

[C070/SQP122]

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Higher  
Politics  
Paper I  
Specimen Question Paper

Time: 1 hour

NATIONAL  
QUALIFICATIONS

Study the sources below and opposite and answer the questions which follow.

**Source A Turnout at elections**

(i) Turnout at different types of election 1992–1994

<b>April 1992</b>	General election	77.7 %
<b>May 1994</b>	Local elections	43.0 %
<b>June 1994</b>	European election	36.5 %
<b>June 1994</b>	By-elections*	42.8 %

\* Five by-elections were held on 9 June 1994, the same day on which the European election was held.

(ii) Turnout in the 1992 general election

**Five seats with the highest increase in turnout**

<i>Turnout</i>	<i>Increase</i>	<i>Seat</i>	<i>Result</i>	
75.1	+9.3	Hendon North	Con Maj	7122
81.3	+8.8	Horsham	Con Maj	25 072
73.3	+8.6	Kensington	Con Maj	3548
72.4	+8.6	Hendon South	Con Maj	12 047
78.6	+8.6	Chipping Barnet	Con Maj	13 951

**Five seats with the highest decrease in turnout**

<i>Turnout</i>	<i>Decrease</i>	<i>Seat</i>	<i>Result</i>	
54.6	-10.7	Liverpool Riverside	Lab Maj	17 437
60.8	-9.6	Manchester Gorton	Lab Maj	16 279
56.9	-7.0	Manchester Central	Lab Maj	18 037
68.5	-6.6	L/pool Mossley Hill	Lab Maj	2606
56.1	-6.3	Sheffield Central	Lab Maj	17 294

These tables show the five seats with the highest increase in turnout and the five seats with the greatest decrease in turnout in the 1992 general election.

Adapted from Wood & Wood, 1992

**Source B Tactical voting**

(i) Under Britain’s first past the post system, constituency boundaries are crucial since they define the local level of support for each party. A voter may live in an extremely safe Labour local government ward which is situated within a marginal Labour/Conservative parliamentary constituency which in turn is part of a marginal Conservative/Liberal Democrat Euro-constituency. Clearly, the tactical voting pressures on voters depend upon what sort of election is being held. The tactical voter who wants to protest and so prevent the Conservatives winning seats, will vote Labour at local and general or by-elections and Liberal Democrat at Euro-elections. But to be successful in a tactical vote, the voter needs reliable information from opinion polls. Even so, this can be only a “best guess” as the voter does not know what other voters will do.



This photograph was taken in Oxford in March 1992, a month before the general election was held.

Adapted from Miller, 1990

(ii) What the tactical voters don't understand is that without a Labour government, millions of us are simply defenceless. We don't vote Labour because we think a Labour government will bring socialism or because we think it will end the recession or even because we particularly like its policies. We vote Labour because it's our party. It's on our side as it was on the side of our forefathers. When times are good, under Labour they will be good for us. When times are bad, under Labour they will be less bad for us. I would rather die than not vote Labour.

Adapted from Coward, 1992

**Source C Three marginal constituencies**

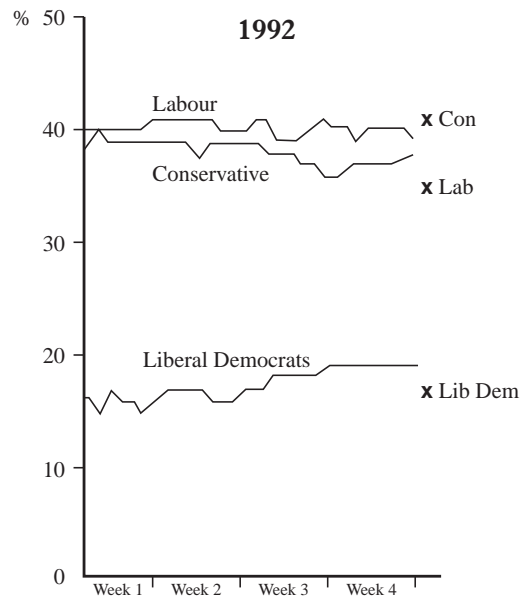
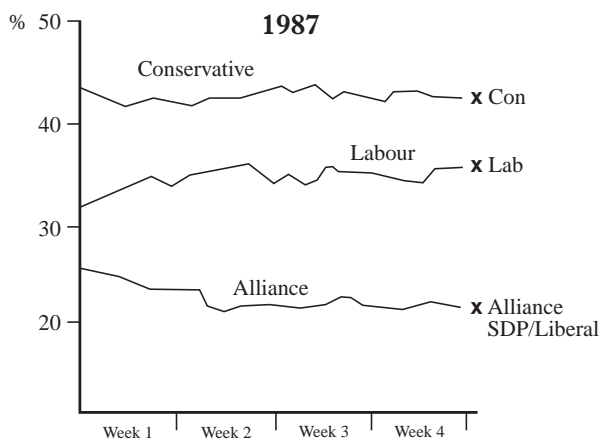
<b>(i) VALE OF GLAMORGAN</b>				<b>No change from 1987</b>		
Electorate % turnout	66 672	81.9%	<b>1992</b>	65 310	79.3%	<b>1987</b>
Sweeney W E (Con)	24 220	44.3%	-2.5%	24 229	46.8%	Con
Smith J W P (Lab)	24 201	44.2%	+9.5%	17 978	34.7%	Lab
Davies K (Lib)	5 045	9.2%	-7.5%	8 633	16.7%	Lib
Con to Lab swing 6.0%	Con maj 19			Con maj 6251		

<b>(ii) BRECON AND RADNOR</b>				<b>Con gain</b>		
Electorate % turnout	51 509	85.95%	<b>1992</b>	49 394	84.4%	<b>1987</b>
Evans J P (Con)	15 977	36.1%	+1.4%	14 453	34.7%	Con
Livsey R A L (Lib)	15 847	35.8%	+1.0%	14 509	34.8%	Lib
Mann C J (Lab)	11 634	26.3%	-2.9%	12 180	29.2%	Lab
Lib to Con swing 0.2%	Con maj 130			Lib maj 56		

