
Level 2	21-38	Responses will be more focused on the demands of the question than in level 1. There will be some evaluation, ranging from limited to sound. A good range of issues will be included, though there may be some important omissions. Some balanced assessment will be successfully deployed, with some accurate evidence deployed.
Level 3	39-60	A good range of issues will be deployed with effective evidence deployed. Evaluation will range from good to excellent. Answers will be clearly focused on the demands of the question and there will be a very direct assessment of whether principles have been eroded.

Question N	Number	Indicative content,
7		Good luck refers to a number of issues. These include the legacy which Labour inherited in 1997 of a strengthening economy, low exchange rates after 1992 producing an export surge, a more competitive economy following supply side policies of the 1980s, a strong world economy and falling unemployment and inflation. In the early years of labour the world economy continued to grow and there has been persistent stability. Good judgement refers to apparently successful policies. These include the depoliticisation of interest rates, the golden rule, minimum wage, employment policies etc. How much was due to the prudence of Brown and how much to do with improving economic basics is open to discussion. Exaggerated claims refers to overblown claims of stability when, in fact, both private and public debt were growing and there was a slow down in growth after 2005. The current 'credit crunch' and vulnerability of the economy to adverse world conditions under-pins this argument. There were disputes over the true extent of unemployment. Note also that interest rates and inflation have crept up. Possibly economic wellbeing has been the result of the buoyant housing market and consumer debt rather than policies. The decline in the housing market in 2008 also demonstrates the fragility of the economy despite Brown's claim that it is in a good position to ride out the storm.
Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	0-20	Generalised descriptions of economic policy with patchy and modest assessments of success or failure. The full demands of the question will not be met, with possibly only one or two aspects addressed. Assessment will vary from very poor to weak. Some evidence will be deployed but this will be partial and sparse.
Level 2	21-38	At least two, probably all three aspects of the question will be addressed to a greater or lesser extent. Assessments will vary from limited to sound. Evidence will be deployed to underpin assessment, but there may be some important omissions. Sensitivity will be shown to different interpretations of economic performance during the period.
Level 3	39-60	All three aspects are covered with assessments of the three ranging from good to excellent. There will be good sensitivity to different interpretations of economic performance and extensive, effective evidence will be deployed to underpin the analysis. Knowledge and use of current events, such as the 'credit crunch', declining housing market, banking problems, rising inflation etc. will be demonstrated.

## <u>Unit 6495</u>

Question N	lumber	Indicative content
1		The role of the Council is to be the final decision making stage of EU processes. It is also where key inter-ministerial negotiations take place. Thus it is a key institution, finally ratifying decisions. In its various forms it deals with such key issues as trade, environment, budget, foreign relations, employment rights etc. On the other hand much of the real policy formulation goes on in other institutions - Commission, Parliament, COREPER, and other institutions. The Council is only the final ratification. It is also true that much real negotiation goes on outside the Council, between ministers from the larger member states. There are differences between decisions requiring QMV and those needing unanimous decisions. More negotiation goes on with the former. As the European Parliament's power increases (co-decision) and as the European Council increasingly takes departmental policy decisions, the CoM's role diminishes in importance. It is also true that much important policy remains in the hands of members states' governments.
Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	0-6	Sparse and generalised accounts of the role of the Council. However there will be little or no assessment of its importance. Understanding and explanations will vary from very poor to weak. Little or no understanding of its relationship t other institutions.
Level 2	7-12	A sound understanding of the role of the Council. Some assessment of its importance, ranging from limited to sound. Limitations and strengths will both be included, but there will be more description than evaluation.
Level 3	13-20	Understanding and evaluation, varying from good to excellent, are shown. There will be a full accurate explanation of the Council's role, together with its jurisdiction and relationship with other institutions. A good balance between strengths and limitations of the Council.

Question N	Number	Indicative content
2		The role of the ECJ became more important after Maastricht due to policy integration and subsequent further enlargements which increased the court workload. Social regulation was added to ECJ jurisdiction due to The Social Chapter, and SEM cases multiplied as the Commission tried to tighten regulations on merger and competition policy, eg. the Microsoft Case and the prevention of the General Electric- Honeywell merger in 2005. The ECJ has become a major institution as its rulings are binding and overrule national courts, as illustrated by the Factor tame Case. Since Maastricht the ECJ can impose fines, e.g. up to 10% of company turnover. It needs the support of national governments to enforce its decisions as the collection of fines imposed on national governments can be difficult. Some states may evade or avoid the effects of decisions, e.g. French compensation to UK over refusal to sell British beef. Importantly the court cannot be judicially active, but only acts in response to appeals.
Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	0-6	A generalised, sparse description of the role of the Court. Evaluation is likely to be absent, or will range from very poor to weak.
Level 2	7-12	An accurate understanding is shown of the role of the Court. There will be some examples of its role. Assessment of its importance will vary from limited to sound, but will be present in answers. Varying amounts of evidence will be deployed.
Level 3	13-20	A full understanding shown of the role and importance of the Court. There will be an assessment ranging from good to excellent. Answers are likely to be sensitive to the significance of 1992 as a change in the importance of the Court.

Question N	Number	Indicative content
3		The main factor has been enlargement. This has placed great stress on the development of both former communist countries, such as the Baltic states and, more recently, the admission of much poorer countries such as Slovakia, Romania and Bulgaria. At the same time there have been problems with slow economic growth in the EU. Regional development is seen as one of the solutions to the problem of growth. There have also been shifts in the emphasis of the Common Agricultural Policy towards the more agricultural states which have recently been admitted. There have been greater strains on the budget of the EU, with countries such as the UK believing it to be inequitable. This has placed further pressure on development funds. However the success of regional policies in Ireland, Greece and Portugal in the past has led to demands for greater regional aid elsewhere. Regional development in potentially less stable countries on the fringes of Europe is also seen as a key factor in creating stability.
Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	0-6	Sparse knowledge shown of regional policy, possibly confined to comments about the CAP and the problems of poorer states. There will be weak or absent relationships described between the factors and the measures.
Level 2	7-12	Some knowledge shown of regional policy and the factors underpinning it. Explanations will vary from limited to sound. Responses will demonstrate some understanding of why regional development is needed, but there will be some lack of examples.
Level 3	13-20	Good use of examples of regional policy, with knowledge shown of the factors involved. The links made between factors and policies will be explained fully, with quality ranging from good to excellent. There will be good sensitivity to the changing situation brought about by enlargement.

Question N	Number	Indicative content
4 4		E.U. federalists hoped the single currency would lead to further political integration, they are disappointed as their expectations are unfulfilled. Not all of the E.U. member states are presently in the eurozone. The economies of the opt-out states, U.K., Sweden and Denmark, are not noticeably weaker than those in the euro- zone. Critics claim that euro membership has led to reduced pressure to reform flexibility of employment and markets. The expected growth in the EU economy has not occurred, indeed it has stagnated. There is great divergence in competitiveness between eurozone states. The stability laws fixed by the ECB are very tight, and, one size does not fit 27. E.g. the property boom in Spain and Eire was the reverse in Germany where costs were squeezed down to pull through. In slow growth countries the result is probably deflationary. Mounting internal pressure within the eurozone is growing. As the squeeze tightens disruption is possible due to rising interest rates. It is relevant to argue that the benefits of the single currency are likely to be long term as globalisation increases and 8 years is not sufficient time to make a valid judgement.
Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	0-6	Generalised comments on the nature of the single currency and accounts of its expected benefits. Evaluations of its success will be absent altogether or very limited, possibly weak or poor. There will be little or no sensitivity to recent developments in the performance of the single currency.
Level 2	7-12	There will be understanding shown of the successes and failures of the single currency, ranging from limited to sound. However, the range of factors will be relatively limited. Responses will show some sensitivity to recent developments. Evaluation will be included, but responses tend towards description rather than evaluation.
Level 3	13-20	A full evaluation ranging from good to excellent. There will be good contemporary knowledge as well as a thorough assessment of positive and negative aspects of the introduction of the single currency.

Question N	Number	Indicative content
5		The term democratic deficit implies a number of things. It suggests lack of representation and accountability. It also can imply that there are insufficient opportunity for citizens to influence decision making. The issue of closed versus open government is also a democratic topic. Is too much power vested in too few hands? Are there sufficient checks and balances? Some would add the protection of individual rights and freedoms as part of the democratic deficit. Persistent problems have included the undemocratic nature of the operation of the Commission, the weakness of the Parliament and the lack of transparency over decision making in the Councils. Representation through parties and elections remains poor and, it is argued there is to much power in too few unaccountable hands. By contrast progress has been made. Parliament has become more effective and active. Members of the Commission, for example, mat be called to account by the increasingly powerful committees of the EP in Brussels. Rights are being gradually extended and there is more transparency in the Commission. It also has to be said that the EU has become very open to pressure group activity, especially the Commission. There is now a greater balance of power between various institutions. The proposed constitutional treaty, to some extent proposes more democratic controls.
Level Level 1	Mark 0-20	Descriptors Mostly generalised statements about the nature of the EU.
	0 20	Answers will be unbalanced, tending probably to b critical of democracy in the EU, with little sensitivity to recent developments. Knowledge of the EU political system will vary from very poor to weak.
Level 2	21-38	Knowledge of the political system of the EU and assessment of how democratic or otherwise it is, will vary from limited to sound. Answers which adopt a purely institutional approach, ignoring such ideas as representation and accountability are unlikely to achieve above mid range in this level. There will be some assessment, though not extensive and some knowledge of recent developments. Reponses will be substantially accurate, but will lack depth.
Level 3	39-60	A thorough evaluation of democratic developments in the EU ranging from good to excellent Responses will show good awareness of recent developments. Evaluation will be well supported by evidence. The range of issues will be comprehensive.

Question N	Number	Indicative content
6		Recent enlargements have brought in former communist countries, some relatively poor countries and in the future the possible accession of some countries will prove to be problematic, notably Turkey, Serbia and beyond. There are arguments that the EU may be becoming too large and its resources too stretched. The political system is under strain and decision making is becoming more difficult with so many members. Cultural issues are coming to the fore, notably in relation to Turkey and South-East European states. The influx of cheap labour into Western Europe can be seen as both a benefit and a problem. Some of the new entries and proposed members have poor human rights records and are thought to bring the danger of imported organised crime. When new countries are considerably poorer it is feared that there will be large transfers of resources from rich to poor countries. Economic policy making becomes more difficult with so many different types of economy included. There is a very generalised debate about what constitutes Europe – are we stretching the concept too far ? Where are the borders of Europe if such a concept is still meaningful.
Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	0-20	A narrow range of issues described in a very generalised way. Analysis of the controversies will be absent or poor to weak. Answers will tend to be descriptive rather than analytical.
Level 2	21-38	A good range of issues will be deployed. There will be some analysis of these, ranging from limited to sound. The main issues will be described and analysed, but there may be some important omissions.
Level 3	39-60	A full range of issues will be well described and there will be full analysis of each, varying from good to excellent. There will be good balance between past experience of enlargements as well as issues for the future.

Question	Number	Indicative content
Question Number 7		States ultimately preserve their sovereignty by reserving the right to leave the EU. Where unanimous voting is required - e.g. over taxation, new members, defence issues, members retain independence by use of a veto. Certain areas are outside EU jurisdiction, notably most criminal and civil law, most social policy and still a great deal of economic policy. National interests can be preserved even with QMV, where states can pursue their interests in negotiations with other states. Areas of jurisdiction which are intergovernmental preserve some national interest, though clearly this depends on the size of the member concerned. Small states find it difficult to preserve their own interests. There are a number of institutions – notably the economic and social committee, the committee of the regions and the European Court of Justice – through which even smaller states can pursue self interest. The Commission is a forum within which the interests of all states should be taken into account. Interests may also be pursued in the parliament. On the other hand it can be claimed that there has been a gradual erosion of national sovereignty with such areas as trade, agriculture, environment, social and economic rights becoming supranational. How much a member can protect its interests depends on how much leverage it has ; this varies a great deal.
Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	0-20	Answers will be largely descriptive and contain little or no analysis and evaluation. The range of issues will be relatively narrow and the depth of evaluation will vary from poor to weak. Little or no sensitivity will be shown towards different circumstances.
Level 2	21-38	A good range of issues will be raised and there will evaluation ranging from limited to sound. There is likely to be less sensitivity to change than in level 3. It is also likely that level 2 answers will not be sensitive to the circumstances of different member states. However evaluation will be successful to a greater or lesser extent. Answers may not be fully balanced between discussion of sovereignty and national interest.
Level 3	39-60	A thorough range of issues will be examined. Good to excellent evaluation will be used and there will be very good knowledge shown of processes and relationships. Responses will differentiate clearly between sovereignty and national interest, developing both themes extensively.

## <u>Unit 6496</u>

Question N	Number	Indicative content
Level Mark		The judiciary has become involved in a number of ways. First, it can act as a pressure group, campaigning, as an insider, on various law and order issues such as human rights, sentencing etc. Members of the judiciary are involved with policy input bodies such as the Law Commission. Second, many senior members are members of the House of Lords and so have been involved in the legislative process, notably on the issues such as identity cards, anti-terrorism legislation. Third, in important cases judges have had the effect of influencing the way law and order policy works. Senior judges such as Lords Woolf, Hoffman and Bingham were particularly vociferous in these areas. This is true of sentencing policy and anti-terrorism (e.g. Belmarsh, Afghan hijack cases, treatment of asylum seekers, deportations of foreign offenders) where key judgements have changed government policy. On the other hand the role of judges is inevitably limited. For example they have to accept the sovereignty of parliament so they have to accept the law as it stands. On sentencing- a key area of conflict – judges have to accept maximum or minimum sentencing regulations. It should be noted that the role of judges has been increasing as the judiciary has shed its traditional anonymity and become involved in disputes over law and order policy, even appearing in the media to make their case.
		Descriptors
Level 1	0-17	A weak to very limited range of issues with no evaluation. Generalised answers about the judiciary's involvement in law and order, lacking in depth and development.
Level 2	18-32	Answers will be descriptive rather than evaluative. A varying range of issues will be described with varying levels of depth. There may be some supporting evidence, but not extensive. Above all such responses will fail successfully to evaluate the judiciary's role, merely describing its involvement, rather than assessing it's extent and its limitations.
Level 3	33-50	A good range of issues raised and successfully explained with appropriate supporting evidence. Such responses will be distinguished by their ability to evaluate the role of the judiciary. There will be a balance between material concerning successful interventions by the judiciary and limitations on its role.

Question N	lumber	Indicative content
Level Mark		In 1992 the positions of the parties was certainly fluid. The Conservatives were very divided while Labour was on a gradual journey from Euro-scepticism to a more positive attitude to the EU. Maastricht was signed and there was no great conflict except over Britain's opt out from the Social Chapter. The Liberal Democrats were extremely pro European at the time. Conflict reached its height towards the end of the 1990s. Since then, however, there has been declining conflict. Labour lost its enthusiasm for the single currency and, as Brown became more prominent, there seemed little prospect of Britain joining. This placed labour close to the Conservative position. Even the Liberal Democrats became a little more cautious over the timing of entry. Labour signed the Social Chapter in 1997, then opposed by the Conservatives. Since then Conservatives have suggested it might be re-negotiated, not necessarily cancelled. Under Cameron the Conservatives have been a little warmer towards the EU, while under Brown labour has drawn back from closer integration. Despite this drawing together there remains major conflict over the proposed European Constitutional Treaty. Conservatives staunchly oppose the concept of common foreign or defence policy while Labour is keen to promote integration in this area. Brown has described his red lines and robustly denied that Britain wishes to integrate closely. Thus, the rhetoric is similar though the Conservatives remain convinced that labour is too pro -European. The Liberal Democrats, who now have a wing which is less euro-enthusiastic, remain staunchly pro European. UKIP can be mentioned as the emergence of a major departure from mainstream views on Europe. Nationalists, by contrast, have remained pro European throughout the modern period.
Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	0-17	Descriptive narratives only. Evaluation will be absent or will range from very poor to weak. Party positions will be described but there will be little or no sensitivity to change and development. Assessment of party positions will be limited. It is likely that the Liberal Democrats will be ignored.
Level 2	18-32	An assessment of party positions, including some sensitivity to change, varying from limited to sound. It is likely, though not essential, that all three parties' positions will be covered. Evaluation of the process of change will be included but will vary considerably in depth and critical awareness.
Level 3	33-50	An extensive account of party positions, probably including small parties, though not essentially. There will be good evaluation of changes in party positions and evaluation of how close they have become, varying from good to excellent. There will be good sensitivity shown to developing attitudes and divisions within parties.

Question N	lumber	Indicative content
3		The principles of the welfare state include its universality, equal provision, the fact that it is free at the point of delivery and that it is comprehensive. Unions have been especially active in resisting the use of the private sector, claiming this is creeping privatisation. Pressure groups representing various patient groups have sought to end postcode lotteries in the health service, while parental groups have sought to extend choice and preserve standards in education. The extent and universality of social security benefits have, t is argued, been eroded since the 1980s. Groups such as CPAG, Help the Aged and Age Concern have argued that the welfare state's comprehensive attack on poverty has been diluted. They have argued for the restoration of anti poverty elements. Naturally student groups were implacably opposed to tuition fees on the grounds that it eroded the free nature of education. In housing, where much provision has been especially active, blaming homelessness on the lack of state subsidised housing and house building. Evaluation of the success of pressure groups has to be mixed. On the one hand the basic principles have been preserved – pure privatisation has not occurred and most services remain free on delivery. It can be argued that health and education provision have been extended as a result of pressure group pressure. After problems with the state pension, pensioner groups have succeeded in promoting significant improvements in the deal for especially poor pensioners. yet a number of problems have emerged. Housing remains a declining service and there are still issues concerning care of the elderly. Both parties favour greater private sector involvement so union opposition has failed to have much impact.
Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	0-17	A relatively narrow range of issues will be deployed. There will be some description and some narratives, but little or no evaluation of the impact of pressure groups. Answers may be largely confined to an assessment of the performance of welfare services rather than of pressure groups.
Level 2	18-32	Connections are made between pressure group activity and welfare issues. However, the analysis of the impact of pressure groups is likely to vary only between limited and sound. There will be a good range but with some important omissions. The balance of such answers will be towards 'in what ways?' rather than 'with what success?'.
Level 3	33-50	Well balanced answers dealing with both aspects of the question successfully. The impact of pressure groups will be assessed with analysis varying from good to excellent. There will be an extensive range of issues deployed and good knowledge will be shown of pressure group involvement.

