

A-Level Politics

Paper 1 & 2 Course Guide



Essential Information:

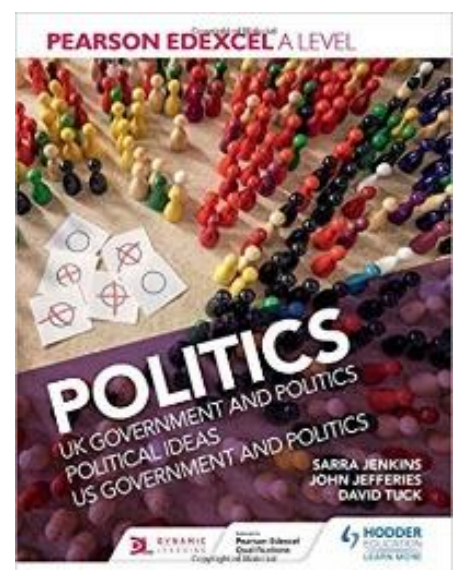
Teaching Staff: Miss Hardingham

hardinghamc@kls.herts.sch.uk

Exam Board: Pearson Edexcel Level 3
Advanced GCE in Politics (9PL0)

Resources: Teams & www.klshistory.co.uk

Compulsory textbook: Pearson Edexcel A
level Politics, Jenkins, Jeffries and Tuck,
(May 2019) Hodder



Contents

What is expected of me in Year 12?	3
What support will I receive from my teachers?.....	6
Course Overview	7
Knowledge and definition trackers.....	10
How will I be assessed and how can I meet the criteria?.....	29
Paper 1 (sample papers, mark schemes, structure guidance and exemplar responses).....	33
Paper 2 (as above)	51
Practice Question Banks	59
What additional reading and watching will I have to do?.....	108
Assessment tracker.....	110
Folder check log.....	111
Reading log pro forma	113
Glossary pro forma	114
Political Spectrum – The basics guide	115

What is expected of me at A Level?

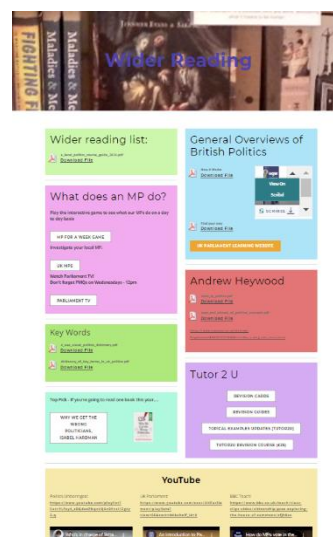
1) An organised folder with clearly marked sections.

We recommend organising your folder chronologically, lesson-by-lesson, using your **learning tracker** (end of this guide). Your folder will be routinely checked for the following:

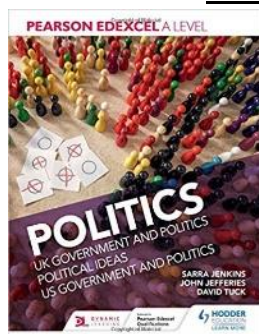
- Course booklet
- Folder is well organised with unit dividers
- Clear section marked for essays and improvements.
- Class notes are up to date
- Homework is up to date
- Learning tracker (knowledge checklist) is up to date.
- Assessment Tracker (in this booklet) is up to date
- Evidence of a minimum of 4 hours of independent study per week, including an up-to-date reading record (in this booklet)
- Glossary is up to date, either in this booklet or as a separate marked section in folder

2) READ, READ and then READ some more.

- You **MUST** read and watch the titles specified by Edexcel!
- **Refer to the reading list at the end of this guide and on the website** - <https://www.klshistory.co.uk/wider-reading--viewing.html> Lots of these texts will be set as HW.
- **You should spend a minimum of 4 hours independent work per week for this unit** - This is the minimum amount of time you should spend on the work and reading set by your teacher every week OR additional wider reading / research.
- **You must record your findings and notes in a reading record or make notes**, according to the task instructions; your teacher may set you specific questions with the reading.
- If you fail to show **evidence** that you have completed your 4 hours work you will be required to complete 4 hours of work after school at a time organised by your teacher.

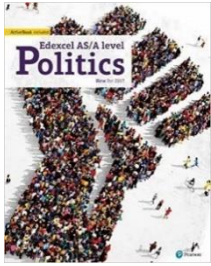


The best **textbooks** to buy / access are:



1. **Pearson Edexcel A level Politics, Jenkins, Jeffries and Tuck, (May 2019) Hodder.**

Although not published by the exam board, it is written by Hodder for your whole course in BOTH Y12 and Y13. This textbook is more accessible for students. We will use this a lot in our lessons.



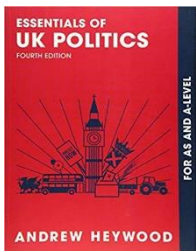
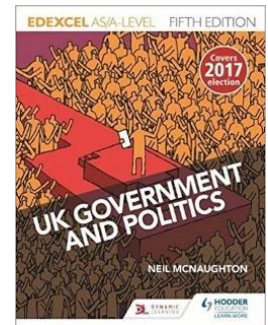
2. Edexcel GCE Politics AS and A-level Student Book and eBook (Edexcel GCE Politics 2017), Colclough et al. (August 2017)

The exam board's textbook is a great place to start for essential reading. It's advisable to buy a copy, but you can also access it here for FREE:

<https://www.klshistory.co.uk/access-to-e-textbook.html>

3. Edexcel UK Government and Politics for AS/A Level Fifth Edition, McNaughton (July 2017) Hodder

Again, although not published by the exam board, it is written by Hodder for your course. This textbook is more accessible for students. We will use this a lot in our lessons.

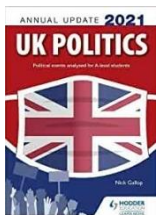
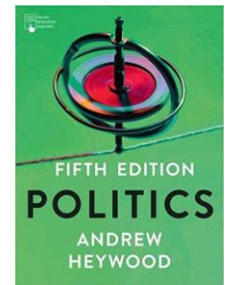


4. Essentials of UK Politics: For AS and A-Level, Andrew Heywood (Jul 2017)

Andrew Heywood is THE authority on A Level Politics. Again, we will use this a lot.

5. Politics, Andrew Heywood (March 2019)

Andrew Heywood is THE authority on A Level Politics. This is a good purchase if you're aiming for an A/A*.



6. UK Politics Annual Update 2021, Gallop (January 2021)

Each year, there is an updated version of this textbook. It outlines key political changes from the previous year. I would recommend buying the 2022 version of this in January. You will be given extracts from this throughout the course.

7. The best Revision Guides to buy / access are:

Many extracts from these are saved in Teams

1. Tutor2U Revision Guides and Flashcard Packs <https://www.tutor2u.net/politics>
2. My Revision Notes: Edexcel AS/A-level Politics: UK Government and Politics, McNaughton (Jan 2018)
3. REVISE Edexcel AS/A Level Politics Revision Guide & Workbook: includes online edition (REVISE Edexcel GCE Politics 2017) (Nov 2018)
4. Need to Know: Edexcel A-level Politics, Cooper (July 2018)
5. Podcast series [essays planned in a podcast] – *The A Level Politics Show* <https://anchor.fm/nick-de-souza>



3) proactive attitude to independent study.

Remember the course is completed 1/3rd in class and 2/3rds outside of class. This means YOU HAVE to work and read at home or in study periods. Use the 5 R's to help you become a more independent learner:

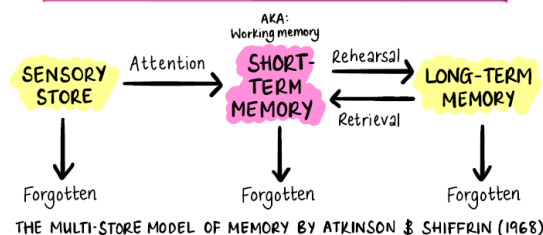
1. **Research** (around the current topic/homework)
2. **Reading** (looking ahead and reading around the upcoming topic)
3. **Reviewing** (checking over notes and filling any gaps)
4. **Responding** (to targets and verbal and written feedback given)
5. **Retrieval Practice** in revision, for example:

Retrieval Practice





KATE JONES

Grace Hudson @MissH.biology





The act of recalling learned information from memory (with little or no support) and every time that information is retrieved, or an answer is generated, it changes the original memory to make it **STRONGER!**



RP #1: Retrieval Practice - Choose ONE

<p>Quizzing</p>  <p>Create a 10 question quiz to test recall, check understanding and to identify misconceptions. This can be done via any format: quiz sheet, PowerPoint or an online quizzing tool. Take the quiz yourself or ask your peers to complete the quiz and provide feedback.</p>	<p>Flash Cards</p>  <p>Create a set of flash cards for a specific topic. Write a key question on one side and the answer on the other. Test your memory by asking someone to quiz you. Use the Leitner System to build fluency through repetition.</p>	<p>Folding Frenzy</p>  <p><u>Folding Frenzy</u>: Write a one page summary on a specific topic. Then create a graphic organiser of the key terminology of the notes. Next write down 5-6 keywords that summarise the topic. Finally, create symbols on the front cover from your original notes.</p>	<p>FACE IT</p>  <p>Facts - Learn the core factual content of a specific topic Apply - Apply the facts in context Connect - Connect ideas by identifying patterns and causal links Express your knowledge - Teach your peers or self-explain.</p>
---	--	--	---

RP #2: Spaced Retrieval – Choose ONE

<p>Last Lesson</p>  <p>From memory create a one page summary, mind map, knowledge organiser or sketch note from last lesson. Include evidence, statistics, people, events, dates, key terms, definitions etc.</p>	<p>Last Week</p>  <p>From memory create a one page summary, mind map, knowledge organiser or sketch note from last week. Include evidence, statistics, people, events, dates, key terms, definitions etc.</p>	<p>Last Topic</p>  <p>From memory create a one page summary, mind map, knowledge organiser or sketch note from the last topic. Include evidence, statistics, people, events, dates, key terms, definitions etc.</p>	<p>Last Term</p>  <p>From memory create a one page summary, mind map, knowledge organiser or sketch note from last term. Include evidence, statistics, people, events, dates, key terms, definitions etc.</p>
--	--	---	--

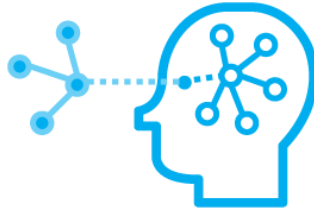
4) Be fully PREPARED for and ACTIVELY PARTICIPATE in lessons

- **Preparation** - If you are asked to prepare a task for a lesson you must complete it and arrive at the lesson with your completed work.
- **100% attendance**. If there is a valid reason why you cannot attend (e.g. a pre-booked medical appointment) it is your responsibility to inform your teacher and complete the work missed. It is not acceptable to book driving lessons or tests in lesson time.
- **Active involvement in lessons** - You must play an active and focused role in all lessons. The more you engage in discussion and activities, the more you will get out of the lesson.

5) Meet deadlines

Failing to meet homework and reading deadlines means that you may not be able to participate in the lesson; you will be asked to leave in order to catch up. Late essays may not receive feedback. If you are struggling to meet a deadline it is important that you speak to your teacher in advance and work out a solution to help you complete the work.

What support will I receive from my teacher?



- **Organised, engaging and challenging lessons**

Your teacher will lead lessons and will always make the objectives of the lesson and the tasks set accessible for all students. They will ensure you understand key concepts and know key factual information. They will teach you the skills you need to achieve your potential in history.

- **Regular assessment and feedback**

Your teacher will mark your work regularly and provide you with constructive feedback which will help you develop effective examination techniques.

- **Resources to support your independent study**

As well as this course guide, resource will be accessible via your class files on Teams and at <https://www.klshistory.co.uk>:

- a. Lesson-by-lesson resources (if you're unsure of something in the lesson and you want to spend more time on it at home)
- b. Assessment resources - Past paper questions, mark schemes and exemplar essays
- c. Additional reading suggestions
- d. Revision guides, resources and tools.
- e. Scans of reading will only be available internally on Teams (we cannot publish these externally online for copyright reasons)

- **Individual support**

Your teacher is always available outside lesson time to give you support with any aspects of the course you are finding difficult. You must make an appointment to see them and they will always be willing to help.

- **High expectations**

Your teacher will always have high expectations for you to help you work towards and beyond your target grade.

Course Overview

There are three externally-assessed exam units:

1. UK Politics (AS = minus political ideology)
2. UK Government (AS = minus political ideology)
3. Comparative Politics: USA Politics (NOT included in AS)

You will study component 1 and 2 in Y12, followed by Component 3 in Y13.

Component 1: UK Politics (9PL0/01)

This section explores the nature of politics and how people engage in the political process in the UK. Students will investigate in detail how people and politics interact. They will explore the emergence and development of the UK's democratic system and the similarities, differences, connections and parallels between direct and indirect democracy. They will focus on the role and scope of political parties that are so central to contemporary politics, including the significance of the manifestos they publish at election time and their relevance to the mandate of the resulting government.

This section allows students to understand the individual in the political process and their relationship with the state and their fellow citizens. Students will examine how electoral systems in the UK operate and how individuals and groups are influenced in their voting behaviour and political actions. This component will further examine the role of the media in contemporary politics. It will also give students an understanding of voting patterns and voting behaviour.

Section A: Political Participation

1. Democracy and participation
2. Political parties
3. Electoral systems
4. Voting behaviour and the role of the media.

Section B: Core Political Ideas

This section allows students to explore the three traditional political ideas of conservatism, liberalism and socialism. Students will learn about the core ideas and principles and how they apply in practice to human nature, the state, society and the economy, the divisions within each idea and their key thinkers.

1. Conservatism
2. Liberalism
3. Socialism

Assessment overview

- Written examination: 2 hours
- 33% of the qualification - 84 marks

Section A: Political Participation (60 marks)

One **30-mark question** from a choice of two (each question uses a **source**) – students must complete one of these. Plus one **30-mark question** from a choice of two – students must complete one of these. All questions assess AO1, AO2 and AO3.

Section B: Core Political Ideas (24 marks)

One **24-mark question** from a choice of two, which assesses AO1, AO2 and AO3.

Unit 2: UK Government (9PL0/02)

Politics is ultimately about people, but most political decisions are made by a branch of government whose roles and powers are determined by a set of rules: the constitution. This component is fundamental to understanding the nature of UK government, since it enables students to understand where, how and by whom political decisions are made. The component also gives students a base of comparison to other political systems.

The component introduces students to the set of rules governing politics in the UK, the UK constitution, which is different in nature from most of the rest of the world. It further introduces students to the specific roles and powers of the different major branches of the government – legislative, executive, and judiciary – as well as the relationships and balance of power between them, and considers where sovereignty now lies within this system.

Students will explore the following key themes: the relative powers of the different branches of UK government; the extent to which the constitution has changed in recent years; the desirability of further change; and the current location of sovereignty within the UK political system.

Section A: UK Government

1. The constitution
2. Parliament
3. The Prime Minister and executive
4. The relationships between the government branches

Section B: Core Political Ideas (We will study ONE of the following)

- Anarchism
- Ecologism
- Feminism
- Multiculturalism
- Nationalism

Assessment overview

- Written examination: 2 hours
- 33⅓% of the qualification - 84 marks

Section A: UK Government

One **30-mark question** from a choice of two (each question uses a source) – students must complete one of these. Plus one **30-mark question** from a choice of two – students must complete one of these. All questions assess AO1, AO2 and AO3.

Section B: Non-core Political Ideas

One **24-mark question** from a choice of two, which assesses AO1, AO2 and AO3.

**(Y13) Unit 3: Comparative Politics: A Government and Politics of the USA
(9PL0/3A)**

The USA has been considered by some to be a 'beacon of democracy'. As a world power, understanding the nature of US democracy, and the debates surrounding it, is crucial given the considerable impact that the USA has on UK, European and global politics.

Students will explore the US Constitution and the arguments surrounding this guiding document of US democracy. In learning about the key institutions of government in the USA and analysing the manner in which they achieve this power and exercise it over their citizens, students will judge ultimately whether 'liberty and justice for all' has been achieved in the USA. Students will be expected to highlight the debates on the nature of democracy in the USA and evaluate the extent to which it remains an issue.

The impact of the US government on the world beyond its borders is increasingly a feature of international politics. Students will begin to engage with this interaction by comparing and contrasting politics and institutions in the US with those in the UK. This will develop a wider understanding of politics as a discipline, underpinned by the theoretical concepts of comparative politics.

There are six content areas:

1. The US Constitution and federalism
2. US Congress
3. US presidency
4. US Supreme Court and US civil rights
5. US democracy and participation
6. Comparative theories

Assessment overview for 3B

- Written examination: 2 hours
- 33% of the qualification - 84 marks

Section A

One **12-mark** question from a choice of two, which assesses AO1 and AO2.

Section B

One compulsory **12-mark** question focused on comparative theories, which assesses AO1 and AO2.

Section C

Two 30-mark questions from a choice of three, which assess AO1, AO2 and AO3.

Knowledge and Definitions Trackers

Component 1 UK Politics Section A: Political Participation

1. Democracy and participation

Overall Topic	Specific topic	Notes on this	Revised this	Completed practice Qs
Current systems of representative democracy and direct democracy.	The features of direct democracy and representative democracy.			
	The similarities and differences between direct democracy and representative democracy.			
	Advantages and disadvantages of direct democracy and representative democracy and consideration of the case for reform.			
A wider franchise and debates over suffrage	Key milestones in the widening of the franchise in relation to class, gender, ethnicity and age, including the 1832 Great Reform Act and the 1918, 1928 and 1969 Representation of the People Acts.			
	The work of the suffragists/suffragettes to extend the franchise.			
	The work of a current movement to extend the franchise.			
Pressure groups and other influences	How different pressure groups exert influence and how their methods and influence vary in contemporary politics.			
	Case studies of two different pressure groups, highlighting examples of how their methods and influence vary.			
	Other collective organisations and groups including think tanks, lobbyists and corporations, and their influence on government and Parliament.			
Rights in context	Major milestones in their development, including the significance of Magna Carta and more recent developments, including the Human Rights Act 1998 and Equality Act 2010.			
	Debates on the extent, limits and tensions within the UK's rights-based culture, including consideration of how individual and collective right may conflict, the contributions from civil liberty pressure groups – including the work of two contemporary civil liberty pressure.			

1. Democracy and participation	
Key term	Definition
Legitimacy	The rightful use of power in accordance with pre-set criteria or widely-held agreements, such as a government's right to rule following an election or a monarch's succession based on the agreed rules.
Direct democracy	All individuals express their opinions themselves and not through representatives acting on their behalf. This type of democracy emerged in Athens in classical times and direct democracy can be seen today in referendums.
Representative democracy	A more modern form of democracy through which an individual selects a person (and/or political party) to act on their behalf to exercise political choice.
Pluralist democracy	A type of democracy in which a government makes decisions as a result of the interplay of various ideas and contrasting arguments from competing groups and organisations.
Democratic deficit	A flaw in the democratic process where decisions are taken by people who lack legitimacy, not having been appointed with sufficient democratic input or subject to accountability.
Participation crisis	A lack of engagement by a significant number of citizens to relate to the political process either by choosing not to vote or to join or become members of political parties or to offer themselves for public office.
Franchise/suffrage	Franchise and suffrage both refer to the ability/right to vote in public elections. Suffragettes were women campaigning for the right to vote on the same terms as men.
Think tanks	A body of experts brought together to collectively focus on a certain topic(s) – to investigate and offer solutions to often complicated and seemingly intractable economic, social or political issues.
Lobbyists	A lobbyist is paid by clients to try to influence the government and/or MPs and members of the House of Lords to act in their clients' interests, particularly when legislation is under consideration.

2. Political Parties

Overall Topic	Specific topic	Notes on this	Revised this	Completed practice Qs
Political parties	The functions and features of political parties in the UK's representative democracy.			
	How parties are currently funded, debates on the consequences of the current funding system.			
The established political parties	The origins and historical development of the Conservative Party and how this has shaped current policy			
	The origins and historical development of the Labour Party and how this has shaped current policy			
	The origins and historical development of the Liberal Democrat Party and how this has shaped current policy			
Emerging and minor UK political parties	The importance of other parties in the UK			
	The ideas and policies of two other minor parties: (SNP/DUP/Plaid)			
	The ideas and policies of two other minor parties: (UKIP/Green)			
UK political parties in context	The development of a multi-party system and its implications for government			
	Various factors that affect party success – explanations of why political parties have succeeded or failed, including debates on the influence of the media.			

2. Political parties	
Key term	Definition
Old Labour (social democracy)	Key Labour principles embodying nationalisation, redistribution of wealth from rich to poor and the provision of continually improving welfare and state services, which largely rejected Thatcherite/free-market reforms or a Blairite approach.
New Labour (Third Way)	A revision of the traditional Labour values and ideals represented by Old Labour. Influenced by Anthony Giddens, the 'Third Way' saw Labour shift in emphasis from a heavy focus on the working class to a wider class base, and a less robust alliance with the trade unions.
One Nation	A paternalistic approach adopted by Conservatives under the leadership of Benjamin Disraeli in the 19th century and continued by David Cameron and Theresa May in the 21st century, that the rich have an obligation to help the poor.
New Right	There are two elements – (i) the neo (or new) Conservatives who want the state to take a more authoritarian approach to morality and law and order and (ii) the neo-liberals who endorsed the free-market approach and the rolling back of the state in people's lives and businesses.

Classical liberals	Classical liberalism is a philosophy developed by early liberals who believed that individual freedom would best be achieved with the state playing a minimal role.
Modern liberals	Modern liberalism emerged as a reaction against free-market capitalism, believing this had led to many individuals not being free. Freedom could no longer simply be defined as 'being left alone'.
Party systems	The way or manner in which the political parties in a political system are grouped and structured. There are several variants that could apply to the UK, these include one-party dominant, two-party, two-and-a-half party and multi-party systems.
Left-wing	A widely-used term for those who desire change, reform and alteration to the way in which society operates. Often this involves radical criticisms of the capitalism made by liberal and socialist parties.
Right-wing	This term reflects support for the status quo, little or no change, stressing the need for order, stability and hierarchy – generally relates to Conservative parties.

3. Electoral Systems

Overall Topic	Specific topic	Notes on this	Revised this	Completed practice Qs
Different electoral systems	The advantages and disadvantages of First-past-the-post (FPTP),			
	The advantages and disadvantages of Additional Member System			
	The advantages and disadvantages of Single Transferable Vote			
	The advantages and disadvantages of Supplementary Vote (SV)			
Referendums and how they are used	How referendums have been used in the UK and their impact on UK political life since 1997			
	The case for and against referendums in a representative democracy			
Electoral system analysis	Debates on why different electoral systems are used in the UK			
	The impact of the electoral system on the government or type of government appointed			
	The impact of different systems on party representation and of electoral systems on voter choice			

3. Electoral systems	
Key term	Definition
First-past-the-post (FPTP)	An electoral system where the person with the most number of votes is elected. Victory is achieved by having one more vote than other contenders – it is also called a plurality system.
Additional Member System (AMS)	A hybrid electoral system that has two components or elements. The voter makes two choices. Firstly, the voter selects a representative on a simple plurality (FPTP) system then a second vote is apportioned to a party list for a second or 'additional' representative.
Single Transferable Vote (STV)	This system allows voters to rank their voting preferences in numerical order rather than simply having one voting choice. In order to obtain a seat, a candidate must obtain a quota. After the votes are cast, those with the least votes are eliminated and their votes transferred and those candidates with excess votes above the quota also have their votes transferred.
Supplementary Vote (SV)	This is a majoritarian system. The voter makes two choices (hence the term 'supplementary'). If one candidate obtains over 50% on the first vote then the contest is complete, if no candidate attains this level, all but the top two candidates remain. Then the supplementary choices are re-distributed and whoever gets most votes from the remaining two, wins the seat.
Safe seat	A seat in which the incumbent has a considerable majority over the closest rival and which is largely immune from swings in voting choice. The same political party retains the seat from election to election. A majority of seats in UK Westminster constituencies are safe seats.
Marginal seat	A seat held by the incumbent with a small majority. There is no precise percentage or winning margin to which this aligns but a 10% margin would need only a swing of 5% to the rival party to take it. Marginal seats are important as they are where the outcomes of elections are decided. Only a minority of seats in UK Westminster constituencies are marginal.
Minority government	A government that enters office but which does not have a majority of seats in the legislature (Parliament). This makes passing legislation very difficult.
Coalition government	A government that is formed of more than one political party. It is normally accompanied by an agreement over policy options and office of state, as was the Conservative-Liberal-Democrat coalition from 2010–2015

4. Voting behaviour and the media

Overall Topic	Specific topic	Notes on this	Revised this	Completed practice Qs
Case studies of three key general elections	Case studies of three elections (one from the period 1945–92, the 1997 election, and one since 1997), the results and their impact on parties and government.			
	The factors that explain the outcomes of these elections, including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the reasons for and impact of party policies and manifestos, techniques used in their election campaigns, and the wider political context of the elections class-based voting and other factors influencing voting patterns, such as partisanship and voting attachment gender, age, ethnicity and region as factors in influencing voting behaviour, turnout and trends. 			
	Analysis of the national voting-behaviour patterns for these elections, revealed by national data sources and how and why they vary.			
The influence of the media	The assessment of the role and impact of the media on politics – both during and between key general elections			
	The importance and relevance of opinion polls			
	Media bias and persuasion.			

4. Voting behaviour and the media	
Key term	Definition
Class dealignment	The process where individuals no longer identify themselves as belonging to a certain class and for political purposes fail to make a class connection with their voting pattern.
Partisan dealignment	The process where individuals no longer identify themselves on a long-term basis by being associated with a certain political party.
Governing competency	The perceived ability of the governing party in office to manage the affairs of the state well and effectively. It can also be a potential view of opposition parties and their perceived governing competency if they were to secure office.
Disillusion and apathy	A process of disengagement with politics and political activity. Having no confidence in politics and politicians as being able to solve issues and make a difference. Manifested in low turnout at elections and poor awareness of contemporary events.
Manifesto	In its manifesto, a political party will spell out in detail what actions and programmes it would like to put in place if it is successful in the next election – a set of promises for future action.
Mandate	The successful party following an election claims it has the authority (mandate) to implement its manifesto promises and also a general permission to govern as new issues arise.

**Section B: Core Political Ideas
(NOT included in AS)**

1. Conservatism

Overall Topic	Specific topic	Notes on this	Revised this	Completed practice Qs
Core ideas and principles of conservatism and how they relate to human nature, the state, society and the economy	pragmatism – flexible approach to society with decisions made on the basis of what works – to cover links between pragmatism and traditional conservative and one-nation philosophy			
	tradition – accumulated wisdom of past societies and a connection between the generations – to cover how this creates stability, links with organic change, and enhances humans’ security			
	human imperfection – humans are flawed which makes them incapable of making good decisions for themselves – to cover the three aspects of psychological, moral and intellectual imperfection			
	organic society/state – society/state is more important than any individual parts – to cover how this links to the underpinning of the beliefs of authority and hierarchy and a cohesive society			
	paternalism – benign power exerted from above by the state, that governs in the interests of the people – to cover the different interpretations by traditional (an authoritarian approach, the state knows what is best so the people must do what they are told) and one-nation conservatives (there is an obligation on the wealthy to look after those who are unable to look after themselves)and why it is rejected by New Right Conservatives			
	libertarianism (specifically neo-liberalism) – upholds liberty, seeking to maximise autonomy and free choice, mainly in the economy – to cover the moral and economic values associated with this idea.			
The differing views and tensions within conservatism:	traditional conservative – commitment to hierarchic and paternalistic values			
	one-nation conservative – updating of traditional conservatism in response to the emergence of capitalism			
	new right – the marriage of neo-liberal and neo-conservative ideas and include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> neo-liberal: principally concerned with free-market economics and atomistic individualism neo-conservative: principally concerned with the fear of social fragmentation, tough on law and order and public morality. 			
Conservative thinkers and their ideas	Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Order – an ordered society should balance the human need to lead a free life. Human nature – humans are needy, vulnerable and easily led astray in attempts to understand the world around them. 			
	Edmund Burke (1729–1797) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Change – political change should be undertaken with great caution and organically. Tradition and empiricism – practices passed down for generations should be respected. 			
	Michael Oakeshott (1901–1990) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Human imperfection – suggestion that society is unpredictable and humans are imperfect. Pragmatism – belief that conservatism is about being pragmatic. 			
	Ayn Rand (1905–1982) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Objectivism – this advocates the virtues of rational self-interest. 			

A Level Politics Paper 1 & 2 Course Guide – Kings Langley School - Miss Hardingham

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Freedom – this supports a pure, laissez-faire capitalist economy. 			
	<p>Robert Nozick (1938–2002)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Libertarianism – based on Kant’s idea that individuals in society cannot be treated as a thing, or used against their will as a resource. • Self-ownership – individuals own their bodies, talents, abilities and labour. 			

Conservatism	
1. Core ideas and principles	
Key term	Definition
Hierarchy	The Conservative belief that society is naturally organised in fixed tiers, where one’s position is not based on individual ability.
Authority	For Conservatives, this is the idea that people in higher positions in society are best able to make decisions in the interests of the whole society; authority thus comes from above.
Change to conserve	That society should adapt to changing circumstances rather than reject change outright and risk rebellion and/or revolution.
Atomism	That society is made up of self-interested and self-sufficient individuals (also known as egoistical individualism).

2. Differing views and tensions within conservatism	
Key term	Definition
Noblesse oblige	The duty of the wealthy and privileged to look after those less fortunate.
Anti-permissiveness	A rejection of permissiveness, which is the belief that people should make their own moral choices, suggesting there is no objective right and wrong.
Radical	Belief whose ideas favour drastic political, economic and social change.
Human imperfection	The traditional conservative belief that humans are flawed in a number of ways which makes them incapable of making good decisions for themselves.

3. Conservative thinkers and their ideas	
Key term	Definition
Laissez-faire	A preference towards minimal government intervention in business and the state.
Empiricism	The idea that knowledge comes from real experience and not from abstract theories.

2. Liberalism

Overall Topic	Specific topic	Notes on this	Revised this	Completed practice Qs
Liberalism: core ideas and principles	individualism – the primacy of the individual in society over any group – to cover egoistical individualism and developmental individualism			
	freedom/liberty – the ability and right to make decisions in your own interests based on your view of human nature – to cover how liberals guarantee individual freedom, the link between freedom and individualism, that freedom is ‘under the law’			
	state – it is ‘necessary’ to avoid disorder, but ‘evil’ as it has potential to remove individual liberty, thus should be limited; this is linked to the liberal view of the economy			
	rationalism – the belief that humans are rational creatures, capable of reason and logic – to cover how rationalism underpins an individual’s ability to define their own best interests and make their own moral choices, creating a progressive society			
	equality/social justice – the belief that individuals are of equal value and that they should be treated impartially and fairly by society – to cover foundational and formal equality and equality of opportunity			
	liberal democracy – a democracy that balances the will of the people, as shown through elections, with limited government (state) and a respect for civil liberties in society – to cover why liberals support it as well as why they are concerned about it.			
Differing views and tensions within liberalism	classical liberalism – early liberals who believed that individual freedom would best be achieved with the state playing a minimal role			
	modern liberalism – emerged as a reaction against free-market capitalism, believing this had led to many individuals not being free. Freedom could no longer simply be defined as ‘being left alone’.			
Liberal thinkers and their ideas	John Locke (1632-1704) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social contract theory – society, state and government are based on a theoretical voluntary agreement. • Limited government – that government should be limited and based on consent from below. 			
	Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–97) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reason – women are rational and independent beings capable of reason. • Formal equality – in order to be free, women should enjoy full civil liberties and be allowed to have a career. 			
	John Stuart Mill (1806-73) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Harm principle – that individuals should be free to do anything except harm other individuals. • Tolerance – belief that the popularity of a view does not necessarily make it correct. 			
	John Rawls (1921-2002) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Theory of justice – opinion that society must be just and guarantee each citizen a life worth living. • The veil of ignorance – a hypothetical scenario where individuals, agree on the type of society they want from a position where they lack knowledge of their own position in society. 			
	Betty Friedan (1921-2006) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legal equality – women are as capable as men and that oppressive laws and social views must be overturned. • Equal opportunity – women are being held back from their potential because of the limited number of jobs that are ‘acceptable’ for women. 			

