

# **Government and Politics**

Advanced GCE **F855**

US Government and Politics

## **Mark Scheme for June 2010**

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

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

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## Advanced GCE Assessment Matrix

There are **four** levels of assessment of all three AOs in the A2 units. Level 4 is the highest level that can reasonably be expected from a candidate at the end an Advanced GCE course.

Level	Assessment Objective 1	Assessment Objective 2	Assessment Objective 3
4	Thorough and accurate knowledge and clear and detailed understanding of relevant concepts, ideas and political systems. Ability to make valid comparisons between them.	High level of skill in the interpretation, analysis and evaluation of relevant political information (including, the identification of parallels, connections, similarities and differences between aspects of the political systems studied). Ability to recognise bias and faulty argument and to reason effectively towards an individual and informed conclusion.	Ability to distinguish relevant and important factors correctly and integrate these into a balanced, well-focused argument. Ability to communicate this clearly and present it legibly and logically in fluent coherent style containing few, if any, errors of grammar, punctuation and spelling.
3	Good knowledge and understanding of relevant concepts, ideas and political systems. Ability to make some valid comparisons between them.	Good level of skill in the interpretation, analysis and evaluation of the relevant political issues (including, the identification of parallels, connections, similarities and differences between aspects of the political systems studied). Some attempt to recognise bias and faulty argument and to reason sensibly towards a sound conclusion.	Ability to identify the most important factors and present a relevant argument legibly and clearly if, at times, lacking incisiveness. There may be occasional errors of grammar, punctuation and spelling.
2	Limited knowledge and understanding of relevant concepts, ideas and political systems. Limited awareness of standard points of comparison.	Limited level of skill in the interpretation, analysis and evaluation of the relevant political issues (including, the identification of parallels, connections, similarities and differences between aspects of the political systems studied). Limited attempt to explain a few of the more obvious points central to the question and to recognise and describe some differing viewpoints. Reasoning may be incomplete and, while opinions may be offered, they are unlikely to be supported by argument.	Limited attempt to distinguish relevant material, which is assembled into a limited argument with some sense of order and legibility. There may be some errors of grammar, punctuation and spelling.
1	Basic and generalised knowledge and understanding of relevant concepts, ideas and political systems. Such knowledge and understanding will be incomplete and/or of tenuous relevance and may contain significant errors. Basic awareness of standard points of comparison.	Basic skill in the interpretation, analysis and evaluation of some of the relevant political issues (including, the identification of parallels, connections, similarities and differences between aspects of the political systems studied). Basic attempt to explain the simpler points central to the question and it is likely that only one viewpoint will be recognised. There will be little evidence of reasoning.	An attempt is made to shape an argument at a basic level, which lacks coherence, legibility and direction, and is unselective. Contains intrusive errors of grammar, punctuation and spelling.

**1 Discuss the view that elections are never won by campaigns alone. [50]**

	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
<b>Level 4</b>	16-20	19-24	6
<b>Level 3</b>	11-15	13-18	4-5
<b>Level 2</b>	6-10	7-12	3
<b>Level 1</b>	0-5	0-6	0-2

*Specification: elections: theories of voting behaviour; contemporary issues associated with elections and voting behaviour.*

**AO1:** Candidates display knowledge of the factors which can lead to electoral success. This could lead to discussion of:

- Theories of voting behaviour and details of recent elections.
- The nature of and significant events during recent campaigns (financial crisis, TV debates, Palin selection in 08 US presidential election).
- Factors which can influence voting behaviour such as issues, personality, past record, party unity, class, region, race, religion and gender.

To reach the top of level 4 candidates will have a good knowledge and understanding of recent elections and voting behaviour theories.