Question N	lumber	Indicative content
4		Sovereignty is the central issue. Sovereignty- both legal and political - has been eroded. Areas include trade, environment, agriculture and employment rights, with, to a lesser extent, over defence and foreign policy, though the extent of the transfer varies greatly from issue to issue. So we can say that parliament is no longer fully legally sovereign, while government is not fully politically sovereign. Of course the UK can still leave the EU so sovereignty cannot be lost permanently. The judiciary has been affected in that it is subject to externally determined law and the final court of appeal is now the ECJ. Accountability is affected in that ministers, when dealing with the EU, do not account fully to Parliament on their negotiating position. Subsidiarity has had an indirect impact and there has been both devolution and some transfers of power to local government and to regions. Though no jurisdiction over human rights has been transferred (The Human Rights Act is outside the boundaries of this question), but the UK no longer has independence over a range of economic and social rights. Arguably the balance of power between the legislature and executive has moved towards the latter as a result of the growth of EU jurisdiction. Although the UK constitution remains uncodified, the growing importance of EU treaties does represent partial codification and entrenchment.
Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	0-17	Generalised answers concerning the growing importance and significance of the EU. It is unlikely that any substantial part of level 1 answers will deal specifically with constitutional issues. Responses will be confined to a poor to weak range of issues and developments.
Level 2	18-32	Responses will be directed towards constitutional issues specifically. The links between aspects of EU membership and the UK constitution will be clear, though analysis may only range from limited to sound. There will be a good range of issues, though there may be important omissions.
Level 3	33-50	A thorough account of how EU membership has affected the operation of the UK constitution with most key issues included. The linkages between EU powers and changes to the constitution will be fully explored. Understanding of these links will vary from good to excellent.

# Route B

#### <u>Unit 6497</u>

1 Liberals have warned against the dangers of democracy for a number of reasons. These include the following. First, democracy may clash with individualism. The central liberal concern has been that democracy can become the enemy of individual liberty. This arises from the fact that 'the people' are not a single entity but rather a collection of individuals and groups, possessing different opinions and opposing interests. Second, democracy may lead to a majoritarian tyranny. This happens because the 'democratic solution' to conflict is a recourse to the application of majority rule. Democracy thus comes down to rule by the 51 per cent, or the 'tyranny of the majority', threatening minority and individual rights. Third, this concern about majoritariansm has been heightened by the make-up of the majority in modern, industrial societies. As the majority consists of people with limited education and inadequate political wisdom, democracy can end up operating as a form of mob rule. Some liberals have therefore argued that the rights of the educated and propertied minority need to be protected from the untutored instincts of the masses. Fourth, political democracy may conflict with economic efficiency. Classical liberals in particular have linked democracy to state intervention, arguing that although welfare and economic management may be electorally popular, they threaten to upset the vigour and balance of a market economy.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-6	An awareness of liberal concerns about democracy, but not supported by adequate argument or evidence.
		supported by adequate argument of evidence.
Level 2	7-12	A sound understanding of one liberal argument against democracy
		or a limited awareness of more than one argument.
Level 3	13-20	A good or better understanding of at least two liberal arguments
		against democracy.

2 Negative freedom refers to the absence of external restrictions or constraints on the individual, allowing freedom of choice. In this view, the principal threats to freedom arise through law and the use of force. Negative freedom is therefore upheld primarily through checks on government power, such a codified constitutions and bills of rights. Examples of negative freedom include civil liberties, such as freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, freedom of movement and freedom of religious worship. It is also evident in freedom from (excessive) taxation. Positive freedom refers to self-mastery or self-realisation, the achievement of autonomy and the development of human capacities. Instead of being 'left alone', the individual is able to develop skills and talents, broaden his or her understanding, and gain fulfilment. In this view, the principal constraints on freedom include poverty and social deprivation. Positive freedom is therefore often portrayed as freedom from the social evils that may cripple individual existence. Expressions of positive freedom can be found in freedom from ignorance (the right to education), disease (the right to health care) and want (the right to a social
minimum.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-6	A weak understanding of both negative and positive freedom or a basic understanding of one conception and an inadequate conception of the other.
Level 2	7-12	A limited to sound understanding of both conceptions of freedom with adequate examples but distinction largely implicit rather than explicit.
Level 3	13-20	A good or better understanding of both conceptions of freedom supported by clear and accurate examples. Distinctions made explicit in the best responses.

3 Marx believed that capitalism was doomed to collapse because it was based on a fundamental contradiction. This contradiction is rooted in the institution of private property, giving rise to a system of irreconcilable class conflict. Capitalism is therefore essentially a system of class exploitation, operating in the interests of the bourgeoisie, the owners of productive wealth. The property-less proletariat is systematically exploited through the extraction of what Marx called 'surplus value'. As the proletariat could not be reconciled with capitalism, Marx argued	3 Marx believed that capitalism was doomed to collapse because it was based on a fundamental contradiction. This contradiction is rooted in the institution of private property, giving rise to a system of irreconcilable class conflict. Capitalism is therefore essentially a system of class exploitation, operating in the interests of the bourgeoisie, the owners of productive wealth. The property-less proletariat is systematically exploited through the extraction of what Marx called 'surplus value'. As the	Question Number	Indicative content
that the capitalist system was inevitably doomed. Marx believed that capitalism would be overthrown by a proletarian revolution. This would occur as the proletariat achieved class consciousness, becoming a class-for-itself rather	achieved class consciousness, becoming a class-for-itself rather than a class-in-itself. The proletariat would be brought to class consciousness by progressive immiseration, the product of the deepening and inevitable crises of the capitalist system. Revolution would therefore be a spontaneous act on the part of a	Question Number 3	was based on a fundamental contradiction. This contradiction is rooted in the institution of private property, giving rise to a system of irreconcilable class conflict. Capitalism is therefore essentially a system of class exploitation, operating in the interests of the bourgeoisie, the owners of productive wealth. The property-less proletariat is systematically exploited through the extraction of what Marx called 'surplus value'. As the proletariat could not be reconciled with capitalism, Marx argued that the capitalist system was inevitably doomed. Marx believed that capitalism would be overthrown by a proletarian revolution. This would occur as the proletariat achieved class consciousness, becoming a class-for-itself rather than a class-in-itself. The proletariat would be brought to class consciousness by progressive immiseration, the product of the deepening and inevitable crises of the capitalist system.
			interests of the bourgeoisie, the owners of productive wealth. The property-less proletariat is systematically exploited through the extraction of what Marx called 'surplus value'. As the proletariat could not be reconciled with capitalism, Marx argued
consciousness by progressive immiseration, the product of the deepening and inevitable crises of the capitalist system.			

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-6	A weak understanding of the flaws of the capitalist system with a lack of clarity about how capitalism will be overthrown.
Level 2	7-12	A limited to sound explanation of capitalism's flaws and some understanding of the circumstances in which proletarian revolution will take place.
Level 3	13-20	A good or better explanation of the flaws of the capitalist system, with at least a sound explanation of how and when proletarian revolution will occur.

Question Number	Indicative content
4	Traditional conservatives have objected to social equality on the grounds that society is naturally hierarchical. Social equality is therefore undesirable and unachievable, as power, status and property are always unequally distributed. Hierarchy is an inevitable feature of an organic society, not merely a consequence of individual differences. Society is composed of a collection of different groups, bodies and institutions, each with its own role and purpose, just as the body is composed of a collection of different and 'unequal' organs. One Nation conservatives have further argued that the natural inequality of wealth and social position is justified by a corresponding inequality of social responsibilities, as the wealthy and prosperous have a social duty to look after the less well-off.
	The liberal New Right, however, has embraced an essentially liberal critique of social equality. This accepts the principle of equality of opportunity (an absurd idea for traditional conservatives), but stresses that individuals should be able to realise their unequal talents and capacity to work. Social equality is therefore rejected on the grounds that it is a form of 'levelling' that treats unalike people alike and damages the economy by removing incentives to work and enterprise.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-6	A weak understanding of both organicist and individualist arguments.
Level 2	7-12	A limited to sound understanding of both arguments, or a good or better understanding of just one argument.
Level 3	13-20	A good or better understanding of both lines of argument, or a very good understanding of the organicist position and an awareness of the individualist position.

Question Number	Indicative content
5	Communism and social democracy represent very different forms
	of socialism, and offer starkly different models of a socialist
	society. Communism is based on the idea of the collective
	ownership of wealth. It is a form of fundamentalist socialism that
	looks to overthrow and replace the capitalist system. Communists
	have thus embraced revolution and called for qualitative
	economic and social change. For Marx, full communism referred
	to a society that was both classless and stateless. In the absence
	of class antagonism, the state would 'wither away' and people would be able to manage their own affairs peacefully and co-
	operatively. A very high level of social equality would reign, as
	the distribution of wealth would be strictly based on need. The
	orthodox communist societies of the twentieth century, however,
	translated this image into a form of state collectivisation, usually
	operating through a system of central planning. Such societies
	became politically repressive and failed to realise the promise of
	liberating humankind from material hardship.
	Social democracy, by contrast, represents a revisionist form of
	socialism. It aims to reform the capitalist system, not abolish it.
	Accepting that capitalism and market competition are the best
	ways of generating wealth, social democrats looked instead to
	ensuring that wealth is distributed in line with moral, rather than
	material, principles. Whereas communism was orientated around
	the politics of ownership, social democracy was committed to the politics of social justice, the desire to narrow distributive
	inequalities in society. Abandoning wholesale collectivisation, the
	principle themes within social democracy were a commitment to
	the mixed economy and selective nationalisation, a belief in
	economic management using Keynesian techniques and a
	commitment to a welfare state, seen as a mechanism for
	redistributing wealth. Social democracy also usually operated
	within a liberal-democratic political framework.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-19	A weak or inadequate understanding of both communism and
		social democracy.
Level 2	20-39	A limited to sound understanding of communism and social democracy, or a good or better understanding of one tradition
		and a weak understanding of the other.

Level 3	40-60	A good or better understanding of both traditions, or a very good
		understanding of one tradition and a sound understanding of the
		other. Reliable and explicit distinctions are made.

6 Tradition refers to values, practices and institutions that have endured through time and, usually, have been passed down from one generation to the next. Tradition thus represents continuity with the past. Conservatives have supported tradition and continuity on a number of grounds. First, some conservatives have defended tradition on grounds of religious faith. If social customs and practices are regarded as 'God given', human beings should not question or challenge them. Second, the most significant of conservative arguments in favour of tradition is that it reflects the accumulated wisdom of the past. Customs, institutions and practices that have been 'tested by time' have been proved to work. They have survived by benefiting past generations and should be preserved for the benefit of present and future generations. Chesterton described this as a 'democracy of the dead'. Third, tradition helps to uphold social stability, generating a sense of identity for both society and the individual. In this view, the benefit of tradition is that it is familiar and reassuring. For the individual it generates 'rootedness' and belonging; for society it generates cohesion and a common culture.	<ul> <li>endured through time and, usually, have been passed down from one generation to the next. Tradition thus represents continuity with the past. Conservatives have supported tradition and continuity on a number of grounds. First, some conservatives have defended tradition on grounds of religious faith. If social customs and practices are regarded as 'God given', human beings should not question or challenge them. Second, the most significant of conservative arguments in favour of tradition is that it reflects the accumulated wisdom of the past. Customs, institutions and practices that have been 'tested by time' have been proved to work. They have survived by benefiting past generations and should be preserved for the benefit of present and future generations. Chesterton described this as a 'democracy of the dead'. Third, tradition helps to uphold social stability, generating a sense of identity for both society and the individual. In this view, the benefit of tradition is that it is familiar and reassuring For the individual it generates 'rootedness' and belonging; for society it generates cohesion and a common culture.</li> <li>Neoliberal trends within modern conservatism have departed from traditionalism, however. Neoliberals have supported radica change, in line with their desire to 'roll back' economic and socia intervention in the name of the free market and self-sufficient individualism. In a sense, they place reason above tradition ir being guided by abstract economic theory rather than a desire for</li> </ul>	Question Number	Indicative content
Neoliberal trends within modern conservatism have departed from traditionalism, however. Neoliberals have supported radical change, in line with their desire to 'roll back' economic and social intervention in the name of the free market and self-sufficient individualism. In a sense, they place reason above tradition in being guided by abstract economic theory rather than a desire for continuity with the past. This may, nevertheless, be a form of reactionary radicalism, as it reflects a desire to 'turn the clock back' to the alleged economic vigour of the <i>laissez-faire</i> nineteenth century. On the other hand, neoconservatives have placed renewed emphasis on tradition, particularly in the defence	reactionary radicalism, as it reflects a desire to 'turn the clock back' to the alleged economic vigour of the <i>laissez-faire</i> nineteenth century. On the other hand, neoconservatives have placed renewed emphasis on tradition, particularly in the defence of so-called 'traditional values', needed to give society a cleared moral identity. This is also reflected in a defence of the so-called		Tradition refers to values, practices and institutions that have endured through time and, usually, have been passed down from one generation to the next. Tradition thus represents continuity with the past. Conservatives have supported tradition and continuity on a number of grounds. First, some conservatives have defended tradition on grounds of religious faith. If social customs and practices are regarded as 'God given', human beings should not question or challenge them. Second, the most significant of conservative arguments in favour of tradition is that it reflects the accumulated wisdom of the past. Customs, institutions and practices that have been 'tested by time' have been proved to work. They have survived by benefiting past generations and should be preserved for the benefit of present and future generations. Chesterton described this as a 'democracy of the dead'. Third, tradition helps to uphold social stability, generating a sense of identity for both society and the individual. In this view, the benefit of tradition is that it is familiar and reassuring. For the individual it generates 'rootedness' and belonging; for society it generates cohesion and a common culture. Neoliberal trends within modern conservatism have departed from traditionalism, however. Neoliberals have supported radical change, in line with their desire to 'roll back' economic and social intervention in the name of the free market and self-sufficient individualism. In a sense, they place reason above tradition in being guided by abstract economic theory rather than a desire for continuity with the past. This may, nevertheless, be a form of reactionary radicalism, as it reflects a desire to 'turn the clock back' to the alleged economic vigour of the <i>laissez-faire</i> nineteenth century. On the other hand, neoconservatives have

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-19	A weak understanding of conservative views on tradition and continuity with little attention given to the extent to which conservatives remain traditionalists.
Level 2	20-39	A limited to sound understanding of conservative traditionalism

		with an awareness of the New Right position.					
Level 3	40-60	A good or better understanding of conservative traditionalism					
		taking full account of the New Right position.					

Question Number	Indicative content
7	Liberals have supported diversity in a variety of forms including political, social and cultural pluralism (multiculturalism). This has usually been done on the grounds of toleration, although toleration only provides a qualified justification for diversity. Toleration means forbearance, a willingness to accept the views or actions with which one is in disagreement. Liberals support toleration for a variety of reasons. First, it reflects their belief in
	rationalism and acknowledges that rational individuals should be allowed to determine 'truth' as each understands it. Second, and most fundamentally, toleration reflects a belief in autonomy. Respect for the individual as a self-determining creature implies that constraints on the individual should be minimal, perhaps restricted to the prevention of 'harm to others'. This is particularly important in order to promote individuality and personal development. Third, toleration benefits society at large.
	This happens because it ensures that ideas, theories and values are constantly tested against rival ideas and values. A 'free market of ideas' therefore promotes ongoing debate that contributes to the growth of understanding and therefore social progress. Restrictions on argument and debate will therefore lead to social stagnation. Some Liberals have gone further in supporting diversity by embracing the idea of neutrality or even value pluralism.
	However, a belief in toleration does not endorse unlimited political, social or cultural diversity. The basic limit to toleration, from a liberal perspective is that it is difficult to extend toleration to actions or practices that are in themselves intolerant or illiberal. This may apply to expressions of race hatred, the political activities of fascist groups, or cultural practices such as female circumcision or the exclusion of women from education
	and public life. In this sense, toleration has to be protected from the intolerant. Liberals also believe that diversity should operate within an 'overlapping consensus' that establishes a deeper harmony or balance amongst competing interests and groups. This consensus is usually based on the maintenance of essentially liberal values, such as autonomy and equality. The maintenance of liberal-democratic structures that ensure government based on consent and guarantees for openness and individual freedom are
	therefore not negotiable from a liberal perspective. Liberals may thus not be prepared to 'tolerate' attempts to overthrow free

political competition in the name of a single source of unchallengeable authority (be it a fascist state or an absolutist
theocracy). There is also debate about the extent to which liberals can embrace neutrality and/or value pluralism.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-19	A weak or inadequate account of liberal views on toleration and diversity.
Level 2	20-39	A limited to sound understanding of liberal views on toleration and diversity, which shows an awareness of the dangers of 'excessive' toleration.
Level 3	40-60	A good or better understanding of liberal views on toleration and diversity with a clear grasp of their dangers.

<u>Unit 6498</u>

Question Number	Indicative content
1	Anarchists view the state as a form of concentrated evil. Such a
	view is rooted in their theory of human nature and the belief that
	any form of political power is absolutely corrupting. Respectful
	and co-operative individuals thus become oppressive tyrants when
	invested with power or authority over others. The oppressive character of the state is heightened by the type of authority it
	exercises. Its authority is compulsory in the sense that citizens do
	not choose to become members of the state; it is coercive in that
	the state punishes those who challenge its authority; it is all-
	encompassing in that (potentially) the state's authority knows no
	limits; it is exploitative in that the state extracts wealth from its
	citizens through taxation; and it is destructive in the sense that
	the state wages war for its own aggrandisement, calling on its
	citizens to either kill or die.
	The Marxist theory of the state is different in the sense that the
	state's oppressive character derives from the class system and not
	from human nature. For Marxists, the state is an instrument of
	class oppression, wielded by the economically dominant class and
	used to suppress subordinate classes. Although Marxists have
	sought to 'smash' the capitalist state, they have not rejected all states as evil and oppressive. In particular, they have called for
	the establishment of a temporary socialist state, through the
	'dictatorship of the proletariat'. The role of this proletarian
	dictatorship is to protect the gains of the revolution and smooth
	the transition to full communism through the suppression of the
	dispossessed bourgeoisie. Counter-revolution must therefore be
	countered. Moreover, as the state arises from the class system,
	the state will 'wither away' once class antagonisms abate and full
	communism is constructed. The state, therefore, does not need to be overthrown, and nor can it be destroyed while the class
	system continues to survive.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-6	A weak or inadequate understanding of the Marxist and anarchist
		views of the state.
Level 2	7-12	A limited to sound understanding of the Marxist and anarchist
		views of the state with an awareness of how they differ.
Level 3	13-20	A good or better understanding of the Marxist and anarchist views

of the	state	with	а	clear	and	full	explanation	of	difference
between them.									

Question Number	Indicative content
2	The nation-state is a sovereign political association within which citizenship and nationality overlap. The boundaries of the nation therefore coincide with the borders of the state. Liberal nationalists in particular have viewed the nation-state as a political ideal. This has happened for a number of reasons. The first is that the nation-state embodies the goal of political freedom, giving expression to the principle of national self-determination. Democracy and self-government can therefore only operate within a nation-state. Second, nation-states are uniquely stable and cohesive, all other political forms being defective and impermanent. This is because nation-states are united by a combination of political allegiances (via citizenship) and a high level of cultural cohesion (via nationality). All members of such a state therefore 'belong' to it in a civic and a cultural sense. Third, nation-states are believed to be inherently peaceful, whereas multinational empires are restless and expansionist, nation-states tend to respect the sovereign independence of neighbouring states. This applies, if for no other reason, because the members of the nation-state do not want to sacrifice their civic and cultural cohesion through expansionism and conquest.

Level	Mark	Descriptor			
Level 1	0-6	A weak understanding of the nation-state and little awareness of its benefits.			
Level 2	7-12	A sound understanding of the nation-state and an effective explanation of at least one advantage of the nation-state.			
Level 3	13-20	A good or better understanding of the advantages of the nation- state from a nationalist perspective.			