Liberalism	
1. Core ideas and principles	
Key term	Definition
Foundational equality	Rights that all humans have by virtue of being born which cannot be taken away (also known as natural rights and inalienable rights).
Formal equality	The idea that all individuals have the same legal and political rights in society.
Equality of opportunity	The idea that all individuals should have equal chances in life to rise and fall.
Social contract	The idea that the state/society is set up with agreement from the people to respect its laws which serve to protect them.
Meritocracy	A society organised on the basis that success is based on ability and hard work.
Mechanistic theory	The idea that the state was created by 'man' to serve the people and act in their interests.
Tolerance	A willingness to respect values, customs and beliefs with which one disagrees.
Limited government	The role of government is limited by checks and balances, and a separation of powers because of the corrupting nature of power.

2. Differing views and tensions within liberalism	
Key term	Definition
Egoistical individualism	The idea that individual freedom is associated with self-interest and self-reliance (see also atomism).
Developmental individualism	The idea that individual freedom is linked to human flourishing.
Negative freedom	The absence of external constraints in society as well as no interference in the private sphere.
Positive freedom	The idea that freedom is about personal fulfilment and realisation of potential.
Laissez-faire capitalism	An economic system, organised by the market, where goods are produced for exchange and profit, and wealth is privately owned.
Keynesianism	An economic system that requires government involvement to stimulate the economy to achieve full employment and price stability.

3. Liberal thinkers and their ideas	
Key term	Definition
Harm principle	The idea that individuals should be free to do anything except harm other individuals.
Minimal state	The idea that the role of the state must be restricted in order to preserve individual liberty.
Enabling state	A larger state that helps individuals to achieve their potential and be free.

3. Socialism

Overall Topic	Specific topic	Notes on this	Revised this	Completed practice Qs
Socialism: core ideas and principles	collectivism – to cover how collective human effort is both of greater practical value to the economy and moral value to society than the effort of individuals			
	common humanity – to cover the nature of humans as social creatures with a tendency to co-operation, sociability and rationality, and how the individual cannot be understood without reference to society, as human behaviour is socially determined			
	equality – is a fundamental value of socialism – to cover the disagreements among socialists about the nature of equality and how it is critical to the state, society, the economy and human nature			
	social class – a group of people in society who have the same socioeconomic status – to cover the extent to which class impacts on socialists’ views of society, the state and the economy			
	workers’ control – to cover the importance and the extent of control over the economy and/or state and how it is to be achieved.			
Differing views and tensions within socialism	revolutionary socialism – socialism can be brought about only by the overthrow of the existing political and societal structures			
	social democracy – an ideological view that wishes to humanise capitalism in the interests of social justice			
	Third Way – a middle-ground alternative route to socialism and free-market capitalism.			
Socialist thinkers and their ideas	Karl Marx (1818–83) and Friedrich Engels (1820–95) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The centrality of social class – the ideas of historical materialism, dialectic change and revolutionary class consciousness. Humans as social beings – how nature is socially determined and how true common humanity can be expressed only under communism. 			
	Beatrice Webb (1858–1943) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ‘The inevitability of gradualness’ – the gradualist parliamentary strategy for achieving evolutionary socialism. The expansion of the state – that this, and not the overthrow of the state, is critical in delivering socialism. 			
	Rosa Luxemburg (1871–1919) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Evolutionary socialism and revisionism – this is not possible as capitalism is based on an economic relationship of exploitation. Struggle by the proletariat for reform and democracy – this creates the class consciousness necessary for the overthrow of the capitalist society and state. 			

	<p>Anthony Crosland (1918–77)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The inherent contradictions in capitalism – does not drive social change and managed capitalism can deliver social justice and equality. • State-managed capitalism – includes the mixed economy, full employment and universal social benefits. 			
	<p>Anthony Giddens (1938–)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The rejection of state intervention – acceptance of the free market in the economy, emphasis on equality of opportunity over equality, responsibility and community over class conflict. • The role of the state – is social investment in infrastructure and education not economic and social engineering. 			

Socialism

1. Core ideas and principles

Key term	Definition
Fraternity	The bonds of comradeship between human beings.
Co-operation	Working collectively to achieve mutual benefits.
Capitalism	An economic system, organised by the market, where goods are produced for profit and wealth is privately owned.
Common ownership	Is the common ownership of the means of production so that all are able to benefit from the wealth of society and to participate in its running.
Communism	The communal organisation of social existence based on the common ownership of wealth.

2. Differing views and tensions within socialism

Key term	Definition
Evolutionary socialism	A parliamentary route, which would deliver a long-term, radical transformation in a gradual, piecemeal way through legal and peaceful means, via the state.
Marxism	An ideological system, within socialism, that drew on the writings of Marx and Engels and has at its core a philosophy of history that explains why it is inevitable that capitalism will be replaced by communism.
Revisionism	A move to re-define socialism that involves a less radical view of capitalism and a reformed view of socialism.
Social justice	A distribution of wealth that is morally justifiable and implies a desire to limit inequality.

3. Socialist thinkers and their ideas	
Key term	Definition
Class consciousness	The self-understanding of social class that is a historical phenomenon, created out of collective struggle.
Historical materialism	Marxist theory that the economic base (the economic system) forms the superstructure (culture, politics, law, ideology, religion, art and social consciousness).
Dialectic	A process of development that occurs through the conflict between two opposing forces. In Marxism, class conflict creates internal contradictions within society, which drives historical change.
Keynesian economics	Government intervention – can stabilise the economy and aims to deliver full employment and price stability.

Component 2: UK Government Learning Tracker

Section A: UK Government

1. The constitution

Overall Topic	Specific topic	Notes on this	Revised this	Completed practice Qs
The nature and sources of the UK constitution, including	an overview of the development of the constitution through key historical documents: Magna Carta (1215); Bill of Rights (1689); Act of Settlement (1701); Acts of Union (1707); Parliament Acts (1911 and 1949); The European Communities Act (1972)			
	the nature of the UK constitution: unentrenched, uncodified and unitary, and the ‘twin pillars’ of parliamentary sovereignty and the rule of law			
	the five main sources of the UK constitution: statute law; common law; conventions; authoritative works and treaties (including European Union law).			
How the constitution has changed since 1997	Under Labour 1997–2010: House of Lords reforms, electoral reform; devolution; the Human Rights Act 1998; and the Supreme Court.			
	Under the Coalition 2010–15: Fixed Term Parliaments; further devolution to Wales.			
	Any major reforms undertaken by governments since 2015, including further devolution to Scotland (in the context of the Scottish Referendum).			
The role and powers of devolved bodies in the UK, and the impact of this devolution on the UK.	Devolution in England.			
	Scottish Parliament and Government.			
	Welsh Assembly and Government.			
	Northern Ireland Assembly and Executive.			
Debates on further reform	An overview of the extent to which the individual reforms since 1997 listed in section 1.2 above should be taken further.			
	The extent to which devolution should be extended in England.			
	Whether the UK constitution should be changed to be entrenched and codified, including a bill of rights.			

1. The Constitution	
Key term	Definition
Constitution	A set of rules determining where sovereignty lies in a political system, and establishing the relationship between the government and the governed.
Unentrenched (entrenched)	A constitution with no special procedure for amendment.
Uncodified (codified)	A constitution not contained in a single written document.
Unitary (federal)	A political system where all legal sovereignty is contained in a single place.
Parliamentary sovereignty	The principle that Parliament can make, amend or unmake any law, and cannot bind its successors or be bound by its predecessors.
The rule of law	The principle that all people and bodies, including government, must follow the law and can be held to account if they do not.
Statute law	Laws passed by Parliament.
Common law	Laws made by judges where the law does not cover the issue or is unclear.
Conventions	Traditions not contained in law but influential in the operation of a political system.
Authoritative works	Works written by experts describing how a political system is run, they are not legally binding but are taken as significant guides.
Treaties	Formal agreements with other countries, usually ratified by Parliament.
Devolution	The dispersal of power, but not sovereignty, within a political system.

2. Parliament

Overall Topic	Specific topic	Notes on this	Revised this	Completed practice Qs
The House of Commons	The selection of members of the House of Commons			
	The main functions of the House of Commons			
	The exclusive powers of the House of Commons			
The House of Lords (compared to the Commons)	The selection of members of the House of Lords			
	The main functions of the House of Lords			
	The main powers of the House of Lords			
The legislative process	The different stages a bill must go through to become law.			
	The interaction between the Commons and the Lords during the legislative process, including the Salisbury Convention.			
The ways in which Parliament interacts with the Executive	The role and significance of backbenchers in both Houses, including the importance of parliamentary privilege.			
	The work of select committees.			
	The role and significance of the opposition.			
	The purpose and nature of ministerial question time, including Prime Minister's Questions.			

2. Parliament	
Key term	Definition
Parliament	The British legislature made up of the House of Commons, the House of Lords and the monarch.
House of Commons	The primary chamber of the UK legislature, directly elected by voters.
House of Lords	The second chamber of the UK legislature, not directly elected by voters.
Confidence and supply	The rights to remove the government and to grant or withhold funding. Also used to describe a type of informal coalition agreement where the minority partner agrees to provide these things in exchange for policy concessions.
Salisbury Convention	The convention whereby the House of Lords does not delay or block legislation that was included in a government's manifesto.
Parliamentary privilege	The right of MPs or Lords to make certain statements within Parliament without being subject to outside influence, including law.
Legislative bills	Proposed laws passing through Parliament.
Public bill committees	Committees responsible for looking at bills in detail.
Backbenchers	MPs or Lords who do not hold any government office.
Select committees	Committee responsible for scrutinising the work of government, particularly of individual government departments.
Opposition	The MPs and Lords who are not members of the governing party or parties.

3. Prime Minister and Executive

Overall Topic	Specific topic	Notes on this	Revised this	Completed practice Qs
The structure, role, and powers of the Executive	Its structure, including Prime Minister, the Cabinet, junior ministers and government departments.			
	Its main roles, including proposing legislation, proposing a budget, and making policy decisions within laws and budget.			
	The main powers of the Executive, including Royal Prerogative powers, initiation of legislation and secondary legislative power.			
The concept of ministerial responsibility	The concept of individual ministerial responsibility.			
	The concept of collective ministerial responsibility			
The power of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet	The factors governing the Prime Minister's selection of ministers.			
	The factors that affect the relationship between the Cabinet and the Prime Minister, and the ways they have changed and the balance of power between the Prime Minister and the Cabinet.			
The powers of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet to dictate events and determine policy	Students must study the influence of one Prime Minister from 1945 to 1997 and one post-1997 Prime Minister			
	Students may choose any pre-1997 and any post-1997 Prime Minister, provided that they study them in an equivalent level of detail, covering both events and policy, with examples that illustrate both control and a lack of control.			

3. Prime Minister and the government	
Key term	Definition
Executive	The collective group of Prime Minister, Cabinet and junior ministers, sometimes known as 'The Government'.
Cabinet	The Prime Minister and senior ministers, most of whom lead a particular government department.
Minister	An MP or member of the House of Lords appointed to a position in the government, usually exercising specific responsibilities in a department.
Government department	A part of the executive, usually with specific responsibility over an area such as education, health or defence.
Royal prerogative	A set of powers and privileges belonging to the monarch but normally exercised by the Prime Minister or Cabinet, such as the granting of honours or of legal pardons.
Secondary legislation	Powers given to the Executive by Parliament to make changes to the law within certain specific rules.
Individual responsibility	The principle by which ministers are responsible for their personal conduct and for their departments.
Collective responsibility	Principle by which ministers must support Cabinet decisions or leave the Executive.
Presidential government	An executive dominated by one individual, this may be a President but is also used to describe a strong, dominant Prime Minister.

4. Relations between government branches

Overall Topic	Specific topic	Notes on this	Revised this	Completed practice Qs
The Supreme Court and its interactions with, and influence over, the legislative and policy-making processes	The role and composition of the Supreme Court.			
	The key operating principles of the Supreme Court, including judicial neutrality and judicial independence and their extent.			
	The degree to which the Supreme Court influences both the Executive and Parliament, including the doctrine of <i>ultra vires</i> and judicial review.			
The relationship between the Executive and Parliament	The influence and effectiveness of Parliament in holding the Executive to account.			
	The influence and effectiveness of the Executive in attempting to exercise dominance over Parliament.			
	The extent to which the balance of power between Parliament and the Executive has changed.			
The aims, role and impact of the European Union (EU) on UK government	The aims of the EU, including the ‘four freedoms’ of the single market, social policy, and political and economic union and the extent to which these have been achieved.			
	The role of the EU in policy making.			
	The impact of the EU, including the main effects of at least two EU policies and their impact on the UK political system and UK policy making.			
The location of sovereignty in the UK political system	The distinction between legal sovereignty and political sovereignty.			
	The extent to which sovereignty has moved between different branches of government.			
	Where sovereignty can now be said to lie in the UK.			

4. Relations between the branches	
Key term	Definition
Supreme Court	The highest court in the UK political system.
Judicial neutrality	The principle that judges should not be influenced by their personal political opinions and should remain outside of party politics.
Judicial independence	The principle that judges should not be influenced by other branches of government, particularly the Executive.
Judicial review	The power of the judiciary to review, and sometimes reverse, actions by other branches of government that breach the law or that are incompatible with the Human Rights Act.
Elective dictatorship	A government that dominates Parliament, usually due to a large majority, and therefore has few limits on its power.
European Union (EU)	A political and economic union of a group of European countries.
Four freedoms (EU)	The principle of free movement of goods, services, capital and people within the EU's single market.
Legal sovereignty	The legal right to exercise sovereignty – i.e. sovereignty in theory.
Political sovereignty	The political ability to exercise sovereignty – i.e. sovereignty in practice.
Ultra vires	Literally 'beyond the powers'. An action that is taken without legal authority when it requires it.

Section B: Non-core Political Ideas (NOT included in AS)

****THIS SECTION WILL BE ADDED ONCE WE HAVE CHOSEN OUR OPTION AS A CLASS****

Core Political Ideas (We will study ONE of the following)

- Anarchism
- Ecologism
- Feminism
- Multiculturalism
- Nationalism

How will I be assessed and how can I meet the criteria?

Assessment Objectives

AO	Descriptor	% of A Level
AO1	Demonstrate knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and issues.	35%
AO2	Analyse aspects of politics and political information, including in relation to parallels, connections, similarities and differences.	35%
AO3	Evaluate aspects of politics and political information, including constructing arguments, making substantiated judgements and drawing conclusions.	30%

Command Words

Command Word	Descriptor	AO Assessed
Evaluate	To review ideas, issues and/or information and make substantiated judgements and draw conclusions.	AO1 (10 marks) AO2 (10 marks) AO3 (10 marks)
To what extent	To review political ideas and make substantiated judgements and draw conclusions.	AO1 (8 marks) AO2 (8 marks) AO3 (8 marks)
Analyse	To deconstruct ideas, issues and/or information in detail in order to find connections, similarities and/or differences and provide evidence of reasoned thinking.	AO1 (6 marks) AO2 (6 marks)
Examine	To consider an idea/concept carefully and in detail to identify what the idea/concept is and why it exists and compare ideas/concepts.	AO1 (6 marks) AO2 (6 marks)

Paper Structure

Paper(s)	Question number	Command word	Assessment Objective(s)	Number of marks	Time (mins)
1 & 2	1(a) / 1(b)	Using the source(s), evaluate	AO1, 2 & 3	30	45
	2(a) / 2(b)	Evaluate	AO1, 2 & 3	30	45
	3(a) / 3(b)	To what extent	AO1, 2 & 3	24	30
3(a) & 3(b)	1(a) / 1(b)	Examine	AO1 & 2	12	15
	2	Analyse	AO1 & 2	12	15
	3(a) / 3(b) / 3(c)	Evaluate	AO1, 2 & 3	30	45 (x2)

What will your papers look like?	Component 1 UK Politics and Core Political Ideas (Liberalism, Socialism and Conservatism)	Component 2 UK Government and Non-Core Political Ideas
Total marks	84 marks (33.3% of your A Level)	84 marks (33.3% of your A Level)
⊕ Time	2 hours	2 hours
Total number of Qs?	THREE: 2 in Section A & 1 in Section B	THREE: 2 in Section A & 1 in Section B
Topics:	Section A - UK Politics: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Democracy and Participation - Political Parties - Electoral Systems - Voting Behaviour and the media. 	Section A- UK Government: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Constitution - Parliament - The PM and Government - Relations between the branches.
	Section B - Core Political Ideas: <i>Liberalism, Socialism, Conservatism</i>	Section B - Non- Core Political Ideas: <i>Choice of 5: We will study ONE</i>
Section A	Question ONE - Choice of a) <u>or</u> b) 30 marks ALWAYS a source Command word: <i>Using the source evaluate...</i>	Question ONE - Choice of a) <u>or</u> b) 30 marks ALWAYS a source <i>Using the source evaluate...</i>
	Question TWO - Choice of a) <u>or</u> b) 30 marks <i>Evaluate...</i>	Question TWO - Choice of a) <u>or</u> b) 30 marks <i>Evaluate...</i>
Section B	Question THREE - Choice of a) <u>or</u> b) 24 marks <i>To what extent...</i>	Question THREE - Choice of a) <u>or</u> b) 24 marks <i>To what extent...</i>

Paper 1: UK Politics and Core Political Ideas (2 hours)

Section A

candidates are expected to introduce knowledge and understanding of their own to help them evaluate the source material

Qu. 1(a) or 1(b): Source question (30 marks) AO1/2/3

- Compare and contrast different opinions in the source
- Examine and debate these views in a balanced way
- Analyse and evaluate only the information presented in the source.

Qu. 2(a) or 2(b): Essay question (30 marks) AO1/2/3

- Consider both views in their answers in a balanced way.
- Judgement reached about these views should be reflected in the conclusion.
- Candidates who have not considered both views in a balanced way cannot achieve marks beyond Level 2.

Section B

Qu. 3(a) or 3 (b): Core Political ideas (24 marks) AO1/2/3

- Consider both sides presented in the question.
- Judgement reached about these sides should be reflected in the conclusion.
- Candidates who do not refer to at least 2 specific thinkers from the specification and/or only consider one side cannot achieve beyond Level 2.

Candidates who do not make any synoptic points cannot achieve Level 5.

Paper 2: UK Government and Non-Core Ideas (2 hours)

Section A

candidates are expected to introduce knowledge and understanding of their own to help them evaluate the source material

Qu. 1(a) or 1(b): Source question (30 marks) AO1/2/3

- Compare and contrast different opinions in the source
- Examine and debate these views in a balanced way
- Analyse and evaluate only the information presented in the source.

Qu. 2(a) or 2(b): Essay question (30 marks) AO1/2/3

- Consider both views in their answers in a balanced way.
- Judgement reached about these views should be reflected in the conclusion.
- Candidates who have not considered both views in a balanced way cannot achieve marks beyond Level 2.

Section B

Qu. 3(a) or 3 (b): Core Political ideas (24 marks) AO1/2/3

- Consider both sides presented in the question.
- Judgement reached about these sides should be reflected in the conclusion.
- Candidates who do not refer to at least 2 specific thinkers from the specification and/or only consider one side cannot achieve beyond Level 2.

Candidates who do not make any synoptic points cannot achieve Level 5.

Paper 1: Question structure and timing

Section A

Qu. 1(a) or 1(b): Source question (30 marks) AO1/2/3

- Introduction
- Four paragraphs (depending on information in the source)
- Conclusion

Qu. 2(a) or 2(b): Essay question (30 marks) AO1/2/3

- Introduction
- Four paragraphs
- Conclusion

Section B

Qu. 3(a) or 3 (b): Core Political ideas (24 marks) AO1/2/3

- Introduction
- Four paragraphs
- Conclusion

45 minutes

45 minutes

30 minutes

Paper 2: Question structure and timing

Section A

Qu. 1(a) or 1(b): Source question (30 marks) AO1/2/3

- Introduction
- Four paragraphs (depending on information in the source)
- Conclusion

Qu. 2(a) or 2(b): Essay question (30 marks) AO1/2/3

- Introduction
- Four paragraphs
- Conclusion

Section B

Qu. 3(a) or 3 (b): Core Political ideas (24 marks) AO1/2/3

- Introduction
- Four paragraphs
- Conclusion

45 minutes

45 minutes

30 minutes

Top tips for good essay and exam technique

1. RESPOND TO THE PRECISE WORDING OF THE QUESTION

In order to help you understand what the question is asking you to do, the first thing you should do is read the question and look for these foci:

- **Topic focus** (the topic of the question)
- **Debate** (the two sides to the argument)
- **Key terms** (specific words in the question, and they expect you to respond to these)

2. PLAN YOUR JUDGEMENT CAREFULLY AND STATE THIS IN YOUR INTRODUCTION

Writing an introduction should be the HARDEST part of writing an essay. If it's not, you haven't planned properly or have regurgitated a previous essay. You should always:

1. Address the debate **focus** in the question. What are we evaluating? *Both debates in the source consider aspects of..... with the more persuasive argument coming from*
2. What does the debate '**depend on**'? This might form part of your judgement.
It depends.... If we measureby...
3. **Define** and replace key words / words of extent in the question. This might form part of your judgement [**purely, little, merely, need, necessarily, essential, matter, major, minor, now**] e.g. *The UK is not experiencing a 'crisis' but is experiencing a **decline** in participation that could lead to a crisis if.... e.g. X is not 'in need' of reform as such; it is not **essential**. But it would certainly **benefit** because....*
4. State and explain your **reasoned judgement** precisely and explicitly in 1-2 sentences. Ideally use: **While, it depends, because, convincing.**

3. STATE YOUR CRITERIA FOR JUDGEMENT EXPLICITLY IN YOUR INTRO, LINKS AND CONCLUSION

- **Criteria** = How have you made your decision? **Valid criteria** consider the relative importance of factors and the weight applied to these in reaching a judgement.
- You must be specific in your language when explaining how you have weighed up the relative importance of factors and arguments. For example:

'I chose this pair of trousers. It was the best.' = Level 2 - A judgement given, with justification asserted.

'I chose this pair of trousers because it suited me best.' = Level 3 - A judgement with some justification, but without the evidence of valid criteria being applied.

'I chose this pair of trousers because, **whilst** others were a better fit or better price [+ comparative details], **this pair was the best combination of a good fit round the waist and the right length at a price of which I could afford.**' = Level 4 and 5 - Exemplifies the use of criteria for overall judgement and with justification.

- The selection of the criteria used will be dependent upon the nature of the question being asked.

4. STRUCTURE IS KEY TO THE GRADE – see structure grids below!

For a C and above, you need to create pairs of arguments for and against, comparing for and against *within* each paragraph, a double-PEEL. Introduce pairs / factors / aspects using '*in terms of...*'.

5. EVIDENCE NEEDS TO BE DETAILED, SPECIFIC AND COVER THE FULL RANGE OF THE QUESTION.

Specific events, facts, dates, statistics, names etc. Always aim to give at least 6 examples (2 per comparison) and across a broad time period to show the breadth of your knowledge. Edexcel expect you to recall examples pre-1997, post-1997 and from the past year. E.g. if there was a question about PMs, you would probably aim to include examples from significant tenures (Wilson, Thatcher, Blair, Brown, Cameron, May, Boris).

6. EXPLAIN THE IMPACT AND RESULTS OF YOUR EXAMPLES – HOW AND WHY?

It is not enough to say 'therefore this shows', if you don't say HOW AND WHY - from whom, for whom, when, how, why, in what form, what aspect of politics is being threatened precisely? A good way to do this is to think about the sequence of events/problems that follow as a result – *As a result.... This means that....*

7. LINK BACK TO YOUR JUDGEMENT AND THE QUESTION AND LINK BETWEEN YOUR ARGUMENTS (PEEL).

This is a must for Level 3 (D+ grade). E.g. *So, in terms of, whilst X without the role of Y* *On balance....*

8. USE KEY WORDS WHEREVER POSSIBLE.

 You will be awarded marks for use of relevant key words.

Paper 1: Political Participation (Section A)
Q1a and 1b (30 mark source question)

SECTION A: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Answer **ONE** question from **EITHER** Question 1(a) on page X **OR** Question 1(b) on page X and then answer **ONE** question from **EITHER** Question 2(a) **OR** Question 2(b) on page X.

EITHER

- 1 (a) *This source is adapted from a report produced in 2014 by The University of London Constitutional unit, called 'Is Britain Facing a Crisis of Democracy?' The report was based on a four-year research project on this issue.*

'On certain measures, Britain does, indeed, appear to be facing something of a participation crisis in its political system. Levels of trust in government and confidence in the political system are lower than they were little more than a decade ago. Electoral turnout has fallen sharply, most noticeably at the 2001 general election. Meanwhile, the introduction of new political institutions since 1997, designed in part to restore people's trust and confidence, appears to have had little impact.

On the other hand, people do not seem more disengaged from the political system. Participation outside the ballot box has increased somewhat over the last fifteen or so years. Levels of political interest have not fallen, and people remain confident in their own ability to engage with the political process and to believe in the importance of voting at elections.

Perhaps the most reassuring evidence from our research is that which suggests the decline in trust and turnout is not due to long-term social forces, but to short-term political ones. The most plausible explanation for the decline in trust is the public reaction to allegations of misconduct and 'sleaze' on the part of politicians.

These conclusions suggest that the remedies for any 'crisis' largely lie in the hands of politicians themselves. Trust is acquired when words and actions accord with one another. And only a closely fought and clear competition between the parties appears to prompt many citizens to cast their vote. Meanwhile constitutional change should not be regarded as a quick fix. However it would be wise to look to measures to both reform and improve democracy in the UK. Hence, British democracy – and especially its politicians – certainly face a 'challenge'. But talk of a 'crisis' is premature.'

(Source: by Catherine Bromley, John Curtice, and Ben Seyd – <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/spp/publications/unit-publications/112.pdf>)

Using the source, evaluate the view that UK democracy is in crisis.

In your response you must:

- *compare the different opinions in the source*
- *consider the view and the alternative view in a balanced way*
- *use a balance of knowledge and understanding both arising from the source and beyond the source to help you to analyse and evaluate.*

(30)

Do not answer Question 1(b) if you have answered Question 1(a)

OR

- 1 (b) *This source is adapted from information on the Parliament website about the party system and information on the 'Vice magazine' UK website focused on minority parties.*

The party system

Political parties have existed in one form or another since at least the 18th century, they are an essential element of UK politics. Since the Second World War, all the Governments in the UK have been formed by either the Labour Party or the Conservative Party. This did differ in 2010 when the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats formed a coalition government. The major parties capture the main issues of the day and present choice. Furthermore, the current electoral system favours few parties in the race to govern.

Minority parties

'Minority parties' are those that sit outside the traditional big three (Labour, Conservative and Liberal Democrat Parties) and have had power over Parliament for over a century. A significant shift has taken place in politics in recent years, with more people questioning the 'Establishment of Westminster' and looking to parties like the SNP, Plaid Cymru, the Green Party and UKIP.

In 2015, UKIP and the Greens obtained 5 million votes between them, also the SNP reached 56 seats of the 59 available in Scotland, becoming the third largest party in the House of Commons. Minority parties are enjoying success and recognition. A secure victory is now not the expected norm for either Labour or Conservative Parties, they now have much to fear and much to lose from a range of minority parties who are gaining ground.

The voter has little to choose between when looking to the major parties. In terms of policy, there is little that separates the major parties and all the policy they produce is similar, with battles over style as opposed to substance. By contrast, many of the minority parties present a fresh approach to politics.

(Source: from www.parliament.uk – used under Open Parliament Licence v3.0 and adapted from: *The New Wave: Minority Parties* – SNP, Plaid Cymru and the Green Party http://www.vice.com/en_uk/video/the-new-wave-minority-parties)

Using the source, evaluate the view that the major parties still remain the dominant force in UK politics.

In your response you must:

- *compare the different opinions in the source*
- *consider the view and the alternative view in a balanced way*
- *use a balance of knowledge and understanding both arising from the source and beyond the source to help you to analyse and evaluate.*

(30)

Mark scheme - Paper 1 & 2 Q1a&1b

AO1= 10 marks; AO2 = 10 marks; AO3= 10 marks

For Q1a and 1b in both papers, “political information” means the source.

Level	Descriptor	Mark
5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demonstrates thorough and in-depth knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and issues, which are effectively selected in order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1). • Perceptive comparative analysis of political information, with sustained, logical chains of reasoning, drawing on similarities and differences within political information, which make cohesive and convincing connections between ideas and concepts (AO2). • Constructs fully relevant evaluation of political information, constructing fully effective arguments and judgements, which are consistently substantiated and lead to fully focused and justified conclusions (AO3). 	25-30
4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demonstrates accurate knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and issues, which are carefully selected in order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1). • Consistent comparative analysis of political information, with coherent, logical chains of reasoning, drawing on similarities and differences within political information, which make relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2). • Constructs mostly relevant evaluation of political information, constructing mostly effective arguments and judgements, which are mostly substantiated and lead to mostly focused and justified conclusions (AO3). 	19-24
3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demonstrates mostly accurate knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and issues, many of which are selected appropriately in order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1). • Mostly focused comparative analysis of political information with focused, logical chains of reasoning, drawing on similarities and/or differences within political information, which make mostly relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2). • Constructs generally relevant evaluation of political information, constructing generally effective arguments and judgements, many of which are substantiated and lead to some focused conclusions that are sometimes justified (AO3). 	13-18
2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demonstrates some accurate knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and issues, some of which are selected appropriately in order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1). • Some emerging comparative analysis of political information with some focused, logical chains of reasoning, referring to similarities and/or differences within political information, which make some relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2). • Constructs some relevant evaluation of political information, constructing occasionally effective arguments and judgements, some are partially substantiated and lead to generic conclusions without much justification (AO3). 	7-12
1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demonstrates superficial knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and issues, with limited underpinning of analysis and evaluation (AO1). • Limited comparative analysis of political information with partial, logical chains of reasoning, referring to similarities and/or differences within political information, which make simplistic connections between ideas and concepts (AO2). • Makes superficial evaluation of political information, constructing simple arguments and judgements, many of which are descriptive and lead to limited unsubstantiated conclusions (AO3). 	1-6

How to structure your response (P1&2 Q1a/1b source Qs)

You will use this planning grid for all essays. Full version on Teams.

POLITICS SOURCE ESSAYS			
Decoding to form an intro (this should be the hardest part of the essay)	1. Address the debate focus in the question. What are we evaluating? Both debates in the source consider aspects of..... with the more persuasive argument coming from	2. What does the debate depend on? This might form part of your judgement (4). It depends.... if we measure ...by...	3. Would you redefine any of the words in the question? This might form part of your judgement (4). [purely, little, merely, need, necessarily, essential, matter, major, minor, now] e.g. The UK is not experiencing a 'crisis' but is experiencing a decline in participation that could lead to a crisis if.... e.g. X is not 'in need of reform' as such, it is not essential. But it would certainly benefit because....
Argument (round) 1 Identify features, functions or issues to group the arguments around.	(P) What is the argument in the source? One argument from the source that supports the view in the question is.....	(EE) Why is it an argument? Why is it valid / convincing? Indeed / For example / It is certainly true that...because... This is strong/convincing/persuasive argument because....	(U) Is it a better argument that the alternative presented? Who wins? Therefore, this view is /is not very convincing because.../ This makes... less convincing than the view/argument shown by...because.... / The view that... is more convincing because.... / Even though it may not be completely convincing because.... it is still a stronger argument than...because....
Argument (round) 1			
Argument (round) 2			
Argument (round) 3			
Reasoned judgement (conclusion)	State and explain your reasoned judgement precisely and explicitly in 1-2 sentences. Ideally use: While, it depends, because, convincing, outweigh While....has some validity...it is not as convincing as....because... / While.... has some strengths.... its criticisms outweigh its strengths because... it depends on / It depends on how we measure / Then... / Therefore, on the basis that.... the view that.... is more convincing because....		
	e.g. While the argument presented in the source, that codification of the constitution is necessary, has some valid arguments, the counter arguments that codification is not necessary are far more convincing . This is because they reflect the fact that the current constitution works effectively; its benefits in relation to other codified constitutions outweigh the any of the criticisms. Therefore , the view that it is necessary to codify the UK constitution has not been made convincingly . [Think: Why has Miss H chosen an example that you may not understand?]		
Making evaluative and reasons judgements Convincing Valid Preferable Compelling Accurate	Extent / How far Mostly Necessarily Greatly More/Less Possible	Comparative – weighing up While / Although It depends If we measure Outweighs Nevertheless	Analysis (This shows... / As a result...) Highlights / Portraying Unsurprisingly Emphasising Exaggerating Demonstrating / Revealing

What should my answer look like? (Paper 1: 1a and 1b)

Exemplar A: Below is a response that achieved 30/30 in exam conditions. The question answered is also included for your reference.