**AO2:** Expect candidates to discuss the role of campaigns in recent elections. Candidates should address both sides of the question. With regard to the former, the following will be of relevance:

- The impact of dealignment and the consequential rise in the number of independents and floating voters.
- The impact of significant events and developments during campaigns such as the poor performance of Kerry in 2004, Labour's focus on the economy in 2005 and limited impact of Howard. Obama v McCain in 2008.
- Campaigns may be linked to discussion of the media. This will need to go beyond "it was the Sun wot won it". To reach the higher levels there should be some discussion about the varying types of media and the debate surrounding its impact such as the filter and reinforcement effects.

Counter arguments should attempt to assess the importance of other factors. This may include reference to some or all of the following:

- The importance of long term factors such as class, region, religion, age and gender.
- Recent elections where campaigns have had little or no impact (UK 2001 and 2005) and organisation has been to the fore (Obama 2008).
- The differing lengths of campaigns in the US and UK, the significance of the medium term as opposed to the short term nature of campaigns, and the notion of permanent campaigning.
- The significance of issue voting.
- The individual nature of voting behaviour and the question of its validity as a science.
- The impact of the electoral system used.

To reach the top of level 4 candidates should provide an answer to the question by attempting to reach a conclusion based upon a balanced consideration of the arguments detailed above. They should take recent elections as the main basis for their assessment and avoid too much historical narrative.

Candidates should draw upon the knowledge of different political systems studied in the whole GCE course. Credit candidates who make appropriate references to political systems, processes and events beyond the UK, US and European Union where these are relevant and illuminating.

**AO3:** Expect most candidates to reach level 3 and use 4 as a default mark. Further marks will be awarded if a candidate is able to write with flair and maintains a sharp focus on the question throughout the essay. At the top of level 4, candidates will have made use good use of paragraphs to separate their arguments and have used the introduction and conclusion to good effect. At level 2 and below, candidates will make frequent and intrusive spelling and grammatical mistakes. The essay will lack focus and be disorganised.

**2 To what extent are parties less ideological today?****[50]**

	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
<b>Level 4</b>	16-20	19-24	6
<b>Level 3</b>	11-15	13-18	4-5
<b>Level 2</b>	6-10	7-12	3
<b>Level 1</b>	0-5	0-6	0-2

*Specification: Power within political parties; two-party issues concerning the role of ideology in political parties; the debate concerning the decline of political parties and the rise of candidate and issue-centred politics; current political issues in the UK and US.*

**AO1:** Candidates will display knowledge of the importance of ideology in the determination of party policy today. There will be knowledge of some of the following:

- The meaning of ideology and the ideologies of the main parties.
- The policies of the main parties and candidates.
- Party structure and organisation and policy making procedures.
- The role of spin doctors and focus groups.
- Relevant theories such as “dominant” ideology and “End of History”.
- Events such as the abolition of clause IV, fall of Soviet style communism, the removal of Thatcher, the Republican Revolution and Contract with America, The Third Way, compassionate conservatism, neo-conservatism.
- Candidates may discuss third parties and their ideologies.

To reach the top of level 4 candidates will have a good understanding of the meaning of ideology and the ideologies of the parties. This may include reference to recent elections and party manifestos and platforms.

**AO2:** Candidates will discuss the role of ideology in party politics. This may lead to assessment of some of the following:

- Labour’s move to the centre and the Third Way under New Labour.
- Cameron’s compassionate conservatism/one nation Toryism in contrast to Thatcherism.
- The end of ideology/dominance of liberal capitalism ideology arguments
- The importance of pragmatism and the need to win elections leading to power rather than principle arguments.
- The new right/neo-liberalism/neo-conservatism.
- Obama’s and McCain’s candidacies and policy platforms with their emphasis on change, consensus and pragmatism rather than ideology.
- Party convergence and recent divergence evident with increased partisanship.
- The notion of a ‘catch-all’ party.
- Reward candidates who can offer a neo-Marxist perspective.
- Consideration of the emergence of new ideologies such as environmentalism and nationalism too will be credited. This may be linked to third parties such as Libertarian Party in the US who are often more ideological than the main parties.

To reach the top of level 4 there will be a balanced assessment of the arguments detailed above and the candidate will attempt to reach a conclusion.