Question Number	Indicative content
3	Anti-rationalism is a rejection of the image of human beings as reason-driven creatures, emphasising instead the importance of non-rational impulses and emotions. Humans are motivated by their 'will' rather than by the rational mind. Fascism was linked to anti-rationalism in a number of ways. First, fascists embraced an essentially anti-rationalist model of human nature. In particular, they were attracted to their own (mis)representation of Neitzsche's idea of the 'will to power', seeing this as the drive of human beings to exert power over others. Fascist leaders were therefore thought to possess a heightened 'will to power' that marked them off from the masses and enabled them to establish supreme and unquestionable leadership. Moreover, fascist theories have the character of political myths, in that they sought to promote political activism by an appeal to emotion rather than reason. Fascists often therefore placed greater emphasis on symbols and slogans rather than careful analysis and exposition. Fascist anti-rationalism was also evident in a general distaste for intellectual life was devalued, even despised, as cold, dry and lifeless. Many also link fascist anti-rationalism to aggression and destruction. In this light, fascism has been portrayed as an example of nihilism, a belief in nothing. This, in turn, can mean that conventional moral constraints on political action may no longer apply. A final link to anti-rationalism may be the emphasis within fascism on the idea of organic community, the notion of emotional bonds, associated with the nation or the race, that are forged by a common past.

Level	Mark	Descriptor			
Level 1	0-6	A weak or inadequate understanding of anti-rationalism with little awareness of its role within fascism.			
Level 2	7-12	A limited to sound understanding of anti-rationalism with an awareness of at least one form of fascist anti-rationalism.			
Level 3	13-20	A good or better understanding of anti-rationalism supported by an insightful grasp of at least two links between fascism and anti- rationalism.			

Question Number	Indicative content
4	Radical feminists hold that gender divisions are the deepest and
	most politically significant of social cleavages. However, they
	believe that these operate primarily in the 'private' or personal
	realm, reflected in the patriarchal structures of domestic and
	family life. Patriarchy, in a literal sense, stems from the role of
	the husband-father within the family. This affects the radical
	feminist view of politics. Instead of seeing politics as a 'public'
	activity associated with the institutions of government, radical
	feminists view politics more broadly as power structured
	relationships, relationships in which one group subordinates and
	oppresses another group. In this view, the family is not non-
	political but, rather, is the heart of the political process. This,
	further, implies the gender divisions within the family and
	personal life structure all other aspects of life. Therefore,
	discrimination against women in education, careers and political
	life are seen only as a reflection of deeper forms of oppression
	that operate within the personal sphere. Finally, this implies that
	the social role of women will only be altered by a sexual
	revolution that overthrows and replaces the patriarchal family
	and the values and culture that help to sustain it.

Level	Mark	Descriptor			
Level 1	0-6	A limited or poor understanding of radical feminist thinking about			
		the nature of politics and its location.			
Level 2	7-12	A limited to sound understanding of the slogan that shows an			
		awareness of the nature of patriarchal dominance.			
Level 3	13-20	A good or better understanding of the slogan that shows how			
		unequal power relations in the personal sphere structure other			
		effects aspects of social justice.			

Question Number	Indicative content
5	Individualism is a belief in the supreme importance of the human
	individual over any collective group or entity. Collectivism, by
	contrast, is the belief that collective social action is morally and
	practically superior to individual self striving. Anarchism has been
	associated with both individualism and collectivism, creating rival
	individualist and collectivist anarchist traditions. Individualist
	anarchism takes the belief in individualism to its logical extreme. This extreme is reached through the idea of the sovereign
	individual, which portrays the individual as an entirely
	autonomous political and moral being. This implies anarchism, as
	law and government have no rightful authority over the individual
	and are therefore an affront to freedom. However, individualism
	is weaker in explaining how an anarchist society could remain
	peaceful and stable, as self-striving tends to imply conflict
	between and amongst individuals for limited resources.
	Individualist anarchists make additional assumptions, either about
	rationality or the capacity of social institutions, particularly market competition, to reconcile competing interests and
	maintain natural harmony. Anarcho-capitalists, for example,
	apply assumptions about market equilibrium to all areas of
	economic life.
	Collectivist anarchism similarly takes collectivism to its logical
	extreme. In this, human nature is seen to be naturally sociable,
	co-operative and gregarious, implying natural harmony amongst
	people. This demonstrates that the state is both evil and unnecessary. Mutualism, anarcho-syndicalism and anarcho-
	communism are thus all essentially based upon collectivist
	assumptions about human nature. Some may therefore argue that
	anarchism is closer to collectivism than individualism. Others,
	however, may argue that each is basic to the anarchist tradition
	as the rival collectivist and individualist schools demonstrate.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-19	A rudimentary grasp of individualism and collectivism with a weak understanding of their relevance to anarchism.
Level 2	20-39	A limited to sound understanding of individualist and collectivist anarchism with some evaluation of the significance of individualism and collectivism to each.
Level 3	40-60	A good or better understanding of the two anarchist traditions

ſ		with	clear	demonstrations	of	the	roles	of	individualism	and
		colled	ctivism	l						

Question Number	Indicative content
6	Significant overlaps occur between feminism and liberalism and socialism. Liberal feminism derives from a belief in individualism, which suggests that gender differences are at best secondary and should not affect the rights and opportunities of women and men. This form of equal-rights feminism aims to establish for women and men equal access to the public sphere, bringing about change through incremental reform. Socialist feminism uses the socialist critique of capitalism to explain gender inequality, implying that class exploitation and sexual oppression are linked social processes. For Marxists, both have their root in the institution of private property.
	However, there may also be points of tension between feminism and both liberalism and socialism. For example, liberalism is primarily concerned with the individual rather than with gender identities which are collectivist in nature. Similarly, socialists have often regarded sexual politics as less important than class politics, seeing the struggle for social justice as more important than the struggle for sexual justice. Radical feminists would certainly highlight the limitations of both liberalism and socialism as vehicles for advancing the social role of women, as neither of them recognises the fundamental importance of gender divisions and their roots in family and personal life.
	Feminism is nevertheless much less compatible with conservatism. A number of traditional conservative theories have starkly anti-feminist implications. This applies to a belief in tradition, legitimising the sexual division of labour, the idea of the organic society, which implies that biological differences between women and men determine, and legitimise, their different social roles, and a belief in hierarchy which suggests that male 'breadwinners' will inevitably have a different social position from female 'homemakers'. Neoconservatives sometimes go further in condemning feminism for promoting the breakdown of marriage, and therefore weakening the family, and for leading to delinquency and crime as women concentrate on their careers rather than on bringing up children. Where conservatives have shown sympathy for feminism, it has usually been because they have been converted to the liberal creed of equal rights and equal opportunities.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-19	A weak or poor understanding of the relationship between
		feminism and other ideological traditions.
Level 2	20-39	A limited to sound awareness of the compatibility of feminism with liberalism and socialism and a clear awareness of tension between feminism and conservatism.
Level 3	40-60	A good or better evaluation of the compatibility of feminism with liberalism and socialism and a full understanding of the relationship between feminism and conservatism.

Question Number	Indicative content
7	Nationalism refers to the belief that the nation is the principal unit of political organisation. However, it has been used in a number of very different ways. In its chauvinist and expansionist guise, nationalism has been strongly associated with fascism, to the extent that some see fascism as essentially a form of ultranationalism. This has been evident in the idea of integral nationalism, in which the individualism is entirely absorbed into the nation through a heightened sense of national greatness and nationalistic zeal. It has also been apparent in the notion of palingenetic ultranationalism. This is because many forms of nationalism are based on a myth of national rebirth linked to a historical model of national greatness. For example, Mussolini drew parallels between his Fascist state and Imperial Rome. However, the extent of the link between fascism and nationalism may also be questioned. For example, Nazism was based on a form of extreme racism grounded in biological doctrines, that differs from conventional forms of nationalism. Similarly, few argue that ultranationalism explains all aspects of fascism. For instance, fascist theories about international conflict and war were shaped as much by social Darwinism as by nationalism and socialism, implying that fascism cannot merely be seen as form of nationalism. Nationalism may be an important part of fascist ideology, but it is only a part.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-19	A weak or poor understanding of the linkage between fascism and nationalism.
Level 2	20-39	Limited to sound understanding of fascism, showing an awareness of the significance of nationalism within it.
Level 3	40-60	A good or better understanding of fascism which develops an effective evaluation of the significance of nationalist ideas and doctrines.

## <u>Unit 6499</u>

Question Number	Indicative content
1	The ideological complexion of the Labour Party has been the
	subject of considerable debate. Some believe that it has
	successfully forged a 'third way'. The idea of the third way is the
	notion of an alternative to both capitalism and socialism, and in
	particular to the free-market theories of Thatcherism and
	'traditional' social democracy. This can best be seen in ideas such
	as liberal communitarianism, advanced through a rights and
	responsibilities agenda. Labour has expanded individual rights
	through its programme of constitutional reforms but it has also
	attempted to strengthen social responsibilities through welfare reform, tuition fees and by the so-called 'respect agenda'.
	Labour's welfare policies appear to conform to a third way model,
	in that they reflect continuing support for public services and the
	benefits system but have been reformed to take more account of
	targeting and a commitment to welfare-to-work.
	However, such a view has been criticised in at least three ways.
	Critics of Labour's modernisation process have sometimes
	argued that its real substance consists in an accommodation with
	Thatcherism and an acceptance of the 'rolled back' state. This view is supported by evidence of Labour's acceptance of
	privatisation and its adoption of a pro-business economic
	strategy.
	<ul> <li>An alternative view is that Labour remains committed to 'old'</li> </ul>
	Labour goals such as equality and social justice, reflected, for
	example, in its continuing commitment to end child poverty and
	to tackle global inequality.
	Another view suggests that the third way was little more than
	a convenient slogan to conceal Labour's lack of ideological
	direction. The idea of the third way has, anyway, largely been
	abandoned by most involved in the 'new' Labour project, as it
	hinted at a level of ideological coherence that is difficult to
	identify in practice.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-17	Poor to weak understanding of the 'third way', with little awareness of it's relevance to the modern Labour Party. Limited analysis and evaluation of political information
Level 2	18-32	Limited to sound understanding of the idea of the 'third way' with a reliable ability to apply it to the modern Labour Party.
Level 3	32-50	Good or better understanding of the 'third way', and an effective evaluation of its significance within modern Labour politics.

Question Number	Indicative content
2	Progressive forms of nationalism are forward-looking, orientated around the idea of progress towards a desired goal. However, reactionary forms of nationalism are backward looking, in that they seek to 'turn the clock back' to an earlier, preferred time. Some forms of UK nationalism have a clearly progressive character. This certainly applies to Scottish nationalism, which is largely orientated around the goal of self-determination and independent statehood. This form of nationalism is essentially political and rationalist in character. Other forms of nationalism that are linked to self-determination, such as Welsh nationalism and Republican nationalism in Northern Ireland, are also, to some extent, progressive.
	However, there is evidence that UK nationalism is often reactionary. The cultural nationalism found in Wales can be said to be backward-looking in that it seeks to preserve a cultural and linguistic identity that is clearly rooted in history. Unionist nationalism in Northern Ireland is also reactionary as it harks back to, and tries to maintain, the union between Ulster and Great Britain. Forms of English or British nationalism are commonly seen to be reactionary. This certainly applies in the case of far-right groups such as the BNP, which is based on a long-outdated model of all-white Britishness. UKIP and Eurosceptics in the Conservative Party can also be said to be reactionary in that they seek to return to a condition of sovereign independence that the UK supposedly enjoyed before it became a member of the EC in 1973. Nationalism and nationalist traditions are highly complex in practice. Not uncommonly, they blend progressive and reactionary characteristics, seeing the nation as both historically defined and embarked on a progressive quest.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-17	Poor to weak understanding of the nature of progressive and
		reactionary nationalism and of nationalisms in the UK.
Level 2	18-32	Limited to sound understanding of the nature of progressive and
		reactionary nationalism as found in the UK.
Level 3	32-50	Good or better understanding of progressive and reactionary
		forms of nationalism in the UK.

Question N	lumber	Indicative content
3		The Conservative Party has gone through many changes since the
		overthrow of Thatcher, the process of change having accelerated
		since the election of Cameron in 2005. Under Cameron, the party
		has embraced a variety of ideological themes. In one sense, the
		free market ideas of economic Thatcherism remain in place.
		Conservatives have certainly not abandoned the broad notion of
		'rolling back' the state, as is reflected in Cameron's belief that
		'there is such a thing as society, it is just not the same as the
		state'. Cameron therefore prefers non-state solutions, for
		instance emphasising the importance of faith groups and
		community action. Tax cuts are also still seen as desirable, even though the party is unwilling to commit itself on the issue if
		economic conditions are not conducive. However, quite different
		ideological themes have also emerged. There is some evidence of
		growing support for social inclusion, for example. This can be
		seen in at least three ways:
		, s
		• First, public services, particularly health and education, have
		been more openly endorsed.
		• Second, greater concern has been shown about poverty and
		levels of social inequality, even though there has also been
		support for a Thatcherite toughness on entitlements to benefits.
		• Third, there has been an attempt to widen the appeal of the
		party that had seemed to be too closely associated with white,
		middle class, 'middle England'. Attempts have therefore been
		made to appeal to the young, women, ethnic minorities and so
		on, although this has largely to date taken the form of rhetoric rather than hard policy commitments. Cameron appears to be
		trying to balance the need to change the Party's image, away
		from the 'nasty party' of old, while also retaining the support of
		traditionalists in the party and amongst its supporters.
	Morte	Descriptor
Level 1	Mark	Descriptor Poor to weak knowledge of Conservative ideas and policies in

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-17	Poor to weak knowledge of Conservative ideas and policies in
		recent years.
Level 2	18-32	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding of different
		ideological trends in the Conservative Party.
Level 3	32-50	Good or better knowledge and understanding of ideological trends
		in the Conservative Party and the balance between free market
		social inclusive priorities.

Question Number	Indicative content
4	Constitutional liberalism is based on the belief that political power is inherently corrupting, in which case a collection of devices are needed to protect citizens from the danger of over- mighty government. Limited government has usually been associated with external constraints in the form of codified constitutions and entrenched bills of rights, internal constraints in the form of institutional checks and balances, and democratic constraints in terms of regular, free and fair elections and PR voting systems. All of the UK's major parties now subscribe to some form of constitutional liberalism: however, this applies to different degrees in different parties:
	<ul> <li>The Liberal Democrats are strong and consistent supporters of constitutional liberalism. They advocate a codified constitution incorporating a bill of rights, support federalism rather than devolution and back the introduction of PR for Westminster elections.</li> <li>Since 1997, Labour has shown much greater sympathy for certain themes within constitutional liberalism. This encouraged the party to pursue the most radical programme of constitutional reforms of any elected in the twentieth century. Reforms such as devolution, the wider use of referendums, the introduction of PR for newly-created bodies, the Human Rights Act and so on were all designed to strengthen checks and balances and provide greater protection for individual freedom. However, these reforms have not fully satisfied constitutional liberals. Notably, they leave the uncodified character of the constitution unchanged, and Labour has shied away from major reforms that would substantially reduce executive power, such as the introduction a fully elected second chamber and PR for Westminster elections.</li> <li>The Conservatives, the party that has traditionally been least sympathetic to constitutional liberalism, has gradually shown greater interest in ways of limiting government power. The Party came quickly to accept devolution after 1997, and it formally supports an 80 per cent elected second chamber. However, the Conservatives remain the party least committed to constitutional liberalism. For example, Cameron has talked about replacing the Human Rights Act with a 'British bill of rights', which would be</li> </ul>
	likely to abandon the HRA's semi-entrenched status. Similarly, the

Conservatives remain the party least committed to electoral
reform and most concerned about expanding the powers of devolved bodies.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-17	Poor to weak understanding of constitutional liberalism and current party policies.
Level 2	18-32	Limited to sound understanding of constitutional liberalism and current party policies.
Level 3	32-50	Good or better understanding of constitutional liberalism and of the constitutional policies of the major parties.

## Route C

## <u>Unit 6500</u>

Question Number	Indicative content
1	Candidates should demonstrate understanding of historical purpose of national party conventions, which take place in the year of a presidential election, and its current purpose.
	<ul> <li>Historically, the convention served to following purposes:</li> <li>Selecting a presidential candidate, often in deals between powerful party figures in "smoke-filled" rooms.</li> <li>A forum for party factions to debate which issues should be included in the party's platform (manifesto)</li> <li>Announcing the vice-presidential candidate</li> <li>Building cross-party links, as this is the only opportunity (occurring only once every four years) for activists across the country to come together</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>In recent decades, the convention has arguably become largely irrelevant as it does not fulfil many of its traditional roles.</li> <li>With the growth of primaries, each party's presidential candidate is usually known well before the conventions. The last time a convention was "brokered" was the Democratic Party's convention of 1968.</li> <li>Public debates at the convention create a sense of disunity and are largely discouraged. The last time a fierce debate was allowed at the 1996 Republican Party convention, when focus was on abortion</li> <li>Vice-presidential candidates were also selected well in advance of the conventions at both of the last two conventions</li> </ul>
	However, in one key respect, the party plays an increasingly important role. For one week, in election year, virtually all political attention is on the party holding its convention and it is a prime opportunity to convey a positive impression of the candidate and the party. This may serve to provide a "bounce" in the polls and to establish a "narrative" for the election campaign. The 2004 party conventions illustrated their contemporary importance:- • The convention provided an opportunity for John Kerry to address concerns about his campaigning style, which was seen as long-winded and dull. His speech to the convention put many of those doubts to rest, although it did not completely erase them and the accusation remained a problem for him for the remainder of the campaign. Also, the President ensured that there was no post-convention "bounce" however because attention shifted to a national security alert, with warnings issued by the government of a possible attack on prominent buildings in New York city. It later turned out that these warnings were based on three year old intelligence.

• By contrast, the Republican National Convention produced a ten point lead in the opinion polls. It took place in New York in September, later than usual and one week before the third anniversary of the destruction of the World Trade Centre. Most of the prominent speakers were moderate Republicans with a record of attracting support from independents and Democrats, such as Arnold Schwarzenegger and Rudy Guliani. All of them emphasised the President's steadfast leadership at a time of crisis and presented Senator Kerry as a "flip-flopper".
In making judgements, consider the following:
• Understanding of the traditional role of party conventions (AO1)
• Evaluation of the whether they continue to play their traditional roles (AO2)
• Evaluation of their impact on the most recent elections (AO2)

Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	1-6	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication. A limited demonstration of knowledge of political institutions and processes and some of the relationships between them. Superficial contextual awareness of part of the question may be evident, with limited examples. Limited analysis with some awareness of differing viewpoints and basic attempts at evaluation. Conclusions may have limited relevance to the preceding discussion. A basic level of written communication with occasional use of political vocabulary.
Level 2	7-12	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner. Use should be made of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication. A good demonstration of knowledge of political processes and some of the relationships between them. Sound comprehension of the context of the question, with some good examples. Analysis displays an awareness of differing viewpoints and good attempts at evaluation. Candidates at this level are likely to offer a two or three points suggesting the continued relevance or lack of importance of conventions. At the top of this level, the a limited range of points will be well-developed, with recent relevant examples. A reasonable level of written communication with some use of political vocabulary.
Level 3	13-20	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation. Arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political

vocabulary and an excellent standard of vocabulary.
A comprehensive demonstration of knowledge and excellent contextual awareness with detailed evidence and examples. Analysis displays a sophisticated awareness of differing viewpoints and clear and full evaluation of the issues. Candidates at this level are likely to put party conventions in their historical context and offer a range of points suggesting the continued relevance or lack of importance of conventions. The very strongest students will recognise that the convention can be used to establish the presidential candidate's core messages in the mind of the voters. Some use of political vocabulary with an excellent standard of written communication.