- 1 (a) The source presents two different views of the social media group, 38 Degrees – one from David Babbs who welcomes the group's activities because it alerts citizens to a current issue and empowers them to express their views and to achieve change and another from Conservative MP, Guy Opperman, who believes that such social-based media platforms may hinder fair and open debate.

David Babbs states: People are not as apathetic as politicians often claim. 38 Degrees gives people a sense of purpose and ownership and gets them involved. Many people feel that conventional politics doesn't work: it does not change government policy. 38 Degrees changes all that, it brings politics to life and enables people to interact with politics in a way that has not been possible before. In its numerous campaigns 38 Degrees has shown that politicians change their minds if sufficiently large numbers of people express an alternative view. MPs get angry about 38 Degrees, often claiming our exposures of their activities are inaccurate. MPs have to realise that democracy is about more people participating. Furthermore 38 Degrees sees action move from the digital and social media platforms to face-to-face meetings. There are a lot of issues where ordinary people's participation makes for better decisions.

Guy Opperman, MP states: Being lobbied by pressure groups is a regular part of an MP's life. 38 Degrees has set itself up as a critic of the government on a number of issues. There is nothing wrong with this. But it is totally wrong to spin, as matters of fact, claims that are simply not correct. 38 Degrees has an agenda. So they have simply presented the opposite view as fact, ignoring reasoned debate. It is totally irresponsible, when trying to exercise influence as a pressure group, to twist the facts completely. Websites like 38 Degrees are not taking political debate any further, but hindering it by demanding alternative outcomes. Assertions by 38 Degrees are often riddled with errors, overstatement and simple inaccuracies. This is not a constructive way to conduct important debates about reforming and improving life in the UK.

(Sources: adapted from <http://blogs.ft.com/westminster/2016/02/interview-david-babbs-founder-38-degrees/> and <http://www.conservativehome.com/platform/2011/09/from-guyoppermanmp-the-falsehood-of-the-38-degrees-campaign-on-health.html>)

Using the source, evaluate the view that pressure group activity supports democracy and participation.

In your response you must:

- compare and contrast the different opinions in the source
- examine and debate these views in a balanced way
- analyse and evaluate **only** the information presented in the source.

The source presents two opposing views of pressure groups in regards to its impact on participation and democracy. Firstly, the source identifies pressure groups' positive contribution to democracy and participation through providing a different means of political participation, encouraging political activity outside the traditional political system (which many ordinary citizens feel disillusioned by) and by being a viable way of changing political discourse and policy. However, the source also argues an alternate perspective that pressure groups are harmful to democracy and participation by spinning facts and distorting political truths, not representing the needs of the people and rather are clouded by their own political agenda and finally, they are a barricade to important and productive reform and debate.

One view expressed in the source, is that pressure groups have caused greater political participation and therefore, pressure groups have improved participation and strengthened democracy because more people's views are voiced and represented. The breadth of pressure groups, both sectional and interest groups, means all members of society can be part of a group, which they feel, represents their needs. Consequently, pressure groups cause a rise in political participation and in turn lead to greater education and informancy among the public. Momentum, a left-wing outsider pressure group, set up after Jeremy Corbyn's 2015 election campaign encouraged many young, left-wing voters, who had previously not felt a connection with the new Blairite direction of Labour to reengage with the party and regional or national politics. Consequently, Momentum recruited new, previously disengaged members to the party, which resulted in an unprecedented turnout among young voters in the 2017 snap election, almost causing Labour to win the election. As seen by the activity of Momentum, pressure groups help to increase turnout and participation by being an alternative to party membership and therefore, improve democracy.

However, the source also suggests pressure groups often present inaccurate information and spin stories, this means that pressure group activity does not support democracy because they campaign on the basis of false information and thus, can bend public opinion at their will on wrongful allegations. Pressure groups are not held accountable for their actions or opinions because they do not undergo elections and as such, pressure groups can easily make false accusations with no repercussions. There has been debate over the manufacturing of statistics by pressure groups such as Migration Watch surrounding the recent rise in refugees and asylum seekers. Pressure groups in this way are undemocratic because they are bolstering their cause on the grounds of false information and often intolerance.

Another idea mentioned in the source is that pressure group activity provides a different platform for everyday citizens to engage with, resulting in greater political activity among ordinary citizens and therefore, pressure groups support representative democracy and increase participation. There has been a decline

in formal participation; one likely reason for this decline is the scandal and corruption, which have riddled conventional politics. An example is, the MPs expenses scandal in 2009, which revealed taxpayer money was being unfairly and ridiculously used by MPs for luxuries such as moats. Consequently, many ordinary people are disillusioned and disconnected from traditional politics as shown by the decline in voters turnout, such that in 2017, only 68.7% of the population legible to vote did so. Pressure groups provide an alternative route for engagement and thus, improve democracy because they provide more opportunities for participation; this helps to establish a wider, more representative set of views within the political system. Many sects of society that feel disengaged from political parties, such as members of the LGBTQ+ community (represented by Stonewall), can have their opinions expressed by pressure groups. As a result, pressure groups help to reengage the disenfranchised and make democracy more representative through expanding participation.

On the other hand, the source also argues that pressure groups may be clouded by their own political agenda and thus, rather than representing the people, will only advocate for their own needs; pressure groups can be undemocratic, while they present themselves as pluralist, they are in fact elitist. Pressure groups can be internally undemocratic with power concentrated in the hands of a few very high up individuals within the group and therefore, rather than representing the political wishes of the masses, they simply are motivated by the wishes of a minimal number of individuals. Pressure groups, such as Forest, which advocates for the freedom to smoke, receives large amounts of financing from the tobacco industry and holds the antithesis stance of the majority of the public body which is anti-smoking for health and social reasons. As such many pressure groups can be undemocratic because they are motivated by the wants of a few individuals or companies, often because of corrupt handlings and thus, their political agendas may trump the actual demands of the majority of the groups members and members of the public.

In the source, pressure groups are described as being an effective means to influence politicians and thus, mobilise ordinary citizens to assist in policy and decision-making, highlighting that pressure groups support democracy because public opinion is represented. The influence of pressure groups is especially potent with regards to e-democracy or clickocracy as it is often referred to as; for example, 38 degrees can receive over hundreds of thousands of signatures from their 3 million members on e-petitions which then have to be debated within the House of Commons. 38 degrees mobilised 100,000 members to call or email their local MP and 600,000 to sign the 'Save our Forests' petition in 2011. As a consequence of the large backlash against this proposal, Cameron's coalition government was forced to reverse the plan to sell national forests. This is only one among many examples of pressure groups effectively holding government to account and forcing them to acknowledge the opinions of the public, which otherwise in our political system, where parliament, once voted in, is essentially sovereign over public consensus and can result in an elective dictatorship, can be ignored. The source shows that pressure groups are an important democratic

tool to enable the public to inform government of their views and hold the government to account.

However, the source also implies pressure groups hinder political debate and therefore, contribute to a democratic deficit because constructive reform is compromised by pressure groups. Pressure groups will overstate certain claims. Greenpeace's staunch disgust at GMO crops in some ways can be regarded as unfounded because they fail to take into account the benefits of GMO crops in feeding such a large population. Greenpeace demonstrates how pressure groups often inflate their standpoint so much so that they refuse to engage in any constructive dialogue with the government over a compromise. As a result, pressure groups can just begin to alienate their members from engaging with traditional government as they cast Parliament as the 'immoral protagonist,' when in fact, it is pressure groups that are often unwavering. Despite pressure groups high participation, they may fail to engage people in mainstream politics, essentially rendering pressure groups pointless in acting as a channel for participation in the conventional political system.

To conclude the source identifies the importance of pressure groups in democratic renewal and creating greater participation. Pressure groups encourage greater participation by providing a platform for members with a range of interests and needs, allowing citizens to engage with politics without joining a political party and by influencing government opinion and policy, simultaneously holding the government to account. On the other hand, the source also argues pressure groups can be undemocratic by spinning facts to magnify their cause and be driven by their own political agenda rather than the agenda of the members. Moreover, the source identifies a possible decline in participation because pressure groups can censor political debate and interaction with the government. However, upon weighing up the role of pressure groups they are overall a valuable and necessary tool for democracy and participation in the current political climate. With growing disdain for the government and traditional politics in general, pressure groups are a fundamental means to maintain public participation and wider representation.

Paper 1: Political Participation (Section A)
Q2a and 2b (30 mark NON source ESSAY question)

AND EITHER

- 2 (a) Evaluate the extent to which general elections in the UK are lost by the government rather than won by the opposition.

You must consider this view and the alternative to this view in a balanced way.

(30)

OR

- (b) Evaluate the extent to which social factors determine voting behaviour.

You must consider this view and the alternative to this view in a balanced way.

(30)

Mark scheme - Paper 1 Q2a and 2b

The only difference in this mark scheme is the absence of 'political information' in AO2 and AO3.

Level	Descriptor	Mark
5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demonstrates thorough and in-depth knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and issues, which are effectively selected in order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1). • Perceptive comparative analysis of aspects of politics, with sustained, logical chains of reasoning, which make cohesive and convincing connections between ideas and concepts (AO2). • Constructs fully relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing fully effective arguments and judgements, which are consistently substantiated and lead to fully focused and justified conclusions (AO3). 	25-30
4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demonstrates accurate knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and issues, which are carefully selected in order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1). • Consistent comparative analysis of aspects of politics, with coherent, logical chains of reasoning, which make relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2). • Constructs mostly relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing mostly effective arguments and judgements, which are mostly substantiated and lead to mostly focused and justified conclusions (AO3). 	19-24
3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demonstrates mostly accurate knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and issues, many of which are selected appropriately in order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1). • Mostly focused comparative analysis of aspects of politics with focused, logical chains of reasoning, which make mostly relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2). • Constructs generally relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing generally effective arguments and judgements, many of which are substantiated and lead to some focused conclusions that are sometimes justified (AO3). 	13-18
2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demonstrates some accurate knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and issues, some of which are selected appropriately in order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1). • Some emerging comparative analysis of aspects of politics with some focused, logical chains of reasoning, which make some relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2). • Constructs some relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing occasionally effective arguments and judgements, some are partially substantiated and lead to generic conclusions without much justification (AO3). 	7-12
1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demonstrates superficial knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and issues, with limited underpinning of analysis and evaluation (AO1). • Limited comparative analysis of aspects of politics with partial, logical chains of reasoning, which make simplistic connections between ideas and concepts (AO2). • Makes superficial evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing simple arguments and judgements, many of which are descriptive and lead to limited unsubstantiated conclusions (AO3). 	1-6

How to structure your response (P1&2 Q2a / 2b non-source)

You will use this planning grid for all essays. Full version on Teams.

POLITICS NON-SOURCE ESSAYS			
Decoding to form an intro (this should be the hardest part of the essay)	1. Address the debate focus in the question. What are we evaluating? There is a debate as to whether ... Or ... with the more persuasive argument coming from	2. What does the debate 'depend on'? This might form part of your judgement (4). It depends.... if we measureby...	3. Would you redefine any of the words in the question? This might form part of your judgement (4). (purely, little, merely, need, necessarily, essential, matter, major, minor, now) e.g. The UK is not experiencing a 'crisis' but is experiencing a decline in participation that could lead to a crisis if... e.g. X is not 'in need' of reform as such; it is not essential. But it would certainly benefit because...
Argument (round) 1 Identify features, functions or issues to group the arguments around.	(P) What is the view in the question? One argument is that supports the view in the question is...	(EE) Why is it an argument? Why is it valid / convincing? (Support) Indeed / For example / it is certainly true that...because... This is strong/convincing/persuasive argument because...	(U) Is it a better argument that the alternative presented? Who wins? Therefore, this view is / is not very convincing because.../ This makes ... less convincing than the view/argument shown by...because.../ The view that... is more convincing because.../ Even though it may not be completely convincing because... it is still a stronger argument than...because....
Argument (round) 2			
Argument (round) 3			
Reasoned judgement (conclusion)	State and explain your reasoned judgement precisely and explicitly in 1-2 sentences. Ideally use: While...has some validity...it is not as convincing as...because.../ While... has some strengths... its criticisms outweigh its strengths because... it depends on.../ it depends on how we measure... if... then... / Therefore, on the basis that... the view that... is more convincing because... e.g. While the argument that codification of the constitution is necessary, has some valid arguments, the counter arguments that codification is not necessary are far more convincing. This is because they reflect the fact that the current constitution works effectively, its benefits in relation to other codified constitutions outweigh the any of the criticisms. Therefore, the view that it is necessary to codify the UK constitution has not been made convincingly.		
Making evaluative and reasons judgements	Extent / how far	Comparative – weighing up	Analysis (This shows.../ As a result...)
Convincing	Mostly	While / Although	Highlights / Portraying
Valid	Necessarily	it depends	Unsurprisingly
Preferable	Greatly	if we measure	Emphasising
Compelling	More/Less	Outweighs	Exaggerating
Accurate	Possible	Nevertheless	Demonstrating / Revealing

What should my answer look like? (Paper 1: Q2a and 2b)

Exemplar B: Evaluate the view that, for the general public, the media is more significant than policy statements and manifestoes from political parties [30 marks]

Every general election campaign all parties produce a manifesto outlining their policies to try and win voters. In the modern era campaigns focus largely on using the media effectively to promote their message. It can be argued that Corbyn's new and popular policies in 2017 along with the media only enforcing the existing ideology of voters shows manifestos still have the most significance. Therefore, it is clear that party leader image in the media and the media input on valence issues makes media more significant for the general public.

On the one hand, the media is more significant for the general public as it dictates their image of party leaders. This was shown in 1997 where Major was painted grey, boring and leading his party of sleaze in the media, this didn't appeal to voters who went on to give Blair an 88 seat majority. A negative media image for leaders will weaken their position and lead them to lose voters showing medias significance. Furthermore, the media can allow small party leaders to use their charisma to appeal to voters. This was shown by UKIP's Nigel Farage gaining popularity for his party through successful use of the media, the collapse of his party after his exit in 2015 shows it wasn't policy but his media image that won voters showing media has more significance. Overall, media image for leaders is a strong argument for media significance as a party won't succeed with poor image of their leader regardless of policy and small parties can gain voters through effective leaders more effectively than through party policy.

Furthermore, the media significance is shown by their effect on salient issues during elections. When both parties inevitably have similar policies due to high popularity the way they appear competent to carry them out to the media is very significant. In 1979 both Callaghan and Thatcher pledged to cut taxes however Thatcher used media interviews effectively and appeared more likely to carry out this policy. This shows media significance to the public as they rely on media to see how committed each party is. This shows media significance to the public as they rely on media to see how committed each party appears to carry out policy. TV debates can provide candidates with a great opportunity to appear competent to voters. Over 7 million members of the public viewed the debates in 2015, it can be argued that this is a media spectacle not a significant event for voters. This is a weak argument however, as in 2015 41% of those asked stated the debates did impact their vote. This shows the large significance TV media has on voters and parties use of this to appear competent is largely significant in the success of their campaign. Therefore, media is more important to the public than policy as it can show which candidates are more competent to carry out similar policies and more significantly provides opportunities for leaders to appear competent to run government to a large audience.

The media remains more significant than party policies even when those policies are popular such as in 2017 with Corbyn. In his campaign Corbyn proposed abolishing tuition fees and nationalising certain industries which appealed to the public and he went on to win 34 extra seats. This does show party policy has significance and this agreement is made stronger by the fact Corbyn had a very negative image in traditional media for most of the campaign but still had success. However, media has still more significant to the public supporting him as solid media was very pro-Corbyn and boosted support from younger voters especially previously in-active young voters. The significance of this use of non-traditional media is shown by the 25 year high in youth turnout seen in 2017. Positive support on social media eventually led to more support from traditional media allowing him to appeal to more voters. Therefore, while Corbyn shared popular policies remain largely significant

A Level Politics Paper 1 & 2 Course Guide – Kings Langley School - Miss Hardingham

positive media coverage in traditional and non-traditional platforms is more significant as a leader needs to sell these policies on a large scale to our media based society.

On the other hand, the media's significance is slightly diminished by the argument that media coverage often enforces voter's ideology rather than influences it. This is shown by 74% of people choosing to read the Daily Mail being Conservative. This shows people consume the media that agrees with their views and ideology concerning party policy lowering the significance it has in the public. However, while this argument has some strength it is limited as the media often changes their allegiances most famously with the right wing Sun supporting Blair in 1997. But many voters will choose a newspaper or media outlet that provides positive coverage on policies they agree with which shows party policy still buy significance as it can determine what media the public chooses to absorb. Therefore, party policy can be seen as more significant than media as a change in popularity is a policy can force media to change their coverage of the policy to retain their uses such as in 2017 when papers stopped their aggressive campaign against Corbyn and instead targeted May.

In conclusion, it is clear then in today's world of mass media and online campaigns the media has a larger impact in the public than party policy. While popular policies can force positive media coverage to limited extent and is needed to energise a base of activists as in 2017 with Corbyn which shows party policy will always have some significance. However, the stronger arguments are that the image of party leaders in the media is vital to any successful campaign and that parties need to use mass media events to appear competent to voters showing that media and its use by parties is more significant to the general public.

Exemplar C: Evaluate the view that opposition parties do not win elections, governments lose them [30 marks]

In the UK, it is relatively rare to have a "change election" where the government party loses – however when it does occur there are many factors that cause the victory of the opposition party. The primary factor is the economy – if the government have a poor economic record they are likely to lose the election regardless of the opposition. Also, the public ratings of the Prime Minister are also significant factors in determining if the government loses the election. However, there are cases in which oppositions "win" elections. If a party has rebranded itself and "learnt from its mistakes" it is likely that it will win the election. Also, the personal popularity of the leader of the opposition is also a significant factor determining whether an opposition "wins" an election rather than the government "losing" it. On the whole it is a combination of a weak government and an effective opposition that contributes to a "change" election but largely governments lose them.

The most significant factor in the governments using election is their economic credibility. If the incumbent government has been seen to have mismanaged the economy, they will almost always lose the election. A government has never gained in seats in an election when real wages are falling - demonstrating the power of the economy as a salient electoral issue. For example, the 2010 election was a key example of the government "losing" an election rather than the opposition "winning" it. The election was held two years after the global financial crisis decimated the UK economy, and the incumbent government were judged to have damaged the economy. Despite this, The Conservative party were still seen negatively by the majority of the electorate. This resulted in a hung parliament – the parliament lost power, but the opposition did not win a majority despite the dire economy. This suggests that governments "lose" elections, as if they are seen to have poor economic confidence they are always remove from office despite the opposition.

However, there are many situations in which oppositions will be seen as credible governments-in-waiting and will win elections. If a party successfully rebrands itself in opposition and is judged by

A Level Politics Paper 1 & 2 Course Guide – Kings Langley School - Miss Hardingham

the public to have “learnt from its mistakes” in government, it will often win the election. For example, in the 1979 election the government’s approval ratings were positive, however, opposition-leader Margaret Thatcher’s leadership of the Conservatives rebranded the party image and they were seen to have learnt from the mistakes made in Ted Heath’s government five years earlier. This led to the opposition winning the election, despite a majority of the public approving of Callaghan’s government, as they were sufficiently rebranded. New Labour’s 1997 success could also be attributed to rebranding, as the party moved to the centre-ground to leave behind its ultra-left wing image that had kept it from power for 18 years. This suggests that the rebranding of a party is a key factor that allows oppositions to win elections rather than governments losing them.

Despite this, governments often lose elections due to voter-fatigue after long stints in office. It is widely accepted that three or more terms in office creates complacency and malaise in a government – with David Cameron famously saying “terms in office are like shredded wheat, three is too many”. John Major’s 1990-1997 government is a strong example of this as his premiership was plagued by internal divisions over Europe, sex, financial scandal and personal unpopularity. By the 1997 election, the Conservative party had been in government for 18 years, and John Major was the least popular Prime Minister of all time. This led to a landslide defeat to New Labour in 1997, losing 150 seats and only attaining 31% of the votes. This could be seen as due to voter-fatigue, as the length of the incumbent government created irreparable inter-party rifts and extreme scandal. This suggests that unpopular governments will lose elections due to voter fatigue and internal strife after long periods in power.

The most convincing argument for oppositions winning elections is that when leaders are judged to be more competent, they will likely win the election. In many elections since 1983, the party leader that has seemed to the public as the most “prime-ministerial” has won the election. This is clear in 1997, where Tony Blair – the Labour-opposition leader, was seen as competent, honest, fresh and optimistic. This led to an unprecedented Labour landslide, with Blair becoming PM with a majority of 179. This shows that oppositions can “win” elections, if they are seen as competent and – as Blair did in 1997 – can capture the zeitgeist.

To conclude, it is clear that on the whole, governments lose elections rather than oppositions win them. This is largely due to the fact that governments have a record in office to defend, whether it be on their economic performance or on the unity of their party. However, oppositions only win elections when their leaders are seen as competent and they are judged to have rebranded and “learnt from their mistakes”. This suggests “change elections” are a mixture of both weak and damaged governments and effective oppositions. Despite this, the economic record of the government remains the best signifier of whether they will lose the election

Exemplar D: Evaluate the extent to which the UK is suffering from a Democratic Deficit (30 marks)

The UK has free and fair elections, many political parties and the rule of law, all of which would suggest that the UK has a democratic deficit. But political commentators have argued that lower voter turnout, the UK’s electoral system, 16-year olds not being eligible to vote and the role of the House of Lords are evidence of a democratic deficit.

Voter turnout is lower now compared what it was in the 1950s. At the 1951 general election, 84% of voters turned out to vote. By comparison, turnout fell to 59% at the 2001 general election. This suggests that people are not as engaged with politics as they used to be and suggests a democratic deficit in the UK. Lower voter turnout may also undermine the political legitimacy of a party to govern. However, this is not a strong argument, as voter turnout has risen in recent years. The 2014 Scottish independence referendum saw turnout of 85% and 33 million people voted in the recent 2016 EU

A Level Politics Paper 1 & 2 Course Guide – Kings Langley School - Miss Hardingham

referendum. Perhaps what people are voting for is more important than voting itself. The low turnout at the 2001 general election could be linked to the fact that all polls suggested a landslide Labour victory and that people may have believed it wasn't worth voting given this prediction.

The UK's electoral system has been cited as an argument as to why the UK might have a democratic deficit. Our first-past-the-post electoral system means that many votes are essentially worthless, as it is the numbers of seats rather than the number of votes that a party wins that is important. In 2015, UKIP won 13% of the vote but only 1 seat. A Conservative vote in a safe Labour seat such as Leeds Central and a Labour vote in safely Tory Haltemprice and Howden is essentially a wasted vote and does not contribute at all to the national result. Also, it is possible for a party to win the most votes at an election but not to win the election itself. This happened in 1951, when Labour received 250,000 more votes than the Conservatives, but the latter won an overall majority of 17 seats. This is a strong argument for the UK having a democratic deficit, as many votes in safe seats are wasted and the current system greatly disadvantages smaller parties such as the Greens and UKIP.

16-year olds cannot vote in UK-wide elections and this has been cited as another argument of the UK's democratic deficit. 16-year olds can join the army, work, get married with parents' consent, but cannot vote. This argument was cited in the wake of the 2016 EU referendum, where it was argued that the decision to leave the EU will impact the futures of 16-year olds the most, but that they could not vote in this election. Also, issues such as student tuition fees will greatly impact 16-year olds, but they cannot have a say on this issue until they are 18 and going to university. However, giving the vote to 16-year olds would not have a major impact on improving democracy in the UK, as it would only be 16-17 year olds and not the wider population. In the 2014 Scottish independence referendum, in which 16-year olds could vote, only 37% of 16 and 17 year-olds did so. This reinforces the argument that turnout is lowest amongst younger age groups. Also, 18 is accepted as the legal age of adult maturity in most countries.

The unelected House of Lords is arguably another example the UK suffering from a democratic deficit. The Lords can initiate, amend and delay legislation, but all peers are appointed by the government. To have a chamber of Parliament with so much power that is unelected is arguably undemocratic. Also, there are still hereditary peers in the House of Lords who are there by virtue of their fathers rather than being appointed on any kind of merit. This is the strongest argument for the UK having a democratic deficit, of those discussed. Having unelected peers dilutes the role of the Lords as a check on the power of the Commons. The Parliament Act restricts the amending and delaying powers of the Lords and by protocol, the Lords usually backs down if its amendments are voted down by the Commons, such as on the EU Withdrawal Bill in 2018. The Lords does this precisely because it is not elected and this is arguably evidence for the UK having a democratic deficit.

In conclusion, it is clear the UK does have a democratic deficit. Having an unelected second chamber with limited ability to challenge the Commons and having an electoral system in which millions of votes effectively do not count are the two strongest arguments in favour of this. In both cases, democracy has been sacrificed to the expediency of having strong and stable government.

Paper 1: Core Political Ideas (Section B)
Q3a & 3b (24 mark NON source ESSAY question)

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS AREA	SECTION B: CORE POLITICAL IDEAS	
	Answer ONE question from EITHER Question 3(a) OR Question 3(b).	
	EITHER	
	3 (a) To what extent do modern and classical liberals agree over the role of the state?	
	<i>You must use appropriate thinkers you have studied to support your answer and consider both sides in a balanced way.</i>	(24)
OR		
(b) To what extent are different socialists committed to 'equality of outcome'?		
	<i>You must use appropriate thinkers you have studied to support your answer and consider both sides in a balanced way.</i>	(24)

Q3a and 3b Mark Scheme

AO1= 8 marks; AO2 = 8 marks; AO3= 8 marks

Level	Descriptor	Mark
5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demonstrates thorough and in-depth knowledge and understanding of political concepts, theories and issues, which are selected effectively in order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1). • Perceptive analysis of aspects of politics, with sustained, logical chains of reasoning making cohesive and convincing connections between ideas and concepts (AO2). • Constructs fully relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing fully effective substantiated arguments and judgements, which are consistently substantiated and lead to fully focused and justified conclusions (AO3). 	20-24
4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demonstrates accurate knowledge and understanding of political concepts, theories and issues, which are carefully selected in order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1). • Consistent comparative analysis of aspects of politics, with coherent, logical chains of reasoning, drawing on similarities and differences, making relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2). • Constructs mostly relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing mostly effective arguments and judgements, which are mostly substantiated and lead to mostly focused, justified conclusions (AO3). 	15-19
3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demonstrates mostly accurate knowledge and understanding of political concepts, theories and issues, many of which are selected appropriately in order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1). • Mostly focused comparative analysis of aspects of politics with focused, logical chains of reasoning, drawing on similarities and/or differences, making mostly relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2). • Constructs generally relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing generally effective arguments and judgements, many of which are substantiated and lead to some focused conclusions that are sometimes justified (AO3). 	10-14
2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demonstrates some accurate knowledge and understanding of political concepts, theories and issues, some of which are selected appropriately in order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1). • Some emerging comparative analysis of aspects of politics with some focused logical chains of reasoning, referring to similarities and/or differences, making some relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2). • Constructs some relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing occasionally effective arguments and judgements, some are partially substantiated and lead to generic conclusions (AO3). 	5-9
1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demonstrates superficial knowledge and understanding of political concepts, theories and issues, with limited underpinning of analysis and evaluation (AO1). • Limited comparative analysis of aspects of politics with partial, logical chains of reasoning, referring to similarities and/or differences, making simplistic connections between ideas and concepts (AO2). • Makes superficial evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing simple arguments and judgements, many which are descriptive and lead to limited unsubstantiated conclusions (AO3). 	1-4

How to structure your response (Paper 1 Q3a and 3b)

24 Mark Ideologies Question: *TO WHAT EXTENT.....*(30 Mins)

1. REFER TO KEY THINKERS – at least two.
2. REFER TO STRAND OF THE IDEOLOGY – Directly compare.
3. DO NOT REFER TO OTHER IDEOLOGIES UNLESS SPECIFICALLY ASKED TO.

POLITICS IDEOLOGIES SIMILARITY AND DIFFERENCE ESSAYS				
Body of the essay – 6-8 PEEELS (P 1Ex Ex 2 Eq 2Ex L)				
Decoding to form an intro (this should be the hardest part of the essay)	1. Address the debate focus in the question. What are we evaluating? <i>There is a debate as to whether... Or ... with the more persuasive argument coming from</i>	2. What does the debate depend on? This might form part of your judgement. <i>It depends... if we measure ... by...</i>	3. Would you redefine any of the words in the question? This might form part of your judgement (4). [purely, little, merely, need, necessarily, essential, matter, major, minor, now]	4. State and explain your reasoned judgement precisely and explicitly in 1-2 sentences. Ideally use: While, it depends, because, convincing, similar, different.
Argument (round) <i>Identify features to group the arguments around.</i>	(P) What is a point of similarity / agreement? <i>On the one hand....</i>	(EE) SUPPORT AND EXPLAIN similarity (+ REFERENCE THINKERS) <i>Indeed / For example</i>	(EE) SUPPORT AND EXPLAIN difference / disagreement / counter argument (+ REFERENCE THINKERS) <i>Indeed / For example</i>	(L) Is it a more convincing argument? Similarity or difference? <i>The view that... is more convincing because..... /</i>
Point of comparison 1				
Point of comparison 2				
Point of comparison 3				
Reasoned judgement (conclusion)	State and explain your reasoned judgement precisely and explicitly in 1-2 sentences. Ideally use: While, it depends, because, convincing, outweigh <i>While... has some validity... it is not as convincing as... because... / While... has some strengths... its criticisms outweigh its strengths because....</i> <i>Overall, there is more similarity / difference because.....</i> <i>It depends on / It depends on how we measure... if... then... / Therefore, on the basis that... the view that... is more convincing because.....</i>			

What should my answer look like? (Paper 1 Q3a and 3b)

Exemplar E: To what extent do modern and classical liberals agree over the nature of individuals and their place in society?

- Judgement in response to the question
- P - Point of similarity
- EE - Agreement / Similarities (with examples)
- EE - Disagreement / Differences (with examples)
- L - Link back to original judgement to answer the question

All liberals agree that individuals are more important than society as a whole that they have natural rights and that society should operate according to the principles of tolerance and equality. Classical and modern liberals disagree, however, on the extent to which individuals can develop in society and whether government action is needed to achieve freedom and equality. Yet overall there are more areas of agreement than disagreement over the nature of individuals and their place in society.

All liberals believe humans are individuals and are more important than society as a whole. As such, they need freedom to achieve self-determination, self-realisation and self-fulfilment. Locke argued “Every man has a property in his own person. This nobody has a right to, but himself.” Classical liberals place more emphasis on foundational equality – that we are all born equal and should then be left alone to pursue our own interests. Locke calls this egotistical individualism, with the individual owing little or nothing to society. While modern liberals agree that we are born equal, they also think we can develop over time through participation in society. John Stuart Mill supports developmental individualism, where individuals are able to grow and achieve their potential through interaction with others in society. He believed tolerance of diverse views would lead to discussion and debate, while democracy could have an educational effect, allowing all to develop. In conclusion therefore, liberals agree on the core principle of the importance of the individual but disagree slightly on whether individuals are born ‘fully formed’ or can develop through interaction with others in society.