Candidates should draw upon the knowledge of different political systems studied in the whole GCE course. Credit candidates who make appropriate references to political systems, processes and events beyond the UK, US and European Union where these are relevant and illuminating.

**AO3:** Expect most candidates to reach level 3 and use 4 as a default mark. Further marks will be awarded if a candidate is able to write with flair and maintains a sharp focus on the question throughout the essay. At the top of level 4, candidates will have made use good use of

paragraphs to separate their arguments and have used the introduction and conclusion to good effect. At level 2 and below, candidates will make frequent and intrusive spelling and grammatical mistakes. The essay will lack focus and be disorganised.

**3 Examine the claim that the first past the post electoral system cannot be justified in a modern democracy. [50]**

	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
<b>Level 4</b>	16-20	19-24	6
<b>Level 3</b>	11-15	13-18	4-5
<b>Level 2</b>	6-10	7-12	3
<b>Level 1</b>	0-5	0-6	0-2

*Specification: Electoral systems: issues concerning representation, participation and democracy; contemporary issues associated with elections.*

**AO1:** Candidates will display knowledge of the first past the post and other electoral systems, their outcomes in terms of parties and politicians elected, and the balance of representation in their assemblies. This could lead to discussion of:

- Plurality systems and their use in the US and UK in recent elections.
- Majoritarian systems such as the second ballot used in France.
- Hybrid systems such as AMS as used in Germany, Scotland and Wales.
- Proportional systems such as party list (Israel) and STV (Northern Ireland, Holland).
- The functions of elections, particularly in terms of representation versus their governmental function.
- The success and failure of third and minor parties.
- The meaning of modern democracy.
- Limited mandates.
- Incentives to vote, wasted votes, participation.
- Voter intelligibility – the ability of voters to understand how to vote/the impact of their vote.

To reach the top of level 4 candidates must go beyond the use of FPTP for general elections in the UK. Answers that fail to do this will not get beyond mid level 3. Expect reference to democracy and the key characteristics that this entails.

**AO2:** Candidates will justify the use of first past the post electoral systems and consider the case against. The case for may include some of the following arguments:

- The provision of strong stable governments.
- The weakness of coalition governments.
- The possibility of hidden manifestos and delay in establishing government with proportional systems.
- The disproportionate power given to third parties (blackmail/kingmaker roles).
- Clear accountability.

Conversely, it could be argued:

- FPTP is unrepresentative leading to tyranny of a minority.
- There is a damaging impact upon participation.
- Third parties are penalised.
- There is a lack of consensus, a focus on short termism and pendulum politics encouraged by adversarialism.

To reach the top of level 4 candidates will need to go beyond arguments relating to the UK. Expect arguments relating to the functions of elections and how FPTP may suit in terms of electing a government but fall short in areas such as participation and representation.

Candidates should draw upon the knowledge of different political systems studied in the whole GCE course. Credit candidates who make appropriate references to political systems, processes and events beyond the UK, US and European Union where these are relevant and illuminating.

**AO3:** Expect most candidates to reach level 3 and use 4 as a default mark. Further marks will be awarded if a candidate is able to write with flair and maintains a sharp focus on the question throughout the essay. At the top of level 4, candidates will have made use good use of paragraphs to separate their arguments and have used the introduction and conclusion to good effect. At level 2 and below, candidates will make frequent and intrusive spelling and grammatical mistakes. The essay will lack focus and be disorganised.