Question Number	Indicative content
2	Candidates should demonstrate awareness of the role of professional lobbyists is to influence policy-makers through direct contact by building a relationship which is seen to benefit to the constituents of elected representatives as well as the pressure group represented by the lobbyist.
	<ul> <li>The methods used by professional lobbyists to influence members of Congress include:</li> <li>The "revolving door" syndrome, in which former legislators, bureaucrats, presidential advisors and assistants use their contacts to gain the kind of access to policy makers which ordinary citizens cannot. They can used this privileged position to act as the eyes and ears of their organisation on policy decisions being made and to convert policy-makers to their point of view</li> <li>A useful source of information and expertise. For policy-makers to make their mark, the advice of an experienced former policy-maker and the resources of use their organisation can be invaluable. Alternatively, lobbyists are often used to testify, as experts, before congressional committees</li> <li>Grass roots support. Lobbyists for organisations with a mass membership may use the promise of mobilising their members in support of an elected official in return for support on issues of importance to them</li> <li>Financial support. Lobbyists for wealthy organisations may use the promise of financial support during election campaigns in return for support on issues of importance to them</li> <li>The effectiveness of professional lobbyists is often measured by their number and pay. Candidates should recognise that that the number of professional lobbyists in Washington DC has risen steadily in recent decades to over 15,000, and that their pay has also risen substantially. Insightful candidates will recognise that the importance of professional lobbyists depends not only on the extent of their contacts and their expertise but also on the resources the organisation they represent can mobilise. Where these two dimensions come together, the combination can be potent: immediately after retiring in the 2004 elections, former Congressman Billy Tauzin became president of Pharmaceutical</li> </ul>
	and Research Manufacturers of America for \$2 million per year. In making judgements, consider the following:
	<ul> <li>Understanding of the role of professional lobbyists (AO1)</li> <li>Evaluation of the methods used by lobbyists to influence members of Congress (AO2)</li> <li>Evaluation of the effectiveness of the methods used by lobbyists to influence members of Congress (AO2)</li> </ul>

Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	1-6	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication. A limited demonstration of knowledge of political institutions and processes and some of the relationships between them. Superficial contextual awareness of part of the question may be evident, with limited examples. Limited analysis with some awareness of differing viewpoints and basic attempts at evaluation. Conclusions may have limited relevance to the preceding discussion. A basic level of written communication with occasional use of political vocabulary.
Level 2	7-12	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner. Answers which outline the methods used by lobbyists but fail to evaluate their effectiveness cannot exceed this level. Use should be made of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication. A good demonstration of knowledge of political processes and some of the relationships between them. Sound comprehension of the context of the question, with some good examples. Analysis displays an awareness of differing viewpoints and good attempts at evaluation. A reasonable level of written communication with some use of political vocabulary.
Level 3	13-20	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation. Arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of vocabulary. A comprehensive demonstration of knowledge and excellent contextual awareness with detailed evidence and examples. Analysis displays a sophisticated awareness of differing viewpoints and clear and full evaluation of the issues. Responses at this level will include analysis of the success of professional lobbyists as well as explanation of the methods used. Some use of political vocabulary with an excellent standard of written communication.

Question Number	Indicative content
3	Candidates should recognise that in Presidential elections, the outcome is determined by an electoral college in which the Presidential candidate who wins a majority of votes in each State wins all of the electoral college votes for that State (with the exception of Maine and Nebraska, which allocate their electors on a proportional basis).
	Some States are solidly Democrat (often referred to as "blue" States), others solidly Republican (referred to as "red" States). Voters in those States can be largely taken for granted and absorb only a minor proportion of campaign effort and resources.
	Instead, the main focus of presidential campaigns, particularly in a close election, is on the voters of States which are either fairly evenly split between the two main parties or have a high proportion of voters without a strong party affiliation. In 2004, there were ten of these States, known as "Swing States" or "Battleground States", which are expected to be decisive in the outcome of the election. The Swing State with the most Electoral College votes was Florida but the most significant was Ohio, which President Bush won by 120,000 votes. However, had just 70,000 people switched their vote in Ohio, John Kerry would have won the Presidency despite losing the popular vote in the country as a whole by 3.5 million.
	More famously, in the 2000 presidential election, George W Bush only became President because he won Florida's 25 electoral college votes with a plurality of just 535 votes out of the 22 million voters in that State.
	In addition to Florida and Ohio, likely swing states in 2008 include Pennsylvania, Nevada, Colorado, New Mexico and Virginia.
	In making judgements, consider the following:
	<ul> <li>Understanding of the role of the electoral college system (AO1)</li> <li>Evaluation of the way in which the electoral college</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>Evaluation of the way in which the electoral conege system marginalizes "safe" States, with example (AO2)</li> <li>Evaluation of the disproportionate impact of "swing" States, with recent examples (AO2)</li> </ul>

Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	1-6	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication. A limited demonstration of knowledge of political institutions and processes and some of the relationships between them. Superficial

		contextual awareness of part of the question may be evident, with limited examples. Limited analysis with some awareness of differing viewpoints and basic attempts at evaluation. Conclusions may have limited relevance to the preceding discussion. A basic level of written communication with occasional use of political vocabulary.
Level 2	7-12	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner. Use should be made of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication. A good demonstration of knowledge of political processes and some of the relationships between them. Sound comprehension of the context of the question, with some good examples. Candidates at this level may be able to assess the impact of key states in recent elections but fail to analyse how they affect campaign strategies. Analysis displays an awareness of differing viewpoints and good attempts at evaluation. A reasonable level of written communication with some use of political vocabulary.
Level 3	13-20	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation. Arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of vocabulary. A comprehensive demonstration of knowledge and excellent contextual awareness with detailed evidence and examples. Candidates at this level would be expected to analyse how swing states shape campaign strategies. Candidates at the top of this level may recognise that "swing" States provide an opportunity for minor parties to have a disproportionate impact on an election result, such as Ralph Nader in 2000 whose 97,000 votes in Florida would have gone mainly to the Democrats, had he not stood. Analysis displays a sophisticated awareness of differing viewpoints and clear and full evaluation of the issues. Some use of political vocabulary with an excellent standard of written communication.

Indicative content
Candidates should recognise the following factors as inhibiting
<ul> <li>Understanding that there are a variety of factors inhibiting the electoral success of minor parties (AO1)</li> <li>Evaluation of the ways in which these factors affect minor parties, with example (AO2)</li> </ul>
• Evaluation of the ways in which elections campaigns are becoming more sophisticated and expensive, to the disadvantage of minor parties, warrants more credit than the other factors (AO2)

Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	1-6	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication. A limited demonstration of knowledge of political institutions and processes and some of the relationships between them. Superficial contextual awareness of part of the question may be evident, with limited examples. Limited analysis with some awareness of differing viewpoints and basic attempts at evaluation. Conclusions may have limited relevance to the preceding discussion. A basic level of written communication with occasional use of political vocabulary.
Level 2	7-12	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner. Use should be made of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication. A good demonstration of knowledge of political processes and some of the relationships between them. Sound comprehension of the context of the question, with some good examples. Analysis displays an awareness of differing viewpoints and good attempts at evaluation. At least two factors have to be considered for answers to be at this level. A reasonable level of written communication with some use of political vocabulary.
Level 3	13-20	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation. Arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of vocabulary. A comprehensive demonstration of knowledge and excellent contextual awareness with detailed evidence and examples. Candidates who are able to evaluate the ways in which elections campaigns are becoming more sophisticated and expensive, to the disadvantage of minor parties, are likely to be providing answers at this level. Analysis displays a sophisticated awareness of differing viewpoints and clear and full evaluation of the issues. Some use of political vocabulary with an excellent standard of written communication.

Question Number	Indicative content
5	Candidates should be aware that there has been a tendency for criticisms of affirmative action programmes to be based on the principle that they are unfair to those who do not benefit from them. The should also recognise, however, that, more recently, the focus of criticism has shifted to the claim that it harms its intended beneficiaries.
	<ul> <li>The arguments that Affirmative Action is unfair include:</li> <li>The central American values are fairness and equality for everyone. Policies which appear to favour one group over others are out of step with American values</li> <li>It uses one form of discrimination to compensate for another. All discrimination causes fear and anxiety. African Americans continue to experience the fear of discrimination, now Affirmative Action has extended that fear to white Americans making the overall situation worse rather than better.</li> <li>Affirmative Action is a form of compensation by whites for slavery and <i>Jim Crow</i>. But why should today's white Americans pay for the sins of their forefathers, especially as their forefathers may have nothing to do with slavery and <i>Jim Crow</i>? And what about the role of African Americans themselves in slavery? Some free blacks were themselves slaveowners so why can their descendents benefit from Affirmative Action?</li> </ul>
	The main alternative proposal from this group of critics (a logical extension of their argument that any government support for struggling Americans should benefit all groups, not only specific races) is that income-based programmes, to help all in poverty, should replace race-conscious programmes. Supporters of existing affirmative action programmes counter that racial groups which suffer specific patterns of disadvantage as a direct result of racial discrimination need programmes specifically tailored to their circumstances. Further, they argue that opponents of race-conscious affirmative action are seeking to erode public awareness of the continuing damaging effects of decades of racial discrimination.
	<ul> <li>The arguments that Affirmative action is counter-productive, harming its intended beneficiaries, has dominated the debate in recent years. They include:</li> <li>Affirmative Action encourages its beneficiaries to have unrealistic expectations of their prospects. Students who gain entry to elite colleges because of Affirmative Action despite weak grades, may be ill-equipped to cope with the academic demands</li> <li>Affirmative Action encourages its beneficiaries to be lazy. Why work hard if Affirmative Action programs virtually guarantee progress?</li> </ul>
	• Because Affirmative Action programs have been in place for decades and have the appearance of becoming permanent, they send the message to its main beneficiaries, African Americans, that they cannot, and never will be able to, compete with other races on equal terms which is bad for their self-

esteem and self-confidence
• Equally damaging is the message they send to other races
that African American success is not really due to ability,
determination and hard-work but due to "preferential treatment"
Three main alternatives are offered by opponents of Affirmative
Action:
1. Abolition: in several states, including California and Michigan, propositions have been passed that have banned
affirmative action, particularly in higher education. Critics of
these measures point out that enrolment of African Americans
and Hispanics has fallen sharply following these measures
(especially in the elite institutions) reversing the previous
tendency for racial disparities in higher education to diminish.
Supporters of these measures point out that graduation rates
among minorities has increased as a result of all students
entering University on a similar level.
2. Class-based Affirmative Action: pioneered in Texas in
1998, race-based Affirmative Action in education was replaced a
model that provided a route to higher education from all
communities. The top 10% of all students qualified for the
University of their choice, thus ensuring that they do not have to
directly compete with students from better-resourced schools or
education districts. Supporters of this approach argue that it
enjoys greater public confidence than race-based Affirmative Action, while providing opportunities for all racial groups in a
state where there is still a high level of segregation between
communities. Opponents point out that enrolment of minorities
has fallen since the plan was adopted and that it would be even
less effective in states where there was less racial polarisation.
3. Cultural reform: struggling minority groups encouraged
examine the causes of their inability to effectively compete.
They should then make the necessary adjustments to conform
more closely with American "mainstream cultural norms" which
are the basis of economic and social progress. In support of their
argument they point to the contrast, in schools, between African
American children being much more likely to be disruptive in
class compared to Asian students from China and India who tend
to obey their teachers and do their schoolwork and outperform
students of other races. Supporters of affirmative action counter that these arguments have the effect of shifting responsibility for
disadvantage arising from racial discrimination from the political
authorities, which sanctioned the exclusion of racial minorities
from the mainstream of US society, to the victims of
discrimination. Further, they argue that the claims that African
Americans are lazier and less disciplined than other racial groups
echoes that prejudices which allowed slavery and segregation to
flourish for generations.
In making judgements, consider the following:
• Understanding of Affirmative Action programmes and their
purpose.
• Evaluation of the arguments that Affirmative Action is

<ul> <li>unfair, particularly to white Americans, and should be replaced by income based support (AO2)</li> <li>Evaluation of the arguments that Affirmative Action is counter-productive and should be abolished (AO2)</li> </ul>
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Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	1-6	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication. A limited demonstration of knowledge of political institutions and processes and some of the relationships between them. Answers which concentrate exclusively on the effect of increasing wealth are unlikely to rise above this level. Superficial contextual awareness of part of the question may be evident, with limited examples. Limited analysis with some awareness of differing viewpoints and basic attempts at evaluation. Polemics on Affirmative Action, reflecting the views of the candidate rather than the debate in US political circles, cannot rise above this level. Conclusions may have limited relevance to the preceding discussion. A basic level of written communication with occasional use of political vocabulary.
Level 2	7-12	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner. Use should be made of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication. Answers which outline criticisms of Affirmative Action and proposed alternatives but fail to analyse them are unlikely to rise above this level. Similarly, an effective evaluation of <i>either</i> the criticisms <i>or</i> the alternatives, but not both, are unlikely to rise above this level. A good demonstration of knowledge of political processes and some of the relationships between them. Sound comprehension of the context of the question, with some good examples. Analysis displays an awareness of differing viewpoints and good attempts at evaluation. A reasonable level of written communication with some use of political vocabulary.
Level 3	13-20	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation. Arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of vocabulary. A comprehensive demonstration of knowledge and excellent contextual awareness with detailed evidence and examples. To reach this level, candidates must analyse both the criticisms of affirmative action and proposed alternatives. Analysis displays a sophisticated awareness of differing viewpoints and clear and full evaluation of the issues. Some use of political vocabulary with an excellent standard of written communication.

Question Number	Indicative content
6	Candidates should be able to evaluate both the view that Pressure groups are too powerful and the view that they provide a healthy "free market" of opinion influences on political leaders.
	On one side, it is argued that US society is dominated by a power elite. It is argued that efforts to ensure a balance of political power between all sections of society has been no more effective than efforts to ensure that major companies do not dominate the marketplace. Just as Microsoft dominates the software market, without being a monopoly, so a powerful, wealthy elite dominates political access without monopolising it.
	According to this view, the wide range of opportunities to influence people in power can only be effectively exploited by pressure groups which have large memberships, effective lobbyists, effective lawyers and considerable wealth. Those most able to achieve all of these goals tend to be those who already dominate society in terms of group numbers or wealth. The less wealthy and minorities, by contrast, tend to lack the organisation, political connections and lack the voting power to make themselves heard in the corridors of power. Consequently, the US political landscape, designed to promote maximum accountability of politicians, has the opposite effect and provides a system which can be used by the already wealthy and powerful to entrench their privileges.
	On the other side of the argument it is claimed, that even if it appears that one section of society is dominant, US society is so open with multiple opportunities for everyone to be heard that all groups may make a contribution to shaping their society.
	According to this view, some of the most significant changes in recent times have been to the benefit of the kind of minority groups which the elitist theorist argue are largely excluded from the corridors of power. For example, <i>Brown v. Board of Education</i> transformed the South, <i>Roe v. Wade</i> meant that vulnerable women no longer had to resort to back-street abortions; <i>Lawrence v. Texas</i> meant that laws which discriminated against gays were declared unconstitutional and, in 2004, gay marriage was permitted in Massachusetts. Political scientists who believe that the USA provides a healthy pluralist political system argue that none of these advances would have been possible if a small, wealthy, white, conservative elite controlled all meaningful power.
	Furthermore, they claim, if the country goes through a period in which barriers develop to full participation, history demonstrates that these will be addressed through regulation. Hence the passage of the Federal Election Campaigns Acts (FECA) in the

1970's, when questionable relationships between the President and his donors was revealed by the Watergate scandal and the passage of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act in 2002 when it was clear that FECA was proving ineffective. Similarly, when the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act (1946) proved ineffective, it was replaced with the Lobbying Disclosure Act in 1995. Pressure groups, therefore, far from shaping the political landscape are forced to respond to it. In making judgements, consider the following:
<ul> <li>Evaluation of argument that pressure groups in US society provide a mechanism for the domination of a power elite. (AO2)</li> <li>Evaluation of argument that pressure groups in US society provide a mechanism for holding those in power to account and a forum for a free market in ideas. (AO2)</li> <li>Relevant examples and illustrations should be credited (AO1)</li> </ul>

Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	1-20	<ul> <li>A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication.</li> <li>A limited demonstration of knowledge of political institutions and processes and some of the relationships between them. Superficial contextual awareness of part of the question may be evident, with limited examples. Conclusions may have limited</li> </ul>
		relevance to the preceding discussion. A basic level of written communication with occasional use of political vocabulary.
Level 2	21-38	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner. Use should be made of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication.
		A good demonstration of knowledge of political processes and some of the relationships between them. Sound comprehension of the context of the question, with some good examples. Analysis displays an awareness of differing viewpoints and good attempts at evaluation. Effective analysis of only one side of the argument on the impact of pressure groups are unlikely to exceed this level. A reasonable level of written communication with some use of political vocabulary.
Level 3	39-60	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation. Arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of vocabulary.

A comprehensive demonstration of knowledge and excellent contextual awareness with detailed evidence and examples. At this level, candidates will be able to analyse both sides of the argument on the impact of pressure groups on US democracy. Analysis displays a sophisticated awareness of differing viewpoints and clear and full evaluation of the issues. Some use of political vocabulary with an excellent standard of written communication.
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Question Number	Indicative content
7	Candidates should demonstrate an understanding that there are three main factions within the Democratic Party, only one of which is clearly "liberal". While the influence to the liberal faction has grown in recent years, it is less easy to characterise the party as a whole as "liberal" than it is to characterise the Republicans as "conservatives".
	The main factions of the party are: • Blue Dog Democrats: this faction argues that Americans have become increasingly conservative and that Democrats have to respond to this trend by presenting an agenda which protects the interests of the vulnerable while respecting traditional Christian values and keeping taxes low. This agenda enables them to work with Republican moderates and they are the least likely to vote on party lines of any identifiable group in Congress. Criticised by other members of their own party as "Republican lite", the group had 44 members in the 110 <sup>th</sup> Congress, following the 2006 mid-term election, an increase of seven compared to the previous election.
	<ul> <li>Democratic Leadership Council: this faction, founded in 1985, also seeks to establish a political agenda for the Democratic Party which appeals to the conservative heartland of the USA. The group is often identified with Bill Clinton who became its leader in 1990 and, of course, went on to become President two years later. He argued that the Democrats had not been trusted by middle-class voters to "defend our national interests abroad, to put their values into social policies at home, or to take their taxes and spend it with discipline".</li> <li>The left: a loose coalition of party activists and internet-based organisations on the fringes of the party, such as MoveOn.org (that helped raise £40 million to promote a liberal agenda in the 2004 presidential election) they adopt a stance that there can be no compromise with conservatives and that the way for the Democratic Party to win power is by fighting every conservative policy which threatens hard-won rights such as abortion, civil rights for racial minorities, gay rights etc. The growing influence of this movement was demonstrated by the defeat of Senator Lieberman in the Democratic primary ahead of the 2006 midterm elections. Activists, using the internet to spread their message, generated a wave of support behind a little-known challenger, Ned Lamont, because of Lieberman's support for President Bush's foreign policy. Furthermore, the Speaker of the House of Representatives and several chairmen of the most important committees (such as John Conyers, who chairs the House Judiciary committee) are to the left of the party</li> </ul>
	Both the left and the Blue Dogs have had success in recent elections. Candidates may, therefore, make legitimate arguments <i>either</i> that the party has moved to the left <i>or</i> that it is gravitating towards the centre, provided their conclusions are supported by recent evidence.

