

# **Government and Politics**

Advanced GCE

Unit **F855**: US Government and Politics

## **Mark Scheme for January 2011**

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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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**1 To what extent does the media determine the outcome of elections? [50]**

*Elections: conduct of general election campaigns; issues concerning the media and campaign finance; theories of voting behaviour; contemporary issues associated with elections and voting behaviour.*

	<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

**AO1:** Candidates will display knowledge of the media and other factors which influence the outcome of elections. This could include reference to some of the following:

- Theories surrounding the impact of the media such as the dominant ideology model and reinforcement and filter effects
- Voter dealignment and the increased importance of short-term factors
- Other models of voting behaviour, such as the rational choice model
- Long-term sociological influences, such as race, religion, region and gender
- Other factors, such as the economy, personality, policies and the campaign
- Voting behaviour in recent elections.

To reach the top of level 4, candidates will display knowledge of a range of factors and voting behaviour models. Those candidates who merely consider the impact of the media alone will not go beyond level 2.

**AO2:** Expect candidates to assess the impact of the media on the outcome of elections. This should lead to a discussion of the factors which influence voting behaviour. This could include discussion of some of the following:

- The impact of dealignment and the increased importance of short-term factors such as the media
- The use of the media by parties and politicians
- Significant developments during a campaign such as Palin's interviews and parodies
- A consideration of the varying impacts of different sorts of media: broadcast, published and internet based
- The rise of candidate-centred/personality campaigns such as those of Schwarzenegger, Berlusconi, Rantzen, Galloway.

In order to reach level 4 candidates will argue both for and against the notion of the media being the key influence on voting behaviour. Those candidates who accept the assertion without question will not go beyond level 2. The impact of the media can be questioned by reference to the filter effect and reinforcement effect and the importance of other factors. Recent elections could be used to form the basis of the essay. Differences between the importance of factors such as race, religion and region could be used to good effect.

**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 level 4, candidates will have made good use of paragraphs to separate arguments. They may also have used short introductions and conclusions to good effect. At level 2 and below, candidates will make frequent and intrusive spelling mistakes and grammatical mistakes. The essay will lack focus and be disorganised.

**2 Analyse the view that parties sacrifice their principles in order to win elections. [50]**

*Political parties and pressure groups: issues concerning the role of ideology in political parties.*

	<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

**AO1:** Candidates will display knowledge of parties, their principles and recent election campaigns.

This could include discussion of some of the following:

- The core values and ideologies of the parties
- The outcome of recent elections and the impact upon parties
- Changes to party ideologies over time
- Concepts such as triangulation, the third way, ideological convergence, dominant ideology/end of history theories, polarisation, “the vital centre”, compassionate conservatism, New Labour, New Democrats
- Trends in voting behaviour.

In order to reach level 4, candidates will discuss a range of the factors above.

**AO2:** Expect candidates to analyse the extent to which parties sacrifice principles in the pursuit of power. This could include discussion of some of the following points:

- Labour’s journey from old to new
- The commitment of Labour to social justice since 1997
- Cameron’s impact upon the Conservative party
- The election campaigns/manifestos of Howard and Hague
- The chameleon-like nature of the Conservative party
- The impact of the “Credit Crunch” and the “return” of Old Labour under Brown
- The decline of the New Deal Democrats and rise of New Democrats
- Republicanism after 2008
- Discussion of the concepts mentioned in AO1.

In order to reach level 4, candidates should be able to discuss the electoral strategies of the parties. In this instance, it is fair to say that the balance of argument would favour the assertion in the title but an appreciation of counter-arguments will be rewarded. Essays will link convergence to public opinion and the dangers of adopting too ideological an approach. They may consider the extent to which the “true colours” of parties emerge after electoral success.

**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 level 4, candidates will have made good use of paragraphs to separate arguments. They may also have used short introductions and conclusions to good effect. At level 2 and below, candidates will make frequent and intrusive spelling mistakes and grammatical mistakes. The essay will lack focus and be disorganised.

**3 Examine the effectiveness of direct action and public protest as a means of pressure groups achieving success. [50]**

*Political parties and pressure groups: the function and power of pressure groups in a modern representative democracy; contemporary issues associated with parties and pressure groups.*

	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
<b>Level 4</b>	16–20	19–24	6
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**AO1:** Candidates will display knowledge of the methods used by pressure groups. This could lead to discussion of some of the following:

- Public protest, such as the use of demonstrations, stunts and civil disobedience
- Insider status
- Lobbying and concepts such as “pay to pay” and the “revolving door”
- Examples of pressure groups
- Types of pressure group
- Case studies of pressure groups.

**AO2:** Expect candidates to examine the effectiveness of public protest and direct action as a means of pressure groups achieving their objectives. This could lead to discussion of some of the following:

- The importance of insider status which could be linked to iron triangles, policy networks and prisoner groups
- The location of power in political systems and its importance to pressure group methodology
- The importance of the aim of the group and the scale of opposition
- Leadership, membership, use of the media and celebrity endorsement could all be brought into play.