<b>(iii) CORBY</b>				<b>No change from 1987</b>		
Electorate % turnout	68 333	82.95%	<b>1992</b>	66 119	79.6%	<b>1987</b>
Powell W R (Con)	25 203	44.5%	+0.2%	23 323	44.3%	Con
Feather H A (Lab)	24 861	43.9%	+3.0%	21 518	40.9%	Lab
Roffe M W (Lib)	5 792	10.2%	-4.6%	7 805	14.8%	Lib
Con to Lab swing 1.4%	Con maj 342			Con maj 1805		

Adapted from Wood & Wood, 1992

**Source D The general election campaigns of 1987 and 1992**



These graphs show the average daily support for each party during the 1987 and 1992 general elections (the data comes from the opinion polls held during the campaign).

**The X shows the actual share of votes on polling day for each party.**

Questions 1–4 are based on Sources A–D.

**Question 1**

Use Source A

What conclusions can be drawn about changes in voter turnout in the elections held between 1992 and 1994?

8

**Question 2**

Use Source B

What are the advantages and disadvantages of voting tactically according to the information in Source B?

9

**Question 3**

Use Source C

Suppose you were a Liberal Democrat supporter who has decided to vote tactically. How would you cast your vote in each of three marginal seats in Source C if you were living there when the next General Election was called? Explain your choices.

7

**Question 4**

Use Source D

Large amounts of money are spent by all parties in UK general elections. In fact, parties may end up with millions of pounds of debt by the end of the campaign.

Would you say that the main parties are justified in spending large amounts of money and effort on their election campaigns? Give reasons for your answer.

6

**Total (30)**

[END OF QUESTION PAPER]

[C070/SQP122]

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Higher  
Politics  
Paper I  
Specimen Marking Instructions

NATIONAL  
QUALIFICATIONS

For full credit, award marks for relevant points and relevant and appropriate selection of examples and evidence (eg percentages) from the sources, justifying points made.

**Question 1** – Award up to **8 marks** in total from the following.

- Judging by turnout rates, Source A suggests that the electorate tend to regard general elections as more important than other types of election. (2 marks)
- Fewer voters are interested in elections to the European Parliament than other types of election—it is significant that the average turnout rate for the five by-elections was higher than for the European elections held on the same day in June 1994. (3 marks)
- Source A(ii) suggests that the 1992 general election saw a widening of the gap in turnout rates between Conservative-held constituencies and Labour safe seats. (3 marks)

**Question 2** – Award up to **9 marks** in total from the following.

For full credit must cover **both** advantages **and** disadvantages. Go up to maximum 6 marks for one only.

### **Advantages of Voting Tactically**

- It can give the voter some feeling of influence on the outcome of the election at constituency or ward level eg the Labour voter in Source B(i) might see a vote for Labour in a Euro-Election as a “wasted” vote because the Labour candidate has little chance of securing victory in a constituency that is a marginal Conservative/Liberal Democrat seat. By voting Liberal Democrat, however, the voter is helping to defeat a candidate from their least preferred party. (3 marks)
- Tactical voting can also be a way for a voter to register a protest vote. In some cases, voters’ main concern is not to elect a particular party but to prevent a party being elected—because they are unhappy with that party’s record in government. (3 marks)

### **Disadvantages of Voting Tactically**

- It is unlikely to satisfy and may even alienate a loyal party identifier. As the writer of Source B(ii) dramatically puts it, there may be some loyal party supporters who would “rather die” than not vote for his preferred party. (2 marks)
- Tactical voting is a negative act in that it means, in effect, voting **against** a party (the least preferred one) rather than voting **for** a party. (2 marks)
- Effective tactical voting requires access to reliable information about voting intention. There is no guarantee that such information will be available and no way of knowing, in advance, how reliable it is. (2 marks)

**Question 3** – Award up to **7 marks** in total from the following.

Credit appropriate examples from source to justify points made.

- Tactical voters are willing to vote for other parties if it is likely to prevent their least favourite party from winning. (1 mark)
- Assuming the least favoured party was the Conservative Party then it would make sense for the Liberal Democrat to vote for Labour in the Vale of Glamorgan and Corby—in the hope of ousting the Conservative, where the Liberal Democrat has virtually no chance. (2 marks)
- Vote Liberal Democrat in Brecon and Radnor since the Liberal Democrats came second and could win. (2 marks)
- If the least favoured Party was the Labour Party then it would make sense for the Liberal Democrat to vote Conservative in the Vale of Glamorgan and Corby—to keep out Labour, the Liberal Democrat has virtually no chance of election. (2 marks)

**Question 4** – Award up to **6 marks** in total from the following.

Award 1 mark for each point and two marks for developed points. Credit should be given for the selection of appropriate evidence from the source to justify points made.

- Source D shows that the actual share of the vote among the three main parties in the 1987 General Election was very close to the share of party support indicated by the opinion poll result at the start of the campaign. In other words, the campaign seemed to have little net effect on the election results—so there was no real justification for the sums of money and effort. (2 marks)
- The 1992 picture is somewhat different showing that the polls consistently underestimated the level of Conservative support and overestimated (by a bigger margin) the support for Labour. (2 marks)
- The 1992 data though does **not** indicate significant changes in the levels of support for any of the three main parties during the campaign. (2 marks)
- Each party would probably argue that it would be at a disadvantage if it reduced its campaign expenditure but its rivals did not. (1 mark)
- It could be argued that Labour's 1992 defeat would have been greater if it had not been for its campaign. (1 mark)

**Total mark (30)**

*[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]*

[C070/SQP122]

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Higher  
Politics  
Paper II  
Specimen Question Paper

Time: 1 hour 40 minutes

NATIONAL  
QUALIFICATIONS

Candidates should answer **THREE** questions.

