



**2010 Politics**

**Higher Paper 2**

**Finalised Marking Instructions**

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## **2010 Politics**

### **Higher**

#### **Paper 2**

“Pass” and better answers must feature both knowledge and understanding of the issues and analysis of and balanced comment on, the issues being addressed.

If the answer merits a “pass” or better, you should now grade it. “Pass” and better answers are graded taking into account such criteria as the relevancy, accuracy and extent of detailed, exemplified description and analysis.

The marks available for each grade are:

C 10-11      B 12-13      A 14-20

Use the full range of marks, up to and including 20.

#### **Section A – Political Theory**

##### **Question A1**

Candidates must refer to the quote and structure a robust and relevant answer around it and develop links to the relevant theorists Burke, Marx, and Lenin and in order to gain high marks ie 14 or more out of 20.

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 – and 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 don’t.
- Credit 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 interest of workers.

### Credit from the following:

- **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 basics 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.
- Candidates must comment on **Lenin** who adapted Marx to suit a backward agricultural nation (Russia); he was also concerned with issues of organisation and revolution; he emphasised the central importance of a tightly organised “vanguard” party to lead and guide the proletarian class.
- Lenin rejected electoral democracy as “parliamentary cretinism” – best known work “What is to be done?” (1902) where he talked about party organisation; his concepts of “dictatorship of the proletariat” and “democratic centralism” are important and may be mentioned – he used them to justify the one-party state.
- Any other relevant points.

## Question A2

Candidates must refer to the quote and structure a robust and relevant answer around it and develop links to the relevance of their theories today in order to gain high marks ie 14 or more out of 20.

### 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 which 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 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.

#### 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 Mandela; legal-rational – bureaucracies.

#### Power

- Credit reference to different definitions of power, eg the ability to get what we want – power to – 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.
- Any other relevant points.

### Question A3

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, Dahl).

#### 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 the control of citizens.
- It creates a better informed and more politically knowledgeable group of citizens.
- 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** – is 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 educated.
- 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.
- Any other relevant points.

## Section B – Political Structures

### Question B4

Candidates must refer to the quote and structure a robust and relevant answer around it. Candidates must compare and contrast appropriately and should not score above 12 if they simply describe or explain the roles and powers of committees in each of their chosen countries.

#### Credit references to aspects of the following:

**The UK Parliament** (see below in USA section for other relevant points)

- Select Committees are set up by both the House of Commons and House of Lords. They are investigative committees that look at particular policy areas and produce reports on specific topics. The membership of a committee will be chosen to reflect the relevant strengths of the political parties in the House which set it up.
- While committees are involved in scrutiny of the Executive, their effectiveness can be limited by the dominant majority party and by the influence of the whip system in the selection of membership. Committees in the Lords have a more independently – minded approach.
- Foreign Affairs Committee can be very influential. Its investigations into the Iraq War led to the setting up of the Butler Inquiry in 2004.  
In the House of Commons many of the select committees examine the work of individual government departments and have the powers to call individual government ministers and civil servants. In 2007 the Commons Treasury Select Committee questioned the Governor of the Bank of England over the collapse of Northern Rock.  
In the House of Lords the select committees cover broader policy areas such as the European Union and the constitution.  
Standing Committees are set up by both the Houses to consider the details of individual bills.

#### Scotland

- The Scottish Parliament is a unicameral, committee based legislature. A conscious decision was taken not to follow the Westminster practice where the Committee system was criticised as weak, encouraged executive dominance and did not allow effective legislative scrutiny. The Committee system reflects the four founding principles of Sharing Power, Accountability, Accessibility Openness and participation and Equal Opportunities.
- The key functions of the Committees are; to consider and initiate proposals for legislation; To conduct inquiries and publish reports such as the 2006 Health Committees Report on Free Personal Care for the Elderly; and To hold the Scottish Government to account. Ministers do not sit on committees but can be asked to appear before the committee to answer questions Committees have the power to initiate legislation themselves.
- A unique committee is the Public Petitions Committee (PPC), set up to allow the public direct access to Parliament The PPC considers petitions from any individual or group on any devolved issue. The Committee has several course of actions, for example it can decide whether Parliament can debate the issues.
- Committees which are established for the duration of the current parliamentary session are called Subject Committees. Mandatory committee whose remits are set out in the Parliament's standing order including Finance, Audit and Equal Opportunities. Private Bill committees are set up to consider particular bills.