All liberals believe society comes before the state and that there were natural societies with laws and rights. They believe people are born equal (foundational equality) and should have freedom to act without constraints, within limits. As Locke believed everyone had natural rights he also believed in tolerance of others. Classical liberals argue that individuals should be left alone by the state to a greater extent than modern liberals. All liberals believe in a limited state, based on checks and balances and divided powers. However classical liberals feared the impact of the state on freedom. Mill’s harm principle states that individuals should be free to do anything except harm others. The state shouldn’t interfere. This concept of negative freedom is challenged by the modern liberal belief in positive freedom. Government intervention is needed to allow individuals freedom to achieve their potential. This involves an enabling state which helps people achieve their potential through public spending on welfare and progressive taxation – something classical liberals completely oppose. In conclusion liberals agree on the core principle of freedom but disagree on how it should be interpreted in relation to the state’s role in society, and whether freedom should be seen as positive or negative.

All liberals believe in foundational equality, that we are born with equal moral worth and natural rights, and formal equality, that all people should therefore have the same legal and political rights). For classical liberals this is enough to ensure formal equality of opportunity. So long as there are no laws preventing certain groups from achieving their potential, there is a meritocracy. For example, Wollstonecraft argued for jobs and educational opportunities to be open to women as well as men. Modern liberals believe this isn’t enough, and that you need laws that actually prevent discrimination. They therefore believe in fair/substantive equality of opportunity. Friedan went further than Wollstonecraft, arguing there should be laws criminalizing sexual discrimination. Rawls argues that action is needed to help the least well off (his theory of justice) and that this is consistent with liberal beliefs because individuals would choose this type of society if they didn’t know who they’d be within it (veil of ignorance). In conclusion liberals all believe in equality, but as with freedom for modern liberals a greater amount of state intervention is needed to ensure this principle is supported in society.

In conclusion liberals are mostly in agreement over the nature of individuals and their place in society. They have a core set of agreed principles based around individualism, freedom and equality. The main area of disagreement is over the role that the state should play in supporting these principles in society, with classical and modern liberals supporting very different types of state to do this. Classical liberals support negative freedom and a minimal, night-watchman state, while modern liberals support positive freedom and an enabling state. There is also a slight disagreement over the nature of individuals, with modern liberals placing emphasis on how individuals can develop in society by interacting with each other.

Paper 2: UK Government (Section A)

Q1a and Q1b 30 mark source question

SECTION A: UK GOVERNMENT

Answer ONE question from EITHER Question 1(a) on page X OR Question 1(b) on page X and then answer ONE question from EITHER Question 2(a) OR Question 2(b) on page X.

EITHER

- 1 (a) *This source contains adapted extracts from a Political and Constitutional Reform Committee report called 'Do we need a constitutional convention for the UK?' and adapted data from the Office of National Statistics (ONS). The report considered the implications of devolution on the UK, and in particular on England, while the data relates to the number of representatives in each part of the UK.*

- Many witnesses stated that a key issue with a UK-wide constitutional convention was that the people of England, outside of London, are governed by Westminster, with little authority to propose local solutions that benefit their own communities.
- Some argued that regional government was rejected because the English do not want devolution. However, evidence suggested that the failure of regional government was less because the English do not want devolution but in part because the Government of the day had imposed an arbitrary regional structure, with few or no law-making powers. There is clearly still disagreement on what form devolution would take.
- Dr Robin Wilson, an academic, suggested that an English Parliament would still not solve the tensions caused by the asymmetrical nature of devolution:
- I don't think you can solve the English question without regional devolution. If you had an English Parliament it would hugely dominate UK governance, and that doesn't seem to me to be a feasible prospect.

However, he added that it may be possible to find a model that allowed English local authorities to devolve a range of powers, or not, according to local wishes:
- It is our view that allowing councils to choose, or not choose, devolved powers from a menu of options agreed between Councils in England and Government, would be the preferred option for English devolution.

ONS: Electoral Statistics for UK: 2015

Part of UK	Electors	MPs	Devolved	Total Representatives	Population per Rep (total inc MPs + devolved)
England	37,399,9000	533	25 (London Assembly)	558	67,025
Wales	2,181,800	40	60	100	21,818
Scotland	3,896,900	59	129	188	20,729
Northern Ireland	1,243,400	18	108	126	9,799

(Source: from www.publications.parliament.uk and www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/elections/electoralregistration/bulletins/electoralstatisticsforuk/2015 – both used under Open Parliament Licence v3.0)

Using the source, evaluate the view that the logical next step after devolution to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland is the devolution of further power to England.

In your response you must:

- *compare the different opinions in the source*
- *consider the view and the alternative view in a balanced way*
- *use a balance of knowledge and understanding both arising from the source and beyond the source to help you to analyse and evaluate.*

(30)

Do not answer Question 1(b) if you have answered Question 1(a)

OR

- 1 (b) *This source contains adapted extracts from a report by the Political and Constitutional Reform Committee called 'The UK Constitution: a summary, with options for reforms'. The report considered a variety of options for future constitutional reform. Also included is a critical commentary on the report, which is an expert viewpoint on the effectiveness of the report.*

CHAIR'S FOREWORD

The Political and Constitutional Reform Select Committee of the House of Commons, has spent the 2010-2015 Parliament looking at the path to possible codification of the United Kingdom's constitution.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS

Possible alternative 1: The Second Chamber shall be subordinate to the First Chamber. It shall have [500] voting members, directly elected to represent in proportion the nations and regions of the United Kingdom. Members shall be elected for a period of [fifteen] years and [shall/shall not] be re-elected

DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT OF THE NATIONS, REGIONS AND LOCALITIES

Possible alternative: The United Kingdom shall operate on the joint basis of union and devolution. Devolution in England shall be to independent local government, which shall be assigned a proportion of national income tax.

THE JUDICIARY

Possible alternative: The judiciary shall have the power to strike down laws that are inconsistent with the Constitution.

BILL OF RIGHTS

Possible alternatives

1: There shall be a Bill of Rights which sets out the rights to be protected and enforced within the United Kingdom.

2: The following rights shall be available to all persons within the United Kingdom. These rights may not be enforced by the courts, but instead shall be principles to guide the work of the Governments and Parliaments of the United Kingdom and of the devolved assemblies.

Critical commentary

The report focuses on options for change without giving sufficient weight to the arguments that significant reform has already been completed, providing a balance between change and continuity. For example, the Human Rights Act allows for a declaration of incompatibility without harming parliamentary sovereignty, whilst the reformed House of Lords retains its traditional non-elected role but with a substantially reduced hereditary element. To argue that more should be done, simply because it could be, fails to respect this appropriate balance.

(Source: taken from www.publications.parliament.uk
– used under Open Parliament Licence v3.0 and critical
commentary adapted by Adam Killeya)

Using the source, evaluate the view that Constitutional reforms in the UK since 1997 have been weak, incomplete and require further change.

In your response you must:

- *compare the different opinions in the source*
- *consider the view and the alternative view in a balanced way*
- *use a balance of knowledge and understanding both arising from the source and beyond the source to help you to analyse and evaluate.*

(30)

(Total for Question 1 = 30 marks)

***** THE MARK SCHEME IS THE SAME AS PAPER 1 Q1. REFER TO
PAGE 35 *****

***** STRUCTURE GUIDANCE IS THE SAME AS PAPER 1 Q1. REFER TO
PAGE 36 *****

What should my answer look like? (Paper 2 Q1a and 1b)

Exemplar F: *The model paragraph below is in response to the example question on page 52.*

The source suggests that the reform of the House of Lords since 1997 have been incomplete as it states that in their plans “members should be elected for 15 years”. New Labour did make reforms to the House of Lords. For example, the House of Lords Act (1999) removed all but 92 hereditary peers. However, this was only the first in a three-stage set of reforms that the 1997 Labour Manifesto promised. The ultimate goal was a fully-elected House of Lords, but this did not happen, as the focus on the Labour Government shifted and, particularly after the Iraq War in 2003, constitutional issues did not get the same levels of focus. Yet, the reform that Labour made was substantial and completely changed the nature of the House of Lords, removing the inherent Conservative bias and allowing the House to carry out his scrutinising function more effectively. However, the fact that the source is calling for a “directly elected” second legislature does reinforce the point that the House of Lords is still too undemocratic for a 21st century democracy. Despite improvement, the House of Lords has still made controversial decisions that are only possible because of its unaccountability. For example, Members of the House of Lords rejected the Hunting Act (2003) despite it being publicly popular. In doing this, they were perceived to be acting in their own self-interest, not the public interest. This forced the House of Commons to invoke the Parliament Act for only the fourth time. There can be no doubt that significant changes have been made to the House of Lords since 1997 that have made it more legitimate and these changes were revolutionary. It is therefore not correct to call these reforms “weak” but given that they were meant to be part of a ongoing process, they are certainly incomplete.

S – SOURCE – Lay out the argument that the source is making.

E – EXPLAIN – Explain this issue in depth, showing your political knowledge, using EXAMPLES.

E – EVALUATE – Evaluate the issue.

D – DIFFERENT – Are there different views on this issue? If so, complete the process above again.

Y – YOUR JUDGEMENT– At the end of each issue, give your Judgement.

Exemplar G: Awarded Level 5 in exam conditions, also in response to the question on page 52.

The source contains a variety of opinions for a more rigid and inflexible constitution, reform through larger reforms than have occurred since 1997. However, this is not to say that constitutional reforms, such as devolution, have been weak and incomplete, insofar as increasing democratisation and representation has been broadly successful.

The first, and most important constitutional reform proposed by the Political and Constitutional Committee is the giving of extra powers to the Judiciary branch, in order to overrule laws that are inconsistent with the Constitution. This is very important as it would undermine ~~the~~ parliamentary sovereignty: the concept that under our uncodified constitution, Parliament is the highest source of authority. On the one hand, this would be good at ensuring that the judiciary branch could prevent laws that could potentially harm minority groups, or stop 'elected dictators'. They would also be able to do far more, unlike at present when the judiciary may only ~~just~~ intervene if a politician has acted *ultra vires* (beyond their power) and point out, but are ultimately powerless, if something is incompatible ~~with~~ that Human Rights Act, which is ~~passive~~ ~~not being able to vote~~. They can also be easily overruled with a statute law, whereas a codified constitution, and these extra powers to the judicial branch would ensure that if something was ruled unconstitutional, a super majority or similar process would be required to change these entrenched constitutional laws.

Despite this, as the critical opinion points out, the Human Rights Act already 'allows for a declaration of incompatibility without harming parliamentary sovereignty'. This is to say that under the current model, the judiciary branch can declare things to contravene human rights, without needing to be given extra powers that

also harm parliamentary sovereignty. The effect of this is that if Parliament isn't the highest source of authority, and the constitution is, because the Law Commission suggests it should be codified, there can be slow change, not in keeping with changing social values. This can be seen in the US, which has an amendment process similar to what would occur as a result of the proposed reforms, in which only 27 constitutional amendments have been passed. Thus, parliamentary sovereignty is vital, as a flexible constitution can be good for gradual change, and a lot of the ^{most important} benefits of greater judiciary powers are already seen, as laws incompatible with the Human Rights Act, and politicians acting ultra vires can be overruled, holding our system accountable.

Moreover, the report proposes further devolution than the reforms that have happened across the UK: it suggests devolution for England's local government, alongside the already devolved Welsh, Scottish, and Northern Irish (when it forms a government) powers. Each local government would be assigned a proportion of tax raised, perhaps in an effort to combat the findings from the Barnett formula that show a disparity in spending per head across the UK. This would also be beneficial as devolved powers would be more regionally tailored in terms of allocating funds for that area. This may mean that ^{regional} regional-specific differences, such as the number of elderly people, could be taken into account more easily. Furthermore, a more proportional system of allocating funds would be fairer to people in high-density areas particularly, as each local government would be allocated the funds to deal with the region's needs.

However, it can be pointed out that ~~devolution~~ 'significant reform has already been completed', particularly on the area of devolution. For example, the Scottish Parliament has existed at Holyrood since 1999, and now has large devolved powers such as power over education, justice, housing, and may tax 3p on top of the UK income tax rate. These extensive powers are not required across the entire UK: Northern Ireland

only has limited devolved powers, and has currently been suspended due to the inability to form a cabinet, showing that there is not a need for further devolution in all cases. Moreover, a ~~see~~ referendum has already been conducted to enquire about public desire for English devolved powers to local governments. In 2004, in the North-east referendum, 78% of people did not wish for these devolved powers, which backs up the critic's opinion.

In addition, the Committee recommends reducing the House of Lords peers to 500, all of whom are elected proportionally, and acting 'subsidiary to the First Chamber'. This would make the second chamber more democratic than the current mix of appointed and hereditary peers, which would give them legitimacy in decision making, as well as more likely to act on the ~~people~~ electorate's conscience rather than being able to act however they wish, as they could be voted out. This also ~~decreases~~ removes ~~the~~ the ability of politicians of ~~being~~ appointing political allies purely to support their own agenda, or in exchange for funding.

It may be argued, despite these potential benefits of further reform, that the reforms that have already occurred have gone far enough in terms of striking the balance between tradition and democracy. Traditionally, the House of Lords has been fully non-elected, as the critical commentary points out, and the reduction of hereditary peers has also reduced some of the problems, while retaining this historical aspect. The problems of hereditary peers include that it's undemocratic, doesn't ensure the most qualified people become Peers and that the House is unresponsive to social change. This has been attempted to be solved through appointed peers, for example Lord Coe and Lord Sugar are Peers due to their proficiency in hosting the Olympics, and business, respectively. This makes the House of Lords more meritocratic while balancing the traditional element.

In conclusion, Constitutional reforms since 1997 have not been weak, as further reforms, such as a fully elected House of Lords and further devolution have other associated problems. These include failing to balance the historical nature of the House of Lords and a lack of public urge for devolved local governments.

Paper 2: UK Government (Section A)

Q2a and Q2b 30 mark NON source question

AND EITHER

- 2 (a) Evaluate how far Parliament retains sole sovereignty within the UK political system.

In your answer you should draw on relevant knowledge and understanding of the study of Component 1: UK Politics and Core Political Ideas and consider this view and the alternative to this view in a balanced way.

(30)

OR

- (b) Evaluate the extent to which the UK government's control over Parliament has reduced in recent years.

In your answer you should draw on relevant knowledge and understanding of the study of Component 1: UK Politics and Core Political Ideas and consider this view and the alternative to this view in a balanced way.

(30)

Mark scheme - Paper 2 Q2a and 2b

The only difference in this mark scheme is the addition of 'synoptic points' in AO1.

Level	Descriptor	Mark
5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Demonstrates thorough and in-depth knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and issues, which are effectively selected in order to underpin analysis and evaluation. Makes convincing and cohesive synoptic points (AO1). Perceptive comparative analysis of aspects of politics, with sustained, logical chains of reasoning, which make cohesive and convincing connections between ideas and concepts (AO2). Constructs fully relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing fully effective arguments and judgements, which are consistently substantiated and lead to fully focused and justified conclusions (AO3). 	25-30
4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Demonstrates accurate knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and issues, which are carefully selected in order to underpin analysis and evaluation. Makes relevant and focused synoptic points (AO1). Consistent comparative analysis of aspects of politics, with coherent, logical chains of reasoning, which make relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2). Constructs mostly relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing mostly effective arguments and judgements, which are mostly substantiated and lead to mostly focused and justified conclusions (AO3). 	19-24
3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Demonstrates mostly accurate knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and issues, many of which are selected appropriately in order to underpin analysis and evaluation. Makes generally relevant synoptic points (AO1). Mostly focused comparative analysis of aspects of politics with focused, logical chains of reasoning, which make mostly relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2). Constructs generally relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing generally effective arguments and judgements, many of which are substantiated and lead to some focused conclusions that are sometimes justified (AO3). 	13-18
2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Demonstrates some accurate knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and issues, some of which are selected appropriately in order to underpin analysis and evaluation. Makes some relevant synoptic points (AO1). Some emerging comparative analysis of aspects of politics with some focused, logical chains of reasoning, which make some relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2). Constructs some relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing occasionally effective arguments and judgements, some are partially substantiated and lead to generic conclusions without much justification (AO3). 	7-12
1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Demonstrates superficial knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and issues, with limited underpinning of analysis and evaluation. Makes limited synoptic points (AO1). Limited comparative analysis of aspects of politics with partial, logical chains of reasoning, which make simplistic connections between ideas and concepts (AO2). Makes superficial evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing simple arguments and judgements, many of which are descriptive and lead to limited unsubstantiated conclusions (AO3). 	1-6

*** **STRUCTURE GUIDANCE IS THE SAME AS PAPER 1 Q2. REFER TO PAGE 43** ***

Paper 2: Non-Core Political Ideas (Section B)

Q3-7a and Q3b 24 Mark Essay Question

SECTION B: NON-CORE POLITICAL IDEAS

Answer ONE question EITHER (a) OR (b) from the political idea that you have studied.

Anarchism

EITHER

- 3 (a) To what extent do individualist and collectivist anarchists disagree about the economy?

You must use appropriate thinkers you have studied to support your answer and consider both sides in a balanced way.

(24)

OR

- (b) To what extent do individualist and collectivist anarchists agree about human nature?

You must use appropriate thinkers you have studied to support your answer and consider both sides in a balanced way.

(24)

(Total for Question 3 = 24 marks)

Ecologism

EITHER

- 4 (a) To what extent do deep green ecologists and shallow green ecologists agree over the economy?

You must use appropriate thinkers you have studied to support your answer and consider both sides in a balanced way.

(24)

OR

- (b) To what extent do ecologists agree over environmental ethics?

You must use appropriate thinkers you have studied to support your answer and consider any differing views in a balanced way.

(24)

Feminism

EITHER

- 5 (a) To what extent is the disagreement within feminism about the nature of men and women significant to this political idea?

You must use appropriate thinkers you have studied to support your answer and consider any differing views in a balanced way.

(24)

OR

- (b) To what extent do feminists disagree about the role of the state?

You must use appropriate thinkers you have studied to support your answer and consider any differing views in a balanced way.

(24)

(Total for Question 5 = 24 marks)

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS AREA

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS AREA

IS AREA

Multiculturalism

EITHER

- 6 (a) To what extent do multiculturalists support diversity?

You must use appropriate thinkers you have studied to support your answer and consider any differing views in a balanced way.

(24)

OR

- (b) To what extent do multiculturalists' views of minority rights support integration?

You must use appropriate thinkers you have studied to support your answer and consider any differing views in a balanced way.

(24)

(Total for Question 6 = 24 marks)

Nationalism

EITHER

- 7 (a) To what extent is nationalism progressive?

You must use appropriate thinkers you have studied to support your answer and consider any differing views in a balanced way.

(24)

OR

- (b) To what extent does nationalism support self-determination for all nations?

You must use appropriate thinkers you have studied to support your answer and consider any differing views in a balanced way.

(24)

(Total for Question 7 = 24 marks)

***** THE MARK SCHEME IS THE SAME AS PAPER 1 Q3. REFER TO PAGE 48 *****

***** STRUCTURE GUIDANCE IS THE SAME AS PAPER 1 Q3. REFER TO PAGE 49 *****

Question Banks (in progress)

Edexcel Sample Papers:

<http://qualifications.pearson.com/content/dam/pdf/A%20Level/Politics/2017/Specification%20and%20sample%20assessments/A-level-Politics-Sample-Assessment-Materials.pdf>

Component 1 – UK Politics and Core Ideologies

Democracy and Participation

Section A Q1– (x1 30-mark question from a choice of 2 – each question uses a source)

Using the source, evaluate the view that UK democracy is in crisis

In your response you must:

- compare the different opinions in the source
- consider the view and the alternative view in a balanced way
- use a balance of knowledge and understanding both arising from the source and beyond the source to help you to analyse and evaluate

‘On certain measures, Britain does, indeed, appear to be facing something of a participation crisis in its political system. Levels of trust in government and confidence in the political system are lower than they were little more than a decade ago. Electoral turnout has fallen sharply, most noticeably at the 2001 general election. Meanwhile, the introduction of new political institutions since 1997, designed in part to restore people’s trust and confidence, appears to have had matter

. On the other hand, people do not seem more disengaged from the political system. Participation outside the ballot box has increased somewhat over the last fifteen or so years. Levels of political interest have not fallen, and people remain confident in their own ability to engage with the political process and to believe in the importance of voting at elections. Perhaps the most reassuring evidence from our research is that which suggests the decline in trust and turnout is not due to long-term social forces, but to short-term political ones. The most plausible explanation for the decline in trust is the public reaction to allegations of misconduct and ‘sleaze’ on the part of politicians. These conclusions suggest that the remedies for any ‘crisis’ largely lie in the hands of politicians themselves. Trust is acquired when words and actions accord with one another. And only a closely fought and clear competition between the parties appears to prompt many citizens to cast their vote. Meanwhile constitutional change should not be regarded as a quick fix. However it would be wise to look to measures to both reform and improve democracy in the UK. Hence, British democracy – and especially its politicians – certainly face a ‘challenge’. But talk of a ‘crisis’ is premature.’

Using the source, evaluate the view that the UK is suffering from a participation crisis.

Turnout at elections

Low turnouts in UK elections and referendums have become a serious cause for concern. Many argue that democracy will decline if people do not participate in large numbers. One proposed solution is to introduce compulsory voting. This has been done in Australia and turnouts there are now above 90%. Compulsory voting rejects the idea that voting is a civic duty, so we can justify forcing people to vote. It is also probably true that larger turnouts will produce a more representative electorate. As things stand in the UK, it is the elderly who vote in large numbers, while the young tend to stay at home. This distorts the outcome of elections and referendums.

Falling turnout has accompanied a significant reduction in party membership and increasing disillusionment with party politics. However, it can also be said that low turnouts are not as important as we think. Those who do not vote, it could be said, have voluntarily opted out of the democratic process. It may also be said that non-voters are likely to be ignorant about political issues. It is also true that wider political activity is actually on the increase. What is

happening is that increasingly large numbers of people see pressure group activity and participation in social media campaigns as more meaningful forms of activity. In fact, it is on the internet and in social media that activity is increasing to the greatest extent.

Nevertheless, turnout remains an important issue. In particular, low turnouts call into question the democratic legitimacy of those who are elected. There is also the changing issue of how intensive participation is. Taking part in social media and internet campaigns may count as activity but it is shallow and does not indicate any great engagement with politics.

Using the source, evaluate the use of referendums to determine important political and constitutional issues.

The 2016 referendum on the UK's membership of the EU

"The 2016 referendum on the UK's membership of the European Union was perhaps the most important democratic exercise in the history of the country. The question was important, of course, but the fact that many millions of voters took part in making such a momentous decision was most impressive. It certainly settled the issue after many years of political conflict, and people who felt they did not have a voice were now listened to. The vote created both legitimacy and public consent for the decision. But behind the euphoria there were also serious concerns. The referendum campaign was dogged with controversy about misinformation and lack of clarity. The press were also accused of bias, with most popular tabloids campaigning relentlessly for a 'Leave' vote. Perhaps more importantly, some sections of the community felt they had been steamrollered into a decision against their will. Younger voters, the Scots and Londoners were all groups who voted strongly to remain within the EU, but they were overwhelmed by the national majority. The result was also very close — hardly a decisive outcome. But, however much we may analyse the result, in the end the people had spoken and democracy had been served."

Using the Source, evaluate the view that representative democracy is superior to direct democracy

It is natural to assume that direct democracy is the purest form of democracy that can exist. After all, it represents the ultimate form of government by consent and, at the same time, it means that the majority rules. It is also to be expected that the people are more likely to respect decisions they have made themselves. It does, however, have some illustrious critics. In classical Greece, Plato argued that it would give rise to the rule of rabble-rousing dictators who would be able to sway opinion through great speeches and appeals to popular emotion. Today we see echoes of this in the way the tabloid press often treats referendum campaigns. In nineteenth-century England, the great liberal thinker John Stuart Mill referred to the 'tyranny of the majority' and, like Plato, feared that the average citizen, lacking much education, would not act rationally and would be ignorant of the issues presented to them. Mill and his fellow-nineteenth century liberals supported representative democracy. This was for several reasons. First, they argued that elected representatives would be able to use their superior judgement in the interests of the people and would be able to arbitrate between the interests of the majority and those of the minorities. Second, they believed that this compromise would satisfy the liberal desire to ensure that all sections of society are considered in political decision making.

Using the source, evaluate the view that pressure group activity supports democracy and participation

The source presents two different views of the social media group, 38 Degrees – one from David Babbs who welcomes the group's activities because it alerts citizens to a current issue and empowers them to express their views and to achieve change and another from Conservative MP, Guy Opperman, who believes that such social-based media platforms may hinder fair and open debate.

David Babbs states: People are not as apathetic as politicians often claim. 38 Degrees gives people a sense of purpose and ownership and gets them involved. Many people feel that conventional politics doesn't work: it does not change government policy. 38 Degrees changes all that, it brings politics to life and enables people to interact with politics in a way that has not been possible before. In its numerous campaigns 38 Degrees has shown that politicians change their minds if sufficiently large numbers of people express an alternative view. MPs get angry about 38 Degrees, often claiming our exposures of their activities are inaccurate. MPs have to realise that democracy is about more people participating. Furthermore 38 Degrees sees action move from the digital and social media platforms to face-to-face meetings. There are a lot of issues where ordinary people's participation makes for better decisions.

Guy Opperman, MP states: Being lobbied by pressure groups is a regular part of an MP's life. 38 Degrees has set itself up as a critic of the government on a number of issues. There is nothing wrong with this. But it is totally wrong to spin, as matters of fact, claims that are simply not correct. 38 Degrees has an agenda. So they have simply presented the opposite view as fact, ignoring reasoned debate. It is totally irresponsible, when trying to exercise influence as a pressure group, to twist the facts completely. Websites like 38 Degrees are not taking political debate any further but hindering it by demanding alternative outcomes. Assertions by 38 Degrees are often riddled with errors, overstatement and simple inaccuracies. This is not a constructive way to conduct important debates about reforming and improving life in the UK.

Using the source, evaluate the view that group activity undermines democracy in the UK

Liberal democratic governments favour disproportionately the interests of well-funded, well-organised pro-capitalist pressure groups because governments depend for their very survival on the profitability and efficiency of private capitalism, on which in turn levels of employment, living standards and economic growth depend. Furthermore, most pressure groups, apart from trade unions, are joined mainly by relatively affluent middle-class people and most pressure group leaders [who may not be chosen by especially democratic methods] are even more likely to be middle class. It has also been argued that the existence of so many pressure groups persuades people to believe that they have influence when in fact they have very little. From the 1970s theorists influenced by New Right ideology argued in particular that the trade unions had excessive powers which they used to weaken the economy via damaging restrictive practices, inflationary wage demands and strikes, and that welfare-oriented pressure groups such as Shelter and the Child Poverty Action Group raised unrealistic expectations of increased spending which, when they were not met, served only to undermine confidence in government.

In the theoretical framework of democratic pluralism states are assumed to be neutral arbiters [or impartial referees] evaluating the claims of a vast number of possibly competing pressure groups in accordance with the national interest. Whereas political parties represent the general interests of voters across a range of issues, pressure groups provide for the representation of citizens' views on particular issues relating to their own personal well-being [sectional groups] and/or to their particular causes for concern [promotional or cause groups]. As a result of the resources at their disposal pressure groups can represent individuals more effectively than they could do themselves, a point which may be especially relevant to more disadvantaged individuals such as the poor or the disabled and to minority groupings such as immigrants. It is possible that pressure groups can address controversial issues which political parties might initially seek to avoid and likely also that as new issues reach the political agenda new pressure groups can be formed to address these issues. Pressure groups enable their members and supporters to participate more fully in the political process on a continuing basis between general elections and this is likely to enhance political understanding and thereby to strengthen support for the liberal democratic system as a whole.

Source: an academic report on pressure group influence

Using the source, evaluate the view that referenda are not effective in a representative democracy

This source is adapted from an article published in The Times on 19th October 2017

Representative Democracy seems, to a lot of people, a flawed model. It brings you the professional politicians vying for your vote. It offers tedious slanging matches between largely interchangeable professionals. Its dreary, is what it is. Direct Democracy feels like the coming thing. If, for no other reason than that we're developing the technology that allows us, with minimum effort, to cast a vote for or against any proposition. Away with the elite! Long live the masses!

A decade or so ago I would have counted myself among the direct democracy advocates. Turnout at elections was falling, there was a long-term secular decline in party membership, experts were talking about the need for a re-connection. In response, the representative democrats implemented some direct democratic reforms to draw people back into politics.

But this system has a problem...It means that people can decide issues having been involved in absolutely no discussion at all. In practice, it has always meant the same thing: that those with the best organisation, the loudest voices and nothing else to do on the night, get to win. And who else has the time? Direct Democracy...doesn't itself require a debate.

In 1965. The Commons voted against the popular will and abolished the death penalty. If we'd had a referendum, we'd almost certainly have kept it. The reason for the difference wasn't that MPs were an out-of-touch elite, but that they had debated it, heard the evidence at length and, critically, that they would have had to take responsibility for it. They, unlike the electorate at large, would be proxy executioners if they voted to retain capital punishment.

Here in the UK we are in the greatest mess of the post-war years because a referendum was passed which, as most elected representatives know, cannot be enacted without incredible disruption and substantial loss. It's not exactly an advertisement for them.

Using the source, evaluate the view that the suffragists, not the suffragettes deserve the credit for obtaining the vote for women

This source is adapted from an article appearing in The Independent newspaper on the 27th of May 2013 under the heading 'General History of Women's Suffrage in Britain'. It was written by Rebecca Myers.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) was formed in 1897 which brought together 17 regional societies, the first of these having been founded in 1851. By 1913 around 500 societies had joined and the NUWSS aimed for full unconditional suffrage for women and were known as the suffragists.

In 1903 Emmiline Pankhurst, frustrated by the lack of progress in getting women the vote, established the rival women's social and political union (WSPU). They revolted against the inertia and conventionalism would seem to have fastened upon the NUWSS. Unlike the NUWSS only accept women's members and aim to employ more militant, public and illegal tactics. The motto was "deeds not words". However, they strived for women to be able to vote on the same basis as men (Many working class men did not have the votes because they did not meet the property qualification). The WSPU became known as the suffragettes.

The suffragettes organized several large-scale rallies together with many acts of militancy including bombings, arson, stone throwing and chaining themselves to public buildings. These acts of led to several members being given terms of imprisonment with some ending up being force fed.

The suffragists continue there a way of achieving women's enfranchisement by peaceful and legal means such as bringing petitions in bills to parliament and distributing literature for their cause. Their Leader, Millicent Garrett Fawcet argued "the organized political work of women has grown since 1884 and has become so valuable that none of the parties can afford to do without it or to alienate it"

WWI saw the temporary winding down of the suffrage movement as they became committed to the war effort. The nationalist work of many of the suffrage groups during the war greatly help their cause, and it was during this time the Asquith made his declaration of allegiance to in franchising women. The 1918 Representation of the People Act granted women over 30 the right to vote. It also extended the rights of all men over 21 to vote. Women were granted equal suffrage to men in 1928.

Using the source, evaluate the case that Britain's democracy is damaged by the presence of think tanks

This source is adapted from a press release issued on 8th February 2017 from Transparify (a global transparency initiative) to mark the release of their latest study on the financial transparency of UK think tanks.

Secretive think tanks spend over £22 million a year to influence British public opinion and lobby politicians in Westminster. According to data compiled by Transparify, at least two of these financially opaque groups are predominantly funded by donors in the USA and the Persian Gulf, raising concerns that foreign vested interests are seeking to distort democratic debates and decision-making in the UK. The study documents incidences in which opaque think tanks failed to disclose funding sources, advocated policies that favour their hidden donors, presented flawed evidence and generated fake news.

Dr Till Bruckner, Advocacy Manager, Transparify said: "Brexit will entail thousands of policy decisions that will shape the future of the country for decades to come. This creates an unprecedented opportunity for undercover lobbyists masquerading as think tanks to manipulate democratic processes . Politicians, the media and the public should

A Level Politics Paper 1 & 2 Course Guide – Kings Langley School - Miss Hardingham

ignore this small group of fake tanks . Most think tanks in Britain are financially transparent. If we want intellectually independent policy advice, we should trust only genuine expert who have nothing to hide”.