**ONE** from Section A – The Theoretical Context.

**ONE** from Section B – The Structural Context.

**ONE** from Section C – The Social Context.

Each question carries 20 marks.

## Section A – The Theoretical Context

Marks

Answer **one** question from this section.

**A1.** Choose **one** of the political concepts listed below.

- Power
- Authority
- Ideology
- Legitimacy and consent
- Interest and choice
- Accountability

(a) Using the work of at least **one** relevant political theorist, explain your chosen concept. **15**

(b) Describe how this concept is applied in **two** contrasting political contexts. **5**

**A2.** Choose **two** of the political models listed below.

- Pluralism
- Centralism
- Liberalism
- Conservatism
- Socialism
- Marxism
- Fascism

Compare and contrast the key features of the **two** political models, ensuring that the work of at least **one** relevant political theorist is used for **each** model. **20**

**A3.** Choose **one** of the following political principles.

- Sovereignty of Parliament
- Rule of Law
- Separation of Powers

Using **two** political contexts, explain the key features of the political principle chosen. In your answer you should refer to the work of at least **one** relevant political theorist. **20**

**Section B – The Structural Context**

*Marks*

Answer **one** question from this section.

**B4.**

“The **executive** is, technically, the branch of government that is responsible for the execution or implementation of policy. In practice, however, its responsibilities tend to be substantially broader as well as more complex.”

*(Politics, Andrew Heywood, page 316, MacMillan)*

Discuss with reference to at least **one** political system you have studied.

**20**

**B5.**

“Political assemblies occupy a key position in the machinery of government. Traditionally they have been treated with special respect and status . . . in written Constitutions, for instance, they are usually accorded pride of place, being described before executives and judiciaries.”

*(Politics, Andrew Heywood, page 293, MacMillan)*

Explain the major functions of political assemblies in at least **one** political system you have studied. To what extent would you agree with the view expressed in the quote?

**20**

**B6.**

“The significance of the **judiciary** certainly varies from state to state and from system to system. However, most systems maintain that judges are independent and non-political.”

Discuss with reference to **two** contrasting political systems.

**20**

### Section C – The Social Context

Marks

Answer **one** question from this section.

- C7.** Compare and contrast the liberal and radical models of political socialisation. **20**
- C8.** (a) Explain the role of the mass media in attempting to influence political behaviour in **two** contrasting political contexts. **12**
- (b) How effective is the mass media in influencing political behaviour? **8**
- C9.** (a) 

Political participation allows for many different forms of involvement in the political process.
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- Describe at least **two** forms of political participation. **8**
- (b) Compare and contrast **two** of the following roles of political parties.
- Electioneering
  - Governing
  - Opposition
- 12**

[END OF QUESTION PAPER]

[C070/SQP122]

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Higher  
Politics  
Paper II  
Specimen Marking Instructions

NATIONAL  
QUALIFICATIONS

## 1999 Politics - Higher II

### Marking Instructions

#### Section A

- QA1 (a) This question will generate open and varied responses. The main features required to explain one concept are listed below - award 2 or 3 marks for each point correctly explained depending on development, and linked to at least one relevant theorist, up to a total of **10 marks**. Up to **5 marks** are allocated for specific and relevant reference to the theorist(s) - not simply biographical - the references should be more analytical and evaluative to gain the full 5 marks. **(Total marks 15)**

#### Concept

#### Main features/theorists

eg

Power

- Credit reference to different definitions of power eg the ability to get what we want - **power to** - the capacity to achieve objectives rather than to exercise control over other people. (Theorist linked to this notion could be Talcott Parsons who believed the more powerful the government the more effective it would be in achieving the goals of the community - this is a **consensus** view of power.)
- The consensus view of power is rejected by those who favour the view of power based on **conflict** - power is getting people to do what they would not have done otherwise ie **power over** others. This allows candidates to distinguish between different dimensions of power or as Steven Lukes (1974), Keith Boulding (1989) described it 'Three Faces of Power'. A candidate who chooses to explain Lukes' work should be highly credited for any of the following points:

**Power as decision-making** - the open face of power that can be seen to be exercised when a decision is taken. This type of decision-making can nevertheless be influenced in a variety of ways eg Boulding said it may not be that open but influence by intimidation (the stick) or productive exchanges involving gain (the deal) or the creation of obligations, loyalty and commitment (the kiss).

**Power as agenda setting** - the secret face of power - exercised behind closed doors. Those who have power to set the political agenda have the power to determine not only what can be discussed but, more importantly, what **cannot** be discussed. Power is also therefore about preventing decisions being taken ie 'non-decision making'.

**Power by manipulating desires** - people with such power can persuade others that what is being offered is desired - ability to shape what someone thinks.

- (b) **Total 5 marks.** Candidates should use **two** contrasting political contexts eg UK and China. If only **one** example is given award up to 3 marks irrespective of detail. Award up to a further two marks for a **contrasting** political context - a further example which is more of the same rather than contrasting should not receive any marks.

Eg Power: In UK the open face of power would involve the government proposing a new law, debated in Cabinet and Parliament with interest groups lobbying MPs. There may be demonstrations for or against the proposal but it eventually passes through both Houses in Parliament and receives Royal Assent and becomes law. This example could be contrasted with the situation in China where the Communist Party is the only legal party. Policy is determined by a self-selected, unaccountable power elite of 25-35 people. Of this group 7 people have real power determining by decree what will be implemented. Demonstrations may be violently put down.