In order to reach level 4, candidates should be able to consider instances of where public protest has been unsuccessful such as with the anti-war protests, Countryside Alliance marches, F4J’s stunts, CND marches in the 80s and pro-life protests in the US. This might be complemented by an explanation of the importance of insider status with the executive in the UK and contacts with the legislature in the US. As points of contrast, candidates might consider how environmental groups have been able to force their issues onto the agenda and the success of animal rights groups. The meaning of success could also be examined. Forcing issues onto the political agenda, increasing awareness, attracting media attention could be offered as signs of success through public protest.

**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 level 4, candidates will have made good use of paragraphs to separate arguments. They may also have used short introductions and conclusions to good effect. At level 2 and below, candidates will make frequent and intrusive spelling mistakes and grammatical mistakes. The essay will lack focus and be disorganised.

- 4 Evaluate the claim that judiciaries alone are unable to provide an adequate protection of rights and liberties. [50]

*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	AO2	AO3
Level 4	16–20	19–24	6
Level 3	11–15	13–18	4–5
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**AO1:** Candidates will display knowledge of the ways in which rights and liberties are protected in modern democracies. This may lead to discussion of some of the following:

- A range of civil rights and liberties
- Judicial rulings re control orders, Belmarsh Prison, deportation in the UK and cases such as *Baze v Rees* from the Roberts Court in the US
- The Bill of Rights and ECHR, the EU Charter on fundamental human rights and social chapter legislation from the Maastricht Treaty
- Legislation designed to protect rights such as anti-discrimination legislation
- Legislation (post 9/11) which has threatened rights and liberties, such as anti-terrorist legislation/Patriot Act
- Government proposals such as ID cards
- Pressure groups, such as the ACLU and Liberty.

To reach level 4, candidates will need to provide a range of rights and liberties that can be expected in a democracy and to refer to various institutions which can defend them.

**AO2:** Expect candidates to evaluate the effectiveness of judiciaries as a means of protecting rights and liberties. This may include evaluation of some of the following:

- The role of the Supreme Court in the defence of rights outlined in the Bill of Rights
- Instances when the Court has been slow to act (homosexual rights), failed to act (the internment of Japanese Americans in WWII) or been frustrated by a lack of response from state and federal government (*Rasul*, *Hamdi*, *Brown* cases)
- The relative absence of judicial review in the UK and the ability of government to derogate from the ECHR
- The effectiveness of the UK judiciary since incorporation of the ECHR
- The impact of the “new” Supreme Court in the UK
- The impact of crises such as 9/11 and 7/7
- The notion of “paper rights” and the importance of culture, education and history.

To reach level 4, candidates need to argue for and against the assertion in the title and to provide a range of arguments to this effect.

**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 level 4, candidates will have made good use of paragraphs to separate arguments. They may also have used short introductions and conclusions to good effect. At level 2 and below, candidates will make frequent and intrusive spelling mistakes and grammatical mistakes. The essay will lack focus and be disorganised.

**5 Analyse the strengths and weaknesses of written constitutions.****[50]**

*Constitutions: the sources, nature and role of constitutions, constitutional reform.*

	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
<b>Level 4</b>	16–20	19–24	6
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<b>Level 1</b>	0–5	0–6	0–2

**AO1:** Candidates will display knowledge of the sources, nature and roles of constitutions. This could include discussion of:

- The US constitution and amendments
- The amendment process
- Failed amendments
- The role of the Supreme Court and judicial review
- Concepts such as “organic” constitutions, strict and loose constructionism, politicisation of the judiciary
- The uncodified nature of the British constitution
- Recent constitutional reforms in the UK
- The EU Constitution and the associated problems of drafting, content and ratification.

To reach the top of level 4, candidates will need to display a detailed knowledge of a range of the points above.

**AO2:** Candidates will analyse strengths and weaknesses of a written constitution. This could include analysis of some of the following:

- The clarity provided by a written constitution, perhaps with reference to the “patchwork” nature of recent reforms in the UK
- The inclusion of a bill of rights
- The opportunity afforded for checks and balances and a separation of powers to be established
- The inability to evolve, perhaps linked to failed amendments
- The empowerment of an unelected, unaccountable and unrepresentative judiciary
- The problems of drafting and interpretation.

In order to reach level 4, candidates will display a range of arguments both for and against written constitutions. Recognition may be made of the similarities between written and uncodified constitutions.

**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 level 4, candidates will have made good use of paragraphs to separate arguments. They may also have used short introductions and conclusions to good effect. At level 2 and below, candidates will make frequent and intrusive spelling mistakes and grammatical mistakes. The essay will lack focus and be disorganised.