**4 Evaluate the role of a bill of rights in the protection of rights and liberties. [50]**

	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
<b>Level 4</b>	16-20	19-24	6
<b>Level 3</b>	11-15	13-18	4-5
<b>Level 2</b>	6-10	7-12	3
<b>Level 1</b>	0-5	0-6	0-2

*Specification: Civil rights and liberties: issues concerning the adequacy of governmental arrangements for the effective protection of majority and minority rights, with particular reference to constitutions, bills of rights, legislatures and judiciaries; issues concerning rights, liberty and citizenship; contemporary issues concerning rights and liberties.*

**AO1:** Candidates will display knowledge of the ways in which rights and liberties are protected in modern democracies. There may be awareness of:

- A range of civil rights and liberties.
- The mechanisms to defend such rights and liberties.
- Details of bills of rights such as in the US, the ECHR, UN Declaration of Human Rights and EU's charter of fundamental rights and social chapter legislation.
- Examples and details of recent issues relating to rights.
- There may a focus on developments post 9/11 with examples from both the UK and USA and other case studies.
- The role played by judiciaries, legislatures and executives in this regard.

To reach the top of level 4 candidates will need to provide a range of rights and liberties that can be expected in a democracy and their relevance to various bills of rights such as in the ECHR and in the US. Examples of their infringement and defence will also be provided.

**AO2:** Candidates will discuss the effectiveness of bills of rights as a means of protecting rights and liberties. This may include discussion of some of the following:

- Examples of the protection of rights via judicial review.
- The notion of "paper rights" and respect for the rule of law.
- The power of the executive in times of crisis.
- The adequacy of the legislature as a check upon the executive in a parliamentary system of government.
- The role played by pressure groups and the media.
- The importance of culture, education and history.
- Candidates should assess the case for and against and reach a conclusion.

In order to reach the top of level 4 candidates will attempt to assess the contribution made by bills of rights and judiciaries in the defence of rights and liberties. Both the case for and against will be considered and reference made to other factors that are needed if they are to be provided with adequate protection.

Candidates should draw upon the knowledge of different political systems studied in the whole GCE course. Credit candidates who make appropriate references to political systems, processes and events beyond the UK, US and European Union where these are relevant and illuminating.

**AO3:** Expect most candidates to reach level 3 and use 4 as a default mark. Further marks will be awarded if a candidate is able to write with flair and maintains a sharp focus on the question throughout the essay. At the top of level 4, candidates will have made use good use of paragraphs to separate their arguments and have used the introduction and conclusion to good effect. At level 2 and below, candidates will make frequent and intrusive spelling and grammatical mistakes. The essay will lack focus and be disorganised.

## 5 'The success of a constitution is dependent upon its ability to evolve.' Discuss. [50]

	AO1	AO2	AO3
Level 4	16-20	19-24	6
Level 3	11-15	13-18	4-5
Level 2	6-10	7-12	3
Level 1	0-5	0-6	0-2

*Specification: The sources, nature and role of constitutions; parliamentary and separated; relationships between the centre and periphery; federal, devolved and unitary constitutions; constitutional reform; contemporary issues associated with constitutions and their reform.*

**AO1:** Candidates will show knowledge of constitutions, their flexibility, the ease with which they can be amended, develop and evolve and their written and unwritten nature. They may display knowledge of:

- The amendment process in the USA.
- Amendments to the US constitution.
- Failed amendments to the US constitution.
- Judicial review and the role of the Supreme Court.
- The uncodified nature of the British constitution.
- The role of legislation as a means of constitutional amendment.
- Examples of constitutional reform from the UK such as the Constitutional Reform Act 2005.
- The failure of written constitutions such as with the Third and Fourth Republic in France.
- The problems of the EU Constitution and the ratification of treaties past and present.
- Notions of political culture and constitutionalism.

To reach the top of level 4 candidates will need to display a detailed knowledge of the amendment processes and failures with written constitutions and evolution in the case of uncodified ones.

**AO2:** Candidates will consider the meaning of success and the nature of constitutional evolution. Candidates may discuss:

- The need for flexibility.
- The merits of a difficult amendment process.
- The consequences of failure to adapt to changes in society and organisational arrangements after events such as enlargement in the EU.
- The pressure valve role played by the Supreme Court and issues posed when it is left to the judiciary to interpret the constitution in a "modern" context.
- The need for rigidity in order to prevent abuses of power, to protect rights and to preserve the rule of law.
- The problems of drafting and ratifying a constitution from scratch also strengthen the need for flexibility.