<b>Concept</b>	<b>Main features/theorists</b>
Authority	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Closely connected with power - additional factor that those over whom power is exercised must believe the power holder has the <b>moral right</b> to exercise power and to <b>employ sanctions</b> if they wish - 'legitimate power'.</li> <li>• Using Max Weber's work the student should be credited for describing different <b>types of authority</b> and giving relevant examples to illustrate these eg <b>traditional authority</b> - rooted in history; <b>charismatic authority</b> which stems from personality and <b>legal-rational</b> authority which is grounded in a set of impersonal rules.</li> </ul> <p style="margin-left: 40px;">Linking examples eg traditional - monarchy; charismatic - Ghandi or Hitler; legal-rational — bureaucracies</p>
Ideology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Any comprehensive and mutually consistent set of ideas by which a social group makes sense of the world eg liberalism, Marxism.</li> <li>• An ideology needs to provide an <b>explanation</b> of how things have to come to be as they are; some indication of <b>where they are leading (a guide to action)</b>; criteria for distinguishing truth from falsehood and valid argument from invalid arguments; and some overriding belief whether in God or history or whatever to which adherents may make a final appeal when challenged by outsiders eg liberal democracies have an action plan based around ideology of <b>individualism</b> which leads to applications and practices like equality before the law, right of private property, universal suffrage, equal value of each vote - all give a sense of common purpose and understanding to the majority of the population, a sense of identity for citizens; a sense of unity and so on.</li> <li>• Karl Marx's work shaped by Lenin is a good example. Many other relevant theorists to choose and credit.</li> </ul>

Concept	Main features/theorists
Legitimacy and Consent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Linked to authority and <b>rightful power</b>.</li> <li>• Term legitimacy used in discussing an entire system of government rather than specific positions within a government.</li> <li>• Most common legitimising procedure is free elections - Gorbachev's power and authority was seriously undermined by the fact that he had never submitted himself to popular election whereas Yeltsin made sure he had popular electoral support.</li> <li>• It is possible to exercise power without authority but it is unstable; rulers without legitimacy are obliged to rely on coercion.</li> <li>• It is also possible to retain authority without power - overthrown leaders in exile are often seen as legitimate rulers. <b>Max Weber's</b> work which identifies the basis on which legitimacy is established ie traditional, charismatic and legal-rational. Neo-Marxists like Habermas have alternative views on how legitimacy is maintained.</li> <li>• <b>John Locke's</b> notion of <b>express</b> or <b>tacit</b> consent could be used here. They could be compared with <b>informed consent</b> ie do people have adequate knowledge; state of mind of electors have to be considered with consent eg age and mental state.</li> </ul>
Interest and Choice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Pluralist</b> definition of interest "people's interests are what they say they are!" - basic criticisms of such a definition are needed.</li> <li>• Interests are distorted by manipulations of educational content and the mass media - can interests ever be free from such distortions?</li> <li>• Authoritarian <b>conservatives</b> argue that the State should have the right to determine and enforce society's interests and priorities. <b>Marxists</b> would argue that true interests within Capitalism can only be ascertained objectively by referring to two opposing classes - proletariat and bourgeoisie - whose interests are irreconcilable by definition. Marx's theory of interest or Robert Dahl's pluralism or the classical elitists eg Mosca, Pareto or Michels could be used to illustrate the concept of <b>interest</b>.</li> </ul>

## Concept

## Main features/theorists

**Choice** is a more general concept related to 'decision' and power. **Harold Lasswell** " power is decision making. A decision is sanctioned by choice, a choice brings severe deprivations to bear on anyone who flouts it."

- Choice operates at different levels eg individual, small group, whole governments. The interaction between these and how choices are finalised eg force/coercion, voting, are crucial.

## Accountability

- Means **answerability** ie a duty to explain one's conduct and be open to criticism by another.
- It requires that duties, powers and functions of bodies are defined in such a way that the performance of subordinate ones can be effectively monitored and evaluated.
- It operates in a context of constitutionalism and respect for rules - it can be a weak form of responsibility since it establishes a duty to answer and explain but not necessarily to bear guilt and accept punishment.
- Elections and representatives duly elected are accountable to those who elected them - examples of Governments, Ministers, MPs/Representatives. Senators etc can easily be given to illustrate accountability.

QA2 **Total 20 marks.** Two marks should be awarded for each correctly explained feature of the two models depending on development up to a total of 14 marks. Features should be compared and contrasted where relevant. However, the full 14 marks should not be awarded for two separate descriptions of key features — detailed - cross-reference to each model is required. Six marks are allocated for relevant theorist being used for each model.

Candidates can choose a number of alternatives to compare and contrast here eg Socialism and Conservatism, Liberalism and Marxism.

<b>Model</b>	<b>Key features</b>
<b>Socialism</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Community</b> - the core of socialism is the importance of community - human beings are social creatures and have a common humanity.</li> <li>• <b>Fraternity</b> or <b>comradeship</b> - socialists prefer co-operation to competition and collectivism over individualism. Co-operation enables people to harness their collective energies - competition leads to individuals against individuals, may breed resentment, conflict.</li> <li>• <b>Social equality</b> - a central value of socialism - equality of outcome (not opportunity) - this is the basis for the exercise of legal and political rights.</li> <li>• Material benefits should be distributed on the basis of <b>need</b> rather than merit or work. Karl Marx's "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need." This requires people to be motivated by moral incentives rather than material ones.</li> <li>• Socialism analyses society in terms of the distribution of income or wealth and <b>social class</b> is significant in this. Socialism is usually associated with the interests of an oppressed and exploited class and that class is the agent of change, even social revolution.</li> <li>• <b>Common ownership</b> - a controversial feature with some socialists seeing it as an end of socialism itself, others as a means of generating broader equality. A means of harnessing material resources for the common good. Private property promotes social division and selfishness.</li> </ul>

Candidates should/may refer to **Karl Marx** - his work based on 19<sup>th</sup> century England's industrialised heartland - its goal to abolish a capitalist economy based on market exchange and replace it with a qualitatively different socialist society. Many criticisms of work led to a reformist socialist tradition - improved working conditions, wages and the growth of trade union and socialist political parties - possibility of a parliamentary road to socialist state.

