

2005 Politics

Higher – Paper 2

Finalised Marking Instructions

These Marking Instructions have been prepared by Examination Teams for use by SQ Appointed Markers when marking External Course Assessments.

2005 Politics

Higher

Paper 2

Section A

Question A1

Total 20 marks. Award 2–3 marks for each of the key features of the chosen political issue 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.

Individual and the state

Candidates should explore the function of the **individual** and the **state** in the political process.

The **state** is the supreme law making body in a geographical area with the power of coercion over the **individual**. The **state** gets its authority and legitimacy from the **individual**. Much has been written about this relationship from Aristotle through Hobbes and Locke to modern writers.

Candidates should demonstrate that they understand that the **state** gets its authority and legitimacy from the people. They should clearly understand the role of the democratic process – free and regular elections, universal franchise, choice etc – in protecting the **individual** from the **state** and in conferring legitimacy, authority and in giving consent to governments.

They ought also to mention the responsibility of the state to protect the interests of the minority from the power of the majority. The role played by constitutions in declaring the “rules” for both the **state** and the **individual** ought to be made clear.

Equality

Equality for eighteenth and nineteenth centuries writers such as **Mary Wollstonecroft 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.

Responsibility and accountability

Responsibility and 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 **responsible** and **accountable** to those who elected them, both on a collective and individual basis – examples of Governments, Ministers, MPs/ Representatives and their responsibility and accountability to Parliament and to the people. Senators etc can easily be given to illustrate accountability.

Freedom and Rights

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.

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 the 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.

Question A2

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. 6 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.

Elitism

Developed as a critique of egalitarian ideas such as democracy and socialism.

It draws attention to elite rule either as an inevitable and desired feature of social existence or as a remedial and regrettable one. Classical elitist theorists like Pareto, Mosca and Michels tended to take the former view.

C Wright Mills as a modern elitist also useful particularly in describing the USA as dominated by a nexus of leading groups – “power elites”.

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.

Question A3

(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 **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 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. (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 student 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.

Ideology

Any comprehensive and mutually consistent set of ideas by which a social group makes sense of the world eg liberalism, Marxism.

An ideology needs to provide an **explanation** of how things have to come to be as they are; some indication of **where they are leading (a guide to action)**; **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 **individualism** 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.

Karl Marx's work shaped by Lenin is a good example. Many other relevant theorists to choose and credit.

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 have to be considered with consent eg age and mental state.

(b)

Total 8 marks. Candidates should use **two** contrasting political contexts eg UK and China. If only **one** example is given award up to 4 marks, irrespective of detail. Award up to a further 4 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. 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.

Section B

Question B4

This question requires a comparison of one key function of a political executive using two political systems 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 **one** key function in some depth and refer to the question. Credit highly responses that compare and contrast points between more than one political system.

Key points from the following:

For each of the functions candidates should begin by defining a 'political executive'. They should be aware that it differs from a 'bureaucratic executive' and that it is made up of, in the UK, elected politicians. In the comparative political system chosen this may not be the case. In the USA for instance, the President is the only elected member of the executive. The rest of the political executive is appointed by the President from outwith the elected members.

Making policy

The political executive is responsible for formulating policy as and when the need arises. They will have to develop policies to implement manifesto commitments, to deal with problems and with issues as and when they arise.

Politicians may make policies when they are not in office. This is not the same as policies made when in power. The former has been described as a 'set of aspirations' and the latter as 'operational policies'.

Dogma may greatly influence policy making.

Politicians have to choose between policy options, choose presentation methods, date of implementation etc. They have, in other words, to make decisions.

Good candidates should mention some of the types of decisions available to politicians, including non-decisions.

As well as dogma, policy-making may be influenced by the civil service, the opposition pressure groups, MPs, the media etc. They will give advice, often conflicting advice, to Ministers and it is the Minister's task to make a policy decision based on advice.

Policy often originates in Departments of State and only a small number are considered important enough to take to cabinet. Candidates may refer to different models of decision-making within departments. Although the final responsibility for any policy lies with the Minister (s)he will be influenced by the senior civil servants in the Department. Civil servants can influence decisions by the *way* and the *manner* in which they present information.

The treasury has a huge amount of power with regard to policy making through its control of spending.

Candidates could compare and contrast the UK system with any other political executive of their choice, or alternatively they can examine policy-making in any other two systems of their choice.

Mobilising support for Policy

Key points from the following and any other relevant points included by candidates.