To reach the top of level 4 the candidate will make some attempt to evaluate how to gauge the success of a constitution. This might include longevity and the ability to adapt. Notions of fundamental principles will also be found at this level.

Candidates should draw upon the knowledge of different political systems studied in the whole GCE course. Credit candidates who make appropriate references to political systems, processes and events beyond the UK, US and European Union where these are relevant and illuminating.

**AO3:** Expect most candidates to reach level 3 and use 4 as a default mark. Further marks will be awarded if a candidate is able to write with flair and maintains a sharp focus on the question throughout the essay. At the top of level 4, candidates will have made use good use of paragraphs to separate their arguments and have used the introduction and conclusion to good effect. At level 2 and below, candidates will make frequent and intrusive spelling and grammatical mistakes. The essay will lack focus and be disorganised.

**6 Discuss the differences in power exercised by second chambers.****[50]**

	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
<b>Level 4</b>	16-20	19-24	6
<b>Level 3</b>	11-15	13-18	4-5
<b>Level 2</b>	6-10	7-12	3
<b>Level 1</b>	0-5	0-6	0-2

*Specification: legislatures: the role and power of second chambers.*

**AO1:** Candidates will display knowledge of the roles and powers of the second chambers, Senate and House of Lords, and their contribution to the legislative and scrutiny processes of parliaments. They may display knowledge of:

- The ways in which these second chambers are elected or appointed, and the amount of power they consequently exercise, in relation to lower houses.
- Their role in legislating, scrutinising government, and representation.
- There may be specific case studies of contributions made to these processes.
- The statutory or constitutional context in which second chambers operate.
- The impact of recent reforms to the House of Lords.
- The constitutional arrangements in the USA.

To reach level 4 candidates will display a good knowledge and understanding of the roles played by second chambers. The impact of recent reforms in the UK and the enhanced status this confers will be found at this level.

**AO2:** Candidates will analyse the roles and differences in power of the second chambers in the US and UK, and the reasons for this.

- They may analyse the unelected status of the British Upper House, as one reason for its more subordinate status.
- They may display knowledge of constitutional statutes passed defining the power and role of the House of Lords.
- They may analyse the federal character of the US Senate, and the expectation that it would uphold the rights of states.
- They may analyse the powers of the Senate, in foreign policy, in legislation, in confirming appointments.
- Credit candidates whose analysis begins from the premise that the European Parliament is essentially the second chamber of the EU political system.

To reach the top of level 4 candidates will consider the need and role of second chambers in any democracy. This discussion will be woven into a consideration of the different institutional arrangements in political systems.

Candidates should draw upon the knowledge of different political systems studied in the whole GCE course. Credit candidates who make appropriate references to political systems, processes and events beyond the UK, US and European Union where these are relevant and illuminating.

**AO3:** Expect most candidates to reach level 3 and use 4 as a default mark. Further marks will be awarded if a candidate is able to write with flair and maintains a sharp focus on the question throughout the essay. At the top of level 4, candidates will have made good use of paragraphs to separate their arguments and have used the introduction and conclusion to good effect. At level 2 and below, candidates will make frequent and intrusive spelling and grammatical mistakes. The essay will lack focus and be disorganised.

**7 Analyse the factors influencing chief executives when making appointments. [50]**

	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
<b>Level 4</b>	16-20	19-24	6
<b>Level 3</b>	11-15	13-18	4-5
<b>Level 2</b>	6-10	7-12	3
<b>Level 1</b>	0-5	0-6	0-2

*Specification: power and functions of chief executives; issues concerning the organisation of executives.*

**AO1:** Candidates will show knowledge of the factors which influence executive appointments. This may extend to some of the following:

- Prime ministerial powers.
- The power within British political parties and the factions therein.
- The impact of the Constitutional Reform Act 2005 upon appointments to the judiciary.
- Examples of appointments to cabinet and beyond.
- Presidential powers and appointments to cabinet, EXOP, embassies, the UN and judiciary.
- The role played by the Senate Judiciary Committee and Senate.