## Model

### Key features

#### Conservatism

- **Tradition** - 'desire to conserve' respect for established customs and institutions. Promotes stability, security and sense of belonging.
- **Human imperfection** - pessimistic view of human nature; humans are limited, dependent, need stable/orderly life. May be morally corrupt, selfish and greedy. Need strong state and laws.
- **Property** - ownership vital - gives independence, security; gives rights and duties. Respect for law and property of others.
- **Authority** - exercised from above, provides strong leadership, guidance and support; source of social cohesion, leads to a willingness to accept obligations and duties.
- **Hierarchy** - gradations of social position and status are natural and inevitable. They reflect different roles and responsibilities; do not necessarily give rise to conflict due to mutual obligations and 'knowing one's place'.

Credit reference to other relevant key features. Relevant **theorists** are many - eg Edmund Burke, the father of Anglo-American Conservative tradition; Disraeli's two nations Conservatism where reform from above was preferable to revolution from below.

### Key features

#### Marxism

- **Historical materialism** - cornerstone of Marxist philosophy - the importance of economic life and the conditions under which people live and work. The economic base ie. 'mode of production' determines the ideological and practical superstructure.
- **Dialectical change** - a process of interaction between competing forces that results in a higher stage of development. Change is due to conflict.
- **Alienation** - labour reduced to being a mere commodity with work becoming depersonalised. Workers alienated from the product of their labour and others and denied fulfilment and self-realisation.
- **Class struggle** - central contradiction in capitalist society due to private property; division between bourgeoisie (capitalist class) and 'proletariat' - the owners and workers.
- **Surplus value** - proletariat exploited under capitalism - capitalists extract profits (surplus value) from workers by paying them less than the value of their labour. Capitalism is unstable and a **proletarian revolution** was inevitable. '**Class consciousness**' crucial to this process

Theorists — Karl Marx himself, Engels; Lenin or other relevant references to be credited.

## Model

### Key features

## Fascism

- **20th century ideology** - a revolt against dominant western political ideas and values eg rationalism, progress, freedom and equality became struggle, leadership, power heroism and war.
- It is defined more by what **it opposes** eg anti-capitalism, anti-liberalism, anti-individualism, anti-communism and so on.
- Core theme is an **organically unified national community** - 'strength through unity. The individual is nothing'; individual identity is absorbed into the community or social group.
- '**New man**' - ideal - a hero, motivated by duty, honour and self-sacrifice, prepared to dedicate his life to the glory of his nation or race - obedience to the leader.
- **Italian fascism** was loyalty towards a totalitarian state whereas **German fascism** was based on **racialism** - Aryanism ie master race and anti-Semitism.

**Theorists** - the works of Hitler, Mussolini, Gentile, Rosenberg Houston-Stewart and Chamberlain

### Key features

## Liberalism

- **Individualism** - core principle of liberalism - a belief in the supreme importance of the human individual as opposed to any social group.
- **Freedom** - individual freedom or liberty is a core value of liberalism; arises naturally from belief in individual.
- **Reason** - world has rational structure and humans have ability to reason - believe in progress and the capacity of individuals to resolve their differences through debate not war.
- **Equality** - 'born equal' - liberals have a commitment to equal rights especially before the law and in politics eg one person, one vote, favour equality of opportunity - meritocracy - rather than equality of outcome.
- **Toleration** - to think, act and speak (within some limits) can lead to social enrichment, believe pluralism is healthy; natural balance and harmony - no such thing as irreconcilable conflict.
- **Consent** - willing agreement - 'consent of the governed' - favour democracy and representation although need a '**constitution**' as vital to guarantee order and stability in society - aware of dangers of tyranny - need **bill of rights** and **written constitution**.

**Theorists** - John Locke, John Stuart Mill

### Key features

## Pluralism

- **Stems from liberalism** - the state acts as a kind of 'umpire' in society. Based on the state being neutral and impartial.
- **Rule by minorities** - modern democracies are open and competitive with many different interests/groups competing for influence.
- **No single dominant elite**
- Role of **political obligation** is critical - grounds upon which individuals obey and respect the state (social contract notion).
- **State of nature** - ie without a state, individuals may abuse and exploit one another; with a state, order and civilised existence are guaranteed and liberty is protected.

**Theorists** - John Locke, Thomas Hobbes, Robert Dahl

### Key features

## Centralism

- **'Democratic centralism'** - belief in the freedom of debate married to unity of action.
- The leading **party** has to be the 'vanguard of the working class' - a tightly knit party of professional and dedicated revolutionaries capable of exercising ideological leadership eg Bolsheviks acting in the interests of the proletarian class.
- **National unity** - through central government - strong central control addressing interests of entire community.
- **Uniformity** - through central government, uniform laws and public services.
- **Equality** - through distribution of resources from centre where most needed.
- **Prosperity** through most efficient use of resources.

**Theorists** - Lenin or other relevant influences

QA3 **Total 20 marks.** Award 2-3 marks for each of the key features of the chosen political principle depending on development up to a total of 12 marks. Credit up to 4 marks for reference to a relevant theorist(s) and 2 marks each for two political contexts if correct links are made.