Duncan Hames, Director of Policy, Transparency International UK, said: “There's a genuine need for objective work by truly independent think tanks. The power we entrust to these experts should also come with accountability and that requires transparency about their funding. Whether it's research into healthcare reform or military spend decision makers need to know that what they're reading is impartial and authoritative advice, not the Promotion of vested interests before that of the public”.

Keith Burnet, Director of Communications and Publishing, Chatham House (Chatham House is a think tank which was ranked as broadly transparent by the study) said:

“In today's political climate there is an urgent need for think tanks to help prioritise, understand and resolve the most pressing global and domestic challenges . At Chatham House we are as determined as ever in our commitment to providing objective, rigorous analysis, open debate and new ideas and by being as transparent as possible about our sources of funding to underscore the credibility of our work”.

Transparify assessed the financial transparency of 27 leading UK think tanks, finding that 17 are transparent about who funds them.

Section A Q2 – (x1 30-mark question from a choice of 2 – NO SOURCE)

- Evaluate the view that democracy in the UK is suffering from a participation crisis
- Evaluate how far the UK system of representative democracy remains in need of improvement
- Evaluate the factors that determine the success of pressure groups in the UK
- ‘Judges, rather than politicians, are better able to protect and defend rights in the UK.’ Analyse and evaluate this statement
- Evaluate the extent to which pressure groups enhance democracy in the UK
- Evaluate the various ways in which rights are protected in the UK
- Evaluate the view that the UK Political system is no longer truly representative
- Evaluate the extent to which the UK remains a genuine pluralist democracy
- Evaluate the extent to which rights are effectively protected in the UK
- Evaluate the view that representative democracy is superior to direct democracy
- Evaluate the view that the UK Parliament is no longer a truly representative body
- Evaluate the extent to which the UK is suffering from a democratic deficit
- Evaluate the extent to which Pressure Groups undermine Representative Democracy as it operates in the UK
- Evaluate the view that think-tanks, lobbyists and pressure groups have little impact on government decisions.
- Evaluate the view that citizens can no longer feel confident that their rights in the UK secure and established
- Evaluate the extent to which a pressure group's access to resources is the most important factor in determining its level of influence
- Evaluate the extent to which individual human rights in the UK are having to be restricted to protect the rights of the wider community
- Evaluate the extent to which the success of a pressure group depends upon the size of its membership
- Evaluate the extent to which apathy and disillusionment explains low turnout at elections
- Evaluate the view that the actions of pressure groups have been more significant than government legislation in defending and promoting rights in the UK.

Political Parties

Section A Q1– (x1 30-mark question from a choice of 2 – each question uses a source)

Using the source, evaluate the view that the major parties still remain the dominant force in UK politics

“The party system - Political parties have existed in one form or another since at least the 18th century, they are an essential element of UK politics. Since the Second World War, all the Governments in the UK have been formed by either the Labour Party or the Conservative Party. This did differ in 2010 when the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats formed a coalition government. The major parties capture the main issues of the day and present choice. Furthermore, the current electoral system favours few parties in the race to govern. Minority parties ‘Minority parties’ are those that sit outside the traditional big three (Labour, Conservative and Liberal Democrat Parties) and have had power over Parliament for over a century. A significant shift has taken place in politics in recent years, with more people questioning the ‘Establishment of Westminster’ and looking to parties like the SNP, Plaid Cymru, the Green Party and UKIP. In 2015, UKIP and the Greens obtained 5 million votes between them, also the SNP reached 56 seats of the 59 available in Scotland, becoming the third largest party in the House of Commons. Minority parties are enjoying success and recognition. A secure victory is now not the expected norm for either Labour or Conservative Parties, they now have much to fear and much to lose from a range of minority parties who are gaining ground. The voter has little to choose between when looking to the major parties. In terms of policy, there is little that separates the major parties and all the policy they produce is similar, with battles over style as opposed to substance. By contrast, many of the minority parties present a fresh approach to politics.”

(Source: from www.parliament.uk – used under Open Parliament Licence v3.0 and adapted from: The New Wave: Minority Parties – SNP, Plaid Cymru and the Green Party http://www.vice.com/en_uk/video/the-new-wave-minority-parties)

Using the source, evaluate the extent to which two-party dominance has declined in the UK

Two-party dominance in the UK				
Election year	Conservative Seats	Labour Seats	Third Party Seats	% of seats won by the two main parties
1979	339	269	11	95.8
1983	397	209	23	93.3
1987	376	229	22	93.0
1992	336	271	20	93.2
1997	165	418	46	88.4
2001	166	413	52	87.8
2005	198	356	62	85.6
2010	307	258	57	86.9
2015	331	232	56	86.7
2017	317	262	62	89

Using the source, evaluate the extent to which the funding of parties should be controlled and reformed

The issue of party funding has been controversial in the UK for many years. From the 1970s onwards it was becoming apparent that there were three problems emerging in this field. The first was the escalating costs of running a party, not least the cost of campaigning in elections. The second was the growing disparity between how much the established parties – Labour and Conservatives – could afford compared with smaller parties. Small parties, already disadvantaged by the electoral system, now suffered from a huge funding gap. The third issue was the growing practice of business and individuals making sizeable donations to parties in the hope and expectation of favourable policies and even the

A Level Politics Paper 1 & 2 Course Guide – Kings Langley School - Miss Hardingham

prospect of being given an honour. In a tit-for-tat blame game, Labour accused the Conservatives of being bribed by big business while the Tories pointed out that Labour was heavily reliant on funding from trade unions.

Although there have been some reforms, including greater transparency over large donations, there has been no serious attempt to reform the system in recent times. The key issue revolves around the possibility of state funding of parties. This is a practice which is quite common in other parts of Europe. It is, though, highly controversial. Supporters say it will stop the abuses of large donations and will create greater equality between parties. Critics, however, point out that parties are private organisations and there can be no justification for taxpayers funding them. There is also the problem of how to distribute state funds: which parties should receive help and in what proportions.

If state funding is rejected, the remaining answer is to reform the regulations. The most popular idea follows the American system where there is a limit on the size of individual donations. This seems an obvious step, but there are ways round it, as the American experience indicates. Driving funding underground through over-regulation, it is argued, will only encourage corruption.

Using the source, evaluate the view that the Labour Party has returned to its original ideological position

“There are two ways of viewing the ‘Corbyn revolution’ which emerged within the Labour Party in 2015. Some argue that this a return to the roots of the Labour Party. Many of Corbyn’s ideas were forged in the 1970s and 1980s when he was a young party member and when such ideological figures as Tony Benn, Ken Livingstone and Michael Foot were prominent in the party. His proposals for the state ownership of the railways and state control over utility industries come straight from that era. He also believes in the power of the state to create greater economic equality and to curb the excesses of capitalism. Others see it as a temporary insurgency. Many new supporters who voted for Corbyn in the leadership elections are seen as Marxist ‘entryists’. For such critics the legacy of Tony Blair and New Labour is where the modern Labour Party is and should position itself. They point out that most Labour voters are actually moderate and that the majority of Labour MPs and peers do not support Corbyn. They support more centrist policies on taxation, welfare and the role of the state. Then, of course, came the 2017 general election at which Labour, under the much criticised Corbyn, increased their share of the vote by 10%. This gave great encouragement to the left, but the divide in the party still remains. Labour did not win the 2017 election and is likely to be out of power for up to 12 years. It remains to be seen whether Labour can survive this split and, indeed, which ideological position will prevail.”

Using the source, evaluate the view that the present system of funding political parties is in urgent need of change

The source is adapted from an article on the BBC website describing proposals for greater taxpayer funding of UK political parties. It was published in November 2011 and was based upon a report by the independence committee for standards in public life.

Sir Christopher Kelly, the chairman of the committee, said “All three main parties now depend on large donations from a very small number of individuals or organisations for the funds necessary for their survival. This cannot be healthy for democracy”.

The recommendations from the committee included Placing an annual cap on individual donations to a political party of £10000. at present there is no limit on donations although the name of anybody who gives more than £7500 is made public. A good deal of the resulting reduction in party income would be offset by increased state funding for every party with two or more MPs or representatives in devolved assemblies. It would come as £3 payment for every vote received in a general election and £1.50 for every vote received in devolved election elections. Sir Christopher said it amounted to 50p, per voter, per year and said people would understand that this was necessary to take “big money” out of politics.

The reports notes that both the conservatives and Labour would be hit by the proposals- while the Lib Dems, whose income is far lower, would be likely to gain. The conservative party “broadly welcomed the report” but wanted the caps it's on individual donations to be £50,000 per year. At the same time the party's co-chair said, “I'm not convinced even in better economic circumstances that this is a wise way for us to be spending taxpayer's money”

A Level Politics Paper 1 & 2 Course Guide – Kings Langley School - Miss Hardingham

The Labour Party said it would “to study in detail” the report’s proposals. However increased state funding for parties was not a priority in the current economic environment. They had also said they had concerns regarding trade union affiliation fees. The report had said such fees could be counted as a collection of small individual payments if members were required to “opt in” to the fees rather than “opting out” as at present.

The Liberal Democrats said any move “to limit undue influence on the political process by private individuals, businesses and the trade unions can only be a good thing. While it is clear now it is not the time for more public money to be spent on politicians, that shouldn’t stop us taking immediate action to reform political funding”.

Using the sources, evaluate the view that there is little in common between Conservative and Labour Party policies and ideas. You may also draw on your knowledge of developments and changes since 2015

Make migrants wait four years before they can claim certain benefits
Stop migrants from claiming child benefit for dependents living outside the UK, and remove those that have failed to find work after six months
Eradicate the deficit by 2018 and secure an overall budget surplus by 2019–20
Achieve the above by spending cuts, not tax rises, while raising NHS spending
Extra £2 billion into frontline health services across the UK
In England, everyone would be able to see a GP seven days a week by 2020
An income tax cut for 30 million people by 2020
No increases in VAT
Hold a referendum on Britain’s membership of the EU by 2017
Protect foreign aid budget
Replace Trident
Create 3 million apprenticeships to be paid for by benefit cuts
able 7
Labour manifesto policies, 2015
Stronger border controls to tackle illegal immigration with ‘proper’ entry and exit checks
‘Smarter’ targets to reduce low-skilled migration but ensure students and high-skilled workers are not deterred
Employment agencies to be stopped from only recruiting abroad; higher fines for employing illegal immigrants
Get the current budget into surplus and the national debt falling ‘as soon as possible in the next Parliament’; no additional borrowing for new spending
An extra £2.5 billion a year above the Conservative plan for the NHS
Patients in England would get a GP appointment within 48 hours and wait no longer than a week for cancer tests and results
Scrap the Health and Social Care Act and end ‘creeping privatisation’ of the NHS
Reintroduce the 50p top rate of income tax for earnings over £150,000
Cut income tax for 24 million people by bringing back the 10p rate, paid for by scrapping the married couples’ tax allowance
Bring in a ‘mansion tax’ on properties worth over £2 million, to raise £1.2 billion
A tax on bankers’ bonuses
Push for reform of EU and prevent Britain from ‘sleepwalking towards exit’
Guarantee a job for under 25s unemployed for over a year and adults unemployed for more than two years.
Commit to holding a strategic defence and security review every five years.

A Level Politics Paper 1 & 2 Course Guide – Kings Langley School - Miss Hardingham

- 1 (b) This source shows information published by the House of Commons on the income and membership of political parties in Great Britain. The source then reflects on the significance of this data and questions its implications.

Source 2

Central party income and membership in Great Britain (as reported in 2018)

Party	Income	Membership
Labour Party	£55,793,000	540,000
Conservative and Unionist Party	£45,947,000	124,000
Liberal Democrats	£9,710,000	99,200
Scottish National Party (SNP)	£5,800,000	125,000
Green Party	£2,472,000	39,400
UK Independence Party (UKIP)	£1,739,000	23,600
Plaid Cymru - The Party of Wales	£1,262,000	8,000

- There are big differences between the incomes of different political parties and where they source their funds.
- This creates a fear that a 'rich' party can 'buy' an election because other parties lack the funds to make their case effectively. Often parties' income and their donors are unknown until after a general election.
- The income patterns of political parties are changing – for example, membership fees have now substantially replaced trade union donations as Labour's main source of funding: whereas the Conservative Party continues to rely heavily on private donations.
- State funding, in which each candidate's election campaign is funded by the state, might marginally increase the taxes people pay; but it would make general elections a contest between equals.

Using Source 2, evaluate the view that state funding of political parties would be preferable to a situation in which a party can win a general election because it has more members and income than other parties.

In your response you must:

- compare and contrast different opinions in the source
- examine and debate these views in a balanced way
- analyse and evaluate **only** the information presented in the source.

(30)

Section A Q2 – (x1 30-mark question from a choice of 2 – NO SOURCE)

- Evaluate how far the Labour Party has remained true to its traditional principles
- Evaluate how far the modern Conservative Party may be described as a 'one-nation' party
- Evaluate the criticisms of the major political parties
- Evaluate the view that the two-party system is over in Britain
- Evaluate the view that all the main UK parties support liberal ideas
- Evaluate the case for introducing the state funding of parties
- Evaluate the extent to which small parties have an impact on UK Politics today
- Evaluate the extent to which the media can influence support for political parties
- Evaluate the extent to which the success of Political Parties depends heavily on the performance of its Leader
- Evaluate the extent to which the major Political Parties disagree more with each other than they agree
- Evaluate the view that that the major Political Parties are more disunited than they are united
- Evaluate the view that the only political parties that matter in our political system are the Labour and Conservative parties.
- Evaluate the view that there is no longer a two-party system in the UK
- Evaluate the extent to which the UK has developed into a multi-party system
- Evaluate the extent to which the growing impact of minor parties has come about through the introduction of alternative voting systems,

Elections

Section A Q1 – (x1 30-mark question from a choice of 2 – each question uses a source)

Using the source, evaluate the impact of first-past-the-post in terms of representative democracy

In your response you must:

- compare the different opinions in the source
- consider the view and the alternative view in a balanced way
- use a balance of knowledge and understanding both arising from the source and beyond the source to help you to analyse and evaluate

The result of the UK general election, May 2015

Party	% votes won	% seats won	No. of seats won	Notes
Conservative	36.9	50.9	331	Conservative support is concentrated in southern England.
Labour	30.4	35.7	232	Labour support is concentrated in northern England.
SNP	4.7	8.6	56	In Scotland the SNP won 95% of the available seats on 50% of the Scottish vote.
LD	7.9	1.2	8	The party's support is widely dispersed.
DUP	0.6	1.2	8	The DUP only contests seats in Northern Ireland.
SF	0.6	0.6	4	Northern Ireland only
PC	0.6	0.5	3	Contests seats in Wales
UKIP	12.6	0.2	1	UKIP support is very widely dispersed.
Green Party	3.8	0.2	1	Support for the Greens is very dispersed.
Others	2.5	1.0	6	Mostly in Northern Ireland

Using the source, evaluate the use of referendums to determine important political and constitutional issues.

“The 2016 referendum on the UK’s membership of the European Union was perhaps the most important democratic exercise in the history of the country. The question was important, of course, but the fact that many millions of voters took part in making such a momentous decision was most impressive. It certainly settled the issue after many years of political conflict, and people who felt they did not have a voice were now listened to. The vote created both legitimacy and public consent for the decision. But behind the euphoria there were also serious concerns. The referendum campaign was dogged with controversy about misinformation and lack of clarity. The press were also accused of bias, with most popular tabloids campaigning relentlessly for a ‘Leave’ vote. Perhaps more importantly, some sections of the community felt they had been steamrollered into a decision against their will. Younger voters, the Scots and Londoners were all groups who voted strongly to remain within the EU, but they were overwhelmed by the national majority. The result was also very close — hardly a decisive outcome. But, however much we may analyse the result, in the end the people had spoken, and democracy had been served.”

Using the source, evaluate the extent to which it is now essential that the UK introduces a proportional system for general elections

There are a number of features of recent general elections that point to the need for a different electoral system for the UK. The 2015 general election was a case in point. UKIP won nearly 4 million votes and yet this translated into just one seat. In Scotland, conversely, the Scottish National Party won 50% of the popular vote and yet won 56/59 of the seats available. When we add to the fact that the Conservative government won only 36.9% of the popular vote in the UK but was rewarded with a 12-seat majority, we must seriously question the way the system works.

This kind of bias has, of course, been known for many years, so why the urgency for a decision today? There are a number of reasons, but the outcome of the three elections in 2010, 2015 and 2017 gave the argument fresh impetus. In 2010, the system produced a hung parliament, in 2015 the Conservatives only just scraped home with a majority of 12 seats, and then came 2017. In the 2017 general election campaign, PM May placed great emphasis on the need for ‘strong and stable’ government. She was referring to negotiations for the UK’s exit from the EU, but she could have been referring to the debate about the electoral system. FPTP used to produce such governments and it was fully expected that it would do so again.

The result was a huge surprise. Once again FPTP failed in its first function – that of producing a majority government. With three consecutive indecisive results behind them, even Conservatives began to lose faith in the electoral system. Liberals, meanwhile, look to the interests of individual voters. Wasted votes and votes of unequal value are a matter of increasing concern. With proportional representation, votes are rarely wasted and most votes count. Depending on which system is introduced, it could also be that voters would have more choice.

Using the source, evaluate the view that referendums create more problems than solutions

In a parliamentary democracy, advisory referendums are potentially destabilising because they generate alternative, competing sources of democratic legitimacy. If a referendum demonstrates that a majority of the public hold the opposite view to elected representatives, which view of democratic legitimacy carries most authority? Some reasonably take the view that a referendum won by a very narrow margin is an insufficient mandate for major change. A ‘Leave’ vote, if implemented, is effectively irreversible: a ‘Remain’ vote leaves open the possibility of future referendums on the same issue. For this reason, many constitutional commentators believe that major referendums should require some form of super-majority – 60 per cent of votes cast is the threshold most commonly suggested.

However, there are arguments that support the legitimacy of the EU referendum. It produced a turnout of 33 million voters, more than any other referendum. It was a very rare example of direct democracy for the whole of the UK. Clearly parliament only exists and MPs only function by and for the will of the people. Key factors endorse its legitimacy: holding it was a feature of the Conservative manifesto. World leaders regard the vote as being decisive, as Mrs May has stressed in meetings with EU leaders. In summary – the government is constitutionally mandated to implement this decisive vote by the people.

Proportion of the vote across the UK in the EU Referendum June 2016

	Leave the EU	Remain in the EU
England	53.4%	46.6%
Wales	52.5%	47.5%
Scotland	38.0%	62.0%
Northern Ireland	44.2%	55.8%
United Kingdom (overall)	51.9%	48.1%

(Sources: adapted from <https://constitution-unit.com/2016/07/22/the-eu-referendum-and-some-paradoxes-of-democratic-legitimacy/> and <http://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/CBP-7639>)

- 1 (b) *This source is adapted from a Hansard report of a debate in the House of Commons held in October 2017. More than 100,000 people had signed a petition calling for the introduction of proportional representation for elections to the Westminster parliament. Here are extracts from the speeches made by Steve Double MP (Conservative Party) and Caroline Lucas MP (Green Party).*

Steve Double MP

Proportional representation will damage democracy by putting more power into the hands of parties. First-past-the-post (FPTP) invariably delivers strong and stable government. Votes are not wasted for we have seen turnout increase in recent times. It is clear and easy to understand. In addition it prevents extremist parties from gaining seats. There is a direct link between the MP and their constituency. The FPTP system enables us to exchange our strongly, passionately held views in the House of Commons. My party is committed to FPTP as the best system for this country.

Caroline Lucas MP

FPTP is damaging the legitimacy of our system of governance. A winner-takes-all approach to elections promotes adversarial politics. It encourages each of the major parties to seek to defeat their opposition completely, negating the need for post-election cooperation. Policy is likely to change dramatically when governments change. Countries with proportional representation (PR) systems outperform those with FPTP systems; PR would be likely to encourage more people to vote. It is very hard to persuade people to vote when they live in so-called 'safe seats'. We would also improve the chances of electing a parliament that better reflects modern Britain.

(Sourced from: Crown Copyright)

Using the source, evaluate the view that proportional representation would improve elections to the House of Commons.

In your response you must:

- *compare and contrast different opinions in the source*
- *examine and debate these views in a balanced way*
- *analyse and evaluate **only** the information presented in the source.*

(30)

Using the source, evaluate the view that FPTP is no longer suitable for UK elections

Table 10

Advantages of FPTP
It's simple to understand.
It doesn't cost much to administer.
It is fairly quick to count the votes and work out who has won.
It enables voters to clearly express a view on which party they think should form the next government.
It is ideally suited to a two-party system and generally produces single-party governments, which tend not to have to rely on support from other parties to pass legislation.
Some argue that FPTP encourages broad-church centrist policies and keeps out extremists.

Table 11

Disadvantages of FPTP
Representatives can get elected with low levels of public support.
It encourages tactical voting.
It is regarded as wasteful, as votes cast in a constituency for losing candidates, or for the winning candidate above the level they need to win the seat, count for nothing.
It can severely restrict voter choice. Parties are not homogenous and do not speak with one unified voice.
Rather than allocating seats in line with actual support, FPTP rewards parties with what is often termed 'lumpy' support. Third parties with significant support may be greatly disadvantaged.
With relatively small constituency sizes, the way boundaries are drawn can have important effects on the election result.
Having small constituencies often leads to a proliferation of safe seats, where the same party is all but guaranteed re-election.
If large areas are effectively electoral deserts for a particular party, those areas may be ignored by the party. Ambitious local politicians may have to move away if they aspire to influence within their party.

Source: adapted from a report on the advantages and benefits of a FPTP voting system.

A Level Politics Paper 1 & 2 Course Guide – Kings Langley School - Miss Hardingham

Using the source, evaluate the argument that the UK should continue to have referendums

The source is adapted from a House of Lords Select Committee 2009/10 report on the Constitution called 'Referendums in the United Kingdom'. It takes a number of points made by different witnesses covering both arguments for and against the use of referendums.

Several witnesses argued that referendums were not an appropriate means by which to take decisions on complex issues and that Parliament was in a better position to make such decisions. In response to this, some witnesses asserted that voters are well equipped to make reasoned judgements. Professor Gallagher went further stating "the arguments highlighting the supposed incompetence of voters to decide on specific policy issues...can become an argument against allowing people to vote at elections".

Some witnesses argued that referendums tend to be dominated by elite groups; including politicians, the media and wealthy individuals. Other, however considered referendums provided the opportunity to engender the promotion of political knowledge and discourse, with most issues capable of being distilled down to key principles and choice.

A key objection to referendums was that they may be used as a tactical device by the government of the day. Peter Kellner, for instance, argued that the decision to hold the 1975 European Communities referendum was "a constitutional outrage...it was wholly to do with holding the Labour Party together". Others said political leaders only hold a referendum they feel sure of winning or it would be too embarrassing to get out of it. Against this, a number of witnesses said a referendum was a good way to settle a controversial issue or to provide the government of the day with a mandate to undertake change and Parliament with an indication of public opinion on a given issue.

Several witnesses thought that referendums undermined representative democracy and therefore the sovereignty of Parliament. Professor Gallagher countered this view by stating that "if used sparingly and in a regulated fashion, the referendum can enhance rather than subvert representative democracy".

Using the source, evaluate the view that the UK should keep the FPTP electoral system to elect the House of Commons

The source is adapted from an article written by Simon Jenkins which appeared in the Guardian newspaper on 17th March 2011. It was written to express his view on the upcoming referendum in that year on the proposal to replace the FPTP electoral system with the AV voting system for electing the House of Commons.

Electoral systems, like constitutions can be fair or unfair, useful or disastrous, depending on the uses to which they are put. The crucial question is not which system is fairer or upsets fewer people - it is what objective the exercise is trying to achieve. Who is being voted to what and where? Voting is a tool of democracy. We do not design tools without asking their purpose. The trouble is that voting in British national elections is about two separate things: choosing a Prime minister and Government; and choosing someone to represent the occupants of a patch of territory in the House of Commons. The confusion arises, because the commons is required first and foremost, to act as an electoral college and talent pool for the government, wherein 4-5 years away they will be called upon to do it again.

The British constitution does not allow democracy to ordain a Separation of powers. It treats voters as not up to the job of voting for the government directly but expects them to mandate Members of Parliament to do it for them, and mandates that members of Parliament hold that government to account. Yielding a clear-cut and stable administration is the dominant requirement of a democratic election. I opt for the electoral system that most delivers it, which has long been FPTP. In crude historical terms it has served Britain well. If anyone were to offer a true separation of powers between government and Parliament, each elected and separately accountable, then there would be no need for a Commons majority. Until then I stick with the devil I know, FPTP.

Using the source, evaluate the case that AMS is a more appropriate electoral system for 21st century Britain

The source is adapted from an article forming part of the 2017 Audit of UK Democracy undertaken by Democratic Audit, an independent research organization which examines the quality and effectiveness of UK democracy. This part of the

A Level Politics Paper 1 & 2 Course Guide – Kings Langley School - Miss Hardingham

Audit examined how successful the AMS electoral system has been since its introduction into Scottish and Welsh regional elections. It is the work of Patrick Dunleavy and Democratic Audit staff.

Since 1999 voting systems in the UK have been diversified. Additional Member System (AMS) was used for the new devolved bodies in Scotland and Wales. A key rationale for the two systems is to offer a large degree of proportionality. Regional bodies perform significantly better than Westminster when it comes to comparing percentage of seats a party obtains to the percentage of votes it achieved. The AMS intend to produce coalition or minority governments see table 1. However, the arrangements for forming governments have generally fared well in both bodies, without prolonged uncertainty and rancour between and within parties.

Term	Scottish Parliament (129 MSPs)	Welsh Assembly 60 AMs
2016-	SNP (63 seats) – Minority Government	Labour (29 seats) – Minority Government
2011-2016	SNP (69 seats) – Majority Government	Labour (30 seats) – Minority Government
2007-2011	SNP (47 seats) – Minority Government	Labour (26 seats) + Plaid Cymru (15 seats) – Coalition Government
2003-2007	Labour (50 seats) + Lib Dems (17 seats) – Coalition Government	Labour (30 seats) – Majority Government
1999-2003	Labour (56 seats) + Lib Dems (17 seats) – Coalition Government	1999-2000 – Labour (28 seats) – Minority Government 2000 – Labour (28 seats) + Lib Dems (6 seats) – Coalition Government

AMS is easy to count, and it is straightforward for voters to understand how the overall result happened. Outcomes have had high levels of public acceptance and legitimacy. Turnout levels have range between 49% and 59% in Scotland whilst Wales has averaged 43%. Under AMS, parties have incentives to put equal numbers of men and women on their top-up lists. The Scottish Parliament currently has 35% female representation and the Welsh Assembly 40%. This is better than the situation in the House of Commons.

As these bodies become more significant and permanent in the eyes of citizens, voters interest, turnout levels media coverage may increase, especially in Scotland.

Section A Q2 – (x1 30-mark question from a choice of 2 – NO SOURCE)

- Evaluate how far alternative electoral systems introduced since 1997 have benefited the UK political system
- Evaluate the extent to which the first-past-the-post electoral system is no longer fit for purpose
- Evaluate criticisms of the various electoral systems used in the UK
- Evaluate the criticisms that have been levelled against the use of referendums in the UK
- Evaluate the case for introducing proportional representation for UK general elections
- Evaluate the extent to which the FPTP electoral system promotes strong and stable government
- Evaluate the extent to which proportional representation promotes a democratic multi-party system
- Evaluate the extent to which the increased use of referendums would promote democracy in the UK
- Evaluate the view that referendums are the best way to resolve constitutional and political issues
- Evaluate the extent to which the electoral systems used in the UK produce very different outcomes
- Evaluate the view that Referendums may not be as democratic as they might seem at first sight
- Evaluate the view that the merits of alternative electoral systems outweigh the merits of FPTP
- Evaluate the extent to which the growing impact of minor parties has come about through the introduction of alternative voting systems
- Evaluate the view that the various electoral systems in use in the UK make significant differences to party representation.

Voting behaviour and the media

Section A Q1 – (x1 30-mark question from a choice of 2 – each question uses a source)

Using the source, evaluate the importance of class in voting behaviour

In your response you must:

- compare the different opinions in the source
- consider the view and the alternative view in a balanced way
- use a balance of knowledge and understanding both arising from the source and beyond the source to help you to analyse and evaluate

Class DE voting for Labour	
Election year	% class DE voting Labour
1964	64
1987	53
1997	59
2010	40
2015	41

Source: Ipsos MORI/Earlham Sociology

Class AB voting for the Conservatives	
Election year	% class AB voting Conservative
1964	78
1987	57
1997	59
2010	40
2015	45

Source: Ipsos MORI/Earlham Sociology

Using the source, evaluate the view that the newspaper press does not have a major influence on voting behaviour

At the 2015 general election five out of 11 national daily newspapers supported the Conservative Party. Only two supported Labour, The Mirror and The Guardian. Conservative press share in 2015 was 71% compared to 15% for Labour and 5% for the Liberal Democrats. The overwhelming Conservative domination of the press would seem to reinforce the argument that press support is central to electoral fortunes.

However, it is hard to know exactly what influence, if any, the press has on voting behaviour. The newspaper one reads does not necessarily define one's political affiliation. There is clearly some link; polling data from 2015 clearly indicates that the majority of Guardian and Mirror readers vote Labour while the overwhelming majority of Telegraph and Daily Mail readers vote Conservative. However, a small proportion of Guardian readers vote Conservative (6%), and research shows that a large proportion of Labour MPs are avid readers of The Daily Mail, and not always to find out what the Conservative opposition thinks.

The circulation of daily newspapers in the UK is in seemingly terminal decline. Out of a total electorate in May 2015 of around 45 million, the total daily circulation of national newspapers in the UK was around 7 million, one in six voters. It is hard to attribute significant political influence to newspapers which are read by such a small proportion of the voting public. However, while print sales are in decline this has been at least partly offset by the online presence of Britain's daily newspapers, which has grown significantly in recent years.

Using the source, evaluate the influence of the press in general elections in the UK

The political affiliations of the main UK newspapers at the 2015 election			
Newspaper	Political preference	Circulation (000s)	% of its readers who support the paper's preferred party
Sun	Very strongly Conservative	1,858	39
Daily Mail	Very strongly Conservative	1,631	57
Daily Mirror	Very strongly Labour	882	62
Daily Telegraph	Very strongly Conservative	486	72
Daily Express	Very strongly UKIP	438	44
Daily Star	No preference	420	n/a
The Times	Moderate Conservative	394	60
Financial Times	Conservative/ Liberal Democrat	212	62/10
Guardian	Moderate Labour	176	50
Independent	Conservative/ Liberal Democrat	59	17/16

Source: Cowley, P. and Kavanagh, D., *The British General Election of 2015*, Palgrave, 2015

Using the source, evaluate the extent to which party leaders can secure victory in elections

Not surprisingly, the media tend to concentrate upon the leaders of the main parties during election campaigns. It is easier to attract the attention of their readers with human interest stories than with dry party manifestos. There is no doubt that leaders are an important factor in voting behaviour, but their influence has probably been exaggerated. A proportion of the electorate still feel a strong attachment to a party, even in spite of partisan dealignment, so the way they vote is highly predictable. For those with no such strong attachment, valence is important. This concerns how people feel about a party, whether it can be trusted, especially over the economy, and whether it is united. Leadership qualities are part of valence, to be sure, but they are rarely decisive.

Positive and negative images of leaders have always played a part, of course. Gordon Brown lost in 2010 partly as a result of his poor media image. Margaret Thatcher, in the 1980s, probably enhanced her party's majorities as a result of her positive image as the 'iron lady'. The 2017 general election was largely fought as a contest between Theresa May, representing 'strong and stable government', and Jeremy Corbyn, who was portrayed in much of the press as weak and indecisive. It is likely that the press would like us to believe that they are influencing the outcome of elections by highlighting the strengths and weaknesses of party leaders, but the truth is rarely so simple. This was never more clearly demonstrated than in the June 2017 general election when Jeremy Corbyn defied a storm of press ridicule and opposition to enhance the reputation of both himself and his party.

Demographic factors, the issues and the image of the parties would seem to be more important, according to most experts on electoral activity. It is also true that social media are gradually taking over from the traditional newspapers as voters' principal source of opinion and information.

