



**2007 Politics**

**Higher – Paper 2**

**Finalised Marking Instructions**

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## 2007 Politics

### Higher

### Paper 2

### Section A

### Question A1

Candidates must refer to the quote and structure a robust and relevant answer around it in order to gain high marks, ie 15 or more out of 20. Award **2 or 3 marks** for each point correctly explained depending on development and the links made between the concepts and relevant theorists, Lukes and Weber, up to a total of **20 marks**.

Credit references to aspects of the following:

#### Legitimacy

- The crux of the question is that the term “legitimacy” broadly means rightfulness and therefore it confers an authoritative or binding character, which transforms power into authority.
- The claim to legitimacy is sometimes more important than the fact of obedience – a willingness to comply, a way of giving consent that obligates individuals to acknowledge the authority of government
- Why do people obey the state? This tends to reflect a shift from the philosophy of why should they obey the state to the political sociology of Max Weber, in which he identifies in each case the basis on which legitimacy was established.
- Candidates can refer in depth to Weber’s three ideal types of authority: traditional, charismatic and legal-rational.
- Importance of concept of consent in terms of it being the main distinction between power and authority – Weber’s typologies allow candidates to refer to both consent and obligation and explore how these operate within particular states or historically.
- Consent through voting and elections can be compared to traditional charismatic examples of Weber.

#### Power

- Credit reference to different definitions of power, eg the ability or power to get what we want and the capacity to achieve objectives rather than to exercise control over other people.
- 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) described them:

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 influenced by intimidation (the stick) or productive exchanges involving gain (the deal) or the creation of obligations, loyalty and commitment (the kiss). Credit references to other theorists if relevant but not if they are substitutes for the theorists asked for in the question.

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.
- Credit appropriate linking examples, eg traditional – monarchy; charismatic – Ghandi or Hitler; legal-rational – bureaucracies.

### **Question A2**

Award **2 or 3 marks** for each point correctly explained depending on development and the links made between concepts and relevant theorists. Candidates are likely to use an historical approach in referring to direct and representative democracy. They must use appropriate theorists and examples to illustrate their points, eg Greek City States. Candidates may include some of the criticisms of direct democracy and representative democracy. Many different theorists could be used in the answers so credit appropriately (candidates may use Plato, Aristotle, Locke, Rousseau, Paine, Shumpeter, De Tocqueville and/or Dahl, to name but a few).

Credit references to aspects of the following:

### **Direct Democracy**

- People or citizens make the decisions and are expected to participate fully in the political process – sometimes considered as ‘pure’ democracy. Removes the need for legitimacy as the people make the law themselves.
- It heightens citizens’ control.
- It creates a better informed and more politically knowledgeable group of citizens.
- The public can express a view and interest without having to rely on self-serving politicians.
- Ensures rule is legitimate – decisions will be accepted since the people made them.
- Some would argue that direct democracy is impractical in modern society, given the millions of people and many issues on which to decide; society would probably cease to function if attempts were made to run it as a direct democracy.

## Representative Democracy

- A limited and indirect form of democracy. Popular participation in government is infrequent and brief, eg through voting in elections, the most important feature of representation. The public do not exercise power themselves; they select who will rule on their behalf. Should therefore be a link between government and governed – the electoral mandate.
- It is more practicable than direct democracy given the numbers involved now – still possible to have direct democracy in small communities.
- Ordinary citizens do not have to be involved in decision making – division of labour created in politics.
- It allows government to be in the hands of those with expert knowledge, experience and perhaps better education.
- Maintains stability – distances ordinary citizens from politics and encourages compromise.
- Accountability is an important feature.
- Some would argue that the government should reflect the society it seeks to represent – in terms of political opinion and in terms of social, ethnic and gender groups in society.

### **Question A3**

Award **2 or 3 marks** for each point correctly explained up to a total of **20 marks**, depending on development and the link to the relevant theorists – Marx, Lenin and Burke. Credit appropriate historical background/contexts used by candidates. It is important that candidates do not just describe or explain each theorist's work in turn, they must compare and contrast their ideas appropriately in order to gain high marks.