## **The USA**

- “Congressional government is committee government” – Woodrow Wilson.
- The committees in the USA are also select and standing committees but are far more independent compared with the UK which is still executive dominated.
- Congressional committees examine the details of some 6 000 bills over a two year period, whereas the UK Parliament looks at about 250 a year; unlike the UK where government bills are not seriously obstructed or changed the bills coming through the committees in the USA often look very different.
- Reviewing draft bills is relatively new in the UK but routine in the USA; taking evidence from witnesses is also something routine in the USA.
- Senate committees – scrutiny of appointees/hearings etc – almost 20% of Supreme Court nominations have been rejected in the past.
- Scrutiny of government performance and expenditure is another routine role in the USA but happens more often now in the UK.
- Separation of powers in the USA ensures strong and effective committee scrutiny of the executive; while the UK and USA have committee with the same names and with some of the shared goals the UK Parliament is still dominated by a powerful executive.
- Any other relevant points.

## Question B5

It is important to compare and contrast the UK with the chosen country rather than simply to describe the constitution in each country. 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 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, 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 the 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 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 processes of change; a formal amendment is more difficult in the USA than the UK but less formal processes are similar eg judicial reviews – in UK carried out by Court of Appeal or House of Lords in same way as Supreme Court; challenges can be made and 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 role than Congress but both systems rely heavily on judges to ensure the system remain up to date.
- Credit any other relevant points – expect and credit relevant historical examples.
- Any other relevant points.

## Question B6

Candidates must compare and contrast and should not score above 12 if they simply describe or explain powers of the PM, and First Minister or President.

### **Credit references to aspects of the following:**

- Comparing the UK's Prime Minister with either Scotland's First Minister or the US President will lead to similarities and differences and interpretations/conclusions about which is more or less powerful in one area or another – if Scotland is chosen it should be clear the First Minister lacks power in several critical areas and these should be named.
- The UK and USA examples, if chosen, could point to a number of similarities eg extensive powers of patronage; chief policy – makers; role of Commander – in Chief-critical in US especially.
- Variations in power tend to be more subtle – the President dominates his Cabinet and unlike the PM he cannot be outvoted by them – the Cabinet played a key role in the resignation of Margaret Thatcher and Brown's cabinet is described 'as divided'; patronage is directly from the President for the whole of the administrative services – he does not share this with cabinet members; the President cannot be removed from office for political reasons by the legislature whereas the PM depends on parliamentary support.
- The PM though is not limited by an entrenched constitution and is not constrained by a checks and balance system as exists in the USA. PM's patronage does not need the approval of the legislature like the President does; PM usually has strong control of his party and of the House of Commons. Party system much weaker in US and mid term elections in the US can weaken the President's position as happened to Bush in 2006. UK more unitary therefore less problems than President who has to deal with strong regional forces and he has limited jurisdiction among the states; PM chooses date of elections – dates fixed in USA.
- Any other relevant points.

## **Section C – Political Representation**

### **Question C7**

Candidates outlining the main differences between political parties and pressure groups – political parties and pressure/interest groups both recruit members. Political parties seek to become the government – pressure/interest groups do not usually seek power but to advance the economic or other interests of their members.

#### **Credit appropriate reference and examples including:**

- Candidates may wish to mention one or two examples of pressure/interest groups – TU's, CBI, Friends of the Earth, Fathers for Justice etc. Candidates may also mention that pressure/interest groups can be classified as either insider or outsider groups.
- Possible mention of recent new parties linked to specific issues eg George Galloway's Respect Party (arose out of Iraq war issue). In Scotland The Scottish Senior Citizens Unity Party won a list seat in the 2003 Scottish Parliament elections.
- Pressure/interest groups usually try to influence policy in areas that impact on their members. A number of methods are available to them – lobbying politicians, via the media, campaigns demonstrations – credit relevant examples used to exemplify points.
- Political parties usually elect their leaders – pressure/interest group leaders are appointed or may emerge, leading to claims that they are undemocratic.
- Political parties are concerned with a broad range of policies concerning things that may affect the whole population. Pressure/interest groups are concerned with things that affect their member's interest.
- Insider pressure/interest groups are often consulted by political parties because of their expertise and interest in a proposed policy. Outsider groups can also submit their opinions to policy makers. Some groups choose to remain as outsider groups because they wish to retain their freedom to campaign etc.
- Some pressure interest groups sponsor MP's so that their interests are advanced in "the corridors of power".
- Reward relevant comments and examples of how candidates are selected, campaigners are organised and financed, election manifestos are put together and advertised and how parties may organise the voters.
- Any other relevant points.