EITHER

- 1 (a) *The source below considers the factors which deliver success for political parties in general elections. It reflects on whether the outcomes of general elections are predictable or whether the electorate can spring surprises, making the results more volatile.*

Some people claim that success in a general election for a political party depends on stable and predictable forces. Few seats change hands in a general election and voting patterns are predictable and constant. In studies of voting behaviour factors such as an individual's class and family background combined with the area in which they live all merge together to provide a clear indication of the way an individual will vote. On this basis, opinion polls accurately indicate the outcomes of a general election. When many people are asked, they readily identify with both a specific class and endorse the policies of a major political party. The dice is loaded from the start and outcomes of general elections are all too predictable and fixed.

However, many now doubt the idea of predictability and the assumptions on which it is based. Instead of predictability they infer unpredictability and volatility with an inability to forecast accurately the outcome of how the public will vote. In fact in 2015, 111 seats changed hands and in 2017, 70. General elections and success in them is built around capturing ideas and having media support. What the political parties say in new policies and their manifestos matters greatly. Opinion polls, as the general election in 2017 showed, are no longer good indicators of the outcome. If anything, the 2017 general election illustrated the importance of age and education as indicators of how people vote. The media can make and break a political party. Riding the wave of media attacks, a political party must have a good leader who can weather any storm and connect with the masses. This is what Blair and Thatcher did and was the basis of their success. Policies and leaders are the crucial factors and, as such, they are the leading indicators for success at the polls.

Using the source, evaluate the view that the outcomes of general elections are stable and predictable.

In your response you must:

- *compare and contrast different opinions in the source*
- *examine and debate these views in a balanced way*
- *analyse and evaluate **only** the information presented in the source.*

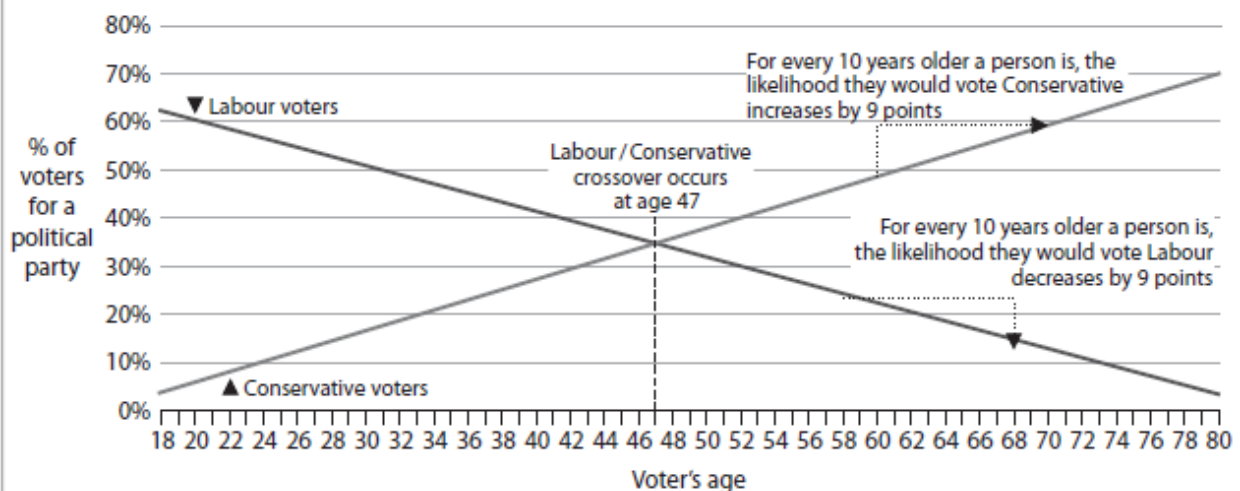
(30)

- 1 (a) This source is adapted from the YouGov website, which analysed the 2017 General Election: its findings covered a range of topics that influenced the electorate. It attempts to understand the reasons why people voted for a particular political party.

Source 1

YouGov found that newspaper readership was a strong predictor of voting patterns. 73% of Guardian readers voted Labour, while 79% of Telegraph readers voted Conservative. The media is now a vital factor in determining how people vote. Age has also become a significant element, as recent governments have treated older people more favourably than the young.

Likelihood of British adults to vote Conservative or Labour in the 2017 General Election by age



However a person's employment and the work they do are also important. The Conservatives led Labour by 11 points among people working in the private sector, while Labour was 10 points ahead of the Conservatives among public sector workers. A person's social class has considerable influence over how they will vote, as does the region in which a person lives. Labour is no longer as dominant in Scotland as the Conservatives are in Southern England outside London.

Using Source 1, evaluate the view that a person's age and the media have now replaced social class and region as clear indicators of voting behaviour.

In your response you must:

- compare and contrast different opinions in the source
- examine and debate these views in a balanced way
- analyse and evaluate **only** the information presented in the source.

(30)

Using the source, evaluate the view that age was the most important factor in determining the outcome of the 2015 general election

Section A

- 1 *This source is taken from The Guardian newspaper, 22 May 2015. It offers an analysis of the results of the 2015 general election.*

The Conservatives were not only best at holding on to their 2010 voters, they were also the most successful party among those groups with high turnout.

With voters aged 65 or above, the highest turnout group (78%), they gained a 5.5 point swing from Labour since 2010. And among ABs – the social class with the highest turnout (75%), defined as “households with higher and intermediate managerial, administrative, professional occupations” – the Conservatives registered a three-point swing from Labour. Within the 65-and-over age group, the Conservatives won 47% of the vote compared with Labour’s 23%. With ABs the Tories captured 45% of the vote, and Labour 26%. In both cases a far greater margin than the overall election result (38% to 31%).

Meanwhile, Labour were only able to achieve a substantial swing in their favour among young people – registering a 7.5 point swing from the Tories among 18- to 24-year-olds, and a four point swing among 25- to 34-year-olds – and renters.

Labour only had a clear lead over the Conservatives among 18- to 34-year-olds, voters in social class DE (the ‘semi-skilled and unskilled manual occupations, unemployed and lowest grade occupations’), among private and social renters, and black, Asian and minority ethnic (BAME) voters.

But among all these groups, turnout was lower than the overall level of voter turnout (66%).

Using the source, evaluate the view that short term considerations now dominate peoples voting behaviour

This source is adapted from an article which appeared on the BBC news website on the 7th June 2017 under the heading ‘Election 2017: How do people actually decide who to vote for? It was commissioned by the BBC from Rosie Campbell who is professor of politics at Birkbeck, University of London.

For some of us, choosing which box to cross on the ballot paper is straight forward. A sizeable but shrinking proportion of voters usually vote consistently election after election staying loyal to the same party. This commitment used to be linked to one’s social class. In 1964, more than 6/10 voters were either middle class Tories or working-class Labour supporters. However, class has become a very inconsistent predictor of how people will vote. Both the major parties still rely on party loyalists to make up their core vote, but over time, this dependable base has declined.

In 1966, just 13% of voters switched parties between elections, but by the 2015 general election nearly 40% of voters did just that. Amongst the factors which makes us change our minds are the way the media frames the election, the twists and turns of the campaign and the way we respond to the promises we hear the political parties pontificate during campaigns.

There is a significant discord among British voters between those who considers themselves liberal (often the young, university educated and those in professional jobs) and those who express more authoritarian views. The role that social values play was brought into sharp relief by analysis of the Brexit Vote.

It is also worth remembering that while we generally focus on the national campaigns, general elections are in fact, first and foremost, a series of 650 local contests. In fact, some FPTP contests will experience tactical voting by those who feel that their preferred party won’t win and will therefore try to keep out their most disliked party. In the UK, we tend to vote on the basis of party, but the characteristics of the candidate can influence us also.

Finally, a central element of deciding how to vote is whether or not we turn up to vote at all.

Using the source, evaluate the argument that the influence on UK by national newspapers is declining

This source is adapted from an article by Simon Helner under the title ‘A turning point for papers’. It appeared in the ‘I’ news on the 10th of June 2017, just 2 days after the general election.

We have come a long way since The Sun claimed it ‘was wot won it’. The headline was back in 1992 when the paper had been pitiless in its opposition to Labour Leader Neil Kinnock and urged its readers to back John Major who subsequently won an unexpected victory.

Then, as now, The Sun is the most widely read daily newspaper in Britain. Throughout the campaign, the paper has been vicious in its depictions of Jeremy Corbyn as an unelectable idiot and terrorist sympathiser. And what happened? Corbyn increased the Labour vote by more than 10 percentage points.

Across town at the Daily Mail, the second most widely read newspaper will have also been similarly bemused. Corbyn, McDonnell and Abbott were described by the newspaper as having devoted their lives to befriending enemies of Britain, whilst undermining the very institutions that keep us safe in our beds.

What does this all mean? It is partly, but not wholly, explained by the diminishing influence of the printed media. Newspapers still have the power to shape the agenda. They continue to be feared and courted by politicians of all stripes. But as we know, young people do not turn to newspapers as a primary source of news, let alone opinion, and they appear to be the ones largely responsible for creating this political tremor. The new politics is about mobilising people, not mobilising opinion.

It didn’t matter that the big battalions in the press were lined up against Corbyn. He could pull in a crowd of the young and be engaged, and we should have recognized the growing confidence of a man who was getting such direct affirmation from large numbers of supporters.

Section A Q2 – (x1 30-mark question from a choice of 2 – NO SOURCE)

- Evaluate the extent to which social factors determine voting behaviour
- Evaluate how far the behaviour of the British electorate has altered since the 1950s
- Evaluate the argument that the media shape public opinion and voting intentions
- Evaluate the view that media support is crucial for achieving success in general elections referring to at least three general elections
- Evaluate the relative importance of different demographic factors in voting behaviour
- Evaluate the impact of turnout in determining the outcome of elections
- Evaluate the view that, for the general public, the media is more significant than policy statements and manifestoes from political parties
- Evaluate the argument that class is no longer the key factor in predicting voter behaviour
- Evaluate the extent to which election campaigns influence the outcome of the vote
- Evaluate the extent to which TV is the most influential media source for voters in the UK
- Evaluate the extent to which political parties’ elections campaigns have come to take account of regional differences
- Evaluate the extent to which general elections are decided through voters taking a view on which party leader will make the best Prime Minister
- Evaluate the extent to which the various types of media simply reinforce political choice rather than altering it
- Evaluate the extent to which general elections in the UK are lost by the government rather than won by the opposition

Core Ideologies

Section B Q3 – (x1 24-mark question from a choice of 2 – NO SOURCE)

Conservatism:

- To what extent are the views of One Nation conservatives on the economy consistent with those of the New Right?
- To what extent do conservatives have a common view of human nature?
- To what extent do conservatives agree about human nature?
- To what extent do conservatives disagree about the state's role in the economy?
- To what extent do conservatives agree on pragmatism?
- To what extent are conservatives pragmatic?
- To what extent do conservatives differ over the role of the state?
- To what extent is conservatism a philosophy of imperfection?
- To what extent is conservatism coherent ideology?
- To what extent do conservatives agree on human nature?
- To what extent do conservatives agree that human nature is imperfect?
- To what extent do One Nation and New Right conservatives agree over the role of the state?
- To what extent has ideology replaced pragmatism at the heart of Conservatism?
- To what extent does the New Right dominate today's conservatism?

Liberalism:

- To what extent do modern and classical liberals agree over the role of the state?
- To what extent do liberals disagree over the role of the state?
- To what extent do liberals support equality?
- To what extent have modern liberals abandoned the concept of negative liberty in favour of the concept of positive liberty?
- To what extent have modern liberals abandoned individualism and embraced collectivism?
- To what extent does modern liberalism depart from the ideas of classical liberalism?
- To what extent do modern and classical liberals agree over the nature of the state?
- To what extent can liberalism be reconciled with collectivism?
- To what extent do classical and modern liberals agree on the economy?
- To what extent do classical and modern liberals agree on human nature?
- To what extent do liberals differ over the pursuit of a meritocratic society?
- To what extent have modern liberals resolved the conflict between individualism and social justice?
- To what extent do modern and classic liberals agree on the concept of freedom?

Socialism:

- To what extent are different socialists committed to 'equality of outcome'?
- To what extent is socialism committed to collectivism?
- To what extent is socialism committed to equality?
- To what extent do socialists disagree about the economy?
- To what extent do socialists agree on both the means and ends of socialism?
- To what extent are socialists committed to the abolition of capitalism?
- To what extent are socialists committed to equality of outcome?
- 'Socialists have disagreed over means rather than ends.' To what extent is this true?
- To what extent are different socialists in agreement on the economy?
- To what extent do socialists agree on the nature of society?
- To what extent have socialists agreed that the existing state must be destroyed in order to achieve socialism?
- To what extent do socialists differ over the role of the State?

Section A Q1– (x1 30-mark question from a choice of 2 – each question uses a source)

Do not answer Question 1(b) if you have answered Question 1(a).

OR

(b) *Source 2 contains arguments for and against retaining our current constitutional arrangements.*

Source 2

Without entrenchment, it is too easy for a government with a simple majority to make significant constitutional changes which may threaten our fundamental rights. Entrenchment would require a written, codified constitution where constitutional changes would entail special procedures such as a two thirds majority in parliament or a referendum.

Many of the fundamental principles of the UK's political system exist in conventions, which are not enforceable. Significant constitutional reforms were begun by the Blair government but these are incomplete and we lack a comprehensive vision for the structure and rules of the political system. With our hereditary head of state and an appointed second chamber, the UK is out of step with other modern democracies.

However, we are regarded as one of the most democratic countries in the world. The constitution has changed dramatically from an all-powerful monarchy to a constitutional monarchy with parliamentary sovereignty. Much of our uncoded constitution has been written into our laws. Our rights have been respected and updated by politicians and protected by an independent judiciary. The principle of parliamentary sovereignty means that there is no higher 'constitutional law', and that parliament can legislate to respond flexibly to threats, such as terrorism.

Using the source, evaluate the view that the UK's constitution requires major change.

In your response you must:

- *compare and contrast different opinions in the source*
- *examine and debate these views in a balanced way*
- *analyse and evaluate **only** the information presented in the source.*

(30)

Using the source, evaluate the view that Constitutional reforms in the UK since 1997 have been weak, incomplete and require further change

- 1 (b) *This source contains adapted extracts from a report by the Political and Constitutional Reform Committee called 'The UK Constitution: a summary, with options for reforms'. The report considered a variety of options for future constitutional reform. Also included is a critical commentary on the report, which is an expert viewpoint on the effectiveness of the report.*

CHAIR'S FOREWORD

The Political and Constitutional Reform Select Committee of the House of Commons, has spent the 2010-2015 Parliament looking at the path to possible codification of the United Kingdom's constitution.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS

Possible alternative 1: The Second Chamber shall be subordinate to the First Chamber. It shall have [500] voting members, directly elected to represent in proportion the nations and regions of the United Kingdom. Members shall be elected for a period of [fifteen] years and [shall/shall not] be re-elected

DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT OF THE NATIONS, REGIONS AND LOCALITIES

Possible alternative: The United Kingdom shall operate on the joint basis of union and devolution. Devolution in England shall be to independent local government, which shall be assigned a proportion of national income tax.

THE JUDICIARY

Possible alternative: The judiciary shall have the power to strike down laws that are inconsistent with the Constitution.

BILL OF RIGHTS

Possible alternatives

1: There shall be a Bill of Rights which sets out the rights to be protected and enforced within the United Kingdom.

2: The following rights shall be available to all persons within the United Kingdom. These rights may not be enforced by the courts, but instead shall be principles to guide the work of the Governments and Parliaments of the United Kingdom and of the devolved assemblies.

Critical commentary

The report focuses on options for change without giving sufficient weight to the arguments that significant reform has already been completed, providing a balance between change and continuity. For example, the Human Rights Act allows for a declaration of incompatibility without harming parliamentary sovereignty, whilst the reformed House of Lords retains its traditional non-elected role but with a substantially reduced hereditary element. To argue that more should be done, simply because it could be, fails to respect this appropriate balance.

(Source: taken from www.publications.parliament.uk
– used under Open Parliament Licence v3.0 and critical
commentary adapted by Adam Killeya)

Using the source, evaluate the arguments for introducing a codified constitution of the UK

There are a number of reasons why the introduction of a codified constitution remains an objective of liberal-minded politicians and constitutional experts. Apart from the obvious argument that the UK is out of step with virtually the whole of the rest of the democratic world, there are a number of recent developments which have brought the issue to prominence.

Above all, the devolution process has created a patchwork of overlapping and confusing powers which are dispersed among the four nations of the UK and to the big cities and even some geographical regions. It may, therefore, be time to codify the ways in which such powers are distributed. In addition, the whole status of referendums (increasingly used) needs to be clarified. Are they binding or are they not? On a broader level, we can ask the question of whether it is realistic today to view the UK Parliament as sovereign. If it is not, in reality, sovereign, then we need to clarify where sovereignty lies. The return of sovereignty

after Brexit, too, presents a need to clarify this issue. There are also the older arguments that the constitution should be codified to protect citizens' rights more effectively and to prevent the creeping increase in unchecked executive power.

Nevertheless, critics argue that these arguments are outweighed by other considerations. We would, for example, be exchanging the known for the unknown, something that conservatives are instinctively concerned about. Above all, however, it is the flexibility of the UK's ancient uncoded constitution that exercises the minds of such critics most vigorously. 'We do not want,' they argue, 'to find ourselves in a position like that of the USA, where the entrenched and codified constitution acts as a block on many important reforms such as changes to the gun laws and socialised health care.' Our flexible constitution, they add, is a strength, not a weakness.

Source: original material

Using the source, evaluate the view that the UK needs a codified constitution

If the UK constitution were codified, it would create a better understanding of the laws and bodies that govern the country and the people in it. The confusion created by having many different sources would be simplified and made much easier for ordinary people to understand. Such a codified constitution would ensure rights and protections are entrenched, unlike the current system which allows governments to make constitutional reforms that suit them rather than the national interest. The process of creating a codified constitution could well engage and enthuse the public, just as the issues over Scottish independence and Brexit have done, boosting popular engagement and interest as well as bringing the UK into line with nearly all other modern democracies.

However, there is little popular desire for major constitutional change and the flexibility of the modern constitution has allowed the UK to modernise its systems much more easily than other entrenched systems. The simple fact that British democracy continues to work without major constitutional crises shows the strength of the system and that there is no need to fix it. Furthermore, it is more democratic, allowing an elected body to adapt to public ideas and get things done without being restrained by an over-powerful and unaccountable judiciary. This makes the UK constitution something unique and of which many are proud. The case against a written constitution is that it is unnecessary, undesirable and un-British.

Using the source, evaluate the view that the logical next step after devolution to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland is the devolution of further power to England

(a) *This source contains adapted extracts from a Political and Constitutional Reform Committee report called 'Do we need a constitutional convention for the UK?' and adapted data from the Office of National Statistics (ONS). The report considered the implications of devolution on the UK, and in particular on England, while the data relates to the number of representatives in each part of the UK.*

- Many witnesses stated that a key issue with a UK-wide constitutional convention was that the people of England, outside of London, are governed by Westminster, with little authority to propose local solutions that benefit their own communities.
- Some argued that regional government was rejected because the English do not want devolution. However, evidence suggested that the failure of regional government was less because the English do not want devolution but in part because the Government of the day had imposed an arbitrary regional structure, with few or no law-making powers. There is clearly still disagreement on what form devolution would take.
- Dr Robin Wilson, an academic, suggested that an English Parliament would still not solve the tensions caused by the asymmetrical nature of devolution:
- I don't think you can solve the English question without regional devolution. If you had an English Parliament it would hugely dominate UK governance, and that doesn't seem to me to be a feasible prospect.

However, he added that it may be possible to find a model that allowed English local authorities to devolve a range of powers, or not, according to local wishes:

- It is our view that allowing councils to choose, or not choose, devolved powers from a menu of options agreed between Councils in England and Government, would be the preferred option for English devolution.

ONS: Electoral Statistics for UK: 2015

Part of UK	Electors	MPs	Devolved	Total Representatives	Population per Rep (total inc MPs + devolved)
England	37,399,9000	533	25 (London Assembly)	558	67,025
Wales	2,181,800	40	60	100	21,818
Scotland	3,896,900	59	129	188	20,729
Northern Ireland	1,243,400	18	108	126	9,799

(Source: from www.publications.parliament.uk and www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/elections/electoralregistration/bulletins/electoralstatisticsforuk/2015 – both used under Open Parliament Licence v3.0)

Answer ONE question from EITHER Question 1(a) OR Question 1(b) and then answer ONE question from EITHER Question 2(a) OR Question 2(b).

EITHER

- 1 (a) *This source has been adapted from the House of Lords Select Committee on the Constitution report entitled 'The Union and devolution', published in 2016. This report considered the effect of devolution on the United Kingdom and the Union.*

England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales are stronger united than apart. Yet today, the Union is threatened by continuing demands for independence and also the tensions and inequalities created as policies diverge between devolved bodies – over health, education or tax, for example.

Power has been devolved in an uneven way: a power-sharing executive, a national assembly or parliament, a combined authority, or English Votes for English Laws. The cumulative impact of devolution on the unity of the United Kingdom has not been properly considered. The benefits of unity and the Union have been taken for granted. A coherent vision for the shape and structure of the United Kingdom is required, without which there cannot be constitutional stability.

On the other hand, devolution has been achieved without undermining our unitary state and without the need for federalism or codification of our constitution. The four nations are 'stronger together', in a relationship of clear mutual respect. Although nationalism remains strong in the devolved nations, devolution has satisfied some demands for self-government, avoiding a break-up of the union. Policy divergences reflect local democracy and identities, while maintaining the integrity of the United Kingdom.

(Source: adapted from <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld201516/ldselect/ldconst/149/149.pdf>)

Using the source, evaluate the view that devolution is in danger of undermining the unity of the United Kingdom.

(30)

Evaluate the view that the UK Parliament remains sovereign

The UK constitution, based on principles such as parliamentary sovereignty and the rule of law, is derived from a number of sources, stretching back over hundreds of years. However, they have not been brought together in one official written document. What the UK has instead is an accumulation of various statutes, conventions, judicial decisions and treaties, including those with the EU, which collectively can be referred to as the UK Constitution.

Parliamentary sovereignty is, arguably, the key principle of the UK constitution. It developed as a result of the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688, when Parliament succeeded in establishing its dominance over the monarchy. The principle of parliamentary sovereignty has several key features. In the first place, Parliament is sovereign because statute law outranks all other forms of law, such as common law and case law. Second, there is no legislature that can challenge the authority of Parliament.

There has been considerable debate as to whether, and to what extent, parliamentary sovereignty remains. Some argue that Parliament remains legally sovereign. Nevertheless, concern has been expressed about Parliament's declining sovereignty. This has, allegedly, occurred primarily as a result of EU membership. It has been argued that sovereignty within the UK is now best understood as 'parliamentary sovereignty within the context of EU membership'. But this decline has also been brought about through the introduction of devolution to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Indeed, some commentators have claimed that the devolution arrangements in the UK have developed into a form of 'quasi-federalism'.

Using the source, evaluate how far you agree that constitutional reforms since 1997 have been unsuccessful

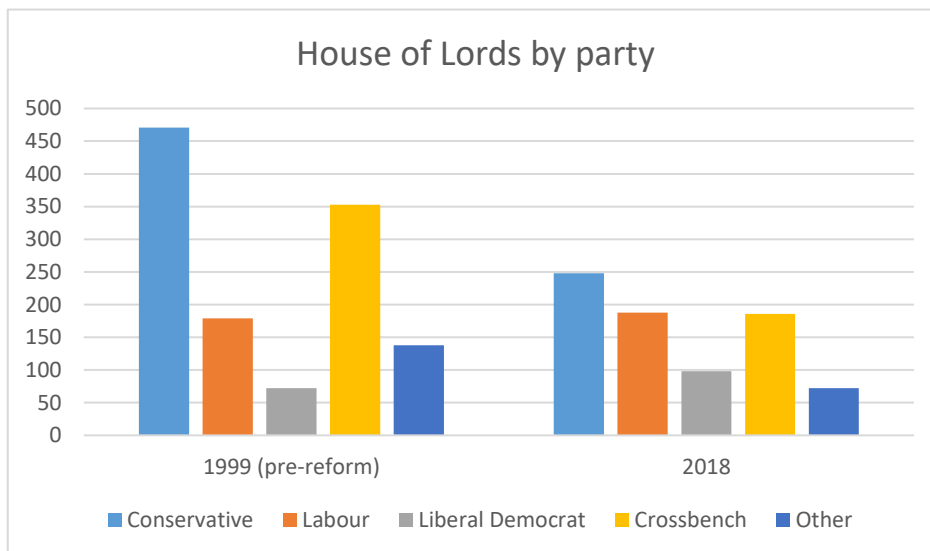
The first part of this adapted source is a list of arguments made by academic Dr Robert Brett Taylor on the failures of devolution (<https://ukconstitutionalaw.org/2017/06/13/robert-brett-taylor-the-west-lothian-question-evel%ADand-the-2017-general-elec>)

The second is information on changes to the House of Lords from parliament.uk

(<https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld199697/ldinfo/ld03mem/inf3e.htm#party> and <https://www.parliament.uk/mps-lords-offices/lords/composition-of-the-lords/>)

Dr Robert Brett Taylor is an academic who specialises in constitutional law. In his article “The West Lothian question, English votes for English laws and the 2017 General Election”, he identifies many problems with Devolution reform:

- The Cameron government in 2015 attempted to answer the West Lothian question primarily by ensuring that English only matters must require a majority of support from English Members of Parliament. Taylor argues that this has failed to deliver fair devolution.
- The Conservatives, despite losing their majority in 2017 are still the largest party in the UK. This is partly due to the increased support in Scotland – they now have 13 Scottish Conservative Members of Parliament.
- The current confidence and supply Government will rely more heavily on the support of the Scottish Members of Parliament as well as DUP Members of Government in order to pass legislation.
- The Conservatives have a very slim majority over Labour in England and Wales.



Section A Q2 – (x1 30-mark question from a choice of 2 – NO SOURCE)

- Evaluate the extent to which rights are effectively protected by the UK's constitutional arrangements
- Evaluate the extent to which the UK Parliament remains effectively sovereign
- Evaluate the argument that there are more advantages to having a codified constitution than remaining with an uncodified constitution
- Evaluate the extent to which the devolution process has successfully enhanced democracy in the UK
- Evaluate the extent to which the UK is now effectively a federal system
- Evaluate how far constitutional reforms since 1997 have undermined the power of Parliament
- Evaluate the extent to which the UK would be better served with a codified constitution
- Evaluate the extent to which constitutional reforms since 1997 have significantly improved democracy in the UK
- Evaluate the view that the conventions of ministerial responsibility no longer adequately account for the actions of ministers

Section A Q1– (x1 30-mark question from a choice of 2 – each question uses a source)

SECTION A: UK GOVERNMENT

Answer ONE question from EITHER Question 1(a) OR Question 1(b) and then answer ONE question from EITHER Question 2(a) OR Question 2(b).

EITHER

- 1** (a) *Source 1 considers the changing role of backbench MPs. It was written in 2019 when Theresa May was still the Prime Minister.*

Source 1

In the mid-20th century, most backbenchers loyally did whatever the front benchers told them to do. Party loyalty was all important, and between 1945 and 1970 there were no government defeats due to backbench rebellions. Recently, May's government was defeated more often in the Commons than Cameron's, losing the vote on her 'Brexit' deal in January 2019 by 230 votes, after 118 Conservative MPs rebelled.

Backbenchers are asserting parliament's sovereignty. Whips are weaker and MPs are more willing to defy their party, claiming to 'represent' their constituents instead. Governments avoid defeats by backing down - as May did over additional grammar schools. MPs increasingly use select committees, urgent questions and the Backbench Business Committee to exert their influence.

However, MPs continue to undertake constituency work, holding regular surgeries, representing their geographical area. They debate topical issues of the day. They act on constituents' problems by asking questions, writing to ministers, voting for new legislation where needed and legitimising parliamentary decisions.

Some argue that Brexit is very much a 'one-off', with a deeply divided minority government and a divided opposition. If so, government dominance may soon be restored. Or, alternatively, perhaps things will never be the same again.

Using the source, evaluate the view that the principal role of backbench MPs is now to hold the government to account.

In your response you must:

- *compare and contrast different opinions in the source*
- *examine and debate these views in a balanced way*
- *analyse and evaluate **only** the information presented in the source.*

(30)

Using the source, evaluate the arguments in favour of an elected second chamber

In your response you must:

- compare the different opinions in the source
- consider the view and the alternative view in a balanced way

- use a balance of knowledge and understanding both arising from the source and beyond the source to help you to analyse and evaluate

Reform of the House of Lords

After most of the hereditary peers were removed from the House of Lords in 1999, the behaviour and status of the upper house began to change. In that year the house became largely an appointed body. Many of its members are experts in their field and take their role as legislation revisers very seriously. At the committee stage of a bill's passage through the Lords, many peers contribute to improving the legislation. So, although it remains an undemocratic body, it could be said to be more effective than ever before.

Nevertheless, calls for its replacement by an elected body remain strong. For democrats it is not acceptable that half the legislature should be unelected and unaccountable. Supporters of this reform ignore the fear that an elected house would fall under the control of party leaderships. As things stand, the Lords is extremely independent of party control and can therefore provide more meaningful opposition and call government to account more effectively. An elected chamber might also mean that many useful specialists and experts would be lost to politics.

A compromise position is to introduce a part-elected, part-appointed house. Such an option might provide the best possible solution.

Using the source, evaluate effectiveness of the House of Commons

Key debates in the House of Commons

- 2015 Debate on a proposal to start air strikes against Islamic State in Syria – approved
- 2015 Debate on whether to hold a referendum on the UK's EU membership – approved
- 2013 Debate on the UK's response to the use of chemical weapons by the Syrian government in the civil war in its country – the Commons refused to sanction direct military intervention
- 2003 Debate to approve the UK's involvement in a NATO attack on Iraq – approved, though the foreign secretary, Robin Cook, resigned from the Labour government
- 1993 Debate on whether the UK should approve the Social Chapter of the European Union, extending worker and social rights compulsorily to the UK – the vote was a dead heat. The Speaker (Betty Boothroyd) gave approval with her casting vote
- 1993 A vote of no confidence in John Major's Conservative government. Effectively a vote on whether the UK should sign the Maastricht Treaty, extending EU power over member states – treaty approved by a 40-vote majority
- 1969 Debate on whether to abolish capital punishment in the UK – abolished by a majority of 158

Using the source, evaluate the view that Prime Ministers Questions should be abolished and replaced by other forms of parliamentary scrutiny of the executive

This source is adapted from an article 'It's good theatre, but what's the point?' in the Guardian newspaper which examines the pros and cons of prime minister's questions (PMQs). The source considers the arguments for and against PMQs.

Nick Clegg told BBC Radio 5 Live that prime minister's questions (PMQs) were '... ridiculous and should be scrapped. They are an absolute farce.' PMQs began life in 1961 as two weekly 15-minute sessions on Tuesdays and Thursdays, before Tony Blair replaced them with one 30-minute session on a Wednesday in 1997. This provides the scrutiny which is an essential part of democracy. The main exchange between Corbyn and May lasts 10 minutes or so, as the leader of the opposition only gets to ask six questions.

Even those 10 minutes are rarely enlightening, as the art of PMQs is to avoid embarrassment. Frequently, this means answering a completely different question from the one asked, or providing some accomplished waffle. Getting straight answers is almost impossible. More effective scrutiny would arise from greater reliance on select committees, the liaison committee, Westminster Hall debates and the greater use of parliamentary petitions

PMQs could be improved. Banning backbenchers from shouting out would be a start. Individually, MPs all say that the heckling is a bad thing, but put them in the House of Commons together and they don't seem to be able to help themselves. Bizarrely, having the TV cameras in the Commons only encourages them to behave worse: so much for the surveillance society.

Yet even in its current, deeply flawed format, PMQs are worth preserving. PMQs ensure that the prime minister of the day has some command of all areas of policy and is held accountable, at least partially, for them. There is nothing any prime minister would like more than to get rid of PMQs. Even the most accomplished performers have dreaded them; that alone should be reason enough for them to be retained. Without them, we lose a fragment of our parliamentary democracy which makes us so distinct from other democracies.