**6 Contrast the effectiveness of legislatures in fulfilling their representative function.**  
[50]

*Legislatures: Functions; internal organisation; role of political parties within; role of legislators as delegates or representatives; the relationships with the executive and judicial branches of government; contemporary issues concerning representation, accountability, sovereignty and effectiveness.*

	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
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**AO1:** Candidates will display knowledge of the representative function of legislatures. This could include discussion of some of the following:

- The ethnic, gender and age compositions of legislative chambers
- The selection procedures for candidates
- The regularity of elections
- The impact of party discipline
- The influence of pressure groups
- The impact of the electoral system used to elect legislators, which may have an impact on ability to fulfil their representative function (eg proportional systems)
- Delegate, representative and trustee models
- Concepts such as the “folks back home” and the “pork barrel”
- Differences between first and second chambers.

To reach level 4, candidates will display knowledge of a range of the above factors.

**AO2:** Expect candidates to contrast the degree of representation afforded by legislatures. This could include discussion of some of the following:

- The factors which influence voting in Parliament and the Congress
- The extent of party discipline and the role of whips
- The impact of lobbying which may be related to campaign donations and cost of electioneering
- Consideration of the House of Lords, the present composition and (potential) reforms
- Evaluation of attempts to reform candidate selection procedures.

To reach level 4, candidates will make effective comparisons based upon the criteria identified above.

**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 level 4, candidates will have made good use of paragraphs to separate arguments. They may also have used short introductions and conclusions to good effect. At level 2 and below, candidates will make frequent and intrusive spelling mistakes and grammatical mistakes. The essay will lack focus and be disorganised.

- 7 “A strong executive is vital for the effective formulation and delivery of policy.”  
Discuss. [50]

*Executives: Election, power and functions of chief executives; issues concerning the organisation of executives – as presidential, or prime ministerial, and cabinet government; issues concerning the efficiency of executives in carrying out the functions of executives; formulation and implementation of domestic and foreign policy; relationships with the legislative and judicial branches of government; contemporary issues concerning the role and power of executives; authority and accountability.*

	AO1	AO2	AO3
Level 4	16–20	19–24	6
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**AO1:** Candidates will display knowledge of the role of executives in the delivery and formulation of policy. This could include discussion of:

- The passage of legislation
- The formulation of policy and the role of cabinets and party processes
- The role of the bureaucracy
- Constitutional arrangements and institutional procedures
- Case studies such as Obama’s health care reform proposals, the banking crisis and other examples such as ID cards, the Iraq war and even Thatcher’s Poll Tax
- Concepts such as gridlock, executive dictatorship and executive dominance, pendulum and adversarial politics.

In order to reach level 4, candidates should discuss a range of the points mentioned above.

**AO2:** Expect candidates to discuss what the effective formulation and delivery of policy means in this context. This could invite consideration of some of the following:

- The separation of powers and checks and balances
- The relationship between executives and legislatures in parliamentary and presidential systems of government
- The need for quick decisions and united approach in foreign policy
- The implementation of policy and potential problems post-legislation
- The dangers of rash, ill-considered decisions
- The partisan nature of government and politics.

In order to reach level 4, candidates should consider a range of arguments relating to the above. Better answers will consider the meaning of and differences between effective formulation and delivery. Reference may be made to the EU and the impact of enlargement and the return of eurosclerosis.

**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 level 4, candidates will have made good use of paragraphs to separate arguments. They may also have used short introductions and conclusions to good effect. At level 2 and below, candidates will make frequent and intrusive spelling mistakes and grammatical mistakes. The essay will lack focus and be disorganised.

**8 Examine the importance of the judicial selection and appointment process in securing an independent judiciary. [50]**

*Judiciaries: 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.*

	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
<b>Level 4</b>	16–20	19–24	6
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**AO1:** Candidates will display knowledge of the appointment process and the concept of judicial independence. This could include reference to some of the following:

- The nomination and confirmation process of Supreme Court justices
- Reforms to the process following the Constitutional Reform Act
- The process of “secret soundings”
- The composition of the judiciary
- Rulings from the judiciary
- The rule of law
- “Politicisation” of the judiciary
- The creation of a Supreme Court in the UK.

In order to reach level 4, candidates must be able to discuss a range of USA and UK factors related to the above. References to the ECHR and ECJ will be rewarded.

**AO2:** Expect candidates to examine the importance of the appointment process to the independence of the judiciary. This could include discussion of some of the following:

- The principles of the separation of powers and checks and balances
- The importance of the rule of law in protecting minority rights and checking executives and legislatures
- This might be linked to recent developments, such as the incorporation of the ECHR, the creation of a Supreme Court in the UK and the “war on terror” post 9/11
- Evidence of bias within the judiciary and other methods of securing independence such as tenure and salary
- The significance of voting blocs on the US Supreme Court and the impact of recent appointments
- The constraints upon courts.

In order to reach level 4, candidates should be able to discuss why the independence of the judiciary is regarded as a vital part of democratic systems. The role of the appointment process in securing that independence will need to be considered. The differing roles of the judiciary in the UK and US may be considered. References to other judiciaries will be rewarded.

**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 level 4, candidates will have made good use of paragraphs to separate arguments. They may also have used short introductions and conclusions to good effect. At level 2 and below, candidates will make frequent and intrusive spelling mistakes and grammatical mistakes. The essay will lack focus and be disorganised.

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