

# **Government and Politics**

Advanced GCE

Unit **F855**: US Government and Politics

## **Mark Scheme for June 2011**

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

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**1 Discuss the view that personality is now the key influence upon voting behaviour. [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 role of personality as an influence on voting behaviour. This may include discussion of some of the following:

- Dealignment in the UK and USA: class and partisan in the UK, the decline of the New Deal Coalition
- Personalities in recent elections such as, Obama v McCain , Blair v Major, Hague and Howard, Thatcher v Foot and Kinnock, (Brown v Cameron?), Schwarzenegger, Galloway
- Other short-term factors such as campaign, policies, party unity, past performance and the economy
- Models of voting behaviour
- Longer term factors such as race, region, religion, gender
- The extent of alignment today.

In order to reach level 4, candidates must be able to discuss a range of factors. Essays which only focus on personality will not reach beyond level 3. Specific examples and statistics will be evident. Those that focus on recent elections will be rewarded.

**AO2:** Expect candidates to discuss the importance of personality as an influence on voting behaviour. Discussion could consider some of the following:

- The impact of dealignment
- The “presidentialisation” and candidate-centred nature of election campaigns
- The role of the media
- The importance of other factors as mentioned above
- The role played by personality in the rational choice model
- The importance of continued alignment, be it on the basis of class in the UK, or region, religion and race in the US
- The individual nature of voting behaviour.

In order to reach level 4, candidates should be able to recognise both sides of the argument. The increased importance of personality should be examined and then balanced by a consideration of some of the other salient factors as outlined 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.

## 2 “Pressure groups play a vital role in modern democracies.” Discuss. [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.*

	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

**AO1:** Candidates will display knowledge of the role of pressure groups in democracies. This may include discussion of some of the following:

- Levels of participation: pressure groups and parties
- Examples of representation when the objectives of pressure groups have been adopted by governments
- Issues which have served to educate and inform the electorate
- Rights that have been protected by groups
- Advice that has served to inform government
- Relationships between governments/legislatures and pressure groups over time
- Examples of civil disobedience
- The resources available to groups
- Democratic theory relating to pressure groups.

**AO2:** Expect candidates to discuss the role played by pressure groups in modern democracies.

This may include discussion of some of the following:

- Declining party membership and voter turnout
- The frequency of elections
- Concepts such as executive dominance, insider status, policy networks, iron triangles and revolving door syndrome
- Recent developments such as anti-terrorist legislation and the threats to individual rights
- Relations between pressure groups and executives over time which could be linked to corporatist, elitist, pluralist and New Right theories.

In order to reach level 4, candidates must provide an answer to this question and not merely recite the traditional arguments for and against pressure groups in a democracy. Those that do will not reach higher than level 3. An assessment is needed then to decide when groups do play a vital role in strengthening or undermining democracy. Such an assessment may conclude that the US could possibly be described as elitist and the UK as pluralist due to the differing conditions which apply in each country.

**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 Discuss the view that political parties are in decline.****[50]**

*Political parties and pressure groups: the debate concerning the decline of political parties and the rise of candidate and issue-centred politics.*

	<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 extent of party decline. This could include reference to some of the following:

- The functions of the parties
- Details of party membership
- The ideologies and policies of the parties
- Details of pressure group activity and membership
- Sources of information and political education for the electorate
- Voter turnout
- Party finance and candidate-centred campaigns
- Parties' roles in the legislature and the executive.

In order to reach level 4, candidates will display knowledge of a range of functions performed by the parties. This could be used as a basis of discussion for analysis and evaluation.

**AO2:** Expect candidates to discuss the extent of party decline. This could include discussion of some of the following:

- Levels of participation in terms of membership and voting turnout
- This could be contrasted with pressure group activity
- Similarly, the impact of falling membership and the top-down nature of the decision making process could be linked to the representative function
- The use of the media as a source of information and education
- Ideological convergence and the issue of party choice
- Partisan dealignment
- Candidate selection
- Training
- Fund-raising
- Parties' role in the government and in policy making.