- Policy decisions may be controversial – Ministers will be required to justify decisions.
- The Minister's first hurdle may well be to convince **civil servants** within his/her department.
- (S)he will also have to convince **Cabinet colleagues** to support the policy – if successful **collective responsibility** will result in the executive presenting a united front.
- Ministers will need to gather support from their **party** – both in **parliament** and in the **country**.
- The **media** will also be 'used' in the process of mobilising support. Government '**spin**' **doctors** will present the policy in the 'best' possible light. Ministers will make themselves available for TV, radio and newspaper interviews.
- Every attempt will be made to present a united front.

Candidates could compare and contrast the UK system with any other political executive of their choice, or alternatively they can examine policy-making in any other two systems of their choice.

Supervising the implementation of policy

Key points from the following and any other relevant points included by candidates.

- Once the executive becomes committed to a policy or/and the policy has been enacted through the legislature it becomes their role to implement it.
- Usually the duty of the appropriate Ministry.
- Part of the implementation may be handed over to an **Agency** (ie Benefit Agency) **Quango** or retained by the **Department**.
- The executive will be accountable for implementation and the administration arrangements made.
- **Civil servants** may interpret policy in a different way from Ministers.
- Ministers may have to deal with disagreements arising from implementation.
- The Courts may need to become involved in disputes involving policy and its interpretation.

Candidates could compare and contrast the UK system with any other political executive of their choice, or alternatively they can examine policy-making in any other two systems of their choice.

Crisis Leadership

Candidates are likely to use actual events – Falklands, invasion of Kuwait, Kosovo, Iraq or any other appropriate occasion – to explore how the executive responded in a situation of crisis. They should include an assessment of the response of the opposition, the people and the media to the executive's response – question of **national unity**, role of leaders, need to introduce legislation etc.

Candidates could compare and contrast the UK system with any other political executive of their choice, or alternatively they can examine policy-making in any other two systems of their choice.

Credit should be given for any relevant and acceptable points made.

Question B5

Candidates should refer in depth to at least one major function of political assemblies in two political systems. Credit of 2 to 3 marks for each fully developed point correctly illustrated by an example from the political system. Reference must be made to the quote to score more than 14 out of 20. Credit highly responses that compare and contrast points between more than one political system.

Key points may include some of the following with candidates making references to perhaps the USA by way of comparison:

- Use 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.
- 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 backbenches to the front benches in the 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.
- As stated above assemblies act as a major channel of recruitment by providing a pool of talent and a career path from the backbenches to the front benches in the UK. But while assemblies can **make Ministers** and legitimise governments they can be responsible for **dismissing Ministers or governments**. In reality this is only likely to happen where the government of the day has a very small majority and where a sufficient number of MPs from the party in power can be persuaded to support the opposition on a controversial issue. One possible example is the Major government. Because of the divisions in that government over the issue of Europe, defeat was always possible. In the past governments have lost crucial votes in the UK parliament and have survived by winning subsequent votes of confidence. While prepared to defeat the government on an issue, few MPs are prepared to ‘bring down’ their own government. Such dismissal of governments are more likely to happen where more than one party is involved – coalition government – in the government of the day.
- The rise of the importance “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. Because the UK is a Representative Democracy MPs are elected to represent the interests of all of their constituents. Others would argue that this is only one aspect of **representing the people** and that where the interests of a party clash with the people the party always wins. Another possible clash of interests is where an MP's personal views do not coincide with those of her/his constituents or their party. Abortion, hanging, the EU are possible examples.

Candidates may choose **passing laws** as a major function. Using the UK they could describe briefly the stage of a bill and the role of the two Houses but that the role of the executive and the majority is crucial. They should also make reference to Private Members' Bills and quote some recent examples.

Question B6

This question requires candidates to explain the role of the judiciary in a democracy and discuss with reference to two political systems. Candidates must make reference to the quote and comment on it appropriately with back-up examples for their claims. Award 2 to 3 marks for developed points.

Credit reference to the following and other relevant points:

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 the 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 eg 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

Question C7

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.

Question C8

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. **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 C9

Candidates are required to fully explain the role of one example of political participation in two political systems they have studied. Award up to 2/3 marks for fully developed points up to a total of **20 marks**. Candidates must cover two systems. Even a very detailed coverage of only one system should only receive a maximum of 10 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, Protestant voting Unionist/loyalist parties.

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.

[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]