## Question C8

Candidates must refer to the quote and structure a robust and relevant answer around the quotation in order to gain high marks. Expect comparisons between Westminster and Holyrood.

### Credit references to aspects of the following:

#### Arguments for First Past the Post

- It produces clear and usually decisive results – there is rarely uncertainty over who will form the government; very different from Scottish Parliament and Scottish local council elections.
- Under Thatcher and Blair the country experienced decisive and strong government.
- Since a single party usually wins the “doctrine of the mandate” and the manifesto is relevant – victory gives authority to implement their 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.
- It prevents extreme parties from having representation in Parliament.
- There is no tradition of coalition government in Westminster Government, public do not wish minor parties to hold larger parties to ransom.

#### Arguments against First Past the Post

- It does not always produce decisive and fair results. In the February 1974 elections Conservatives gained more votes than Labour yet had fewer seats. In the 2005 election Labour formed a government with only 35.2% of the votes cast. The Independent newspaper described it as ‘the most unfair election result of all time’ as this was the lowest ever winning party share of the vote. It can lead to a situation where the winning MP in a constituency can receive less than 30% of the vote. In the 1992 General Election, the Liberal Democrat candidate won with 26% of the vote. It is argued that FPTP leads to voter apathy. All of Glasgow’s constituencies in the 2005 General Elections were held by Labour and the Conservatives did very badly. Why would a Conservative voter bother to vote when his/her vote will be of no consequence?

#### Arguments against PR

- PR can create a government in which a minority party can implement its policies. The Liberal Democrats finished fourth in the 2003 Scottish election, yet it formed a government with Labour. The Liberal Democrats were not the voter’s choice.
- It can lead to unstable and weak government. It is not clear that the SNP minority administration will get its policies implemented in the Scottish Parliament.
- It does not always create a more representative Parliament. In the 2007 Scottish elections the number of MSPs from minority parties decreased from 17 to three. The regional list system makes parties more powerful than voters. An MSP or candidate who steps out of line can be lowly placed in the parts list of candidates.

#### Arguments for PR

- Fair because it produced a closer correlation between shares of votes and shares of seats. PR gives minor parties more parliamentary representation and encourages voters to vote for them without feeling their vote is wasted. In the 2003 elections for the Scottish Parliament the AMS system enabled the Scottish Socialists, the Green Party, the Scottish Senior Citizens Party and independents to be represented. Coalition government increases the percentage of electorate supporting the government parties. Coalition government encourages consensus and compromise and this leads to stable government. The Liberal Democrats and Labour formed a coalition government in the period 1999 – 2007 and this provided stable and effective government.

## Question C9

Candidates must refer to the quote and structure a robust and relevant answer around the quotation in order to gain high marks. Credit candidates who refer to a range of theories of 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.  
The **sociological model** links voting behaviour to group membership eg social class membership. In 1997 the political scientist PJ Pulzer declared: “class is the basis of British party politics: all else is embellishment and detail”. However there is certainly evidence of such links being considerably weakened over the years – 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.  
Candidates should be aware of partisan dealignment – a general fall in party identification and habitual voting patterns over recent years.  
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.  
The **rational-choice model** is about voting according to self-interest – a means to an end; Short term influences are specific to a particular election and do not allow conclusions to be drawn about above 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 Toni Blair, Margaret Thatcher. Both were accused of creating pre-election booms – using the budget to improve taxes 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. Criticism of Blair over Iraq war was an important factor in his decision to resign. Brown’s present popularity is low and there is division within the Labour Party.
- 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, and again in 1997 when the Sun switched to New Labour. However SNP won the 2007 Scottish Parliament elections despite hostility of the popular press.
- Any other relevant points.

[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]