

2004 Politics

Higher – Paper 2

Finalised Marking Instructions

2004 Politics

Higher

Paper 2

Section A

Question A1

(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 **12 marks**. Up to **3 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 12)**

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. (A 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 also, 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.

Authority

Closely connected with power – additional factor that those over whom power is exercised must believe the power holder has the **moral right** to exercise power and to **employ sanctions** if they wish – ‘legitimate power’.

Using Max Weber’s work the candidate should be credited for describing different **types of authority** and giving relevant examples to illustrate these eg **traditional** authority – rooted in history; **charismatic** authority which stems from personality and **legal-rational** authority which is grounded in a set of impersonal rules.

Linking examples eg traditional – monarchy; charismatic – Ghandi or Hitler; legal-rational – bureaucracies.

Legitimacy and Consent

Linked to authority and **rightful power**.

Term legitimacy used in discussing an entire system of government rather than specific positions within a government.

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.

It is possible to exercise power without authority but it is unstable; rulers without legitimacy are obliged to rely on coercion.

It is also possible to retain authority without power – overthrown leaders in exile are often seen as legitimate rulers. **Max Weber’s** work that 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.

John Locke’s notion of **express** or **tacit** consent could be used here. They could be compared with **informed consent** ie do people have adequate knowledge; state of mind of electors has to be considered with consent eg age and mental state.

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.

Interest and Choice

Pluralist definition of interest: “people’s interests are what they say they are!” – basic criticisms of such a definition are needed.

Interests are distorted by manipulations of educational content and the mass media – can interests ever be free from such distortions?

Authoritarian **conservatives** argue that the State should have the right to determine and enforce society’s interests and priorities. **Marxists** 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 **interest**.

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.

(b)

Candidates should use at least **ONE political context** up to two marks for each developed point in a relevant political context. **(Total 8 marks)**

Eg Power: The main details should be from ONE context. 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. China could be used where the Communist Party is the only legal party. A self-selected, unaccountable power elite of 25-35 people determines policy. Of this group 7 people have real power determining by decree what will be implemented. Demonstrations may be violently put down.

Question A2

Two marks should be awarded for each correctly explained feature of the principle or idea selected, depending on development, up to a total of 16 marks. Features should be compared and contrasted where relevant in two political contexts. Four marks are allocated for relevant theorist. **(Total 20 marks)**

Sovereignty of Parliament

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 UK – Parliament.

Using the UK 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 the UK even if regulations have not been approved by the national Parliament.

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

Sovereignty can be **internal** – making laws that apply within its territory and external which is recognition in international law that a state has jurisdiction (authority) over a territory.

Central principle of UK 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? **AV 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.

Rule of law

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 AV Dicey written 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:

- 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.
- **‘Just law’** – justice and law are same thing – no such thing as an unjust law. Many disagree eg Poll Tax.
- **‘Legal certainty’** – should be clear statement of rights, obligations and limits to power – due to interpretation laws are uncertain though.
- Everybody **innocent until proven guilty** – media can affect this.
- **Independence/impartiality of the judiciary** –UK examples can show problems with this, particularly where senior judges are also members of the legislative body.

Rule of law – **check on power of government** eg Supreme Court in USA, no such checks in Britain.

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 **UK** 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.

Freedom

Freedom refers to, as would be argued by liberals, the most basic right of people to decide for themselves how they order their lives, with whom they associate, how they worship etc. Freedom has been seen as a “natural right” since the early days of liberalism. **John Stuart Mill** argued that individuals should have the freedom to do what they liked as long as they did not harm others, providing others had the same freedom. These freedoms are often enshrined in a **Bill of Rights** in individual countries, though international codes also exist – **International Declaration of Human Rights**.

Freedom also has “from” use as well as “to” use. Examples are freedom from unlawful arrest, tyranny, etc.

Freedom has, historically, been seen as the right of a nation or a people to gain freedom from an oppressor. This view of freedom exists today with people from many nations claiming the right to “be free”. Many so called “wars of national liberation” spring up from time to time.