Credit references to aspects of the following:

### Conservatism

Edmund Burke was in opposition to the radical new ideas of those leading the French Revolution – he developed his thoughts into a logical and full account of early conservative principles as follows:

- Man is not a rational creature but is driven by basic instincts and emotions – the imperfections of man had to be recognised.
- Since man is not capable of being made perfect through education etc, he must have discipline imposed on him by some superior force.
- Man needs order and security, which are more desirable than individual freedom and tolerance. The purpose of political power is to create and maintain good order.
- This is best achieved through continuity and respect for traditional institutions, eg landed interests, the family, the Church.
- Rapid and violent change is to be avoided – reforms only when necessary and with regard to tradition.
- Ownership of property brings responsibility – those who own should try to look after/protect those who do not.
- Other relevant points.

## Socialism

Marxists divide socialists into 'utopian' and 'scientific' – Marxism claims to be scientific socialism on the grounds that socialism is tied in an empirically demonstrable way to the material interests of workers.

- **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. Co-operation enables people to harness their collective energies – competition leads to individuals against individuals and may breed resentment and 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 dictum "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.
- Other relevant points.

## **Section B**

### **Question B4**

Award up to **2 marks** for each developed point, depending on quality, level of detail, relevance, accuracy and exemplification. It is important that candidates actually compare and contrast the UK with the chosen country rather than simply describe how the work of each government is scrutinised. Pure description should only score around half marks at best, no matter how detailed. In order to score higher marks the candidate must compare and contrast the UK with the chosen country as they answer the question.

Credit references to aspects of the following:

#### **The UK**

- In the UK the House of Commons and House of Lords can examine and criticise policy proposals, executive actions and to a greater or lesser extent the expenditure of government.
- HM Opposition and the government's own party are involved in scrutinising policy through Question Time – PM and ministers.
- The committee system – Select, Standing and Scrutiny committees have become very important, calling ministers, MPs and even civil servants before them. Examples of “cash for questions” or resignations of ministers due to such scrutiny and media coverage could be given and credited.
- Other relevant points.

#### **Scotland**

- Through First Minister's Question Time and questions to other ministers.
- Through scrutinising Executive bills during the legislative process.
- The committee system – distinguish between subject committees and mandatory committees and the work of the Private Bills Committee; how government policy can be scrutinised through these means.
- Committees play a central part in the work of the Parliament – taking evidence from witnesses, scrutinising legislation and conducting inquiries. Most committees meet weekly or fortnightly, usually on Tuesdays or on Wednesday mornings, in one of the Scottish Parliament's committee rooms – or in locations around Scotland. Most meetings are in public.
- Other relevant points.

#### **The USA**

- Congressional committees have wide powers to call witnesses and see papers – Freedom of Information Act ensures the right to see official documents.
- Important meetings are well publicised.
- There is no doctrine of collective responsibility so members of government can be more frank than in the UK or Scotland.
- Public officials are freer to express their views – unlike the Scottish Executive or civil servants in the UK.
- Appointment of government members and Supreme Court judges is subject to Senate approval.
- Other relevant points.

## Question B5

Award up to **2 marks** for each developed point, depending on quality, level of detail, relevance, accuracy and exemplification. It is important to compare and contrast the UK with the chosen country rather than simply to describe the constitution in each country. Pure description should only score around half marks at best, no matter how detailed. It is also important to refer to each part of the question by comparing and contrasting the nature **and** the status of the constitutions used.

Credit references to aspects of the following:

- The **nature** of the constitutions in the UK and USA, eg are based on different philosophical principles – the UK's is essentially conservative in nature while the USA's is predominantly a liberal document; the implications of this difference are far-reaching.
- Liberal ideas – limited government, government by consent, and the separation of powers, safeguarding individual rights and establishing legal and political equality are all fixed within the American constitution.
- In the UK, by contrast, the conservative traditions have demanded that the system should not be subject to such unchanging, abstract principles. The constitution for a conservative is part of the living, changing society and culture; it is rooted in them and need to grow and develop with social change. This means it cannot have a fixed set of principles but needs to reflect change. The UK constitution is therefore seen as more flexible and less rigid than that of the USA. Fundamental political change is more difficult to achieve in the USA than in the UK.
- The **status** of the constitutions is very different. The USA constitution is absolutely supreme – all laws and acts of government are subordinate to the constitution; where there is conflict the constitution must prevail. In the UK it is accepted that constitutional principles are important but they cannot be subordinated to the needs of government and the wishes of Parliament.
- Candidates should compare and contrast the codification of the constitutions – the USA's is laid out in one main document with a number of amendments and covers the major aspects of the political system; the UK's is not codified and there is a single document. It is not quite correct to say that the USA has a written constitution while that of the UK is unwritten, eg there are statutes and many other important documents which are considered part of the constitution.
- Some parts of both constitutions are conventions, eg even in the USA the relationship between the Executive and Legislative branches is based on convention; there are many more examples from the UK candidates should refer to. The UK's closer involvement with the European Union leads to more codification, eg Treaty of Rome and the Maastricht Treaty.
- The USA's constitution is seen as entrenched and stubbornly safeguarded, whereas the UK situation is very flexible – the sovereignty of the British Parliament, its inability to bind its successors to constitutional principles makes it flexible. A new statute can be passed quickly and change things in the UK.
- There are some similarities in the process of change; a formal amendment is more difficult in the USA than the UK but less formal processes are similar, eg judicial reviews – in the UK carried out by Court of Appeal or House of Lords in the same way as the Supreme Court; challenges can be made and in both countries have the power to set aside governmental decisions; it also provides opportunities in both systems for the constitution to be interpreted and reinterpreted according to circumstances; Parliament plays a bigger role than Congress but both systems rely heavily on judges to ensure the systems remain up to date.
- For Scotland expect reference to:
  - Scottish parliament created by UK parliament; Scotland Act 1998
  - distinction between reserved powers (explicitly stated) and devolved powers – limits are a matter of evolution
  - legitimacy of Scottish parliament from 1997 referendum
  - Scottish constitution difficult to define – but similar to that of UK: conservative, flexible (within limits of devolved/reserved powers).
- Credit any other relevant points – expect and credit relevant historical examples.

## Question B6

Award up to **2 marks** for each developed point depending on quality, level of detail, relevance, accuracy and exemplification. It is important to compare and contrast the UK with the chosen country rather than simply to describe the policy making role in each country. Pure descriptions should only score around half marks at best, no matter how detailed.

Credit references to aspects of the following:

- Candidates may make a distinction between formal and informal powers of the PM and/or, for example, the President of the USA, in order to locate policy making; formal powers of the PM include those associated with being head of state – head of armed forces, granting honours, negotiating foreign treaties, head of civil service, appointing senior judges, etc; head of government – appointing and dismissing government ministers, appointing head of public bodies, dissolving parliament, chairing the cabinet, similar list for President (more so than First Minister in Scotland).
- Being chief policy maker is an informal power and arises from the PM's position as leader of the governing party – this relies to some extent on historical reality that there is a single governing party (important if candidate chooses Scotland given the coalition with the Liberal Democrats up to 2007); the actual extent to which the PM controls government policy depends upon which party he or she leads and their command of that party. A Conservative leader can be shown to have a great deal more discretionary power over policy than a Labour leader – any PM though has considerable constraints on their ability to make policy from the wider party, from other MPs and from the Cabinet and to some extent the House of Lords and public opinion (examples of each of these may be given).
- It is also important to take into account the position of the individual concerned – dominant individuals like Harold Wilson, Margaret Thatcher and Tony Blair chose to play a central role in policy formulation. The less secure or those who have preferred a more collective approach, eg John Major, have played a lesser role.
- The role of strong ministers; the PM's Policy Unit and individual advisors – examples like Sir Alan Walters for Margaret Thatcher, Alistair Campbell for Tony Blair – give individual advice separate from ministers; policy agencies – think tanks, eg Centre for Policy Studies; inner or kitchen cabinets with a very small number of close PM associates; the civil service.
- The President's role in policy formation is very different; Kennedy initiated Civil Rights legislation (completed by Johnson); Jimmy Carter introduced new energy initiatives while Bill Clinton was known for new health and crime initiatives. Congress in the main makes legislation and the President has the power of veto for whole bills or parts of bills which he can use a bargaining counter with Congress to pass some of his own bills.
- Foreign policy initiatives are more obvious for the President and the PM in recent years – examples going back to Vietnam, China, Afghanistan, Middle East, Iraq can be used to compare and contrast policy making of the PM and President. First Minister constitutionally excluded from this.
- Economic policy is another area to compare and contrast – the formulation of the budget in the USA and UK are critical powers, changing taxes and government spending. The PM has more success here than the President, who is more constrained by Congress than the PM is by Parliament. First Minister constrained in global terms by the Barnett formula, but has considerable flexibility within that.
- Other relevant points.

## Section C

### Question C7

Award up to **2 marks** for each developed point depending on quality, level of detail, relevance, accuracy and exemplification. It is important to answer both parts of the question covering short-term and long-term influences on voting behaviour.