In making judgements, consider the following:
<ul> <li>Understanding of the policies of Blue Dog Democrats (AO1)</li> <li>Evaluation of their influence within the Democratic Party (AO2)</li> </ul>
<ul> <li>Understanding of the policies of the DLC (AO1)</li> <li>Evaluation of their influence within the Democratic Party (AO2)</li> </ul>
<ul> <li>Understanding of the policies of the "internet left" (AO1)</li> <li>Evaluation of their influence within the Democratic Party (AO2)</li> </ul>

Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	1-20	<ul> <li>A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication.</li> <li>A limited demonstration of knowledge of political institutions and processes and some of the relationships between them. Superficial contextual awareness of part of the question may be evident, with limited examples. Candidates who use dated examples or generalisations to argue that the Democratic Party is still a broad churches, with little internal cohesion, are unlikely to rise above this level. Conclusions may have limited relevance to the preceding discussion. A basic level of written communication with occasional use of political vocabulary.</li> </ul>
Level 2	21-38	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner. Use should be made of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication. A good demonstration of knowledge of political processes and some of the relationships between them. Sound comprehension of the context of the question, with some good examples. Analysis displays an awareness of differing viewpoints and good attempts at evaluation. Candidates who are able to outline liberal policies associated with the Democratic Party (pro-choice etc) but fail to analyse the level of support for those policies are unlikely to rise above this level. Similarly, candidates who outline which groups support the Democratic Party and attempt to infer how liberal it is on this basis are unlikely to exceed this level. A reasonable level of written communication with some use of political vocabulary.
Level 3	39-60	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation. Arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of vocabulary.

	A comprehensive demonstration of knowledge and excellent contextual awareness with detailed evidence and examples. Candidates must be able to outline the policies of at least two factions within the Democratic Party and be able to evaluate their influence to reach this level. The very strongest candidates will be able to analyse the impact of all three factions. Analysis displays a sophisticated awareness of differing viewpoints and clear and full evaluation of the issues. Some use of political vocabulary with an excellent standard of written communication.
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## <u>Unit 6501</u>

Question Number	Indicative content
1	Candidates should demonstrate awareness that presidents have adopted a range of programmes introduced by Presidents since the late 1960's designed to reverse the centralisation of power over the previous three decades.
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	occurred under the presidency of Clinton. In making judgements, consider the following:

Understanding of the meaning of New Federalism and its purpose (AO1) Evaluation of how each phase has altered the relationship between the States and the government in Washington DC (AO2) Evaluation of New Federalism under President George W Bush warrants more credit than the other factors (AO2)
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Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	1-6	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication. A limited demonstration of knowledge of political institutions and processes and some of the relationships between them. Candidates who provide a generic response, covering the complete history of Federalism, cannot rise above this level. Superficial contextual awareness of part of the question may be evident, with limited examples. Limited analysis with some awareness of differing viewpoints and basic attempts at evaluation. Conclusions may have limited relevance to the preceding discussion. A basic level of written communication with occasional use of political vocabulary.
Level 2	7-12	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner. Use should be made of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication. Candidates who provide a list of relevant factors, however comprehensive, but fail to analyse them or illustrate them with appropriate examples, cannot rise above this level. A good demonstration of knowledge of political processes and some of the relationships between them. Sound comprehension of the context of the question, with some good examples. Analysis displays an awareness of differing viewpoints and good attempts at evaluation. A reasonable level of written communication with some use of political vocabulary.
Level 3	13-20	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation. Arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of vocabulary. A comprehensive demonstration of knowledge and excellent contextual awareness with detailed evidence and examples. A comprehensive list of factors is not required to reach this level, but candidates must demonstrate awareness that New Federalism has taken a variety of forms under different presidents and be able to provide some explanation of each approach. Strong candidates, likely to be earning close to full marks, will be recognise that political factors in recent years have made states once again more reliant on central government despite no change

in policy in Washington DC. Analysis displays a sophisticated awareness of differing viewpoints and clear and full evaluation of the issues. Some use of political vocabulary with an excellent standard of written communication.
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Question Number	Indicative content
2	Candidates should recognise that since the Republicans captured control of Congress with the Contract with America in 1994, the party leadership has actively strengthened party discipline:
	The party platform has been a significant factor in the political success of Republicans in recent elections, especially 1994, 2002 & 2004.
	Party loyalty, as well as seniority, is used by the Republican leadership in determining Committee Chairmanships. (Arlen Specter was threatened with losing the Chairmanship of the Senate Judiciary Committee in November 2004 for a comment which suggested a lack of party solidarity.)
	Since 2004, House Speaker Hastert has applied a policy of only allowing bills to complete their passage if they have the support of a "majority of the majority", meaning that he will not allow the Democrats to claim credit for measures even if they have bi- partisan support.
	As the Republicans in Congress have become more unified, Democrats have responded in kind leading to a growing proportion of votes on party lines As a consequence of these factors, the Republican controlled Congress only not put President George W Bush in the position of
	having to veto a bill on one occasion in his first six years in office
	Following the Democratic capture control of Congress in 2006, again on a national platform of opposition to the war in Iraq and presidential incompetence over Hurricane Katrina, the Speaker, Nancy Pelosi, has adopted a similar approach, although a strong cohort of conservatives in the party (Blue Dogs) has meant that she has been somewhat less effective at imposing her will on the party than the Republicans were.
	Answers may be influenced by the events following 9/11, when there was a high degree of bi-partisanship. However, it is important to recognise that this period was atypical, with party divisions were largely set aside, and the short phase of national unity did not arrest the trend towards greater party discipline in Congress, possibly it accelerated it as Republicans used the terrorist threat to their political advantage in both the 2002 and 2004 election campaigns.
	In making judgements, consider the following:
	Understanding that party discipline has been strengthened since the Republicans gained control of Congress in 1994 (AO1) Evaluation of the factors which have caused the strengthening of party discipline in Congress (AO2) Credit examples of bi-partisanship in the aftermath of 9/11 only insofar as they are used to illustrate the fluid nature of party politics. They are not a reflection of the current state of party politics (AO2)

Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	1-6	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication. Answers which demonstrate no understanding of that there is party discipline in the USA cannot rise above this level.
		A limited demonstration of knowledge of political institutions and processes and some of the relationships between them. Superficial contextual awareness of part of the question may be evident, with limited examples. Limited analysis with some awareness of differing viewpoints and basic attempts at evaluation. Conclusions may have limited relevance to the preceding discussion. A basic level of written communication with occasional use of political vocabulary.
Level 2	7-12	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner. Use should be made of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication. A good demonstration of knowledge of political processes and some of the relationships between them. Sound comprehension of the context of the question, with some good examples. Analysis displays an awareness of differing viewpoints and good attempts at evaluation. A reasonable level of written communication with some use of political vocabulary.
Level 3	13-20	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation. Arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of vocabulary. A comprehensive demonstration of knowledge and excellent contextual awareness with detailed evidence and examples. To reach this level, candidates have to demonstrate understanding of factors which have strengthened party discipline in Congress. It is not sufficient to provide a general analysis of the factors which tend to unite/divide parties in general. The very strongest candidates, likely to be earning close to full marks, will be able to use examples from the 108th and 109th Congresses to illustrate their points. Analysis displays a sophisticated awareness of differing viewpoints and clear and full evaluation of the issues. Some use of political vocabulary with an excellent standard of written communication.

Question Number	Indicative content
3	Candidates should demonstrate awareness that even though there are no formal constraints on Presidents when nominating Supreme Court Justices, there are a range of traditional considerations that have to be taken into account, including:
	The American Bar Association: Since 1952, the Association's committee on the Federal Judiciary has been consulted concerning almost every Federal judicial appointment, rating each nominee as "exceptionally well qualified", "well qualified", "qualified" or "not qualified"
	Balance: Throughout the history of the judiciary, most judges have been white Anglo-Saxon men. On the Supreme Court, the first Jewish Justice, Louis Brandeis, was appointed in 1916, the first African American, Thurgood Marshall, in 1967, the first woman, Sandra Day O'Connor, in 1981 and the first Italian American, Antonin Scalia, in 1986.
	Geography: Since its earliest days, Presidents have done their best to ensure that all regions of the United States have been represented on the Court. In 1932, the principal objection to the strongest candidate, Justice Cardozo, arose from the fact that he was from New York and there were already two justices from that State on the bench. One of the other Justices from New York generously offered to resign so that Justice Cardozo could be appointed.
	In addition, Presidents have to consider the obstacles to nomination and whether the preferred candidate is likely to clear them. These include: Pressure Groups, which take a special interest in the work of the Courts, keep files on all potential nominees. As soon as an announcement is made, they will issue press-releases and produce television adverts which support or oppose the nominee with a view to putting pressure on the Senators. Famously, Reagan's nominee, Robert Bork, was discredited by the process and he was not confirmed. Senators, who meet nominees to discuss any issues or concerns they may have, provide the nominees with exploring their approach to making judgements and indicating their views on the major issues of the day (President George W Bush's nominee, Harriet Miers, withdrew at this stage in 2005) and hold hearings.
	Even if the President's preferred nominee negotiates these obstacles, he or she may not behave in the way expected. In general, Democrat Presidents tend to be more liberal and prefer to appoint this kind of "activist" judge. Alternatively, they can nominate judges who believe that it is the role of the legislature, not the courts, to pass laws which govern people's daily lives, according the will of the electorate as expressed at the most recent election. In general, Republican Presidents tend to be more conservative and prefer to appoint this kind of "restrained" judge who is reluctant to use the powers available to the courts to shape US society. However, Conservatives, especially, have been dismayed that a significant proportion of Supreme Court

Justices have proved to be far less conservative than the Presidents who nominated them expected. In the 1950's President Eisenhower described his appointment of Earl Warren to Chief Justice as "the biggest damn fool mistake I ever made". Of the justices currently on the Supreme Court two of the more liberal members, Justices Stevens and Souter, were appointed by Republican Presidents. In making judgements, consider the following:
Understanding of the appointment process of Supreme Court Justices and how has restricted presidential choices (AO1) Evaluation of the impact of these factors on the current balance of power between the conservatives and liberals on the Supreme Court (AO2)

Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	1-6	<ul> <li>A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication.</li> <li>A limited demonstration of knowledge of political institutions and processes and some of the relationships between them. Superficial contextual awareness of part of the question may be evident, with limited examples. Limited analysis with some awareness of differing viewpoints and basic attempts at evaluation. Conclusions may have limited relevance to the preceding discussion. A basic level of written communication with occasional use of political vocabulary.</li> </ul>
Level 2	7-12	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner. Use should be made of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication. A good demonstration of knowledge of political processes and some of the relationships between them. Sound comprehension of the context of the question, with some good examples. Candidates at this level are likely to limit their responses to the three most well-known factors of vacancies arising, Senate scrutiny of nominees and Justices not voting as expected on controversial issues. Analysis displays an awareness of differing viewpoints and good attempts at evaluation. A reasonable level of written communication with some use of political vocabulary.
Level 3	13-20	<ul> <li>A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation. Arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of vocabulary.</li> <li>A comprehensive demonstration of knowledge and excellent</li> </ul>
		contextual awareness with detailed evidence and examples.

Analysis displays a sophisticated awareness of differing viewpoints
and clear and full evaluation of the issues. Some use of political
vocabulary with an excellent standard of written communication.

Question Number	Indicative content
4	Candidates should be demonstrate an understanding that separation is a constitutional principle, first outlined by the French philosopher Montesquieu, that each branch of government should have defined roles and powers, without any overlap of personnel. In the USA, as the political scientist Neustadt pointed out, while there is strict separation of personnel (no person may serve in two branches at the same time) there is some overlap of powers, such as the President and the Senate both contributing to the process of appointing a Federal judge.
	Candidates should also recognise that the concept of separation of powers is necessarily complemented by a system of checks and balances to ensure that none of the branches of government encroaches on the powers or roles of the others.
	One criticism of the system is that is has not worked in the ways intended by the authors of the constitution, as illustrated by the following points: The Supreme Court, through judicial review, has acquired quasi- legislative powers
	The Presidency has effectively nullified the foreign policy powers of Congress, deploying troops on a huge scale without declaring war and signing Executive Agreements instead of Treaties (that require two-thirds Senate approval) Where one party controls both the White House and both chambers of Congress, as in the period 2002-2006, high levels of co-operation may negate the effects of both Separation of Powers and Checks and Balances
	Another criticism is that it works in precisely the ways intended by the founding fathers, limiting the ability of Federal politicians to govern by causing gridlock as illustrated by the following points: Since the Democrats captured Congress in 2006, few bills have been passed When the Republicans controlled Congress during the Presidency of Bill Clinton, gridlock was so severe that the government had to
	be shut down twice Government departments are accountable to both the President and to Congress, making it difficult for the President to organise and run the bureaucracy in ways that s/he may wish
	In making judgements, consider the following:
	Understanding of the concept of Separation of Powers, with a recognition that it must be complemented by checks and balances to be meaningful (AO1) Evaluation of the practical effects of separation of powers (AO2)

Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	1-6	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication. A limited demonstration of knowledge of political institutions and processes and some of the relationships between them. Superficial contextual awareness of part of the question may be evident, with limited examples. Limited analysis with some awareness of differing viewpoints and basic attempts at evaluation. Conclusions may have limited relevance to the preceding discussion. A basic level of written communication with occasional use of political vocabulary.
Level 2	7-12	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner. Answers which demonstrate an understanding of the concept of Separation of Powers but fail to evaluate criticisms may be at the bottom of this level. Use should be made of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication. A good demonstration of knowledge of political processes and some of the relationships between them. Sound comprehension of the context of the question, with some good examples. Analysis displays an awareness of differing viewpoints and good attempts at evaluation. A reasonable level of written communication with some use of political vocabulary.
Level 3	13-20	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation. Arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of vocabulary. A comprehensive demonstration of knowledge and excellent contextual awareness with detailed evidence and examples. Analysis displays a sophisticated awareness of differing viewpoints and clear and full evaluation of the issues. Some use of political vocabulary with an excellent standard of written communication.

Question Number	Indicative content
5	Candidates should demonstrate that they understand that the term 'imperial judiciary' relates to the idea that the Supreme Court has usurped the policy-making powers that the Founding Fathers reserved for the elected branches of government.
	In developing an analysis, candidates may consider the factors which enable Supreme Court justices to take decisions which may reasonably be seen as 'political' but that there are also factors which encourage them to avoid entering the 'political thicket'.
	Factors which enable justices to adopt a political stance include: The power of judicial review, which gives justices the right to overturn laws of Congress and state legislatures as well as the right to over-rule the actions of the President and state governors.
	As the highest court of appeal they are entitled to overturn decisions, with constitutional implications, of state courts, lower federal courts and reverse previous Supreme Court decisions Under the 9th Amendment they can create new constitutional rights, most famously the right of privacy in Roe v. Wade Strikingly, in recent years the Court has been willing to intervene in security issues (which have traditionally been seen as the preserve of the Executive) in cases such as Hamdi v. Rumsfeld (2003), Handan v. Rumsfeld (2006) and Boumediene v. Bush (2008).
	Candidates may legitimately interpret the term "imperial judiciary" to mean "liberal" courts/decisions that have extended constitutional rights, particularly for minorities. If so, they may use examples covering a range of issues from Civil Rights for African Americans, Gay Rights, the rights of suspects etc. However, this approach must be placed in the framework of loose constructionism, including an analysis of the justifications for this judicial philosophy.
	Factors which inhibit justices from taking a political stance include: Court tradition: justices do not think of themselves as politicians and may refuse to rule on issues they see as overtly political. They make distinctions between their personal views and what the law requires Lack of enforcement power: their decisions have to enforced by the President or state governors who cannot always be relied
	upon to do so Public opinion: decisions which are clearly out of step with public opinion tend to be unsustainable Checks and balances in the constitution should lead to the appointment of justices whose views are moderate. Congress has the power to remove judges who have clearly exceeded their powers
	For those candidates arguing that the term "imperial judiciary" means "liberal", it will be necessary to explore the argument

that courts/decisions may be "conservative". If so, some of the illustrations they use may, legitimately, be from the New Deal era, such as Schecter Poultry Corporation v US or Butler v US. However, there is a rich vein of conservative decisions in the Roberts Court that candidates could mine, including Community Schools v Seattle School District (restricting affirmative action in high schools) Gonzales v Carhart (partial birth abortion) and FEC v Wisconsin Right to Life (Campaign Reform Legislation). Again, this approach must be placed in the framework of strict constructionism, including an analysis of the justifications for this judicial philosophy.
associated with left wing policies such as Earl Warren are most often associated with politically-charged judgements, right wing justices such as Scalia and Thomas can also be judicial activists.
Understanding that there are two sets of factors which determine whether judicial decisions are 'political' (AO1) Evaluation of the factors which enable to justices to adopt a political stance (AO2) Evaluation of the factors which inhibit justices from adopting a political stance (AO2)

Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	1-6	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication.
		A limited demonstration of knowledge of political institutions and processes and some of the relationships between them. Superficial contextual awareness of part of the question may be evident, with limited examples. Limited analysis with some awareness of differing viewpoints and basic attempts at evaluation. Conclusions may have limited relevance to the preceding discussion. A basic level of written communication with occasional use of political vocabulary.
Level 2	7-12	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner. Candidates at the top of this range may be able to support their points with famous cases which illustrate judicial activism but may not be able to do so as effectively with cases which demonstrate judicial restraint. Answers which only consider one side of the argument cannot rise above this level. Use should be made of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication. A good demonstration of knowledge of political processes and some of the relationships between them. Sound comprehension of the context of the question, with

		some good examples. Analysis displays an awareness of differing viewpoints and good attempts at evaluation. A reasonable level of written communication with some use of political vocabulary.
Level 3	13-20	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation. Arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of vocabulary. A comprehensive demonstration of knowledge and excellent contextual awareness with detailed evidence and examples. Candidates must illustrate their points with cases which demonstrate both judicial activism and judicial restraint to reach this level. Analysis displays a sophisticated awareness of differing viewpoints and clear and full evaluation of the issues. Some use of political vocabulary with an excellent standard of written communication.