To reach the top of level 4, candidates should argue both for and against party decline and include a range of arguments on both sides to that 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.

**4 Assess the claim that institutions alone cannot 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.*

	<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 discuss the protection of rights and liberties by institutions. This could include discussion of some of the following:

- A range of civil rights and liberties
- Legislation designed to protect rights such as anti-discrimination legislation relating to race, gender and disability discrimination
- Legislation (post 9/11) which has threatened rights and liberties, such as anti-terrorist legislation/Patriot Act
- Government actions, such as covert operations, special rendition and waterboarding
- Judicial rulings re executive involvement in sentencing and the treatment of asylum seekers in the UK, and cases such as *Gonzales v Carhart* from the Roberts Court in the US
- The Bill of Rights and ECHR, the ECJ and social chapter legislation from the Maastricht Treaty
- 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 assess the effectiveness of institutions as a means of protecting rights and liberties. This may include assessment of some of the following:

- The respective powers of executives, legislatures and judiciaries
- 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 as mentioned above
- The role of supreme courts in the defence of rights outlined in the Bill of Rights/ECHR
- The impact of recent appointments and past rulings from the Court
- 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. They will consider the extent to which rights are protected by institutions alone and make some sort of assessment.

**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 “Legislatures no longer fulfil their functions.” Discuss.

[50]

*Legislatures: functions; internal organisation; the role and power of second chambers; role of political parties within.*

	AO1	AO2	AO3
<b>Level 4</b>	16–20	19–24	6
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**AO1:** Candidates will display knowledge of the functions of legislatures. This could include discussion of some of the following:

- The relationship between executives and legislatures
- Constitutional and institutional arrangements and the functions of legislatures such as representation, legislation, deliberation, scrutiny etc
- Concepts such as checks and balances, the separation of powers, executive dominance and elective dictatorship
- The role of parties and pressure groups
- Recent attempts at constitutional reform designed to increase Parliament’s power in the UK
- The role of the media and their focus on the executive
- The increased use of the judiciary and the rise of judicial activism
- Case studies such as Obama’s health care reforms and backbench revolts in the House of Commons.

In order to reach level 4, candidates should be aware of a range of functions and be able to provide examples of legislatures’ ability to fulfil them. References to the EU will be rewarded and this might include discussion of enhanced co-decision and cooperation between the EP and CoM and the impact of the Lisbon Treaty.

**AO2:** Expect candidates to discuss the ability of legislatures to fulfil their functions. This could lead to discussion of some of the following:

- Executive dominance
- Attempts to increase the legislatures’ powers, such as the increased powers for Public Committees and introduction of Departmental Select Committees
- The role of the legislature in policy formulation and passing
- Scrutiny and oversight of the executive
- Deliberative and information functions, representation.

In order to reach level 4, candidates will examine the case both for and against the assertion in the title. They may take each function in turn and assess the ability to fulfil it, reaching different conclusions for each one.

**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 To what extent have recent reforms brought the UK closer to the US in constitutional terms?**

[50]

*Constitutions: 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.*

	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
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**AO1:** Candidates will discuss constitutional reforms in the UK and constitutional arrangements in the US. This may include discussion of some of the following:

- Devolution and federalism
- The ECHR and the Bill of Rights
- Supreme Courts in the both countries and judicial appointments
- The concepts of parliamentary sovereignty and judicial review, the separation of powers and checks and balances, executive dominance and elective dictatorship, the independence of the judiciary and the rule of law
- The abolition of hereditary peers and the elected nature of the Senate
- Brown's proposals re increasing parliamentary powers and reducing royal prerogatives
- The uncodified nature of the UK's constitution.

In order to reach level 4, candidates will need to identify a range of recent constitutional reforms and refer to the constitutional arrangements in the US.