**Principle**

**Key features**

**Sovereignty of Parliament**

(Contrast with USA's federal system and state legislatures versus national Senate and House of Representatives)

- Sovereignty refers to the main fount of authority in society; it belongs to the body which has the right to make laws for the country eg Britain - Parliament.
- Using Britain as a context there is a major qualification in that it is an example of clear, concentrated sovereignty because Parliament can make whatever laws it likes, it cannot bind its successors, judges cannot overturn its legislation and no other body can make laws applying to the country - exception is EU regulations which apply directly to Britain even if regulations have not been approved by the national Parliament.
- Sovereignty can be **internal** - making laws which apply within its territory and **external** which is recognition in international law that a state has jurisdiction (authority) over a territory.
- Central principle of British Constitution.
- Criticised for being implicitly authoritarian leading to 'elective dictatorship' in Britain when the Parliament is executive dominated.
- Parliamentary sovereignty has been modified due to the increasing number of voters - where does sovereignty lie with electorate or Parliament? **A.V. Dicey** distinguished between **political sovereignty** resting with the electorate and **legal sovereignty** resting with Parliament.
- Use of **referenda** removes decision-making from Parliament; growth of **party-system** may have affected parliamentary sovereignty; strong **pressure group** influence reduces/frustrates parliamentary sovereignty.
- **William Blackstone** is credited with the traditional theory 'the need for a single, sovereign body within a defined territory' - he followed French philosopher **Jean Bodin** who defined sovereignty as the 'untrammelled and undivided power to make laws' - he was trying to uphold the privileges of the French Monarchy.

## Principle

### Rule of law

## Key features

- Nobody can be punished unless convicted of an offence by a court of law.
- The law applies equally to everybody.
- The general principles of the Constitution do not stem from declarations made by rulers, they arise out of decisions made in individual cases by an independent judiciary.

(These are the 3 key points according to A.V. Dicey writing in 1885.)

- Others see it as equating law and justice ie that the law and legal system are fair and equitable - hard to achieve in practice.

M Grant (1994) offers 5 key points:

- 1 Everyone, including governments, should be **equally subject to the same law** and have **same access** - reality is very different, compare Britain and USA (other contexts relevant) the rich and privileged have better access and some are even above the law.
- 2 'Just law' - justice and law are same thing - no such thing as an unjust law. Many disagree eg Poll Tax.
- 3 '**Legal certainty**' - should be clear statement of rights, obligations and limits to power - due to interpretation laws are uncertain though.
- 4 Everybody **innocent until proven guilty** - media can affect this.
- 5 **Independence/impartiality of the judiciary** - British and UK examples can show problems with this particularly Britain where senior judges are also members of the legislative body.
- 6 Rule of law - **check on power of government** eg Supreme Court in USA, no such checks in Britain.

## Key features

### Separation of power

- Political power should be divided among several bodies as a precaution against tyranny - doctrine as opposed to absolute sovereignty of the Crown, Parliament or other body.
- Emerged from doctrine of 'two swords' ie power shared between church and state - no convincing argument was produced on the supremacy of one over another.
- **John Locke** distinguished between the executive, legislative and federative (relating to foreign affairs) powers in the seventeenth century but he did not intend them to be regarded as separate.
- **Montesquieu** developed this into a full-blown theory of the separation of the legislative, executive and judicial powers (based partly on a misunderstanding of British politics).
- Descriptions and illustrations of the main powers in the **USA** and **Britain** will show an understanding of the political principle. How the series of checks and balances works in the USA and why Montesquieu was wrong with his British analysis are critical. Examples are required to explain how tyranny can be avoided and/or how a political system allows mixtures of power eg Prime Minister and Cabinet members in both legislative and executive; role of Lord Chancellor and so on.

## Section B

QB4 **Total 20 marks.** This question requires an explanation of the role and responsibilities of a political executive using at least one political system to illustrate the answer. Candidates will probably refer to either a parliamentary or a presidential political executive. Credit good and relevant contrasts.

Candidates should be awarded 2 to 3 marks for each developed and correctly illustrated point. They should cover **either** parliamentary **or** presidential executives, at least **two** key functions in some depth and refer to the question. Credit highly responses which compare and contrast points between more than one political system.

Reference must be made to the quote with candidates explaining clearly what a political executive is and how its responsibilities are much broader than implementing and executing policy. Candidates will have covered at least two of the key functions of political executives during their studies so answers are likely to focus on at least two key functions. Coverage of the complex nature of a political executive will involve the candidate in explaining the constraints on the exercise of power and perhaps succession to executive office.

Key points from the following:

- Distinction between 'political' and 'bureaucratic' executives - politicians and civil servants.
- Executives organised under a pyramidal leadership structure.
- **Parliamentary executive** - elected politicians; ministers drawn from and accountable to a political assembly; role is to make policy and oversee its implementation (civil servants offer advice and loyalty to ministers and administer policy - some overlap between ministers and civil servants); other roles/functions make its responsibilities broader eg mobilising support for its policies, providing leadership either of a ceremonial or crisis nature.
- Candidates could use UK to illustrate points above covering the PM, how he/she appoints Cabinet; the operation of 'collective' and 'individual ministerial responsibility'; having majority in House of Commons ensures compliance and co-operation (although examples of revolt exist); regular elections give the executive legitimacy; use of party whips and sanctions on members not falling into line; use of media and 'spin doctors' to mobilise support for policies; political patronage of PM and support from interest groups.
- Ceremonial leadership - state occasions, foreign visits, international conferences (role of Queen in UK here) - provides focus for unity and political loyalty, helps build legitimacy.
- Crisis leadership - UK examples of Thatcher and Falklands, Blair and Kosovo.
- Contrasting with above candidates may refer to a **Presidential executive** - executive and legislature are elected separately, each with a range of independent powers, roles of head of state and head of government are combined in office of President; executive authority in hands of President - Cabinet and ministers are merely advisers responsible to President; personnel in the legislative and executive branches are separated; electoral terms are fixed; president cannot dissolve the legislature.
- Examples of President making policy and the constraints upon him of the constitution - Congress; power to overturn President's wishes; wide ranging power or patronage and right to veto legislation; own party may not have a majority in Congress.
- President does not really have a ceremonial role but can act in a crisis - short of declaring war (Congress) - compare Nixon and Vietnam with Clinton in Kosovo.