Question Number	Indicative content
6	Candidates should demonstrate that they understand that Presidents face a number of challenges in managing the executive branch effectively and have tried a number of strategies Federal Bureaucracy responsive to their political priorities accountable for their actions.
	The President has limited freedom of choice in organising the executive branch to reflect his priorities, for the following reasons: the President cannot adjust the number of Departments, or their responsibilities, to help promote his policy priorities. This can only be done by Congress by convention, the head of each Department has a background which is compatible with the responsibilities of the Department. by convention, the heads of Department (who make up the Cabinet) are expected to be broadly representative of the population of the country. Presidents may use the "egg formula" as one of the factors when considering candidates to ensure that each ethnic group, both genders and all geographical regions are represented in the Cabinet. This is particularly important when a State Governor becomes President, as was the case with both Bill Clinton (Arkansas) and George W Bush (Texas). Consequently, the fifteen Executive Departments may be run by people whose commitment to the President's agenda may be limited.
	Further, other parts of the federal government have, by law, a significant measure of independence from the White House: Independent Regulatory Commissions are agencies, established by Congress and independent of the President, with responsibility for regulating important aspects of society. They are empowered to establish rules for the policy area they regulate, which have the force of law, and to enforce their rules. Independent Agencies which, in most respects, are organised like the fifteen main government departments, headed by people responsible to the President. As such, the President has more control over these bodies than the Independent Regulatory Commissions but they tend to complicate the organisation of government and lines of responsibility. Government Corporations, which are public services, which are administered as business enterprises, such as the United States Postal Service and the national passenger rail service, Amtrak. While the President plays a minimal role in the daily functions of these organisations, public perception of the effectiveness of his administration may be significantly affected their performance.
	Strategies used by all presidents to exert control over this bureaucracy include: The "spoils system: since George Washington, Presidents have appointed political sympathizers to senior jobs in the government. The Executive Office of the Presidency: this group of departments, inside the White House, monitors the

implementation of presidential priorities and provided co- ordination and direction across the Executive branch
Additionally, each President has introduced their own measures to hold the Federal Bureaucracy to account. President George W Bush introduced the Management Agenda, a package which included: Grading federal departments and agencies on the results they achieved, with the White House defining "success" Increased White House oversight of regulations issued, to ensure that they were consistent with the President's aims The introduction of performance-related pay to make it easier to reward or fire employees according to the administration's goals "Competitive sourcing" which would force federal workers to compete against private contractors to run programmes
Creating a "sunset" process, which would require federal programmes to justify their existence every ten years
In making judgements, consider the following:
Evaluation of the factors which determine which make it difficult for the President to exert control over the federal bureaucracy (AO2)
Evaluation of the strategies used by all presidents to control the federal bureaucracy (AO2) Evaluation of the strategies used by President George W Bush to control the federal bureaucracy (AO2)

Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	1-20	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication. A limited demonstration of knowledge of political institutions and processes and some of the relationships between them. Superficial contextual awareness of part of the question may be evident, with limited examples. Answers which only evaluate the impact of "iron triangles" cannot rise above this level. Limited analysis with some awareness of differing viewpoints and basic attempts at evaluation. Conclusions may have limited relevance to the preceding discussion. A basic level of written communication with occasional use of political vocabulary.
Level 2	21-38	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner. Candidates at this level are likely to limit their answers to evaluation of the Cabinet and the Executive Office of the Presidency. Use should be made of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication. A good demonstration of knowledge of political processes and some of the relationships between them. Sound comprehension of the

		context of the question, with some good examples. Analysis displays an awareness of differing viewpoints and good attempts at evaluation. A reasonable level of written communication with some use of political vocabulary.
Level 3	39-60	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation. Arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of vocabulary. A comprehensive demonstration of knowledge and excellent contextual awareness with detailed evidence and examples. Answers which evaluate the challenges posed by the federal bureaucracy as a whole, not just the fifteen executive departments, are likely to be at this level. Candidates who can evaluate the strategies used by recent presidents to control the federal bureaucracy are likely to be at the top of this level. Analysis displays a sophisticated awareness of differing viewpoints and clear and full evaluation of the issues. Some use of political vocabulary with an excellent standard of written communication.

Question Number	Indicative content
7	Candidates should demonstrate an awareness that the Constitution was written to ensure that civil liberties would be protected at all times, especially when the security of the nation was threatened when civil liberties would be most at risk. However, not everyone in the USA agrees that the constitution strikes the right balance between, on one hand, entrenched rights and, on the other hand, flexibility, in such circumstances.
	Those who believe that the right balance has been struck would argue that, even in times of crisis, governments have been able to respond effectively without infringing the liberties of the citizens. Or, on the rare occasions that the core principles of freedom and liberty have been breached, such as President Lincoln suspending Constitutional freedoms during the Civil War or Japanese-Americans being denied their Constitutional rights during World War II the balance has been restored once the crisis passed. The developments since the camp for "enemy combatants" was established on Guantanamo Bay may be used to illustrate this point. Although hundreds have been detained for up to six years in the camp, without trial, the Supreme Court ruled, with increasing impatience, that the inmates are entitled to constitutional protections in the cases of Rasul v Bush (2004), Handan v. Rumsfeld (2006) and Boumediene v. Bush (2008).
	Others argue that the constitution is too flexible and complain that it has allowed the government, espeically the Executive branch, to use periods of crisis to steadily undermine those mechanisms in the constitution which protect liberty, which should protect citizens from the accumulation of power by the national government. Thus, when it was revealed in 2005 that the Bush administration had authorized eavesdropping on oversees phonecalls made for the USA, the President argued that as Commander in Chief he was constitutionally mandated to do anything within his power to protect the American people. The result is that the balance between effective government and personal freedom has tilted dangerously away from liberty, undermining the core principle of the Constitution.
	A third group argue that civil liberties are paramount and that government (especially the Supreme Court) should be quicker to intervene when liberties are undermined by measures such as the Patriot Act and the establishment of the prisoner camp at Guantanamo Bay. Groups such as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), believe that the traditional deference shown by the guardians of the Constitution towards the elected branches of government mean that they take too long to restore rights if Congress and the President sacrifice liberty of fear of being accused of doing too little to promote security.
	In making judgements, consider the following:
	Evaluation of the viewpoint that constitutional safeguards are too weak to withstand the pressures for increased governmental

	intervention at times of crisis (AO2) Evaluation of the viewpoint that the constitution strikes the right balance between the protection of civil liberties and providing for national security (AO2) Evaluation of the viewpoint that Supreme Court tends to be too reluctant to intervene are protect civil liberties and that this tendency is exacerbated at times of national crisis (AO2)
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Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	1-6	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication. A limited demonstration of knowledge of political institutions and processes and some of the relationships between them. Superficial contextual awareness of part of the question may be evident, with limited examples. Limited analysis with some awareness of differing viewpoints and basic attempts at evaluation. Conclusions may have limited relevance to the preceding discussion. A basic level of written communication with occasional use of political vocabulary. may have limited relevance to the preceding discussion. A basic level of written communication with occasional use of political vocabulary.
Level 2	21-38	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner. Use should be made of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication. A good demonstration of knowledge of political processes and some of the relationships between them. Sound comprehension of the context of the question, with some good examples. Answers at this level may well demonstrate knowledge of the balance the constitution aims to strike between entrenched rights and effective government without evaluating viewpoints on how effectively this has been achieved. Analysis displays an awareness of differing viewpoints and good attempts at evaluation. A reasonable level of written communication with some use of political vocabulary.
Level 3	39-60	<ul> <li>A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation. Arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of vocabulary.</li> <li>A comprehensive demonstration of knowledge and excellent contextual awareness with detailed evidence and examples. Analysis displays a sophisticated awareness of differing viewpoints and clear and full evaluation of the issues. Some use</li> </ul>

	of political vocabulary with an excellent standard of written communication. Answers at this level will analyse at least two viewpoints on whether the constitution strikes the right balance between entrenched rights and effective government.
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## <u>Unit 6502</u>

Question Number	Indicative content,
1	Candidates should discuss the changing nature of the UK's unitary system and the USA's federal system.
	It has been claimed that the UK political system is no longer truly unitary as a result of power being relinquished by the UK's central government. Candidates should demonstrate awareness that power has always rested in Westminster and that the government can give and take away power as and when it chooses, the creation and abolition of the GLC being the best modern example. They should also demonstrate awareness that the tendency in recent years has been to give power away in the form of devolution, the pooling of powers with other members of the EU and the incorporation of the European Convention of Human Rights (ECHR) into British law.
	More sophisticated answers may recognise that, due to referenda, repatriation of devolved powers to Westminster may not be as straightforward as in the past. Similarly, repatriation of powers from the EU is limited by treaties. Conversely, sophisticated answers may point out that devolution does not necessarily inhibit government attempts to influence policy in devolved regions, as demonstrated by the attempts to influence the choice of leader in London and Wales. Similarly, being a signatory to the ECHR did not stop the government from passing legislation which authorised internment in 2001.
	It has also been claimed that the US system is no longer truly federal as a result of increasing centralisation, culminating in the Great Society programme of the 1960's. Candidates should demonstrate awareness that in the USA the power of the Federal government in Washington DC has expanded well beyond the roles envisaged by the founding fathers and may choose to briefly outline the progression from dual, through co- operative to creative federalism. However, they should also demonstrate awareness that significant powers have remained with the states throughout the nation's history and that since the election of President Nixon the trend has been to limit the power of Washington.
	More sophisticated answers may explore the twists in the relationship between central and state governments in recent years. States asserted their independence and individuality during the economic boom of the 1990's, initiating policies which often served as a test bed for national policy. Since the economic downturn and terrorist attacks of 2001, states have again demonstrated their dependence on Washington DC and have been directed to follow national policy on homeland security.

Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	1-17	A limited ability to draw together knowledge, understanding and skills learned in the Advanced Subsidiary GCE and in Units 4 and 5 of this route and some awareness of connections between these different areas of study. A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication. Answers may be unbalanced and make few meaningful comparisons.
Level 2	18-32	A sound ability to draw together knowledge, understanding and skills learned in the Advanced Subsidiary GCE and in Units 4 and 5 of this route and an awareness of connections between these different areas of study. A sound ability in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner, making some use of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication. Candidates at the top of this range may have demonstrated considerable political knowledge and made appropriate comparisons, but failed to develop a sophisticated argument, preferring to provide an explanation of how one political system works, followed by the other with the conclusions limited to the conclusion.
Level 3	33-50	A high level of ability in drawing together knowledge, understanding and skills learned in the Advanced Subsidiary GCE and in Units 4 and 5 of this route and full understanding of connections between these different areas of study. A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of written communication. The strongest candidates will demonstrate a recognition that pressure groups should be measured by outcome, not size and visibility. Answers which fail to develop an argument throughout, only drawing comparisons in the conclusion, cannot reach this level, however well expressed.

Question Number	Indicative content,
2	Candidates should demonstrate awareness of the increasingly sharp ideological divisions between the two main parties in the USA on issues such as the right to abortion, minority rights, gun control and environmental regulation.
	Democrats, even those who personally oppose abortion or gay marriage, support the right of people to make their own life choices; believe that guns should be either regulated or banned; the environment should be regulated and that government should provide support for those who cannot support themselves through no fault of their own e.g. health insurance for those who cannot afford any. On foreign affairs, Democrats place greater emphasis on America building coalitions around its policies than Republicans who object to any restraints on America putting its own interests first.
	Republicans believe that abortions are immoral; gay marriage undermines families which form the bedrock of society; the 2 <sup>nd</sup> amendment is the ultimate guarantor of freedom; land and water use is best protected by those who use it every day and that the tax system should be used to encourage those who are dependent on support to do more to help themselves e.g. tax rebates to help those who cannot afford healthcare.
	<ul> <li>Meanwhile, in Britain, the two main parties have very similar policies in terms of social polities, economic policy and foreign policy. For example:</li> <li>Privatisation: Although a policy associated with the Conservative Party, New Labour privatised the Air Traffic Control Service; private companies perform operations, such as hip replacements, on behalf of the Health Service and City Academies, run by private organisations, are being rapidly expanded to provide education for the children of Britain's most deprived communities.</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>Law and order: Although a "tough" law and order policies are associated with the Conservative Party, under New Labour there are record numbers of police, a record number of prisoners and a range of initiatives which by-pass the courts such as ASBO's and dispersal orders.</li> <li>Taxation: Both the Labour and Conservative parties compete to be seen as the more competent administrators of a free market economy, while maintaining taxes and funding of</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>services at the current level</li> <li>Foreign policy: Although the Conservative Party has been seen as readier to intervene with military force, New Labour has sent the British armed services to fight in Sierra Leone, Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq</li> <li>Image: even in tone, with David Cameron presenting a kinder gentler image than traditional Conservative leaders, the two main parties appear alike.</li> </ul>
	Candidates may legitimately challenge the statement. It could

be argued that the ideological divisions between the parties in the USA are not great, that many factors such as candidate- centred campaigns and geographical diversity hinder sharp ideological divisions. This argument can be supported by examples of diversity within parties, such as Michael Bloomberg, the moderate Republican Mayor of New York and socially liberal Republican Arnold Schwarzenegger in California.
However, it would be harder to make a case that there is "clear blue water" between the main parties in the UK and, to answer this question well, candidates need to demonstrate awareness of the trend in recent years towards increasing ideological cohesion within each of the main parties in the USA.

Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	1-17	A limited ability to draw together knowledge, understanding and skills learned in the Advanced Subsidiary GCE and in Units 4 and 5 of this route and some awareness of connections between these different areas of study. A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication. Answers may be unbalanced and make few meaningful comparisons.
Level 2	18-32	A sound ability to draw together knowledge, understanding and skills learned in the Advanced Subsidiary GCE and in Units 4 and 5 of this route and an awareness of connections between these different areas of study. A sound ability in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner, making some use of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication. Candidates at the top of this range may have demonstrated considerable political knowledge and made appropriate comparisons, but failed to develop a sophisticated argument, preferring to provide an explanation of how one political system works, followed by the other with the conclusions limited to the conclusion.
Level 3	33-50	A high level of ability in drawing together knowledge, understanding and skills learned in the Advanced Subsidiary GCE and in Units 4 and 5 of this route and full understanding of connections between these different areas of study. A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of written communication. The strongest candidates will demonstrate a recognition of political trends and illustrate their points with relevant, current examples. Answers which fail to develop an argument throughout, only drawing comparisons in the conclusion, cannot reach this level, however well expressed.

Question Number	Indicative content,
3	Candidates should be aware that there are two phases to the process: selection of candidates and the election.
	In the selection phase, there is a substantial difference between t UK systems. It could be argued that the use of primaries in the L politicians highly responsive to the needs and wishes of voters beca
	• They are more democratic than party leaders deciding on the candidates that voters can choose from at the election, with the possibility that the electorate will not like either of them.
	• As a result of the influence of party leaders being diluted, candidates who would have had little chance of being selected by them may stand for election
	• The competing candidates usually offer a range of policies and election strategies and the result of the primary will provide a strong indication of which approach has the most electoral appeal, especially if independents have been allowed to participate.
	• In the case of open primaries, all voters have the opportunity to participate at this stage of the election process which increases political participation by a wide cross-section of the adult population
	Conversely, it can be argued that these processes make politicians in the USA less responsive to the needs and wishes of voters than their UK counterparts because:
	• Experienced party leaders may make a more informed decision on suitable candidates for their party than the wider electorate
	• Some candidates may campaign on their personal qualities, trivialising the political issues of the day
	• The primary may be won by the best funded candidate who may not necessarily be the most suitable
	• In the case of open primaries, there is the opportunity for "raiding" by supporters of one party who cross over and vote for a weak candidate of the opposing party
	In the election phase, three factors may suggest that the US system produces highly responsive candidates:
	• In the USA, the frequency of and character of elections provides more opportunities to "throw the rascals out" and puts the spotlight on each candidate's record
	• The fixed dates of elections makes it impossible for the majority party to call elections at the most advantageous time, again requiring candidates to defend their records regardless of

the political climate
• US elections, especially Presidential campaigns, are so long, with so many strategies used to deliver the candidates' messages that there is really no excuse for not knowing who the candidates are and what they stand for. In the UK, party election broadcasts are fairly easily avoided, especially by those who do not watch the news on a regular basis, and election posters and literature are in limited supply in safe seats.
Conversely, two factors may suggest that the UK system produces more responsive candidates:
• In the UK, forms of proportional representation in elections for Devolved Assemblies and in elections to the European Parliament have increased the meaningful choices available to voters as a result of the opportunities they provide for smaller parties
• The structured nature of campaigns means that each candidate has a reasonable chance of their messages being heard, rather than the wealthiest drowning out the rest.

Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	1-17	A limited ability to draw together knowledge, understanding and skills learned in the Advanced Subsidiary GCE and in Units 4 and 5 of this route and some awareness of connections between these different areas of study. A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication. Answers may be unbalanced and make few meaningful comparisons.
Level 2	18-32	A sound ability to draw together knowledge, understanding and skills learned in the Advanced Subsidiary GCE and in Units 4 and 5 of this route and an awareness of connections between these different areas of study. A sound ability in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner, making some use of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication. Candidates at the top of this range may have demonstrated considerable political knowledge and made appropriate comparisons, but failed to develop a sophisticated argument, preferring to provide an explanation of how one political system works, followed by the other with the conclusions limited to the conclusion. Answers which fail to discuss developments since 2001 cannot rise above this level.
Level 3	33-50	A high level of ability in drawing together knowledge, understanding and skills learned in the Advanced Subsidiary GCE and in Units 4 and 5 of this route and full understanding of connections between these different areas of study. A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured

manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of written communication. The strongest candidates will demonstrate a recognition of political trends and illustrate their points with relevant, current examples. Answers which fail to develop an argument throughout, only drawing comparisons in the conclusion, cannot reach this level, however
well expressed.