**AO2:** Expect candidates to consider the impact of recent constitutional reforms in the UK and make comparisons with the constitutional arrangements in the US. This could include discussion of some of the following:

- Devolution in the UK and federal arrangements in the US. The impact of asymmetric devolution and differences between federalism and devolution
- Judicial review and the importance of a written constitution in the US and its absence in the UK
- The ECHR as a quasi bill of rights and recent rulings from the UK courts which have checked the executive
- The neutralisation of executive power in the UK over judicial arrangements and the extent of politicisation in the US
- The extent to which the powers of the UK Parliament been enhanced. This might lead to a consideration of oversight and scrutiny and the role of committees.

In order to reach level 4, candidates should be able to recognise similarities and differences and make some sort of judgement as to the impact of the reforms. Do the reforms come close to the US model or are they essentially token gestures?

**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 Discuss the view that prime ministerial and presidential forms of government are essentially similar. [50]**

*Executives: Election, power and functions of chief executives; issues concerning the organisation of executives – as presidential, or prime ministerial, and cabinet government.*

	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
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**AO1:** Candidates will show knowledge of prime ministerial and presidential forms of government. This may include discussion of some of the following:

- The method of election/selection
- The constitutional arrangements which may determine formal powers
- Informal powers
- Support staff: size and role
- Constraints upon the power of the executive
- The role and powers of legislatures and judiciaries
- Concepts such as core executive, policy networks, inner/partial cabinets, imperial/imperilled presidencies, elective dictatorship and executive dominance.

In order to reach level 4, candidates should discuss a range of factors which will provide the basis for comparison.

**AO2:** Expect candidates to discuss the similarities and differences between prime ministerial and presidential government. This may include discussion of:

- The impact of a parliamentary system of government with an inbuilt majority upon PM power
- Constitutional constraints upon a president with regard to appointments, treaties, impeachment, legislation and budget
- Presidential powers in the foreign policy domain
- The role of party and presidents and prime ministers as party leaders
- The respective roles of cabinets
- The size of the support staff: EXOP v Cabinet Office
- The impact of media focus
- Theories of executive decision making such as the core executive and policy networks.

In order to reach level 4, candidates should be able to recognise similarities and differences. The notion of a “British presidency” and increased prime ministerial power could be explored. Similarly, the notion of the “power to persuade” to illustrate presidential impotence could be used to good effect. The constraints upon the British prime minister will also highlight differences between the two.

**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 Compare and contrast the power of the judiciary in different political systems. [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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<b>Level 1</b>	0–5	0–6	0–2

**AO1:** Candidates will display knowledge of the power of judiciaries in different political systems. This could make reference to some of the following points:

- The meaning of judicial review
- Details of written constitutions and bills of rights
- Recent rulings from judiciaries
- Concepts such as judicial activism and passivism, strict and loose constructionism, parliamentary sovereignty
- The composition and outlook of courts
- Administrative law and the ultra vires principle
- The role of the ECHR and ECJ.

In order to reach level 4, candidates will discuss a range of powers of judiciaries in different political systems.

**AO2:** Expect candidates to contrast the power of judiciaries in different political systems. This could lead to discussion of some of the following points:

- The impact of parliamentary sovereignty upon judicial review
- The impact of incorporation of the ECHR into UK law
- The impact of the creation of a Supreme Court in the UK
- The increase in judicial activism before and after the Human Rights Act
- The impact of a written constitution
- The significance of the separation of powers, checks and balances, the independence of the judiciary and the rule of law
- Constraints upon the judiciary.

In order to reach level 4, candidates should identify a range of points which provide for effective comparison. Reference might be made to the increased role of the judiciary as a means of checking powerful executives following 9/11. This could be linked to increased use of the courts by pressure groups and individuals. Ultimately though, the constitutional arrangements of a country should be the main basis for discussion. References to the ECHR and ECJ 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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