To reach the top of level 4 candidates will discuss a range of appointments which will go beyond the cabinet in the UK and Supreme Court in the US. Answers which fail to do this will only be able to access the top of level 3.

**AO2:** Expect candidates to identify the factors which can influence appointments made by executives. This discussion may extend to some of the following:

- The importance of experience, expertise and ability.
- The need to balance wings of the party.
- Gender, race and religion.
- Region/geography.
- Electoral considerations.
- The style of the executive leader – consensual v innovator etc.
- The role played by pressure groups and the media.
- Jurisprudence and ideology in relation to judicial appointments.

To reach the top of level 4 candidates will need do more than outline a range of factors. They should attempt to rank the relative importance of these factors.

Candidates should draw upon the knowledge of different political systems studied in the whole GCE course. Credit candidates who make appropriate references to political systems, processes and events beyond the UK, US and European Union where these are relevant and illuminating.

**AO3:** Expect most candidates to reach level 3 and use 4 as a default mark. Further marks will be awarded if a candidate is able to write with flair and maintains a sharp focus on the question throughout the essay. At the top of level 4, candidates will have made use good use of paragraphs to separate their arguments and have used the introduction and conclusion to good effect. At level 2 and below, candidates will make frequent and intrusive spelling and grammatical mistakes. The essay will lack focus and be disorganised.

**8 Compare and contrast the role of judiciaries in different political systems. [50]**

	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
<b>Level 4</b>	16-20	19-24	6
<b>Level 3</b>	11-15	13-18	4-5
<b>Level 2</b>	6-10	7-12	3
<b>Level 1</b>	0-5	0-6	0-2

*Specification: Political influence and significance; selection and accountability of judges, role of courts in democracies; issues of neutrality and independence; relationships with the legislative and executive branches of government; contemporary issues concerning the role of courts.*

**AO1:** Candidates will display knowledge of the role played by judiciaries and the extent of judicial activism. There may be reference to some of the following:

- The meaning of judicial activism and passivism/restraint.
- The impact of constitutional arrangements upon the power of judicial review.
- The background and attitude of the judges themselves.
- The use of the judiciary by pressure groups and individuals.
- Examples and case studies of judicial activity extending to administrative law.

To reach the top of level 4 candidates will need to outline various roles of the judiciaries and provide examples of these being fulfilled or vice versa.

**AO2:** Candidates will identify and evaluate the factors which determine the level of judicial activism. This discussion may include some of the following:

- The composition and voting blocs on the Supreme Court.
- The failure or reluctance of executives and legislatures to act in certain areas such as abortion and civil rights.
- The impact of a written constitution and institutional arrangements such as in the EU with the ECJ.
- The impact of a quasi bill of rights such as the ECHR.
- Growing concerns about the protection of rights and liberties.
- The attitude of individuals and pressure groups; the rise of litigation and recognition of the potential for judicial review to act as a check upon the executive and legislature even in a parliamentary system of government.

To reach the top of level 4 candidates will make comparisons and identify the factors which explain their contrasting roles such as constitutional arrangements/the presence of a written constitution or quasi bill of rights.

Candidates should draw upon the knowledge of different political systems studied in the whole GCE course. Credit candidates who make appropriate references to political systems, processes and events beyond the UK, US and European Union where these are relevant and illuminating.

**AO3:** Expect most candidates to reach level 3 and use 4 as a default mark. Further marks will be awarded if a candidate is able to write with flair and maintains a sharp focus on the question throughout the essay. At the top of level 4, candidates will have made use good use of paragraphs to separate their arguments and have used the introduction and conclusion to good effect. At level 2 and below, candidates will make frequent and intrusive spelling and grammatical mistakes. The essay will lack focus and be disorganised.

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