Question Number	Indicative content,
4	Candidates should display awareness of ways in which other branches of government check the powers of the Heads of Government, and consider whether these mechanisms have been less effective since 2001.
	<ul> <li>In relation to the UK, issues which could be discussed include:-</li> <li>Limited ability of Parliament to block or amend legislation in the House of Commons, especially if there is effective whipping or the government has a large majority, and the House of Lords being limited to delaying legislation for only one year. In 2003, during the vote on whether to support the invasion of Iraq, the argument that the country's security strengthened the hands of the whips. The same was true of most anti-terrorism legislation but the argument did not prevail in respect of the measure to hold terrorist suspects without charge for 90 days.</li> <li>Ability to hold the government to account both on the floor of the commons and in select committees but a lack of resources and expertise which limits the ability to put ministers under sustained pressure to provide full justifications for their actions/proposals</li> <li>Restrictions on government measures through being a signatory of the European Convention on Human Rights have proved ineffective due to the right to derogate.</li> <li>However, the judicial branch has proved willing to challenge government measures passed in the name of the fight against terrorism, such as the indefinite detention in prison of foreign suspected terrorists.</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>In relation to the USA, the range of issues which could be discussed may include:-</li> <li>Separation of powers means that Congress plays a major role in all domestic legislation which is routinely amended or blocked, including the President's budget and flagship legislation. However, in respect of the "War on Terror", Congress has proved extremely reluctant to use these powers.</li> <li>In the low-key, but important, area of scrutiny of the Executive, Congress brings expertise, experience and substantial resources to the role. This was evident in the work of the 9/11 Commission which insisted on being provided with documents and interviewing White House staff despite the President's objections.</li> <li>In the role of ratification of appointments and treaties, the Senate's role can be significant, for example in the rejection of several John Bolton as US ambassador to the UN which has weakened the effectiveness of the US mission.</li> <li>As in the UK, the strongest challenge to the Executive has come from the courts, with the ruling Hamden v. Rumsfeld invalidating the administration's policy of denying constitutional rights to "enemy combatants".</li> </ul>
	Insightful candidates may recognise that the President of the USA

combines the positions of Head of Government and Head of Sta which, at times of crisis, provides an opportunity appear to r above politics and present a policy agenda as being in t national interest. This can undermine the effectiveness of t system of checks and balances, particularly those exercised Congress. Hence, perhaps, the greater effectiveness Parliament despite having less powers available to it th Congress.	ise the the by of
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Level	Mark	Descriptors
Level 1	1-17	A limited ability to draw together knowledge, understanding learned in the Advanced Subsidiary GCE and in Units 4 and 5 of this route and some awareness of connections between these different areas of study. A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication. Answers may be unbalanced and make few meaningful comparisons.
Level 2	18-32	A sound ability to draw together knowledge, understanding and skills learned in the Advanced Subsidiary GCE and in Units 4 and 5 of this route and an awareness of connections between these different areas of study. A sound ability in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner, making some use of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication. Candidates at the top of this range may have demonstrated considerable political knowledge and made appropriate comparisons, but failed to develop a sophisticated argument, preferring to provide an explanation of how one political system works, followed by the other with the conclusions limited to the conclusion. Answers which fail to discuss the factors which directly address the relationship between voters and their elected representatives cannot rise above this level.
Level 3	33-50	A high level of ability in drawing together knowledge, understa skills learned in the Advanced Subsidiary GCE and in Units 4 and 5 d this route and full understanding of connections between these different areas of study. A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard communication. The strongest candidates will recognise that there is an ideological dimension to this issue, especially when analysing the work of the UK Parliament, and illustrate their points with relevant, current examples. Answers which fail to develop an argument throughout, only drawing comparisons in the conclusion, cannot reach this level, however well expressed.

## Route D

## <u>Unit 6503</u>

Question Number	Indicative content
1	<ul> <li>Globalization entails both economic and cultural aspects. It speaks of an ever more interdependent world in which issues of sovereignty are increasingly less important. The world in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century is a much more interconnected place than it was 100 years ago. Messages and information can be sent anywhere in the world for very low cost. Email, the internet, telephones, TV and radio ensure that. International travel is both faster and cheaper than at any time in history. In all, geography is becoming less and less important. Stock markets could be located anywhere, indeed, traders could all work from home, and in the future they may do so. Products and firms are also becoming more international. A car can be assembled in one location, but its components tend to be sourced from a variety of countries. The place of assembly could be moved quite easily, perhaps to take advantage of relaxed labour laws elsewhere or lower tax rates. People are also more willing than ever to relocate. Mobility is a key factor. As people move around the globe ideas move with them. Globalization impacts upon every aspect of the political and economic system. What was once described as a myth, is now widely accepted. What is debatable, however, is whether globalization is a new phenomenon or merely the continuation of the process of increasing interconnectedness which began in the colonial period.</li> <li>In making judgements consider the following: <ul> <li>Knowledge and understanding of globalization past and present (AO1)</li> <li>Analysis of the extent to which globalization is a new phenomenon (AO2)</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-6	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication.
Level 2	7-12	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner, making some use of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication.

Level 3	13-20	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of written communication.
		Candidates will discuss different aspects of globalization and the fact that there is debate over whether globalisation actually exists. They might also mention the effect on the nation-state.

Question NumberIndicative content2The WTO is a multilateral organisation which monitors the implementation of trade agreements and settles disputes among trade partners. The WTO was developed from GATT as a free- trade organisation with 'teeth'. It extended the jurisdiction of GATT to include trade in agricultural products and services, its findings are 'binding' on all member states and its legislative powers have theoretically removed the need for prolonged negotiations which involve endless concessions and 'deals'. The WTO is the central institution governing trade and therefore almost all states want to participate in it. Membership currently stands at 144, including China finally joining after 13 years of negotiations.Candidates must explain the role of the WTO in promoting free trade and in settling trade disputes between members. Level 3 answers will include explained examples of such disputes, such as the EU - US disputes over steel protection and over aircraft manufacturing.In making judgements consider the following: • Knowledge of the aims of the WTO (AO1)
<ul> <li>Knowledge of criticisms of the WTO (A01)</li> <li>Analysis of the effectiveness of the WTO at tackling such issues (A02)</li> </ul>

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-6	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication.
Level 2	7-12	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner, making some use of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication.
Level 3	13-20	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of written communication.

Question Number	Indicative content
3	<ul> <li>Intergovernmentalism refers to a structure of IGO where state sovereignty is protected as decisions are made by the leaders of member states. The European Council of Ministers is an intergovernmental body for this reason. Intergovernmentalists prefer a confederal structure which is, of course state-centric. Answers should discuss the extent to which the EU has moved away from intergovernmentalism, dominated by the Council of Ministers, towards a supranational body. Clearly there are elements of the EU which are supranational, such as the European Central Bank and the European Court, but the key policy areas of foreign policy, defence and taxation, are still controlled by the individual member states and their elected governments. Intergovernmentalism has been defended because the alternative, supranationalism, entails the erosion of the traditional bastion of state sovereignty.</li> <li>In making judgements consider the following:         <ul> <li>Knowledge of attempts to retain intergovernmentalism in the EU (AO1)</li> <li>Analysis of the extent to which intergovernmentalism has been retained and why (AO2)</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-6	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication.
Level 2	7-12	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner, making some use of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication.
Level 3	13-20	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of written communication.

Question Number	Indicative content
4	The rise of emerging nations refers to the rapid growth, both economic and political, of nation states such as China, India and Brazil. China's record of 10% annual GDP growth since the early 1990s has meant that China is an emerging superpower. Clearly a second superpower will have significant implications for world politics. The USA will no longer be the sole superpower and so the unipolar era post 1990 will be replaced by one of bipolarity or even multipolarity. Candidates should discuss the impact of this growth in China's power and influence, including the weakened hegemony of the USA and the reduced ability of the West to dominate world politics. China's willingness to buy oil and gas from states such as Iran, Libya, Sudan and Angola are useful examples.
	The emergence of states such as India and Brazil may also change the balance of power in international trade at WTO talks, for example.
	<ul> <li>In making judgements consider the following:</li> <li>Knowledge and understanding of the increasing power and status of emerging nations. (AO1)</li> </ul>
	• Knowledge and understanding of how the international system is affected by the number of great powers (AO1)
	• Analysis of the extent to which the international system has been affected by the emergence of nation states such as China and India. (AO2)

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-6	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication.
Level 2	7-12	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner, making some use of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication.
Level 3	13-20	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of written communication.

Question Number	Indicative content
5	The belief that people have rights because they are human beings is a relatively recent concept. Traditional thinking on international law is that it applies to states and not individuals. Moreover, state sovereignty prevents intervention in the domestic affairs of other states; International law being between states, and municipal law between individuals. However, the 'society of states' concept has been challenged by the 'global society' approach which gives equal status to individuals as to states, and where human rights are as legitimate a policy concern as peace or economic well-being. The UN Commission on Human Rights was established in 1946 and in 1948 the UN General Assembly passed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
	Thus there is a code of established human rights. There have been attempts to create a judiciary which investigates and punishes infringements, but enforcement remains difficult and problematic. At least there is something against which states can be compared and criticised. There have also been a number of regional measures, some of which have had more success. The European Convention on Human Rights, for example, should be identified, not only identifies rights but also tries to enforce them. There have also been a number of NGOs which have sprung up in defence of human rights, most notably Amnesty International which specialises in fighting for prisoners of conscience.
	However, increasingly, the nation-state is becoming vulnerable to outside interference as economic markets and telecommunications become global. Human rights and the right to self-determination are becoming international concerns. The failure of the international community to stop genocide in Rwanda, and in the first years of conflict in Yugoslavia lead to a change in western attitudes towards the supremacy of state sovereignty. State sovereignty was repeatedly challenged, in Bosnia, Kosovo and Iraq, for example, as some western leaders began to argue that severe violations of human rights warranted military intervention. Sovereign equality, it seems has waned. Moreover the EU has introduced the concept of pooled sovereignty.
	<ul> <li>In making judgements consider the following:</li> <li>Knowledge of state sovereignty and its relevance (AO1)</li> <li>Understanding of how state sovereignty impacts upon justice and human rights (AO1 and AO2)</li> <li>Analysis of the extent to state sovereignty over rules concerns over human rights (AO2)</li> </ul>

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-20	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication.
Level 2	21-38	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner, making some use of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication.
Level 3	39-60	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of written communication.

<ul> <li>The debt crisis has existed since 1982 when Mexico defaulted on its debt. It stems from international borrowing in the 1970s by many LDCs who struggled to stimulate development and cope with falling aid combined with rising oil prices. Banks from the North were often too willing to grant loans in the belief that sovereign states represented safe borrowers. However, as money was often misspent and the global economy drifted into recession, interest rates in the US particularly rose causing the US value to rise sharply and debt repayments to present an ever burden.</li> <li>Traditional responses to the debt crisis have involved more loans (the 1985 Baker plan) or reform of economic policy in combination with IMF loans and the infamous SAP. Lower government spending, higher interest rates and higher taxes led to recession hurting the poor most and widening the income inequality gap. More recent solutions have included the debt for equity swaps, whereby state assets were exchanged for a reduction in debt. But clear sovereignty issues arise here. The IMF and World Bank have also implemented the Highly Indebted Poor Countries initiative (HIPC) targeting the poorest states which have an unsustainable debt situation. Though the HIPC initiative has had success, (eg in Bolivia, Burkina Faso and Uganda) some argue that it has not gone far enough since debt repayments still deprive people of even the basic needs and many impoverished states, such as haiti are not even included. The charity Jubilee 2000 has pushed for the debts of all 41 HIPCs to be cancelled. They point to the costs of debt repayment, such as in Zambia more than 10% of GDP is spent, whereas less than half that figure is spent on all social services combined. Only cancellation of the debt will allow the Millenium Development Goal of halving extreme poverty by 2015 to be considered.</li> <li>Students should discuss the arguments against debt cancellation: such as it being unfair to those states that have repaid debt, and it rewards bad g</li></ul>	Question Number	Indicative content
<ul> <li>(the 1985 Baker plan) or reform of economic policy in combination with IMF loans and the infamous SAP. Lower government spending, higher interest rates and higher taxes led to recession hurting the poor most and widening the income inequality gap. More recent solutions have included the debt for equity swaps, whereby state assets were exchanged for a reduction in debt. But clear sovereignty issues arise here. The IMF and World Bank have also implemented the Highly Indebted Poor Countries initiative (HIPC) targeting the poorest states which have an unsustainable debt situation. Though the HIPC initiative has had success, (eg in Bolivia, Burkina Faso and Uganda) some argue that it has not gone far enough since debt repayments still deprive people of even the basic needs and many impoverished states, such as Haiti are not even included. The charity Jubilee 2000 has pushed for the debts of all 41 HIPCs to be cancelled. They point to the costs of debt repayment, such as in Zambia more than 10% of GDP is spent, whereas less than half that figure is spent on all social services combined. Only cancellation of the debt will allow the Millenium Development Goal of halving extreme poverty by 2015 to be considered.</li> <li>Students should discuss the arguments against debt cancellation: such as it being unfair to those states that have repaid debt, and it rewards bad governance. Blair is a proponent of using debt relief to reward good governance and is opposed to blanket cancellation of the debt. Actions of Blair and Brown suggest that international aid has been ineffective because aid has been too small. In 2001 Britain urged the North to spend \$50 billion more on aid, which would bring aid towards the level of the Marshall Plan. Gordon Brown has argued that the safety of people in the North depends on the prosperity of those in the South. In March 2002 Bush proposed a 50% increase in US foreign aid, \$10 billion over 3 years, then in 2003 he promised \$15 billion to fight AIDS in Africa.</li> </ul>	6	its debt. It stems from international borrowing in the 1970s by many LDCs who struggled to stimulate development and cope with falling aid combined with rising oil prices. Banks from the North were often too willing to grant loans in the belief that sovereign states represented safe borrowers. However, as money was often misspent and the global economy drifted into recession, interest rates in the US particularly rose causing the US \$ value to rise
such as it being unfair to those states that have repaid debt, and it rewards bad governance. Blair is a proponent of using debt relief to reward good governance and is opposed to blanket cancellation of the debt. Actions of Blair and Brown suggest that international aid has been ineffective because aid has been too small. In 2001 Britain urged the North to spend \$50 billion more on aid, which would bring aid towards the level of the Marshall Plan. Gordon Brown has argued that the safety of people in the North depends on the prosperity of those in the South. In March 2002 Bush proposed a 50% increase in US foreign aid, \$10 billion over 3 years, then in 2003 he promised \$15 billion to fight AIDS in Africa. Level 3 answers should give reasons for aid being ineffective, including the debt problem, and mis-spending such as on military projects, inappropriate technology, white elephants and corruption. Students should analyse trade as a more effective		(the 1985 Baker plan) or reform of economic policy in combination with IMF loans and the infamous SAP. Lower government spending, higher interest rates and higher taxes led to recession hurting the poor most and widening the income inequality gap. More recent solutions have included the debt for equity swaps, whereby state assets were exchanged for a reduction in debt. But clear sovereignty issues arise here. The IMF and World Bank have also implemented the Highly Indebted Poor Countries initiative (HIPC) targeting the poorest states which have an unsustainable debt situation. Though the HIPC initiative has had success, (eg in Bolivia, Burkina Faso and Uganda) some argue that it has not gone far enough since debt repayments still deprive people of even the basic needs and many impoverished states, such as Haiti are not even included. The charity Jubilee 2000 has pushed for the debts of all 41 HIPCs to be cancelled. They point to the costs of debt repayment, such as in Zambia more than 10% of GDP is spent, whereas less than half that figure is spent on all social services combined. Only cancellation of the debt will allow the Millenium Development Goal of halving extreme poverty by 2015 to be
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locali	zed development.
In ma	king judgements consider the following:
• (A01)	Understanding of the use of aid to reduce poverty in LDCs
(AO1)	Understanding of the role of free trade in reducing poverty
• aid or	Analysis of the extent to which poverty is best tackled by trade (AO2).

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-20	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication.
Level 2	21-38	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner, making some use of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication.
Level 3	39-60	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of written communication.

Question Number	Indicative content
7	The United Nations arguably represent a world government in that all sovereign states except for Taiwan have representation in the General Assembly. The Security Council is clearly dominated by the P5, but ten other states complete the SC and perhaps give it an element of representation. Candidates should discuss the extent to which the UN carries out the role of global parliament and legislator. The International Criminal Court and the International Court of Justice, together with <i>ad hoc</i> tribunals, arguably represent the judiciary, but candidates should discuss the impact of state sovereignty and the willingness of some states to reject the authority of the courts. The IMF, World Bank and WTO represent the financial and trade institutions set up to promote economic prosperity and stability throughout the globe. Candidates should discuss the extent to which these bodies contribute to the development of a world government. Answers should include discussion of UN peacekeeping powers and analysis of whether these powers are sufficient to carry out the UN aims of maintaining international peace and security. In recent years there have been calls for the Un to intervene in internal disputes, to prevent genocide and promote human rights. Advanced answers will analyse the extent to which these bodies contribute to the development of a world government.
	<ul> <li>In making judgements consider the following:</li> <li>Knowledge various international organisations (UN, WTO, ICC, ICJ etc) and their relevance with regards to a world government (AO1)</li> <li>Knowledge of the conflict between state sovereignty, state centric policies and a world government (AO1)</li> <li>Analysis of the extent to which various institutions and international law bring order and global governance (AO2)</li> <li>Analysis of the extent to which such institutions have/ have not led to a system of world government, and reasons for this (AO2)</li> </ul>

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-20	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication.
Level 2	21-38	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner, making some use of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication.
Level 3	39-60	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of written communication.

## <u>Unit 6504</u>

Question Number	Indicative content
1	<ul> <li>Since the end of the Cold War tensions between the US and some EU states have developed over a number of areas. The USA emerged as the only superpower and has been more willing to play the role of international policeman. However some in the US have become frustrated that the EU has not been able or willing to become more involved in a policing role of its own. Bosnia illustrated the EU's reluctance to exert power and influence on its own doorstep. The US has urged the EU to take more responsibility and not to rely on the US alone to provide stability and security. On the other hand, some resent plans for a Common Foreign Policy for the EU, and any extension of the Rapid Reaction force, which could threaten the existence of NATO. Overall the EU is a challenge to US hegemony. Some EU states and the USA have disagreed significantly about ways of handling the Middle East peace process in particular how to prosecute the war on terror and, of course, the war with Iraq. France and Germany have repeatedly frustrated the USA over their reluctance to play their part in Afghanistan, and they both threatened to vote against US resolution proposals in the UN against Saddam.</li> <li>Nevertheless, candidates should note that France led by Sarkozy is much more open to partnership with the USA than it was with Chirac, as is Germany under Merkel. Indeed France has pledged to commit more troops to Afghanistan.</li> <li>In making judgements consider the following:         <ul> <li>Knowledge and understanding of EU states' reactions to US foreign policy (AO1)</li> <li>Analysis of the extent to which relations between the USA and some EU states have become tense over Iraq, Afghanistan, war on terror etc. (AO2)</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-6	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication.
Level 2	7-12	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner, making some use of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication.
Level 3	13-20	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and

evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of written communication.
Candidates will discuss both aspects of globalisation and the fact
that there is debate over whether globalisation actually exists.
They might also mention the effect on the nation-state.

Question Number	Indicative content
2	<ul> <li>Globalisation impacts upon every aspect of the political and economic system, including trade, telecommunications, money, multinational firms, migration etc. It is the 'widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness'. Some argue that this process is reducing the power and influence of the nation-state. The spread of economic liberalism has meant that states are losing authority to supranational institutions such as the IMF, World Bank, WTO and EU, and to multinational firms which can promise foreign direct investment, but at a price. Critics of globalisation argue that it is actually spreading US domination around the globe. They claim that states are being coerced into accepting neoclassical economic policies such as free trade, reduced government spending, higher taxes yet lower subsidies, in order to reduce their international debt to Western banks and institutions such as The World Bank and the IMF, which themselves are US-dominated. US imperialism, they argue, has arisen from the drive for economic growth, for US Dollars. It is not traditional colonialism whereby a powerful state would invade another state and impose its own citizens as rulers. Instead, the US is able to persuade a state's own government to adopt US-favoured policies. It is imperialism without military force. The anti-globalization movement has, of course, been bolstered by anti-Americans, anarchists, Islamists and an assortment of left wingers.</li> <li>In making judgements consider the following:         <ul> <li>Knowledge of why such concerns are popular (AO1)</li> <li>Analysis of the extent to which anti-globalization has proved popular, and why. (AO2)</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-6	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication.
Level 2	7-12	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner, making some use of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication.
Level 3	13-20	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of written communication.