Credit references to aspects of the following:

- **Psephology** – the scientific study of voting behaviour – is still very important despite major problems with prediction of election results.
- **Short-term influences** are specific to a particular election and do not allow conclusions to be drawn about voting patterns in general – candidates may refer to the state of the economy as a major influence here; this reflects the important link between unemployment, inflation and income and a government’s popularity – many UK PMs have won elections on the strength of the economy, eg Tony Blair, Margaret Thatcher. Both were accused of creating pre-election booms – using the budget to improve taxes and disposable income – in order to improve their chances of re-election. This also shows the importance of the PM being able to choose the date of the election.
- The personality and public standing of the party leaders is critical – media exposure and the “branding” of politicians and their policies have increased over the years. This may lead to parties ditching one leader for another who is considered more electable, eg Margaret Thatcher was ousted and replaced by John Major in 1990, who then led the party to an unlikely victory in 1992.
- Style and effectiveness of the parties electoral campaigning.
- The mass media can have a significant effect as claimed by some, eg in 1992 when the Sun newspaper was credited with ensuring people voted the Conservatives back in rather than Neil Kinnock’s Labour party – they had campaigned vigorously against him.
- **Long-term influences** – there are various models/theories here to use; the party-identification model – electors seen as people who identify with a particular party as long-term supporters, voting is therefore partisan rather than influenced by other factors mentioned above; the sociological model links voting behaviour to group membership, eg social class membership – there is certainly evidence of such links being considerably weakened over the years; the rational-choice model is about voting according to self-interest – a means to an end; the dominant-ideology model is similar to the sociological model but concentrates on how information is presented to voters through education, the media and the government.
- Other relevant points.

## Question C8

Award up to **2 marks** for each developed point depending on quality, level of detail, relevance, accuracy and exemplification. Candidates must cover the key functions and include relevant illustrations from the UK system of elections. Candidates may mention local, national and European elections to illustrate points.

Credit reference to aspects of the following:

Candidates may mention by way of introduction several of the principles that underpin the organisation and conduct of elections, eg elections should be free and fair – with secret ballot, regular and universal suffrage; elections should be transparent – easy to understand, counting accessible to all candidates, administered fairly.

Functions of elections include:

- recruitment of politicians – principal source of political recruitment is elections from nomination of candidates through to election; candidates may mention skills required of politicians related to electioneering, eg oratory, committee experience
- making governments – more correctly elections influence the formation of government in the UK – major party and single party government; coalitions, eg in Scotland
- providing representation – a way of channelling demands from the public to the government, ie giving mandates
- influencing policy – deter UK governments from too radical an agenda but sometimes a single issue can dominate an election, eg Iraq, the economy, Trade Union power
- educating voters – campaigning process should be explained and this provides information for electorate about candidates, policies, parties, leaders etc – turnout might be mentioned to show increasing apathy in certain elections, particularly European and local elections
- building legitimacy – elections help to foster legitimacy by providing justification for a system of rule
- strengthening elites – elites may use elections to manipulate and control the masses
- other relevant points.

## Questions C9

Award up to **2 marks** for each developed point depending on quality, level of detail, relevance, accuracy and exemplification. It is important to include both advantages and disadvantages of the First Past the Post System and use relevant illustrations from the UK to back up points made.

Credit references to aspects of the following:

### Advantages:

- easy to understand. There is one choice and on the whole the voter understands that they are voting for a particular party and by implication a party they want in government (there are many other reasons for voting in a particular way but this is a general assumption)
- it produces clear and usually decisive results – there is rarely uncertainty over who will form a government; very different from Italy or Israel with indecisive results – recent Labour victories are useful examples
- since a single party usually wins; the “doctrine of the mandate” and the manifesto is relevant – victory gives authority to implement the manifesto; very different from coalition governments and what policies will be kept or dropped
- strong traditional link between constituencies and their MP – local views looked after irrespective of party (but not always)
- other relevant points.

### Disadvantages:

- the system is clearly unfair to small parties – give examples from elections to show this to be the case for the Liberals, eg 1974, or the Liberal Democrats in recent years
- it does not give equal value to all votes
- it can encourage tactical voting; voters feel they are having some say
- electors cannot discriminate between candidates from the same party – they must take the candidate a small number of party activists have chosen
- other relevant points.

[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]