QB5 **Total 20 marks.** Candidates should refer in depth to at least two major functions of political assemblies in at least one political system. Credit of 2/3 marks for each fully developed point correctly illustrated by an example from a political system. Credit highly examples which contrast more than one political system. Reference must be made to the quote to score more than 14 out of 20. A view on the importance of a political assembly should be expressed and, for full credit, it should follow the line of comments made in the answer to show some consistency.

Key points may include the following:

- Despite the quote a general view of political assemblies in the twentieth century is that there has been a progressive weakening of parliamentary power. Some may play an important role in the policy process but many have been reduced to 'talking shops' and rubber stamping decisions made elsewhere.
- Candidates may refer to the 3 distinct branches of government - executives, legislatures and judiciaries to show that assemblies have a prime function as a law-making body. This view can be challenged - there are debating chambers where policies and political issues can be openly discussed and scrutinised.
- Candidates may refer to either a parliamentary or a presidential system to show the relationship between the government (executive) and the legislature.
- Key function of a political assembly is **monitoring the executive** - using UK as an example. The House of Commons and House of Lords can examine and criticise policy proposals, executive actions and to a greater or lesser extent, expenditure of government. HM Opposition and the Government's own party are involved in this process through Question Time, Committee System (select, Standing, Scrutiny) - calling ministers, MPs and even civil servants before committees. Examples of "cash for questions" or resignation of ministers due to such scrutiny and media coverage should be given.
- Another function is **recruitment and control of political leaders** - assemblies act as a major channel of recruitment by providing a pool of talent and a career path from the back benches to the front benches in UK. Importance of the party in this process as a control - Blair's new Labour control measures may be mentioned - party patronage is crucial. There is a view that assemblies 'corrupt' politicians by socialising them into particular norms and values which distance them from the needs of their constituents and party workers at grass roots level.
- Candidates may choose **passing of laws** as a major function. Using the UK they could describe briefly the stages of a bill and the role of the two Houses but the role of the executive and the majority party is crucial; Private Members' Bills eg Mike Foster's bill calling for a ban on hunting; free votes on abortion, homosexuality and death penalty bills.

QB6 **Total 20 marks.** This question requires candidates to explain what is meant by the judges being independent and non-political and to illustrate the extent to which this is the case in **two** contrasting political systems. Award 2/3 marks for developed points. Credit highly reference to more than 2 political systems if relevant.

- **Principle of an Independent Judiciary** - a chief characteristic of liberal-democratic systems is that judges are strictly independent and non-political. They should be 'above' politics to guarantee a separation between the law and politics. (This is often seen as misleading since judges play a lead role in both legal and political activities when they attempt to resolve conflict or maintain state authority.) Candidates could use the USA and UK to contrast the significance of the Judiciary.
- USA Constitution creating checks and balances to keep judges separate from the executive and legislature whereas UK's senior judges are members of the legislature (House of Lords), Judiciary and through the Lord Chancellor, the Executive.
- UK - Lord Chancellor is a political appointment by the Prime Minister and he is a member of the Court - he appoints judges to the lower courts and gives advice to the Monarch on High Court appointments. Prime Minister gives advice on Court of Appeal appointments.
- USA judges are nominated to Supreme Court by the President and ratified by the Senate Judiciary Committee. State elections and nominations procedures can be by a public commission.
- Judges in both are permanent - they have jobs for life more or less. Free from civil proceedings for anything they say or do in the course of judicial activity; they are allowed to vote but must not align themselves to party politics or enter political debate (by declaring public interpretations of laws they are seen as being involved in political debate - taking sides but they would argue against such a view).
- In some political systems eg orthodox communist regimes the principle of 'Socialist Legality' meant that judges interpreted the law in accordance with Marxism - Leninism - judges became functionaries who carried out the political and ideological objectives of the regime eg USSR in 1930s 'Show trials'.
- Judges may be subject to extreme and/or internal bias - the principle of judicial independence should stop external bias but judges do have prejudices and sympathies of their own. The UK Court of Appeal over General Pinochet saw one judge's decision called into question over his membership of Amnesty International - his internal bias may have affected his judicial decision-making.
- Judges are increasingly drawn into political arena through judicial inquiries in the UK eg Lord Justice Scott, arms to Iraq in 1994; Lord Justice Taylor, Hillsborough disaster; Lord Nolan, ethics in public life.
- Because of parliamentary sovereignty UK judges cannot overrule executive decisions except when using **ultra vires** (see below); whereas USA Supreme Court can declare actions of Congress and President unconstitutional. In this way the USA Supreme Court can enter political decision-making and make policy without reference to elected politicians. The power of **Judicial Review** is crucial here with some examples being used as illustration e.g. in USA the famous Brown v Board of Education (1954) rejected segregation in schools as unconstitutional; Roe v Wade (1973) and the abortion issue.
- UK judges can deal more narrowly through the principle of **ultra vires** to declare actions of ministers unlawful eg declaring Greater London Councils subsidies to London Transport illegal. During 1992 and 1996 the UK Home Secretary was defeated by the courts no fewer than 10 times - this reflects the growth of a 'human rights culture' within the UK judiciary and a growing anxiety about the misuse of executive power, particularly in the UK where this is an absence of effective checks and balances.

## Section C

QC7 **Total 20 marks.** Marks should be awarded for defining political socialisation **and** identifying the key agents in the process. Candidates will be expected to explain at least **two** of these agents in some detail. The main contrast though is the difference between liberal and radical models of political socialisation. Award 2/3 marks for developed points.