Question Number	Indicative content
3	The World Bank is a key actor in the international political economy, with particular relevance to development. Its formation stemmed in part because many believed that World War II was partly caused by the Great Depression, and by inflation, lack of currency convertibility and other economic problems that characterised the inter-war period (1919-1939). To address future economic problems the allies met in 1944 at Bretton Woods to set up the World Bank and the IMF. However, there are many critics of the World Bank, and in recent years it has become a focus of the struggle between the North and the South. There are two main controversies; vote distribution and Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP).
	Vote distributions are based on member-states' contributions funds. This gives control to a few, rich countries. Similarly, LDCs have little power in decision making.
	The second criticism is that they impose unfair and severe economic conditions on already indebted and impoverished states. The SAP, to which recipients of World Bank loans used to have to agree, required states to move towards capitalism by privatising state-run enterprises, reducing trade barriers and facilitating capital flows (thereby promoting foreign ownership of domestic firms), reducing social programmes to cut budget deficits (health and education thereby suffering) and devaluing currencies. Critics argue that the SAP violated state sovereignty and harmed living standards by cutting social services and reducing growth in order to balance budgets. Defendants countered such arguments by stating that the original policies caused the debt, monetary instability or crisis in confidence in the first place.
	<ul> <li>In making judgements consider the following:</li> <li>Knowledge of the role of the World Bank (AO1)</li> </ul>
	• Knowledge of performance of the World Bank, and criticisms of it (AO1)
	• Analysis of the extent to which the World Bank has been effective (AO2)

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-6	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication.
Level 2	7-12	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner, making some use of political vocabulary and a reasonable

		level of written communication.
Level 3	13-20	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and
Level 3	13-20	5
		evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly
		structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary
		and an excellent standard of written communication

Question Number	Indicative content
4	"Genocide is a crime on a different scale to all other crimes against humanity and implies an intention to completely exterminate the chosen group Genocide is therefore both the gravest and greatest of the crimes against humanity." The term genocide was first used in 1943 by the Jewish-Polish lawyer Raphael Lemkin who combined the Greek word "genos" (race or tribe) with the Latin word "cide" (to kill). He campaigned to have genocide recognised as a crime under international law. His efforts led to the adoption of the UN Convention on Genocide in December 1948.
	The United Nations (UN) was set up at the end of World War II to maintain peace and security between states. This would be done by dissuading states from attacking each other and organising counter-measures against aggressive states that attacked other states. Gulf War I was a clear example of collective security through the UN acting to remove the aggressive state (Iraq) from territory conquered (Kuwait). By defeating the Iraqi forces in Kuwait and southern Iraq not only would peace be restored, but also future aggressive acts by Iraq or other states would also be deterred. UN forces operated according to the concepts of collective security and peacekeeping. In collective security aggression against one member is a threat to all members and so the collective body should unite to prevent and ultimately defeat aggression. The UN role of peacekeeping typically involves acting as a buffer between two sides, to allow for negotiations or at least to stop the fighting. However, if one side in the dispute remains intent on using violence the UN forces have been unable and unwilling to impose peace. Since 1991 most disputes have been domestic, civil encounters. Under international law there has been no international aggressor and the UN has been unable to intervene. Many now argue that the UN should be able to intervene in such civil conflicts, and moreover, be able to impose peace. That is, the UN should have peacemaking powers. This inevitably imposes on state sovereignty, it elevates the status of the UN (world government?) and it creates operational and financial problems.
	Candidates will use examples to illustrate the failure of the current system to prevent genocide in Rwanda, Bosnia, Darfur etc to support the argument that the UN be given stronger powers, but will also note the mixed results of military intervention in Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq. Difficulties in administration and finance should also be raised, including the role of the Security Council and the Veto.
	<ul> <li>In making judgements consider the following:</li> <li>Knowledge and understanding of the role of UN. (AO1)</li> <li>Knowledge and understanding of recent episodes of</li> </ul>
	genocide. (AO1)
	• Analysis of the extent to which UN has been effective in

preventing genocide. (AO2)

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-6	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication.
Level 2	7-12	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner, making some use of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication.
Level 3	13-20	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of written communication.

Question Number	Indicative content
5	The Cold War was widely understood as an ideological conflict between the Capitalist USA and the Communist USSR and their allies. The end of the Cold War marked a return to nationalist conflicts with many nations struggling to define their statehood. Candidates should discuss examples of such conflicts, such as in Bosnia, Kosovo, and East Timor. However, the victory of capitalism over communism has not necessarily resulted in the 'end of history'. It can be argued that a new form of ideological conflict has developed. On the other hand, it could be argued that conflicts remain struggles for power. In the cold war the superpowers used political ideology to unify their empires and to motivate their people. Now, the war on terror, or Islamic Jihad could arguably be mere tools a power struggles.
	Al-Qa'ida, reaffirmed on 9/11 their aims of demolishing western influence and power and attacking any "infidels" (Jews and Christians especially). It is their aim to create a fundamentalist Islamic influence in as many states as possible. In response the US and her allies declared a 'War on Terror', a struggle against the forces that wanted to destroy western democracy. Some political commentators, like Samuel Huntington, would say that the post Cold War world has increased the tension between ethnic communities, especially between Islamic cultures and liberal democracy. The War on Terror is viewed as a Holy War by Islamists, they portray the US and her allies as 'crusaders', wanting to dominate the Islamic world, its oil and prosperity. In their views, the civilian casualties in Afghanistan and Iraq, the US threats towards Syria and Iran and US disregard for Arab opinion after 9/11 all confirm that this is a "war against Islam".
	After 9/11, a number of democratic governments (Israel, India, Russia and the Philippines) have used the War on Terror to repress their fringe, dissident, Muslim minorities. Islamists see this too as part of an attack on Islam. They see the conflicts in Chechnya and Kashmir as opportunities to reaffirm their aims, so as a result there are AI-Qa'ida fighters in these conflicts. They believe that the West ignores Russian atrocities in Chechnya, it ignores poverty in the Muslim world and above all, it ignores atrocities committed by the Israeli military in Palestine.
	Bush and Blair claim to be acting in defence of peace and democracy. This is not a religious war; it is an ideological struggle between democracy and totalitarianism. To win, they believe that there needs to be successful, pro-Western, democracies in Muslim areas. The war in Iraq was not merely to remove Saddam from power, it was to bring democracy to Iraq, in the hope that the new Iraq would be a beacon for Muslim democracy throughout the Middle East. Similarly, Turkey would be rewarded for its pro-Western, democratic secularism by further integration into the West, and ultimately EU membership. In the meantime, there is no doubt that Guantanamo Bay has cast doubts on US respect for international law, democratic states have behaved illiberally, and democracy in Afghanistan and Iraq is far from liberal. Sept 11 <sup>th</sup>

2001 was a set back, albeit a temperary one after which there
2001 was a set back, albeit a temporary one after which there may be renewed faith in liberal organisations such as the UN and in democracy.
The Cold War was arguably a conflict of ideology. The Capitalist democracies led by the US against the Communist states, led by the USSR. The 1990s, however, saw a shift towards nationalism as the main source of conflict. The 9/11 attacks and the subsequent 'war on terrorism' is arguably a 'Clash of Civilisations' as predicted by Huntington. Candidates should discuss the extent to which this new conflict is one of free, democratic post-Christian and Jewish states against Islamic Fundamentalism. Clearly protagonists would like to portray the conflict as one of ideology, Holy War. Strong candidates will also assess the extent to which the conflict is a traditional realist conflict over the quest for power
In making judgements consider the following:
• Knowledge of ideological conflict, such as during the Cold War (AO1)
<ul> <li>Knowledge and understanding of recent conflicts (A01)</li> <li>Analysis of the extent to which conflicts have increasingly become nationalistic (A02)</li> </ul>

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-20	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication.
Level 2	21-38	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner, making some use of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication.
Level 3	39-60	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of written communication.

Question Number	Indicative content
6	Diplomacy is the art of conducting negotiations between nation states. Diplomatic skills are tested when international relations are handled without hostility being aroused. Of course, national interests are not always complementary and when interests are not mutually compatible tension increases and international disputes develop. Most disputes are resolved diplomatically, particularly when both parties have friendly relations, because the costs of military conflict far outweigh the benefits. Even when states are unable or unwilling to compromise, such as the UK and Spain's dispute over Gibraltar, they will agree to disagree, rather than either side pressing for outright victory.
	Some disputes are much more likely to result in military conflict and diplomacy proves ineffective. Candidates should use their knowledge of conflicts to discuss the ability of diplomacy to resolve some disputes, but how on numerous occasions diplomacy proves futile. If neither side in the dispute recognizes the authority r position of the opponent, then conflict becomes likely. In the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, for example, neither side recognized their opponent. The Hamas leadership has not been recognized by the Israeli government, and Hamas itself does not recognize the legitimacy of the Israeli state. Thus diplomacy proves difficult. Moreover, mistrust and suspicion cloud all attempts at diplomacy. Only outright victory is regarded as an acceptable solution, and those who are willing to make concessions are deemed to be weak and tend to lose the respect and support of their people.
	Candidates should discuss the role of diplomacy in resolving international disputes. Attention should also be given to mediation, such as by the UN, EU or USA.
	In making judgements consider the following:
	<ul> <li>Understanding of the role of diplomacy (AO1).</li> <li>Understanding of the different types of dispute (AO1)</li> <li>Analysis of the extent to which diplomacy has successfully resolved some disputes, but not others (AO2).</li> </ul>

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-20	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication.
Level 2	21-38	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner, making some use of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication.

Level 3	39-60	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of written communication.

Question Number	Indicative content
7	There is now widespread agreement that climate change, or global warming, is occurring. This is almost beyond dispute. What are disputed, however, are the causes of global warming, and, whether global warming will have dire consequences, or if it will have beneficial consequences in some cases and in others can be addressed using modern technology. Furthermore, achieving concerted int'1 action on climate change is complicated since the tradition within International Relations is state-centric, centred around concepts of state sovereignty and the belief that states pursue their national interest. Moreover, int'1 environmental problems tend not to be caused by deliberate acts of national policy, but instead are the unintended side-effects of broader socio-economic processes. Non-state actors such as firms are at least as important as states in that their activities will lead to environmental damage. However, states do legislate within their territories and so should play a central role in developing and enforcing environmental solutions.
	Environmental pessimists argue that humans are causing global warming. They are also alarmed at the impact of global warming. Higher temperatures will speed the melting of the polar ice caps and sea levels will rise. Also the frequency of violent storms and extreme weather has increased bringing devastation to many areas (note the effects of el Nino).
	On the other hand environmental optimists point out that the Earth has natural warming and cooling trends, and since the Earth cooled slightly in the 1950s and 1960s any warming will have little overall effect. The Bush administration have found scientists who claim that C02 is unlikely to cause any significant temperature change. Other optimists claim that the only chance of a modest climate change is high. Indeed, some optimists argue that some areas will benefit from global warming. Why should northern Britain worry about higher temperatures? Growing seasons will lengthen and quality of life will improve. Inevitably some areas will suffer from rising sea levels or longer dry periods, but other areas will benefit. There will be winners and losers.
	In making judgements consider the following: • Knowledge of the main climate and environmental concerns (AO1)
	• Knowledge of attempts to address climate and environmental issues (AO1)
	• Analysis of the difficulties encountered in tackling such issues (AO2)

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-20	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication.
Level 2	21-38	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner, making some use of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication.
Level 3	39-60	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of written communication.

## <u>Unit 6505</u>

Question Number	Indicative content
1	The issue of European integration has historically divided both main British parties. The issue helped split the Labour Party on 1981 and was a major factor behind the weakness of the Conservatives from 1992 until 1997. Hague did what Major refused to do and took a definitive Eurosceptic stance. That was why senior Conservatives such as Clarke, Heseltine and Hurd were not in the Shadow Cabinet, they were too pro-European. Hague and Smith's stance brought clarity but at the expense of exclusion and narrowness. Cameron, like Blair, Brown and Campbell, barely mentions Europe. The EU has become the forgotten issue. No party believes that it can gain politically from a debate on the EU. Blair refused to commit himself to the Euro, even though most agree that he favoured adoption of the single currency Ken Livingstone is in favour of the Euro whilst people on the right of the Labour party such as Austin Mitchell and Peter Shore are antagonistic. British business pressure groups such as the CBI and the National Farmers Union have long realised the importance of the EU and have been generally supportive. It was only with the BSE affair of the 1990s that the NFU saw Europe as hostile to their interests. With the Trade Unions it was the other way around, initial hostility to what they saw as a 'capitalist club' gave way to enthusiasm once Jacques Delors began promoting a social chapter. It is no coincidence that the left grew generally warmer towards the EU from 1988 just as the Thatcherites were moving towards a more sceptical position.
	Very few senior politicians favour withdrawal from the EU but equally very few are prepared to commit the UK full membership of a federal Europe. In practice the impact of the EU upon British politics grows more obvious year after year and the mainstream politicians have to work out how to manage that impact on an on- going basis. The promise of a referendum before Sterling is discarded in favour of the Euro, and the rejection of the EU constitution by French and Dutch referendums, have given the illusion that Eurosceptics have won the EU debates in the UK. However, the relative strength of the UK economy and the reluctance of Brown to adopt the Euro before his five tests are met, ensure that the Euro is off the political agenda.
	<ul> <li>Knowledge and understanding of the EU debate (AO1)</li> <li>Knowledge of recent EU policies, including the Euro, enlargement, foreign policy, defence force, constitution and tax and the UK position on such policies (AO1)</li> <li>Analysis of the extent to which Euroscepticism has become dominant in the UK (AO2)</li> </ul>

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-17	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication.
Level 2	18-32	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner, making some use of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication.
Level 3	33-50	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of written communication. Candidates will give a clear definition and will discuss the ability of international law to promote order and prevent disorder in international politics. Answers must show balanced understanding.

Question Number	Indicative content
2	<ul> <li>Critics of the EU highlight the loss of sovereignty which comes with membership. There are a number of common policy areas, such as CAP, fisheries, trade and external tariffs, the Social Chapter, safety standards etc. Also legal sovereignty sacrificed in that the House of Lords is no longer the highest authority, examples such as the Factortame or Conegate cases should be discussed. The question of unanimity and the extension of QMV should be analysed, together with the EU Constitution and the Euro.</li> <li>Pooling implies that some sovereignty is gained in that membership gives new powers to its member states in that in terms of international summits the EU speaking with one voice is more powerful than the sum of its parts. Thereby member states benefit from a pooling of sovereignty. However, in terms of foreign policy there has been very little consensus of opinion and the EU has, so far, been unable to speak with one voice. The Iraq war and in particular events leading up to the Iraq war, showed a distinct lack of unity. France and Germany have tended to act as if they speak on behalf of all EU states and those countries such as Romania and Poland should continue to allow this privilege to continue. However, Blair has managed to assemble a counter group, labelled 'New Europe' by Rumsfeld and now the press, which is distinctly pro-US and has ensured that there is still long way to go. (The EU Constitution and choice of President Commision give more topics for discussion).</li> <li>In making judgements consider the following: <ul> <li>Knowledge of a range of issues which illustrate how sovereignty and ended to act.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-17	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication.
Level 2	18-32	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner, making some use of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication.
Level 3	33-50	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary

and an excellent standard of written communication.	and an excellent standard of written communication.	
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Question Number	Indicative content
3	The Iraq war has arguably been the most significant event in British domestic politics for a decade. Despite significant opposition to war from both within the Labour Party, the Cabinet and throughout the nation, Blair took Britain into what many regarded was a war of aggression. Blair argued that Saddam posed a significant threat to global and regional security. Evidence was presented to the UN Security Council suggesting that Iraq was violating UN resolutions by developing WMDs. Blair argued that Saddam could launch an attack against British forces (in the region) within 45 minutes of giving the order. The repercussions of such claims have been immense, in that Blair is no longer trusted by many British citizens. For a politician who's attraction lay in his honesty and decency to be branded a liar is surely critical. Blair's position in the Labour Party and in the country was irreversibly weakened by the Iraq war. A significant proportion of his own Party and Labour back benchers, such as Claire Short and Frank Dobson were apparently in a 'get Blair' campaign. In the 2005 election Labour recorded barely 35% of votes, despite continued economic growth and prosperity. That Blair remained as prime minister until 2007 is more a reflection of the weaknesses of the other parties, than of his own popularity. Notably Gordon Brown's reputation has not been tarnished by Iraq, despite his support for the war.
	Advanced answers will analyse the impact of the war in terms of Blair's position, as well as in the ability of future PMs to take Britain to war. Balance is required, however. Despite a much reduced majority, Blair was re-elected and the Lib-Dems did not see their opposition to the war as a catalyst for significant gains in Westminster. Moreover, the most notable opponent of the war among the Conservatives, Ken Clarke, did less well in the recent party leadership campaign than he had previously. Finally, excellent answers will address the impact of the war on public interest in politics. Discussion here of increased apathy towards political parties and distrust of politicians, but greater willingness to take direct action would be relevant, for example.
	<ul> <li>In making judgements consider the following:</li> <li>Knowledge and understanding of the impact on the PM (AO1)</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>Knowledge of a range of issues which arose following the invasion (AO1)</li> <li>Analysis of the extent to which there has been significant implications of the Iraq war on UK politics (AO2).</li> </ul>

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-17	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication.
Level 2	18-32	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner, making some use of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication.
Level 3	33-50	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of written communication. Candidates will give a clear definition and will discuss the ability of international law to promote order and prevent disorder in international politics. Answers must show balanced understanding.

Question Number	Indicative content
4	Since September 2001 the UK government and security services have attempted to gain significant powers which they believe will equip them to fight the terror threat. However, by changing laws on freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom of movement, the right to a trial by jury, <i>habeas corpus</i> , the government has been accused of undermining core civil liberties which had developed over centuries. Candidates should discuss developments in anti terror legislation and the extent to which these have undermined the UK's liberal democracy.
	<ul> <li>In making judgements consider the following:</li> <li>Knowledge and understanding of the terrorist threat in the UK (AO1)</li> <li>Knowledge of the government's response to this threat (AO1)</li> <li>Analysis of the extent to which this response has undermined civil liberties (AO2).</li> </ul>

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-17	A limited level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a less structured manner, making occasional use of political vocabulary and a basic level of written communication.
Level 2	18-32	A sound ability demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a structured manner, making some use of political vocabulary and a reasonable level of written communication.
Level 3	33-50	A high level of skill demonstrated in analysis, interpretation and evaluation; arguments and explanations expressed in a clearly structured manner, making appropriate use of political vocabulary and an excellent standard of written communication.

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