Using the sources, evaluate the view that the House of Lords is in need of major reform

Do we want representatives or delegates? Elections may hold figures accountable, but it means they are subject to popular whims, reacting to the latest opinion polls, Twitter tsunamis and even voters. Society is sometimes better served by people taking a more measured, long-term view of the issues, acting in the national interest rather than party interest. It also means the whips have less power over the Lords, meaning they vote with conviction rather than toeing the party line, as demonstrated by the defeat of the government's cuts to tax credits. More than anything, we need to determine the purpose of a second chamber, before deciding who should sit in it.

Source: adapted from an article defending the House of Lords

Is the House of Lords value for money? Certainly not: the huge cost incurred by housing and staffing a chamber of 800 is ridiculous and an unnecessary cost to the taxpayer. While there may be some hard-working peers, many just take their payment and leave. Few of the 800 do much of anything, while the sight of Lord Lloyd-Webber flying in from his New York home simply to vote to cut tax credits undermines every sensible notion of democracy. Some Lords do not even pay tax in the UK while others are convicted criminals, who would be barred from sitting in the Commons! With 34% of peers being former MPs and political staff, the impression is that the Lords is a well-funded retirement home for the political establishment. This is not what democracy looks like.

Source: adapted from an article attacking the House of Lords

Using the source, evaluate the view that the Lords should remain an unelected house

After most of the hereditary peers were removed from the House of Lords in 1999 the behaviour and status of the upper house began to change. In that year the House became largely an appointed body. Many of its members are experts in their field and take their role as legislation revisers very seriously. At the committee stage of a bill's passage through the Lords, many peers contribute to improving the legislation. So, although it remains an undemocratic body, the House of Lords could be said to be more effective than ever before.

Nevertheless, calls for its replacement by an elected body remain strong. For democrats it is not acceptable that half the legislature should be unelected and unaccountable. Supporters of this reform ignore the fear that an elected House would fall under the control of party leaderships. As

things stand, the Lords is extremely independent of party control and can therefore provide more meaningful opposition and can call government to account more effectively. An elected chamber might also mean that many useful specialists and experts would be lost to politics.

A compromise position is to introduce a part-elected, part-appointed house. Such an option would perhaps provide the best possible solution. This solution seems to be the only one which might command a consensus of support. In the past, even though there has long been widespread agreement that the current composition of the Lords is unsatisfactory, it has proved difficult to establish a solution which can be supported by enough legislators to pass through Parliament successfully.

Using the source, evaluate the respective claims of the two Houses of Parliament to be truly representative

It is often suggested that the reason the House of Commons has more status than the House of Lords is because it is genuinely representative while the House of Lords is certainly not. This is really for just one overwhelming reason: the Commons is elected but the Lords is not. If we look more deeply, however, the assertion can be challenged.

The electoral system used for general elections ensures that the representation of parties in the Commons is disproportionate. The parties with concentrated support — Labour, Conservative and Scottish Nationalist — have a disproportionately large representation, while those with dispersed support, such as UKIP and the Liberal Democrats, are heavily under-represented. It is also true that the House of Commons contains too few women (about a quarter) and too few members of ethnic minorities in relation to the whole population. Minorities find it difficult to gain representation

in the House of Commons because the party whips maintain such a tight grip on MPs.

The unelected, unaccountable House of Lords seems, at first sight, to be remarkably undemocratic. However, it is undeniably true that the representation of parties in the Lords is more accurate than it is in the Commons, with a large group of Liberal Democrats present and some representation for small parties. The social make-up of the Lords is similar to that of the Commons, too. But it is in the representation of minority interests that the Lords can claim superiority. In debates and when scrutinising legislation, the much more independent members of the House of Lords are very willing to put forward the interests of minorities to a much greater degree than MPs in the Commons. Many peers have special expertise and experience, qualities that make them uniquely qualified to represent such minorities.

Source: original material

Using the source, evaluate the view that the Lords should remain an unelected house

Section A

- 1 *This source is taken from the Parliament.uk website, December 2010.
It offers a variety of views on House of Lords reform.*

Lords reform options: pros and cons

Some of the potential positions on the options for reform are:

Fully appointed

A fully appointed House would remove the remainder of the hereditary peers leaving just the appointed Lords

Supporters say

It will help maintain the current broad range of membership of the Lords. Would Lord Sugar or Baroness Grey-Thompson stand for election?

It doesn't threaten the democratic supremacy of the Commons.

Appointment is more cost effective than election.

Opponents say

It's undemocratic to have unelected Members of the Lords involved in passing legislation.

The UK is the only country, other than Canada, that has an unelected second chamber.

A more democratic system is worth investing in.

Fully elected

Members would have to win their place through an election.

Supporters say

It addresses the democratic deficit, giving the Lords a full mandate to initiate and amend legislation.

More people will be given the opportunity to stand for Parliament, giving a greater range of representation.

More young people will sit in the Lords.

Opponents say

It causes more problems than it solves: with two elected chambers, the Commons would no longer be supreme.

The chamber would be full of professional politicians rather than attracting individuals with knowledge and experience in a vast range of fields.

It isn't clear how often elections should be and any additional costs.

Hybrid

A mixture of elected and appointed Members of the Lords

Supporters say

It combines the best of both systems: addressing the democratic deficit while retaining individuals with expertise and experience in valuable fields.

The Commons would retain its democratic supremacy.

It would be a more straightforward system to introduce.

Opponents say

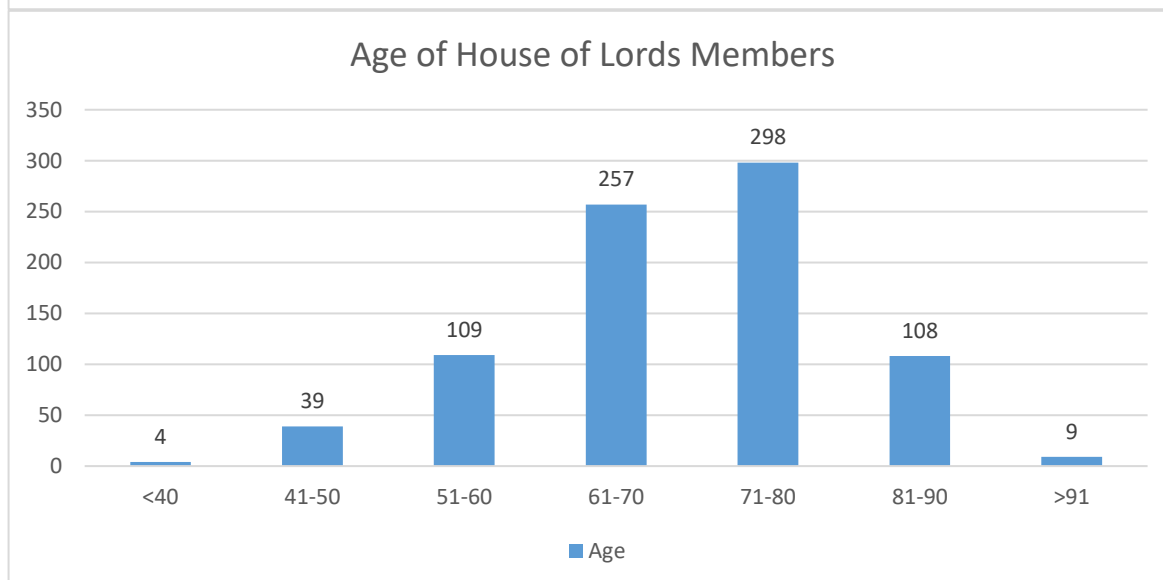
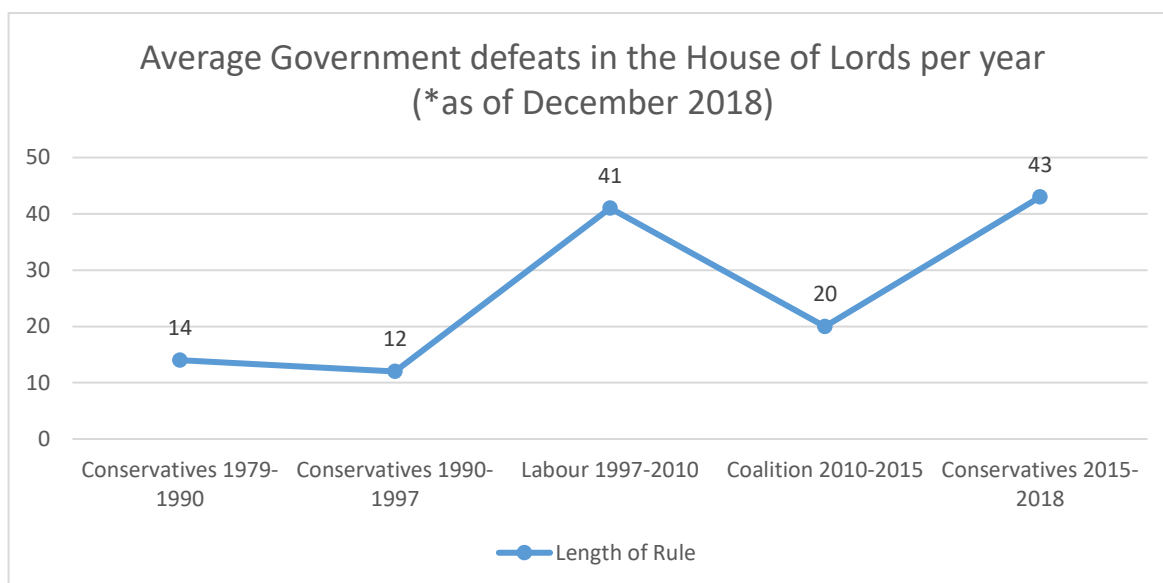
It is undemocratic to retain any unelected Members of the Lords.

It will create a two-tier Lords with elected and non-elected Members causing friction.

The system would cause additional confusion as to where power does and should lie.

Using the source, evaluate the view that the House of Lords can now be said to be the most powerful chamber because of reforms in recent years

The source contains graphs adapted from information available at parliament.uk including a list of government defeats in the House of Lords and the demographic representation of House of Lords Peers (<https://www.parliament.uk/about/faqs/house-of-lords-faqs/lords-govtdefeats/> and <http://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/LLN-2017-0098/LLN-2017-0098.pdf>)



Using the source, evaluate the extent to which checks by Parliament effectively scrutinise the executive

This source is adapted from a written transcript from Prime Minister’s Questions, November 1st, 2017. It is available at parliament.uk along with other transcripts of parliamentary debate.

Jeremy Corbyn: A tax avoidance scheme has been exposed relating to the import of private jets to the Isle of Man, so can the prime minister assure the House that the HMRC will investigate these new allegations?

The Prime Minister: when cases are referred to the HMRC in relation to tax avoidance, it takes them seriously . We have secured almost £ 160 billion in additional revenues since 2010 because we clamp down on tax avoidance.

A Level Politics Paper 1 & 2 Course Guide – Kings Langley School - Miss Hardingham

Jeremy Corbyn: There are 957 business Jets in the Isle of Man which seems excessive for any island. Will the prime minister commit HMRC to investigate all evidence of UK tax avoidance and evasion from this leak, and prosecute where feasible?

The Prime Minister: I have given an Assurance in my first answer that HMRC does take these issues very seriously, does investigate and does take action, and that, where appropriate, loopholes are closed. What is important is to look at the record, and I have mentioned the additional £ 160 billion of compliance revenues since 2010.

Jeremy Corbyn: it's a strange pattern here. in 2015, conservative members of the European Parliament voted against 5 reports that would introduce methods of fighting tax avoidance and evasion. Despite that, HMRC is currently cutting another 8,000 staff. Will the prime minister assure HMRC will get more resources in the upcoming budget to tackle tax avoidance and evasion?

Section A Q2 – (x1 30-mark question from a choice of 2 – NO SOURCE)

- Evaluate the effectiveness of backbench MPs
- Evaluate the effectiveness of the House of Lords
- Evaluate how far Parliament retains sole sovereignty within the UK political system
- Evaluate the extent to which the House of Lords performs a meaningful role in UK democracy
- Evaluate the extent to which Parliament is able effectively to call government to account
- Using the source, evaluate the respective claims of the two Houses of Parliament to be truly representative institutions
- Evaluate the extent to which Parliament remains sovereign
- Evaluate how far reforms since 1997 have made Parliament a more democratic institution
- Evaluate the view that the House of Commons is in greater need of reform than the House of Lords
- Evaluate how far the concept of ministerial responsibility remains an important feature in UK Government
- Evaluate the view that Parliament is becoming increasingly effective in carrying out its main functions
- Evaluate the view that although the House of Lords has less power than the House of Commons, in practice it exerts more influence on government decisions.

Section A Q1– (x1 30-mark question from a choice of 2 – each question uses a source)

OR

- (b) *This source is adapted from the House of Commons Political and Constitutional Reform Committee report entitled the 'Role and powers of the Prime Minister' published in 2014. This examines whether there is adequate public understanding and clarity about the Prime Minister's role and powers, and whether the checks and balances on those powers are sufficient.*

Prime Ministers have significant powers of patronage such as appointing ministers. They set the Cabinet agenda and are able to control the Cabinet - including deciding who chairs the most important Cabinet committees. If a Prime Minister is an electoral asset, they are fairly secure in office and, as long as they have the support of their closest allies in Cabinet and a large Commons majority, they face very few limits to their power.

However, Prime Ministers cannot appoint whoever they want to Cabinet. They must reflect the balance of party opinion and appoint the 'big beasts', as it's better to have them 'inside the tent rather than outside'. Theresa May had to retain a balance of 'Brexiters' and 'Remainers' in her Cabinet, reflecting Conservative Party divisions.

Prime Ministers can be brought down by their party. Tony Blair was arguably forced to resign. Margaret Thatcher resigned after losing the support of her Cabinet, when her 'Poll Tax' was rejected by the public. Prime Ministers with small majorities, or no majority, cannot take Parliament for granted. Theresa May avoided votes in Parliament which she expected to lose and the Commons prevented Cameron from going to war over Syria.

(Source: adapted from <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201415/cmselect/cmpolcon/351/351.pdf>)

Using the source, evaluate the view that Prime Ministers have too much power.

In your response you must:

- *compare and contrast different opinions in the source*
- *examine and debate these views in a balanced way*
- *analyse and evaluate **only** the information presented in the source.*

(30)

- 1 (a) *This source is adapted from an article 'It's good theatre, but what's the point?' in the Guardian newspaper which examines the pros and cons of prime minister's questions (PMQs). The source considers the arguments for and against PMQs.*

Nick Clegg told BBC Radio 5 Live that prime minister's questions (PMQs) were '... ridiculous and should be scrapped. They are an absolute farce.' PMQs began life in 1961 as two weekly 15-minute sessions on Tuesdays and Thursdays, before Tony Blair replaced them with one 30-minute session on a Wednesday in 1997. This provides the scrutiny which is an essential part of democracy. The main exchange between Corbyn and May lasts 10 minutes or so, as the leader of the opposition only gets to ask six questions.

Even those 10 minutes are rarely enlightening, as the art of PMQs is to avoid embarrassment. Frequently, this means answering a completely different question from the one asked, or providing some accomplished waffle. Getting straight answers is almost impossible. More effective scrutiny would arise from greater reliance on select committees, the liaison committee, Westminster Hall debates and the greater use of parliamentary petitions

PMQs could be improved. Banning backbenchers from shouting out would be a start. Individually, MPs all say that the heckling is a bad thing, but put them in the House of Commons together and they don't seem to be able to help themselves. Bizarrely, having the TV cameras in the Commons only encourages them to behave worse: so much for the surveillance society.

Yet even in its current, deeply flawed format, PMQs are worth preserving. PMQs ensure that the prime minister of the day has some command of all areas of policy and is held accountable, at least partially, for them. There is nothing any prime minister would like more than to get rid of PMQs. Even the most accomplished performers have dreaded them; that alone should be reason enough for them to be retained. Without them, we lose a fragment of our parliamentary democracy which makes us so distinct from other democracies.

(Source: adapted from John Crace, The Guardian, 19 Jan 2015 at <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/shortcuts/2015/jan/19/are-prime-ministers-questions-past-sell-by-date-as-nick-clegg-argues>)

Using the source, evaluate the view that Prime Ministers Questions should be abolished and replaced by other forms of parliamentary scrutiny of the executive.

In your response you must:

- *compare and contrast the different opinions in the source*
- *examine and debate these views in a balanced way*
- *analyse and evaluate **only** the information presented in the source.*

(30)

Using the source, evaluate the importance of the cabinet in policy making

Although it cannot be precisely defined, the core executive contains the following elements:

- The prime minister and her or his close advisers.
- The cabinet. 20–25 senior ministers appointed by the prime minister.
- Various bodies that feed information and advice into the cabinet and to the prime minister.
- Government departments. Of these the Treasury holds a place of special importance as it controls government finances. Many heads of these departments are members of the cabinet. Others may not be in cabinet but are nonetheless influential.
- The senior civil servants who serve government ministers. Of these the cabinet secretary is the most senior. He or she serves both the prime minister personally and the cabinet collectively.
- Various advisers and policy-developing bodies (often called 'think tanks') that serve government departments.
- There may also be a few very senior officials of the governing party who hold no official post but who are intimately involved in policy development.

We can see that a minority of the membership of the core executive is elected. It is also true that, although the cabinet is said to stand in the centre of the executive, it has many rivals in terms of policy formulation. It certainly should be remembered, however, that the cabinet is a clearing house for all important decisions even if they have been made in a different part of the core executive. It has a veto over all such decisions and can overrule the prime minister her- or himself. It is also where internal government conflicts are resolved.

A further perception of the core executive rests with the belief that the prime minister stands at the centre, rather than the cabinet. This is a theory known as prime ministerial government. It is based on the considerable devices the prime minister has at her or his disposal to control members of cabinet, individually and collectively.

Using the sources, evaluate the view that prime ministers have become too powerful in recent years

In bringing her case against the government, Ms Miller claimed that 'no prime minister can expect to be unanswerable', a view upheld by the Supreme Court, which has ruled that Parliament, not the PM, must take responsibility for triggering Article 50. Ms Miller said: 'Only Parliament can grant rights to the British people and only Parliament can take them away. No prime minister, no government can expect to be unanswerable or unchallenged. Parliament alone is sovereign. My motivation was upholding our constitutional law and ensuring that a government can't put themselves above the law. I'm sure that everyone would agree it is only right that Parliament now votes.'

Source: adapted from a report over the Miller case, 2017

The Constitutional Reform and Governance Act (2010) states that: 'The minister for the civil service has the power to manage the civil service.' This is just one of the many legally recognised powers held by the PM and recognised by statute laws. However, the most prominent powers of a PM are those they hold from the monarch and there is no statutory law or regulation of these powers. In essence, when it comes to powers under the royal prerogative, the PM can essentially do as they please.

Source: adapted from an account of the PM's powers

Using the source evaluate the extent to which prime ministers are able to dominate the political system

The experiences of two former UK prime ministers help us to understand both the strengths and weaknesses of the office which they held.

The first was Tony Blair, who took office in 1997 after winning a landslide victory in the general election. Blair was one of the inspirations behind the New Labour movement that dominated politics for ten years. He led a cohort of politicians, including Gordon Brown, Robin Cook and Peter Mandelson, who shared the same political vision. His government, using its massive parliamentary majority, was able to implement a programme of constitutional reform and to shift large proportions of the state's resources towards health and education provision. Blair and his predecessor, John Smith, had been able to defeat the left wing of the Labour Party and so moved Labour Party politics closer to the centre of the political spectrum. Blair was a dominant politician in other senses of the words, too. He was viewed as charismatic and enjoyed a positive media image, at least until he led the UK into a disastrous conflict in Iraq.

By contrast, his successor Gordon Brown, who took over in 2007, was unable to dominate

in the same way. Brown was certainly not as charismatic as Blair and although Labour enjoyed a comfortable parliamentary majority after 2005, this was not as decisive as Blair's two three-digit majorities. As time went by, too, it was clear that the Labour Party was now divided between those who continued to support Blair's vision and those who followed Brown's more left-wing ideas and his growing Euroscepticism. But it was perhaps the financial crisis that overwhelmed the Western world in 2008 that did most to derail Brown's premiership. Though the crisis was not of his making, Brown was often blamed for the aftermath, which involved a huge growth in the national debt and a long period of economic austerity.

Brown and Blair did have one feature in common. This was that they lost power largely because of external events — the Iraq war in Blair's case and the financial crisis in Brown's. This may lead us to the conclusion that, however popular or unpopular a prime minister may be in the short term, in the long term their power depends on factors beyond their control.

Source: original material

Using the source, evaluate the extent to which prime ministers dominate the UK political system

The power of the prime minister

How much power does the UK prime minister really have? On the face of it, she or he dominates the political system, but the reality may be very different.

It is especially true that the power of the prime minister will vary according to circumstances. For example, it depends upon how large a majority the governing party enjoys. The media image of the prime minister can also change over time. Tony Blair, for example, began with a positive media and public image but was widely mistrusted when he left office in 2007.

But possibly the most serious limitation on prime ministerial power lies with events beyond his or her control. Gordon Brown, for example, faced a major financial and economic crisis within a few months of taking office.

So the ability of the prime minister to determine their own destiny is severely limited. Despite all the powers they have — over patronage, foreign policy and policy making, for example — they are at the mercy of forces outside their control.

One thing is for certain: virtually all prime ministers *appear* to be more dominant when they are conducting foreign policy abroad than when they face hostile forces at home. This was especially true of Margaret Thatcher (known internationally as the 'iron lady') and Tony Blair, who specialised in foreign policy initiatives, notably in Kosovo, Sierra Leone and Iraq. Of course, though, it was a military intervention that ultimately led to his downfall. After the aftermath of the 2003 Iraq war began to deteriorate and the uncertain legal basis for the war was revealed, Blair's position in the country and inside his own party became untenable.

Using the sources, evaluate the extent to which Prime Ministers control the decisions made by their Government

Source 1

There are three reasons for government reshuffles: (a) because a minister or ministers leave office for whatever reason and the subsequent movements to fill the vacancies become a reshuffle; (b) because the Prime Minister is dissatisfied with the performance of particular ministers; and (c) to provide a progression route for talented backbenchers. Whether reshuffles have an effect on policy making and delivery depends on the reasons for the reshuffle and the personnel involved.

Source: extract of evidence of former Cabinet Minister, Alan Johnson to the House of Commons Political and Constitutional Reform Committee. 18 September, 2012.

Source 2

David Cameron summoned cabinet ministers on Monday night who are to be sacked or demoted in his first major government reshuffle which will see a comprehensive clear-out of ministers who have failed to deliver and the promotion of a new generation of ministers. There were signs on Monday that Andrew Lansley, the Health Secretary, and Caroline Spelman, Environment Secretary, will be among the victims. Lansley left the prime minister in despair when he struggled to explain the need for his plans to devolve most of the NHS's £100bn budget to new GP-led commissioning groups. Spelman has failed to recover from the fiasco of failed plans to sell off parts of the national forest.

Downing Street confirmed that Andrew Mitchell, the International Development Secretary, will replace Patrick McLoughlin as the government's chief whip. The appointment of Mitchell shows the influence of George Osborne, his close supporter. One government source said: 'The prime minister sees the second half of this parliament as the delivery phase. We want to have people who have a proven record in delivering in their departments.'

Source : adapted from Guardian article, 4 September, 2012

Using the source, evaluate the extent to which Prime Ministers can control their Cabinets

It is often asserted that 'the British prime minister is as powerful as he or she wants to be.' Margaret Thatcher wanted to be dominant and ensured this by removing her political opponents in the cabinet and replacing them with people she could rely on. Tony Blair similarly strengthened his position by including his closest allies in the cabinet. Prime ministers who want to be dominant will take their prerogative powers and stretch them to the limits. This can also be seen in the area of foreign affairs. Both Tony Blair and Gordon Brown spent much time attempting to take a leading role in world affairs, including conducting wars and negotiating international treaties.

This picture may nevertheless be misleading. There are powerful forces which can be ranged against them. The prime minister's cabinet colleagues can turn against him or her, as occurred with Thatcher in 1990. In the case of Blair, his position was undermined by growing criticism within the party, particularly after the 2003 invasion of Iraq. The media, too, can become hostile. Brown received unfavourable press coverage and he was presented as a weak and indecisive leader. A prime minister's strength also depends on many factors beyond his or her direct control. These include the size of the parliamentary majority and the course of world events.

April, 2010.

Using the source, evaluate the extent to which the Prime Minister is free from effective political constraints

The Prime Minister and Cabinet

There is no constitutional definition of the British Prime Minister's (PM) role or any authoritative specification of the office's functions, powers and responsibilities. They are a matter of convention and usage, not statute, and are thus, to a large degree, flexible and subject to variation and change over time. Official guidance on the PM's role is limited. The draft *Cabinet Manual* describes the PM as head of the government, chief adviser to the Sovereign, and chair of the Cabinet. The PM is thus responsible for appointing ministers, orchestrating the Cabinet committee system, and the overall organisation of the executive and allocation of functions between ministers and departments (this latter role is also noted in the *Ministerial Code*). The PM also has responsibility for dismissing ministers. The Cabinet is described in the *Cabinet Manual* as 'the ultimate decision-making body of the UK Executive', while the PM is said to 'usually take the lead on significant matters of state'.

In our view, the Prime Minister's role and powers cannot and should not be considered as separate from the role of the Cabinet in our system of government. Effective and successful Cabinet government needs a strong Prime Minister (and in the coalition context a strong Deputy Prime Minister too) to set the tone and provide a sense of direction and overall strategy.

The advent of coalition government in May 2010 impacted on powers and responsibilities normally regarded as belonging to the Prime Minister alone. Under the *Coalition Agreement for Stability and Reform*, the Prime Minister was obliged to consult and agree with the Deputy Prime Minister over the appointment, reshuffling and sacking of ministers. The PM hires and fires but must fully consult, and the allocation of posts between the parties in the coalition is expected to operate on a 'one-in, one-out' rule to maintain the agreed balance between the two coalition partners. The Prime Minister's patronage power in all governments is subject in practice to political constraints, but during the 2010 coalition this was a new formal limitation.

(Source: adapted from Professor K Theakston and Dr. T Heppell (2012) www.parliament.uk, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201012/cmselect/cmpolcon/writev/842/m9.htm>)

Using the source, evaluate the extent to which Theresa May has been able to control the political agenda and dictate events in her time as Prime Minister

The text section of this source is adapted from articles in the Telegraph, the Guardian and the 'I' Newspaper, early into Theresa

May's tenure as Prime Minister. The graph is directly from the BBC website which tracks changes in Theresa May's popularity as Prime Minister (<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/04/26/theresa-may-popular-voters-leader-since-late-1970s/>, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jul/14/theresa-mays-decisive-reshuffle-draws-line-under-cameron-era> and <https://inews.co.uk/news/politics/poll-theresa-may-highest-approval-rating-since-becoming-prime-minister/>)

Telegraph and Guardian – April 2017 and July 2016:

In April 2017, Theresa May was voted the most popular leader since the 1970s, as almost two-thirds of voters said she was more capable than the opposition leader, Jeremy Corbyn. She also had a great command over Conservative Party supporters, with 98% of them believing she was the most capable leader of the Government.

May put herself in an advantageous position after winning support from a large proportion of Conservative MPs in her successful leadership bid. This allowed her to make decisive steps in recovering from David Cameron's referendum

defeat and subsequent resignation, including the swift reshuffle of her Cabinet to satisfy Remainers and Brexiteers within her party.

'I' Newspaper- December 2018:

Theresa May's tough political week seems to have helped her standing with voters who, to the tune of 47% believe that she is brave and someone who sticks to her beliefs. This is the highest rating she has received since becoming PM in July 2017. The Tories were also able to cut Labour's lead to 1% point (38% to Labour's 39%). However, it is not all good news with over half of the voters (53%) disapproving of the way the PM has handled the Brexit situation with only 28% in favour. The PM has suffered a difficult 18 months since calling a snap general election for June 2017 where she lost her majority in Parliament necessitating the need for a Confidence and Supply agreement with the DUP in order to pass key legislation. Many of her policy aims had to be shelved due to the result of the election.

Section A Q2 – (x1 30-mark question from a choice of 2 – NO SOURCE)

- Evaluate the extent to which the UK government's control over Parliament has reduced in recent years
- Evaluate the view that the conventions of ministerial responsibility no longer adequately account for the actions of ministers
- Evaluate the view that since 2010 the UK has seen a return to cabinet government.
- Evaluate the extent to which Prime Ministers dominate cabinet. Use the information of at least three Prime Ministers
- Evaluate the extent to which Prime Ministers dominate the Political System
- Evaluate the importance of collective responsibility
- Evaluate the extent to which the cabinet can shape policy and control the power of the Prime Minister
- Evaluate the extent to which the limitations on the role of the Prime Minister will ultimately outweigh the powers of the office
- Evaluate the extent to which the executive has become less powerful in relation to Parliament
- Evaluate how far the power of the executive has been undermined by constitutional reforms since 1997
- Evaluate the effectiveness of backbenchers
- Evaluate the extent to which the Prime Minister has become more powerful in recent years
- Evaluate the extent to which Prime Ministers are now effectively 'Presidential'
- Evaluate the view that the conventions of ministerial responsibility no longer adequately account for the actions of ministers

Relations between the Institutions

Section A Q1– (x1 30-mark question from a choice of 2 – each question uses a source)

Using the source, evaluate the view that judges should not exercise control over the power of government

In your response you must:

- *compare and contrast the different opinions in the source*
- *examine and debate these views in a balanced way*
- *analyse and evaluate **only** the information presented in the source.*

(30)

- (b) *These sources are adapted from newspaper articles following the High Court decision that the executive does not have the power to trigger Article 50 (the process of leaving the European Union) without the agreement of Parliament.*

The press, MPs and public have every right to criticise the judges. This judicial decision is wrong. This country is governed by the rule of law which is not the same as the rule of judges; the judiciary interprets the law passed by Parliament, which is sovereign.

No one is challenging the independence of judges, but they made the wrong judgement in this particular case, since the government was within its rights to use the Royal Prerogative.

In recent years, the advance of 'judicial activism' has made rulings against ministers commonplace. If it is fine for the courts to reject unlawful executive action, criticising ministers, they cannot expect to be immune from criticism themselves.

The decision to leave was made by voters in a referendum following an Act of Parliament. It is therefore for the Government to fulfil their wishes. This is upholding parliamentary sovereignty and it is not appropriate for judges to interfere.

(Source: adapted from 'Judges should have stayed out of the Brexit process. It's up to the Supreme Court to fix their mistake.' Telegraph View. 6 November 2016 • 10:00pm)

The criticisms of judges in this case are wrong and dangerous and an attempt to influence their judicial independence through public pressure.

After the referendum the Brexiteers talked about using the Royal Prerogative, an ancient right that kings and queens once used to by-pass Parliament.

Even Michael Gove, a leading Brexiteer, agreed that it was a good thing for Gina Miller to contest in the High Court the constitutional pillar of parliamentary sovereignty. She claimed only Parliament could take away rights that Parliament had itself granted in the 1972 Act that took Britain into what is now the EU. The Supreme Court agreed.

Politicians and the media should support judges when they uphold the rule of law which is an essential part of our unwritten constitution. This judgement also demonstrates the principle of judicial independence, which is another important restraint on arbitrary government.

(Source: adapted from Yes-Brexit-not-mob-rule-GINA-MILLER-triggered-article-50-challenge-says-democracy-respected-legal-certainty, by Gina Miller For The Mail On Sunday, published 4 December 2016)

Using the source, evaluate the idea that the House of Lords is a more effective check on government power than the House of Commons

In your response you must:

- compare the different opinions in the source
- consider the view and the alternative view in a balanced way
- use a balance of knowledge and understanding both arising from the source and beyond the source to help you to analyse and evaluate

The House of Commons and the House of Lords

When we think about the relationship between government and Parliament, we automatically tend to think of the House of Commons. This is natural. The Commons is more powerful than the House of Lords and enjoys more democratic legitimacy. But we should also be thinking about the government's relationship to the Lords.