Rights

Early political theorists such as **Thomas Hobbes** and **John Locke** believed that people were endowed with “**natural rights**”. **Locke** believed that natural rights were God given – rights to life, liberty and property – and should not be interfered with by governments. Candidates may make the link between rights and sovereignty. Should governments deny citizens their natural rights then the people are justified in withdrawing their consent to be governed.

In some countries rights are protected by a “Bill of Rights” – eg first ten amendments of the US constitution. Rights such as economic, civil, legal, religious and political were identified, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as important to preserve, while in the twentieth century social rights such as health and education have been added.

Human Rights have also been identified in, for example, the **Universal Declaration of Human Rights** as passed by the United Nations in 1948. The **European Convention on Human Rights** (1950) identified a list of “rights” which were, for the first time, enforceable.

Freedoms can be restricted, usually by law, where they would interfere with other peoples’ freedom. Laws on slander, racism, sedition are examples of restrictions.

Equality

Equality for eighteenth and nineteenth centuries writers such as **Mary Wollstonecraft** and **J S Mill** was the need for women to attain equality with men and for the elimination of poverty.

Equality has been linked to freedom by socialists – they would argue that unless the inequality between classes in terms of opportunity, wealth, income, education, health and power are reduced genuine freedom cannot exist.

Liberals, on the other hand, would argue that **equality of opportunity** is what is important. They would contend that, given a level playing field, people will advance at different rates based on individual ability and merit.

In modern times, the link between equality and rights has led to legislation to tackle inequality on grounds of race, creed, religion, colour or gender.

Justice

Justice can be seen in two ways – **procedural justice** and **social justice**. **Procedural justice** is where the “**due process of the law**” ensures that people are treated fairly and equally when being tried in a court of law irrespective of race, creed, religion, colour or gender.

Social justice, on the other hand, refers to the way in which a society treats its citizens in terms of rewards and burdens. Social justice is about meeting peoples’ basic social rights – food, housing, protection etc – and how equitably any surplus is distributed.

A number of theorists are relevant for these concepts. Obvious theorists such as **John Locke**, **J S Mill**, **Karl Marx** should be credited, but so should any other relevant theorist mentioned in the appropriate context.

Question A3

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. **(Total 20 marks)**

Pluralism

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.

Socialism

Community – the core of socialism is the importance of community – human beings are social creatures and have a common humanity.

Fraternity or comradeship - socialists prefer co-operation to competition and collectivism over individualism. Cooperation enables people to harness their collective energies – competition leads to individuals against individuals, may breed resentment, conflict.

Social equality – a central value of socialism – equality of outcome (not opportunity) – this is the basis for the exercise of legal and political rights.

Material benefits should be distributed on the basis of **need** 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.

Socialism analyses society in terms of the distribution of income or wealth and **social class** 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.

Common ownership – 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.

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

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

Theorists – Marx, Engels, Lenin, Mao.

Section B

Question B4

Candidates should select one of the political issues and outline its key features in two political contexts. Credit up to 5 marks for a clear definition of the issue chosen and 2-3 marks for each key feature explained. Candidates must refer to two political systems to achieve full marks. **(Total 20 marks)**

Unicameral versus bicameral:

Candidates should show they understand that in a **unicameral system** only **one law making body** exists while in a **bicameral system** there are **two** such bodies. It is highly possible that candidates will focus on bicameral arrangements because they are common in many major countries. They should demonstrate that they recognise that in some countries with a bicameral system one of the **law making bodies** is likely to be more powerful than the second. In the UK, for instance, the **House of Commons** is considered to be senior in authority to the **House of Lords** because it is elected and therefore seen as being more 'legitimate'.

This is not necessarily the case in all states. In the US, for instance, both **Houses of Congress** are elected. Candidates should outline the different roles enjoyed by each house. In the UK the **House of Commons** has a number of functions – legislation, scrutiny, representation, debating, members of the government – whilst the **House of Lords** has similar functions though in a much reduced way. The **House of Lords** has a further and exclusive role, namely **judicial**. Similarly, candidates should explain the functions of the two houses in their chosen alternative context.

Many modern **liberal democracies** function without a **second chamber**, examples being Denmark, Israel, and Sweden. These countries operate successfully with the single elected chamber taking responsibility and being accountable to the electorate.