Key features:

- Political attitudes and beliefs are acquired through learning and social experience - political socialisation.
- Debate about how this occurs. **Radicals** have long emphasised the degree to which the ideas of a ruling or economically dominant class affect society; political socialisation is seen as ideological domination and is **conscious** or **deliberate** - this is a key factor, critical to the distinction between radical and liberal models.
- Radical model seen as a process of indoctrination that takes place throughout a person's life carried out by institutions including the **media** and the **state**.
- Political socialisation from a liberal point of view is typically **unplanned** and **informal** - it operates largely through the agency of the family which shapes individuals during childhood - the process is portrayed as the transmission of values and beliefs from one generation to the next in the interests of social cohesion and political stability not the cause of economic subordination.
- It is difficult to provide empirical evidence to support either view but there are **correlations** between particular social factors and forms of political behaviour e.g. social class and voting behaviour. Theories of political socialisation cannot take into account personality and individual experience - human beings are not simply rodents programmed to behave as instructed.
- The agents at work in the process sometimes vary from culture to culture and over time and their influence is difficult to quantify. Candidates will probably concentrate on **two** agents from mass media, family, peer groups, workplace, education, religion. Credit appropriate references and examples
- **Mass media** - various forms - TV, Press, radio, magazines/journals - can be agenda setters and influence political thinking and transfer values. Candidates can contrast 'control' of media in liberal and radical models - is media really 'free' in liberal democracies? Who owns media? Are they politically biased?
- **Education** - state controls education and sets the curriculum, teaching standards etc - some civic education or indoctrination? Candidates should contrast UK with China or some other 'radical' state which uses education system to teach ideology.

QC8

(a) **Total 12 marks.** Award 2/3 marks for developed points up to a maximum of 12 marks. Candidates could refer to mass media's role in the political socialisation process in their answers and contrast liberal and radical approaches to the use of the mass media using contrasting political contexts eg UK and China or UK/USA and Russia.

- Mass media is a critical factor in political socialisation particularly since the late 1960s in liberal democracies - media are constantly visible or audible in our society today; impersonal means of transmitting information to a great number of people in a very short period of time.
- Mass media for the most part is one-way creating an audience that is conditioned to receive passively - the influence of TV, radio and newspapers is much debated. **Pluralists** argue that the mass media allows all political views to be debated and discussed so promoting democracy and checking government power; **Radicals** would argue that the mass media reflects dominant bourgeois ideas and works to maintain capitalism in line with the interests of major corporations and media chiefs - Marxists would argue that people in Northern Ireland have no real chance to assess competing ideologies because the ruling elite controls media output; the Glasgow Media Group have found strong evidence of right wing bias in the content and presentation of news stories on TV.

(b) **Total 8 marks.** Award 2/3 marks for developed points up to 8 marks from these or other relevant points.

- Mass media can **influence the political agenda** - certainly help determine **what** people think about and how important different issues are; they do reinforce pre-existing attitudes.
- Using UK as an example control of the media, eg Rupert Murdoch's News International empire may ensure news is reported in ways which meets his/their ideological approval; trivia sometimes dominates at the expense of serious issues but the Sun's influence on election days can be significant particularly against other 'Tory press'. Generally, when Conservatives were in power some of the media played down alternative views that might have offended the Government which they tended to support uncritically eg Harold Evans claimed he was dismissed as editor of the Sunday Times by Murdoch for failing to support his employer's political views in leading articles.
- News reporting is partial, selective and biased; there is a class bias among journalists in UK. Glasgow Media Group found that journalists mostly portrayed strikers in a negative light, refer to the "loony left", "Red Ken" - although others used derogatory terms for Conservatives eg "The Chingford Skinhead" - Norman Tebbit; there are many examples in the 1980s/90s of TV programmes that have been subject to government interference eg Falklands war, Northern Ireland - reporting is biased.
- Use of mass media as a **propaganda** machine - examples of recent Kosovo crisis and how Yugoslavia reported the bombing campaign compared with the Western/NATO allies.

QC9 (a) **Total 8 marks.** First part of the question requires a brief description of **2** forms of political participation with up to 4 marks being awarded to each according to relevance, detail and examples. Candidates may refer to the following points:

- **Elections** - voting is the most common act of individual participation in politics - candidates should refer to different types of electoral system eg first past the post and proportional representation; may refer to local, regional, national, European elections.
- **Referenda** - electorate can express a view on a particular issue of public policy - a device of direct democracy - it supplements representative institutions - can be advisory or binding - examples of each required eg Scottish/Welsh Assemblies, joining the EEC.
- **Voting behaviour** - tradition, peer group influence, workplace influence, regional e.g. city or country interests; some vote on issues, others vote for charismatic leaders; Northern Ireland example of Catholics voting Republican/SDLP, Protestant voting Unionist/loyalist parties.
- **Membership of political parties/interest groups** - political parties - different categories of members eg. supporters who vote for party and activists who join, pay prescriptions and help with leafleting, canvassing etc. Interest groups - 'cause' groups who promote a cause which does not directly benefit the group's members eg Greenpeace; Protectional eg TU s who exist for the benefit of members - provide service to members, and hope to influence government irrespective of which political party is in power.
- **Direct action** - from orderly demonstrations to revolution eg TU's strike against government policies in the 1970s/80s in UK; demonstrations against Poll Tax; more serious demonstrations eg "pro-democracy" in China in 1989, thousands of demonstrators killed; revolution in Russia in 1917; China in 1949; Cuba in 1957.

(b) **Total 12 marks.** Candidates to choose **two** of the roles of political parties and compare/contrast them. Award up to six marks for each role discussed. Each developed point receiving 2/3 marks if appropriately illustrated.

- **Electioneering role** - reward relevant comments and examples of how candidates are selected, campaigns are organised and financed, election manifestos are put together and advertised and how parties may organise the voters.
- **Governing role** - reward relevant comments and examples of how policy may be formed, how offices are allocated among the faithful and supporters and how the government organises itself in the assembly eg the whip system in UK, front bench and back bench party members in both House of Commons/Lords.
- **Opposition role** - reward relevant comment and examples of how the opposition ensures government accountability through question time, committees etc, provides alternative policies ready to take over as new government and contributes to legislation.

[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]