The traditional view of government-Commons relations is that the former is dominant. This is because the government normally enjoys the support of the majority of MPs and has various ways of controlling how they behave and vote. Of course, the extent of executive control does depend on how united the governing party is and on the size of its parliamentary majority. If the government has only a slim majority, as occurred in 2015, a small group of dissident MPs can thwart the will of the government by wiping away the majority.

The government does not enjoy a majority of support in the Lords. At the same time, many peers are extremely independent and do not feel beholden to the party whips. This is largely because, being unelected, they are not accountable. In the 2010-15 coalition government period, the Lords was particularly active, especially in such fields as welfare reform and taxation policy.

So we do need to differentiate between the Lords and the Commons when considering the relationship between government and Parliament.

Using the source, evaluate the role of judges in protecting rights in the UK
Conflict between the judiciary and the government

In recent decades there has been an increasing level of conflict between the senior judiciary in the UK and the government. Three main areas can be identified:

- 1** The judges guard their role in determining sentences in criminal cases very closely. They are determined to impose the rule of law and assure every citizen a fair hearing and equal treatment. Government, on the other hand, constantly tries to control sentencing, mainly by imposing minimum prison terms for particular crimes such as murder and carrying offensive weapons.
- 2** While government sees the security of the state as its first priority, the judiciary sees the rule of law and the protection of human rights as its key role. The problem is that these two objectives often come into conflict. In particular, suspected terrorists, ministers often claim, should not be treated in the same way as other citizens because they represent a public danger. The judges, however, refuse to treat such suspects differently. They have the same rights as the rest of the population, they say.
- 3** With the increasing threat of religious extremism, the government wishes to curb freedom of speech in cases where it is believed that public words by religious figures may be encouraging terrorism. The judges, armed with the European Convention on Human Rights, seek to protect freedom of expression, even when the views expressed are distasteful.

This leads us to ask the question of whether unelected but independent judges are better placed to protect rights than the elected and accountable government and Parliament.

Using the source, evaluate the view that judges should not exercise control over the power of government

- (b) *These sources are adapted from newspaper articles following the High Court decision that the executive does not have the power to trigger Article 50 (the process of leaving the European Union) without the agreement of Parliament.*

The press, MPs and public have every right to criticise the judges. This judicial decision is wrong. This country is governed by the rule of law which is not the same as the rule of judges; the judiciary interprets the law passed by Parliament, which is sovereign.

No one is challenging the independence of judges, but they made the wrong judgement in this particular case, since the government was within its rights to use the Royal Prerogative.

In recent years, the advance of 'judicial activism' has made rulings against ministers commonplace. If it is fine for the courts to reject unlawful executive action, criticising ministers, they cannot expect to be immune from criticism themselves.

The decision to leave was made by voters in a referendum following an Act of Parliament. It is therefore for the Government to fulfil their wishes. This is upholding parliamentary sovereignty and it is not appropriate for judges to interfere.

(Source: adapted from 'Judges should have stayed out of the Brexit process. It's up to the Supreme Court to fix their mistake.' Telegraph View. 6 November 2016 • 10:00pm)

The criticisms of judges in this case are wrong and dangerous and an attempt to influence their judicial independence through public pressure.

After the referendum the Brexiteers talked about using the Royal Prerogative, an ancient right that kings and queens once used to by-pass Parliament.

Even Michael Gove, a leading Brexiteer, agreed that it was a good thing for Gina Miller to contest in the High Court the constitutional pillar of parliamentary sovereignty. She claimed only Parliament could take away rights that Parliament had itself granted in the 1972 Act that took Britain into what is now the EU. The Supreme Court agreed.

Politicians and the media should support judges when they uphold the rule of law which is an essential part of our unwritten constitution. This judgement also demonstrates the principle of judicial independence, which is another important restraint on arbitrary government.

(Source: adapted from Yes-Brexit-not-mob-rule-GINA-MILLER-triggered-article-50-challenge-says-democracy-respected-legal-certainty, by Gina Miller For The Mail On Sunday, published 4 December 2016)

Using the source, evaluate the extent to which the UK judiciary can control executive power

The key reality of UK government and politics is that the UK Parliament is sovereign. This also means that Parliament is 'omnicompetent'. It can pass any legislation it wishes, however repugnant it may be, however unpopular it may prove and however much it may threaten human rights in the country. The lack of a codified constitution and a court that can overturn parliamentary legislation (in contrast to the powerful US Supreme Court) ensures the sovereignty of Parliament. Indeed, in the fight against terrorism, the UK government and Parliament have been forced to pass some legislation – for example, allowing the lengthy detention of terrorist suspects without trial – which threatens human rights.

Yet this view of the relationship between the Supreme Court and the UK Parliament is somewhat misleading. The *political* reality is

By contrast, however, when the Supreme Court ruled in 2011 that the DNA records of people who had not been convicted of a crime could not be held by the police, the government gave in and accepted the ruling, which was on the grounds that it offended the right to privacy.

rather different. Almost every time the Supreme Court has made an important judgment and constitutional declaration, the government and Westminster have, in fact, accepted the decision. The *Miller* case of 2016–17 was a case in point. The government had to introduce a motion to approve the UK's departure from the EU and MPs and peers fell into line. Similarly, whenever the rights of citizens are being considered by the senior judges, the government usually backs down. On some occasions an adverse decision can, of course, be reversed by introducing parliamentary legislation. In 2010, for example, the then chancellor Gordon Brown's 2005 decision to freeze the assets of terrorist suspects was outlawed by the Supreme Court. Accepting the decision, Brown promptly asked Westminster to grant him the power to do just that. The UK Parliament thus prevailed.

The evidence is therefore contradictory. It all seems to come down to political considerations. The courts clearly have great authority, but government can often fall back on parliamentary sovereignty to get its way.

Source: original material

Using the sources, evaluate the view that the European Court of Human Rights undermines democracy in the UK

'The European Court of Human Rights exceeds its legitimate powers, usurps the role of politicians and undermines the democratic process.'

'The Strasbourg court...has become the international flag-bearer for judge-made fundamental law extending well beyond the text which it is charged with applying. It has over many years declared itself entitled to treat the [European Convention on Human Rights] as what it calls a "living instrument":'

The right to a private life, a right originally 'devised as a protection against the surveillance state by totalitarian governments' now extends 'to cover the legal status of illegitimate children, immigration and deportation, extradition, aspects of criminal sentencing, abortion, homosexuality, assisted suicide, child abduction, the law of landlord and tenant, and a great deal else besides.'

Source: adapted from a public speech by the Supreme Court justice Lord Sumption

One of the European Convention on Human Rights' early architects was that most British of politicians, Winston Churchill, so to say it is 'un-British' is a nonsense. To replace the Human Rights Act with a British bill of rights would serve no purpose other than to remove the scrutiny of the European Court of Human Rights, leaving UK citizens to the mercy of a UK government that judges have little power over. It was the European courts that allowed the *Sunday Times* to report on the thalidomide scandal; the European courts that overruled a UK court's defence of a step-father who was regularly beating a child; the European Court who struck down Northern Ireland's criminalisation of homosexuality in 1981; the European courts that ended the British government's effective use of torture against IRA members in the 1970s. Without the European courts, who knows how many abuses may have been ignored? As Bella Sankey, policy director for Liberty, has said: 'Britain founded [the Convention], it is the most successful system for the enforcement of human rights in the history of the world, and every day it helps bring freedom, justice and the rule of law to 820 million people.'

Source: adapted from an article about the role of the

Using the sources, evaluate the view that judges don't effectively protect civil liberties in the UK

Civil liberties are composed of a range of rights and freedoms which have been granted to individuals. In the UK, they include the right to freedom of expression, often seen as the right to free speech. Alongside this is the right to a free press, not censored or restricted by the state. The right to protest and to challenge openly both government and other actors within the state is also a key civil liberty. Freedom of association encompasses the right to form groups. Freedom of religion covers the right of individuals to choose and practise their religious beliefs.

Safeguarding civil liberties is a significant aspect of a liberal democracy. These rights can be limited by law in order to protect the interests of others, but only when the limitation is proportionate and necessary. In recent years, governments have been accused of acting in an authoritarian manner by passing legislation which restricts civil liberties. Limitations on the right to a jury trial have been introduced and public order legislation has restricted the right to protest. More controversial has been anti-terrorism legislation, which has had a major impact on civil liberties. Governments have argued that these restrictions are vital to maintain a free and open society in the face of serious threats from groups which would undermine our basic way of life. Protesters claim that governments have created a framework of laws that damage civil liberties and give governments far too much power over individuals.

The task of protecting civil liberties in the UK largely falls to judges. In being willing to strike down actions by ministers and other public bodies which infringe civil liberties, judges have increasingly come into conflict with the executive.

Using the source, evaluate the view that there is conflict between the Judiciary and the Government

The government was slapped down in a judicial review by the Supreme Court when it ruled that a Treasury freeze on the bank accounts of suspected terrorists was illegal. A panel of seven judges allowed a challenge by five men (all suspected terrorists) who had had all their assets frozen under orders made when Gordon Brown was Chancellor of the Exchequer. The terrorists' assets were frozen in 2006 as a result of an executive order. This had been issued in response to UN Security Council resolutions calling for steps to be taken to hit the financing of international terrorism. But the orders were not voted on in Parliament.

Today the Supreme Court ruled that the Treasury had exceeded its powers, meaning that the orders were unlawful. The justices declared that if the Government considered 'far-reaching measures' were necessary to combat terrorism, 'it must first obtain approval for them from Parliament'. The government has responded by saying it will 'fast-track legislation' through the Commons to make sure it can continue to freeze terrorists' assets.

Liberal Democrat home affairs spokesman Chris Huhne said: 'It is simply not acceptable for Labour to behave as if we are a police state and go around arbitrarily arresting people or confiscating their property without due process under the rule of law. The Government's desperation to avoid consulting Parliament is creating bad laws, legal defeats and hefty bills for the taxpayer. It has to stop.'

Source: adapted from Sky News online, January 27, 2010.

Using the source, evaluate the view that Parliament is able to control the executive

Parliament

Committee work is an important aspect of Parliament's role; both Houses refer legislation to committees for detailed discussion and approval. These legislative committees are part of the process of making laws. House of Commons Select Committees are largely concerned with examining the work of government departments. There is a Commons Select Committee for each government department, examining three aspects: spending, policies and administration. Some committees have a non-departmental role that crosses boundaries, such as the Public Accounts or Environmental Audit Committees. Other Commons Committees are involved in a range of ongoing investigations, like administration of the House itself or allegations about the conduct of individual MPs.

Findings of the committees are reported to the Commons, printed, and published on the Parliament website. The government then usually has 60 days to reply to a committee's recommendations. Particularly influential have been the televised sessions and subsequent hard-hitting reports issued by the Home Affairs Committee concerning immigration, the performance of the Border Agency and the relationships between police, media and a high profile criminal investigation. Similarly, the Culture, Media and Sport Committee attracted much attention for its intense questioning of witnesses when it looked into phone hacking allegations by the media and in its pre-appointment hearing for the Government's preferred candidate as Chair of the BBC Trust, Rona Fairhead, CBE.

Following the adoption by the House of recommendations from the Reform of the House of Commons Committee (which was chaired by the former MP, Dr Tony Wright) the majority of Select Committee Chairs are now elected by their fellow MPs. This applies both to departmental committees and non-departmental ones, which include Political & Constitutional Reform, Procedure and Public Administration committees. There is also a Backbench Business Committee, which has been established with the ability to decide business in the Commons Chamber and in Westminster Hall on days, or parts of days, set aside for non-government business.

(Source: adapted from <http://www.parliament.uk/about/how/committees/select/> (2014))

Using the source, evaluate the extent Judges are free from bias (neutral) and sufficiently independent from other branches of government

Judges and Civil Liberties

The work of judges is subject to scrutiny more than ever before; our work is now being discussed far more by politicians, journalists and indeed members of the public. This is because judges are being asked to determine more public policy issues, with the growth of judicial review, human rights, EU treaty matters and the ever-increasing power of the executive. There is a consequent need for a judiciary which protects citizens from administrative abuses and maintains the rule of law.

The impact of the Human Rights Act 1998 has been revolutionary. It has inevitably heightened tensions in judicial decision-making. The 1998 Act is a command by Parliament to the judiciary to 'make law' in areas in which the judiciary has traditionally been reluctant to intervene or even prohibited from intervening.

The effect of the 1998 Act is, in summary terms, threefold. Firstly, judges are now called upon more frequently to rule on moral and political issues, given that is what human rights involve. This means that we have to engage in a review of the merits of any decision or action which impinges on an individual's fundamental rights. Before the 1998 Act, our role in relation to government acts was more limited. Secondly, judges must perform a quasi-statute-writing function, the Act requires judges to read and give effect to legislation 'so far as it is possible to do so ... in a way which is compatible with the Convention rights'. If legislation does not appear to comply, we must, if we can, recast it so that it does comply. Thirdly, under section 4 of that Act, judges must tell Parliament when legislation cannot be made to comply and, with one exception (prisoners' votes), it has made changes to comply.

These judicial powers are new in the United Kingdom; they were conferred by Parliament not grabbed by the judges. In a country with a written constitution (i.e. in almost every other democratic country in the world) these powers would be unsurprising. At least in the view of many legal and political thinkers, these powers are necessary if the rule of law is to prevail, particularly considering the ever-greater powers of the executive branch of government.

(Source: adapted from Lord Neuberger 'Judge not, that ye be not judged' FA Mann Lecture Jan 2015)

Using the source, evaluate the view that Parliament is still sovereign in the UK and has not become subject to the authority of the European Union, the executive or the judiciary

The source contains adapted extracts from a BBC article – ‘Does the EU impact on UK Sovereignty’ combined with an article from the Telegraph – ‘What would Brexit mean for British sovereignty’ (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-eu-referendum-35630757> and <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/05/19/how-does-the-eu-impinge-on-british-sovereignty-and-if-the-uk-vot/> and <https://www.parliament.uk/about/faqs/house-of-lords-faqs/lords-govtdefeats/>)

BBC

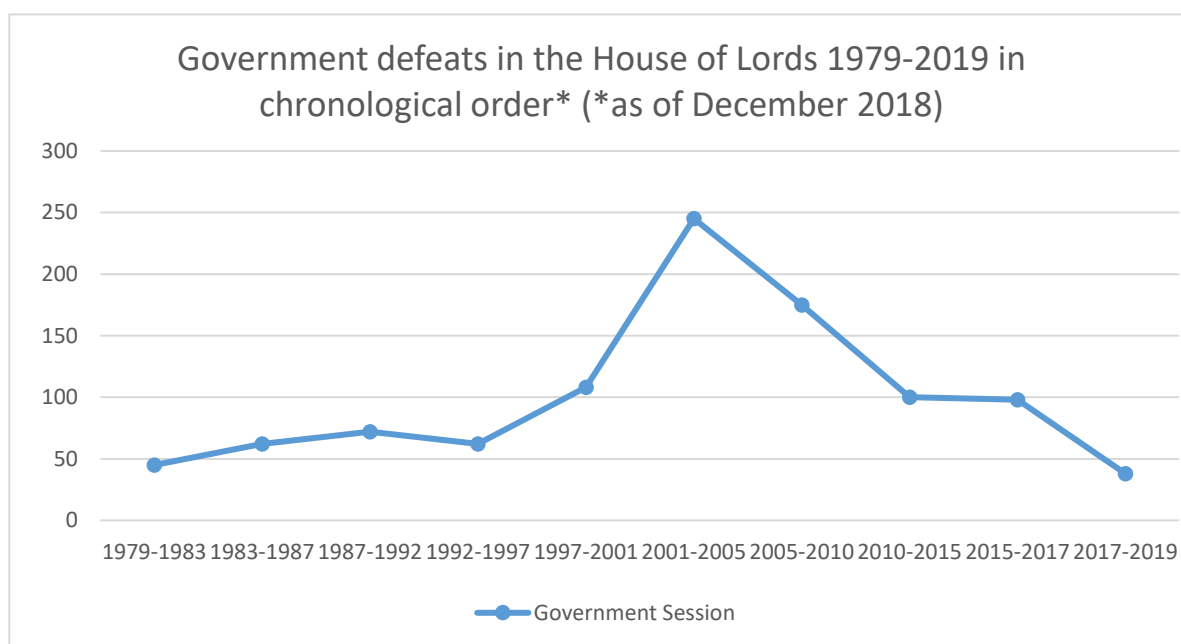
Boris Johnson complained that the European Union has become an organisation responsible for many different areas of policy, from agriculture to transport. At the heart of the EU are laws designed to allow most goods, services, money and people to move freely within EU member states.

The two most common types of EU laws are known as regulations and directives. These are interpreted by the European Court of Justice.

Never has the EU tried to change the constitutional structures of its member states. EU summits are attended by Presidents, Prime Ministers and Chancellors who lead countries with very different legal systems. All the EU can do is to ensure that its members meet common standards of justice and democracy.

Telegraph

EU law still is binding over UK law. Leaving the EU ensures that we will regain sovereignty over key policy areas including agriculture, fisheries, economic policy, human rights and immigration.



Using the source, evaluate the extent to which judicial independence and neutrality has been further guaranteed in recent times

This source shows the current justices (as at the end of January 2019) of the Supreme Court. It is obtained from ‘biographies of justices’ on the Supreme Court website, in which some of their demographic features are listed (<https://www.supremecourt.uk/about/biographies-of-the-justices.html>)

Judge and Role	Sex	Age	Ethnicity	School Type	University
Lady Hale	Female	73	White British	Grammar	Cambridge

A Level Politics Paper 1 & 2 Course Guide – Kings Langley School - Miss Hardingham

Lord Reed	Male	62	White British	Private	Oxford
Lord Kerr	Male	70	White British	Grammar	Queen's (Belfast)
Lord Wilson	Male	73	White British	Private	Oxford
Lord Carnworth	Male	73	White British	Private	Cambridge
Lord Hodge	Male	65	White British	Private	Cambridge
Lady Black	Female	64	White British	Private	Durham
Lord Lloyd-Jones	Male	66	White British	Grammar	Cambridge
Lord Briggs	Male	63	White British	Private	Oxford
Lady Arden	Female	71	White British	Private	
Lord Kitchin	Male	63	White British	Private	Cambridge
Lord Sales	Male	56	White British	Private	Cambridge and Oxford

Section A Q2 – (x1 30-mark question from a choice of 2 – NO SOURCE)

- Evaluate the idea that the House of Commons is a more effective check on government power than the House of Lords
- Evaluate the role of judges in protecting rights in the UK
- Evaluate the extent to which the Supreme Court can control governmental power
- Evaluate the belief that the balance of power between the executive and parliament is markedly shifted towards parliament
- Evaluate the extent to which the executive can control the UK Parliament.
- Evaluate the extent to which the Supreme Court can protect human rights in the UK
- Evaluate how far the judiciary is the right body to protect civil liberties
- Evaluate the extent to which the EU has impacted UK institutions
- Evaluate the ability of the Supreme Court to control the power of UK Government
- Evaluate the view that the Supreme Court has too much influence over the executive.
- Evaluate the view that Parliament remains sovereign in the UK political system.
- Evaluate the view that membership of the EU undermined parliamentary sovereignty.
- Evaluate the view that although the House of Lords has less power than the House of Commons, in practice it exerts more influence on government decisions.

***** YOU WILL BE GIVEN ADDITIONAL PRACTICE QUESTIONS FOR PAPER 2 SECTION B ONCE WE HAVE CHOSEN OUR POLITICAL IDEA OPTION *****

Wider Reading List (in addition to those specified on page 3)

FOR INSTANT ACCESS / MOST UP-TO-DATE LIST, PLEASE VISIT

<https://www.klshistory.co.uk/wider-reading--viewing.html>

Useful Textbooks / Wider Reading



= Miss H has a copy (and might let you borrow it if you're really nice to her!)



= In KLS Library

Essentials of UK Politics (fourth edition) by Andrew Heywood	
Modern Political Ideologies (third edition) by Andrew Vincent	
Political Ideologies (sixth edition) by Andrew Heywood	
Essentials of Political Ideas: For A Level by Andrew Heywood	
Edexcel UK Government and Politics for AS/A Level Fifth Edition by Neil McNaughton	
British Politics for Dummies by Julian Knight (genuinely useful at A Level and very detailed)	
Usborne Politics for Beginners, Stowell (again, genuinely useful)	
Politics UK (ninth edition) by Bill Jones and Philip Norton	
British Politics (third edition) by Simon Griffiths and Robert Leach	
Exploring British Politics (fourth edition) by Mark Garnett and Philip Lynch	
Why We Get the Wrong Politicians, Isabel Hardman	
30-second politics : the 50 most thought-provoking theories in politics, each explained in half a minute	
Political ideas for A level: Liberalism, conservatism, socialism, feminism, anarchism	
Manufacturing consent : the political economy of the mass media	

Useful websites

- Parliament TV: <https://www.parliamentlive.tv/Commons>
- UK Parliament website www.parliament.uk
- UK Parliament student videos
https://www.youtube.com/user/UKParliament/playlists?view=50&sort=dd&shelf_id=8
- Investigate your local MP: <https://www.theyworkforyou.com/mp/>
- Weekly News Quiz Blog: <https://www.tutor2u.net/politics/blog/a-week-is-a-long-time-uk-politics-quiz-2-october-2019>
- MP for a week: <https://learning.parliament.uk/resources/mp-for-a-week/#cta-target>
- BBC Teach: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/teach/class-clips-video/citizenship-gcse-exploring-the-house-of-commons/zfjh8xs>
- Andrew Heywood's website www.andrewheywood.jimdo.com/articles/
- Companion website to Andrew Heywood's Political Ideologies book
<https://www.macmillanihe.com/companion/Heywood-Political-Ideologies/>
Tutor 2U <https://www.tutor2u.net/politics/reference/study-notes;>
<https://www.tutor2u.net/politics/collections/topical-examples-for-a-level-politics-exams>
- Politics Home www.politicshome.com
- The Political Studies Association <https://www.psa.ac.uk/psacommunities/specialist-groups/schools>
- Prechewed Politics www.prechewedpolitics.co.uk (U: rigbys@kls.herts.sch.uk P: learnmore1012)
- Politics Review Extra <https://www.hoddereducation.co.uk/magazines/magazines-extras/politics-review-extras>

A Level Politics Paper 1 & 2 Course Guide – Kings Langley School - Miss Hardingham

- LSE Politics and Policy research <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/>
- MP voting tracker <https://www.theyworkforyou.com/mps/>
- Simple Politics <http://simplepolitics.co.uk/>
- Politics Unboring Playlist https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLfxy4_sBQdxzZNqvVQXcBPvsl1Zgzy2-q
- TED Talks <https://www.ted.com/>

Useful News Broadcaster Websites (remember not all will be balanced)

- BBC News www.bbc.co.uk/news/politics
- BBC Parliament <https://www.bbc.co.uk/tv/bbcparliament>
- Channel 4 <https://www.channel4.com/news/>
- The Guardian <https://www.theguardian.com/politics>
- The Telegraph <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/>
- The Economist <https://www.economist.com/>
- The Spectator <https://www.spectator.co.uk/>
- The Financial Times <https://www.ft.com/world/uk/politics>
- LBC <https://www.lbc.co.uk/> (Radio talk show: Beware presenters are not neutral)
- The Week <https://www.theweek.co.uk/>
- The New Statesman <https://www.newstatesman.com/uk>
- Private Eye (very liberal) <https://www.private-eye.co.uk/>

Useful TV shows/broadcasts

- See 'Top Picks' section for most up-to-date picks: <https://www.klshistory.co.uk/wider-reading--viewing.html>
- Channel 4 News (7pm daily)
- BBC News (BBC One - 1pm, 6pm and 10pm, daily)
- BBC Newsnight (BBC Two 10.30pm, daily)
- Politics Live (BBC Two 11.15am on Weds but 12.15pm every other day Mon-Fri, daily)
- BBC News Channel Live (rolling)
- BBC Parliament Channel
- Sky News Channel (rolling)
- Sunday Politics (BBC One, Sundays 11am, after AM)
- Question Time (BBC Thursdays 10.30pm; only when Parliament is in session)
- The Andrew Marr Show (Sunday; usually 9am)
- Have I got News For You? (Fridays 9pm; series based; political satire)

Useful Podcasts/Radio shows

- The Today Show (BBC Radio Four 6-9am, daily)
- The A Level Politics Show <https://anchor.fm/nick-de-souza>
- The Guardian UK Politics Weekly <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/series/politicsweekly>
- Westminster Hour (BBC Radio Four) <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b006s624>
- The Week in Westminster (BBC Radio Four) <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b006qjfq>
- FT Politics <https://www.ft.com/ft-politics-podcast>
- A Level Politics <http://alevelpolitics.com/>
- Talking Politics <https://www.talkingpoliticspodcast.com/>
- LBC radio station (beware hosts are never neutral)

Useful Blogs

- Guido Fawkes <https://order-order.com/>
- Political Betting <http://www.politicalbetting.com/>
- Iain Dale <https://www.iaindale.com>
- Labour list <https://labourlist.org/>
- Conservative Home <https://www.conservativehome.com/>
- Liberal Democrat Voice <https://www.libdemvoice.org/>

Folder Check Log

Date of check	Improvements	Check of improvements
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Course booklet <input type="checkbox"/> Folder is well organised with unit dividers <input type="checkbox"/> Clear section marked for essays and improvements. <input type="checkbox"/> Class notes are up to date <input type="checkbox"/> Homework is up to date <input type="checkbox"/> Learning tracker (knowledge checklist) is up to date. <input type="checkbox"/> Assessment Tracker (in this booklet) is up to date <input type="checkbox"/> Evidence of a minimum of 4 hours of independent study per week, including an up-to-date reading record ((in this booklet) <input type="checkbox"/> Glossary is up to date, either in this booklet or as a separate marked section in folder) <input type="checkbox"/> Other: 	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Course booklet <input type="checkbox"/> Folder is well organised with unit dividers <input type="checkbox"/> Clear section marked for essays and improvements. <input type="checkbox"/> Class notes are up to date <input type="checkbox"/> Homework is up to date <input type="checkbox"/> Learning tracker (knowledge checklist) is up to date. <input type="checkbox"/> Assessment Tracker (in this booklet) is up to date <input type="checkbox"/> Evidence of a minimum of 4 hours of independent study per week, including an up-to-date reading record ((in this booklet) <input type="checkbox"/> Glossary is up to date, either in this booklet or as a separate marked section in folder) <input type="checkbox"/> Other: 	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Course booklet <input type="checkbox"/> Folder is well organised with unit dividers <input type="checkbox"/> Clear section marked for essays and improvements. <input type="checkbox"/> Class notes are up to date <input type="checkbox"/> Homework is up to date <input type="checkbox"/> Learning tracker (knowledge checklist) is up to date. <input type="checkbox"/> Assessment Tracker (in this booklet) is up to date <input type="checkbox"/> Evidence of a minimum of 4 hours of independent study per week, including an up-to-date reading record ((in this booklet) <input type="checkbox"/> Glossary is up to date, either in this booklet or as a separate marked section in folder) <input type="checkbox"/> Other: 	

A Level Politics Paper 1 & 2 Course Guide – Kings Langley School - Miss Hardingham

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Course booklet <input type="checkbox"/> Folder is well organised with unit dividers <input type="checkbox"/> Clear section marked for essays and improvements. <input type="checkbox"/> Class notes are up to date <input type="checkbox"/> Homework is up to date <input type="checkbox"/> Learning tracker (knowledge checklist) is up to date. <input type="checkbox"/> Assessment Tracker (in this booklet) is up to date <input type="checkbox"/> Evidence of a minimum of 4 hours of independent study per week, including an up-to-date reading record ((in this booklet) <input type="checkbox"/> Glossary is up to date, either in this booklet or as a separate marked section in folder) <input type="checkbox"/> Other: 	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Course booklet <input type="checkbox"/> Folder is well organised with unit dividers <input type="checkbox"/> Clear section marked for essays and improvements. <input type="checkbox"/> Class notes are up to date <input type="checkbox"/> Homework is up to date <input type="checkbox"/> Learning tracker (knowledge checklist) is up to date. <input type="checkbox"/> Assessment Tracker (in this booklet) is up to date <input type="checkbox"/> Evidence of a minimum of 4 hours of independent study per week, including an up-to-date reading record ((in this booklet) <input type="checkbox"/> Glossary is up to date, either in this booklet or as a separate marked section in folder) <input type="checkbox"/> Other: 	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Course booklet <input type="checkbox"/> Folder is well organised with unit dividers <input type="checkbox"/> Clear section marked for essays and improvements. <input type="checkbox"/> Class notes are up to date <input type="checkbox"/> Homework is up to date <input type="checkbox"/> Learning tracker (knowledge checklist) is up to date. <input type="checkbox"/> Assessment Tracker (in this booklet) is up to date <input type="checkbox"/> Evidence of a minimum of 4 hours of independent study per week, including an up-to-date reading record ((in this booklet) <input type="checkbox"/> Glossary is up to date, either in this booklet or as a separate marked section in folder) <input type="checkbox"/> Other: 	

POLITICAL SPECTRUM: THE BASICS

1 WEIMAR AND NAZI GERMANY

2

3 SUPERPOWER RELATIONS

1 LEVEL HISTORY - USA

2

3 A LEVEL POLITICS ALL TOPICS



DEFINITION: is a political and economic system that seeks to create a classless society in which the major means of production, such as mines and factories, are owned and controlled by the public

DEFINITION: Socialism has a broader spectrum of political beliefs but shares communism's emphasis on fair distribution of wealth among citizens, as well as public ownership of the means of production (though not necessarily all of them). Socialist policies can exist alongside capitalism in a society.

DEFINITION: Social democracy is a political system which ord in go which social justice and equality can be achieved within the framework of a market economy.

DEFINITION: Liberalism is a political and moral philosophy based on the rights of the individual, liberty, consent of the governed and equality before the law.

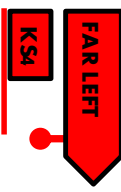
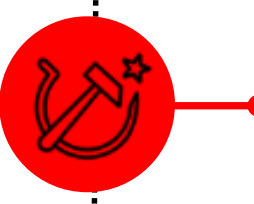
DEFINITION: Conservatism is a type of political belief that supports emphasis on traditions and relies on the individual to maintain society.

DEFINITION: An ideology based on the idea that the individual's loyalty and devotion to the nation state surpass other individual or group interests.

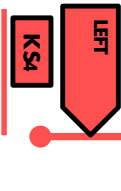
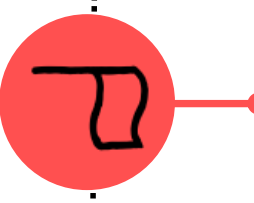
DEFINITION: A governmental system led by a dictator having complete power, forcibly and criticism, regimenting all industry, commerce, etc., and emphasizing an aggressive nationalism and often racism.

LEFT WING

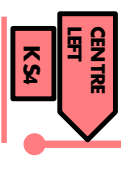
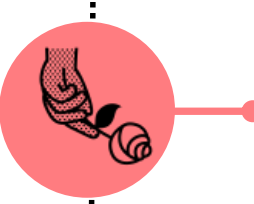
COMMUNISM



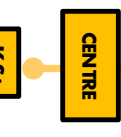
SOCIALISM



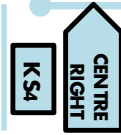
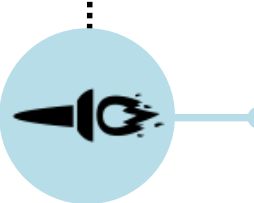
SOCIAL DEMOCRACY



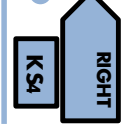
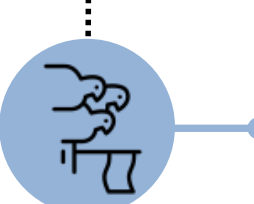
LIBERALISM



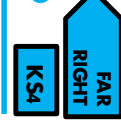
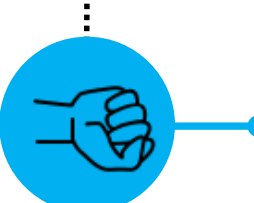
CONSERVATISM



NATIONALISM



FASCISM



RIGHT WING