Election versus appointment:

Members of political assemblies in liberal democracies who are elected are more likely to be considered **legitimate**. In large modern nations **democracy** must be **representative democracy** to function properly. Representatives are chosen using a system which involves **regular elections** with **universal franchise**. Elections are required to be open, free, fair and offer voters a choice.

An appointed assembly, on the other hand, is likely to be considered **lacking in accountability** because it is not **elected democratically** and cannot be **called to account** via the **election process**. Where assemblies are appointed they have to be chosen by someone, or by a group, and this puts **extremely powerful patronage** in the hands of a few powerful people. It is a point of principle in a democratic system that assemblies are elected. The system described is the British one.

Other appointed systems also exist where members of the executive are appointed (in the US by the President) and are not directly accountable to the people. In the US only the President is accountable although his executives' performance may reflect on his performance and that of his party in an election.

Subsidiarity and centralism:

The principle that decisions taken by Parliaments, governments and other authorities are taken as close as possible to the people is known as **subsidiarity**. It is the exact opposite of **centralism** where decisions are taken far away from the people. **Subsidiarity** is often seen as being related to **federalism** – the US being one example of a **federal system**. In recent times in the UK successive governments have been accused of being **centralist** while claiming to be devolving decision-making to more local decision makers.

The UK's membership of the EU was often portrayed as being giving decision-making powers to a centralist body which is even more remote than Westminster. Candidates may refer to devolution which has given Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland (possibly) assemblies as an example of **subsidiarity**.

Candidates should refer to at least one other structure which explains **subsidiarity**.

Question B5

Candidates should refer in depth to at least one major function of political assemblies in two political systems. Credit 2 to 3 marks for each fully developed point correctly illustrated by an example from each of the political system. Reference must be made to the quote to score more than 14 out of 20. **(Total 20 marks)**

Key points may include the following:

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.

The rise of the importance of “party” has greatly increased the role of the whips. The whips – definition here is necessary – see it as crucial that MPs support the party line, especially in debates seen as crucial. 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.

Some see **representing the people** as a separate issue from this and argue that it goes on behind the scenes. Others would argue that this is only one aspect of **representing the people** and that, where the interests of party clash with the people, the party always wins. Voters, on the other hand, expect that their representatives look after their interests as constituents irrespective of which party we voted for. We expect that, where appropriate, our representatives will obtain redress on our behalf. We still contact MPs in significant numbers to seek assistance, usually amounting to 2-3 days work per week.

Political assemblies are also expected to protect our national interests and that this is achieved through debate within and outwith the assembly. We expect that national and public interests are put before party and narrow group or individual interests.

Question B6

This question requires candidates to compare and contrast the role of the judiciary in resolving conflict between the state and the people in two political systems. Award 2 to 3 marks for developed points. Credit highly reference to more than two political systems if relevant. **(Total 20 marks)**

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 external 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 the political arena through judicial inquiries in the UK e.g. 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 e.g. 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 there is an absence of effective checks and balances.

Section C

Question C7

Marks should be awarded for defining political socialisation. The main comparison and contrast is the difference between the liberal and radical models of political socialisation. Award 2/3 marks for developed points, up to 10 for each factor chosen. **(Total 20 marks)**

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 eg 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.

Question C8

Candidates are required to fully explain two examples of political participation in two political systems studied. Award 2/3 marks for each developed point, up to 10 marks for each form of political participation chosen. It is critical that two political systems are used to compare and contrast points made. **(Total 20 marks)**

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 eg city or country interests; some vote on issues, others vote for charismatic leaders; Northern Ireland example of Catholics voting Republican/SDLP, Protestants 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 subscriptions 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 TUs 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 TUs 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.

Question C9

Candidates to choose **one** of the roles of political parties and compare and contrast this role in **two** political systems studied. Each developed point receiving 2/3 marks if appropriately illustrated. **(Total 20 marks)**

Electioneering role

Reward relevant comments and examples of how candidates are selected, campaigns are organised and financed, election manifestos are put together and advertised, role of the constituency parties, use made of the media, changes in the method of presentation (from public meetings to media based campaigns) 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, role of the cabinet, how policy is announced, accountability of Ministers, role of 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]