



**2012 Politics**

**Higher – Paper 2**

**Finalised Marking Instructions**

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## 2012 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

*Steven Lukes’ classifications of types of legitimacy, authority and power are far more relevant for the 21<sup>st</sup> century than those of Max Weber.*

*Discuss*

**(20)**

Candidates must refer to the quote and structure a robust and relevant answer around it and develop links to the relevance today of Lukes' 3 faces of power and Weber's theories of authority which leads to "legitimate power" 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 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.

## 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 highly, candidates who provide historical and 20<sup>th</sup>/21<sup>st</sup> century examples to illustrate the relevance of Weber’s theories today, eg Louis XIV of France and Kim dynasty of North Korea as traditional leaders.

## 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.

## Question A2

*Using the works of appropriate theorists, examine the key features of direct and representative democracy.*

**(20)**

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, Schumpeter, De Tocqueville, 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 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.
- Others might argue that the expansion of the use of referenda and e-voting would enhance 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 those 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.
- Any other relevant points.

### Question A3

*Compare and contrast the key features of John Locke's Liberalism with those of Karl Marx's Socialism.*

(20)

Candidates must refer to the quote and structure a robust and relevant answer around it and develop links to the relevant theorists Locke and Marx 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:**

##### **Liberalism**

John Locke supported the Parliamentarians during the War of The Three Kingdoms and supported the Glorious Revolution of 1688 – and he contributed to the development of Liberal principles as follows:

- **Consent** – willing agreement – ‘consent of the governed’ aware of dangers of tyranny – developed into a need for democracy and representation including a bill of rights and written constitution.
- **Toleration** – to think, act and speak (within some limits). Locke advocated religious toleration for all except Roman Catholics. Toleration leads to social enrichment – pluralism is healthy: natural balance and harmony – no such thing as irreconcilable difference.

**Individualism** – core principles 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.
- Any 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. Co-operation enables people to harness their collective energies – competition leads to individuals against individuals, may breed resentment, conflict. Socialism has the capacity to create perfect human beings.
- **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 ownership of the means of production, distribution of income or wealth and **social class** is significant in this. Socialism is usually associated with the interests of the oppressed and exploited class and that class is the agent of change, even social revolution.
- **Common ownership** – a 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.
- Any other relevant points.

## Section B – Political Structures

### Question B4

*‘Political assemblies are failing to scrutinise effectively the actions of the Executive.’*

Discuss with reference to the UK Parliament and **either** the Scottish Parliament **or** the US Congress. (20)

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

#### The UK

- In the UK the House of Commons and House of Lords can examine and criticise Government sponsored legislation, policy 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.
- Any other relevant points.

#### Scotland

- Through First Minister’s Question Time and questions to other Cabinet Secretaries.
- 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 and 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 enquiries. 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.
- Any 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 hearings 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 in Scotland or the UK.
- Appointment of government members and Supreme Court judges is subject to Senate approval.
- Any other relevant points.

## Question B5

Compare and contrast the main features of the UK constitution with that of **either** Scotland **or** the USA.

(20)

It is important to compare and contrast the UK with the chosen country rather than simply 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'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, 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 needs 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 are 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 no 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 the Treaty of Rome and the Lisbon 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 a bigger role than Congress, but both systems rely heavily on judges to ensure the systems remain up to date.
- Any other relevant points.

## Question B6

Compare and contrast the policy making functions of the UK Prime Minister with those of **either** Scotland's First Minister **or** the President of the USA. (20)

It is important to compare and contrast the UK with the chosen country rather than simply describe the policy-making role in each country.

### 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 previous coalition of Labour/Liberal Democrats and minority SNP government). 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 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 Alastair Campbell for Tony Blair, Ed Balls for Gordon Brown and Andy Coulson for David Cameron 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); Bill Clinton was known for new health and crime initiatives, while Obama's first two years concentrated on health reform in domestic affairs. 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 as 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 China, Afghanistan, Middle East, Iraq and Libya can be used to compare and contrast policy making of the PM and President.
- 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. Brown was able to react swiftly to the fiscal crisis of 2008-2009; in contrast, Obama had to convince Congress that his fiscal measures were necessary. Cameron able to implement a comprehensive spending review in 2010-11
- Any other relevant points.

## Section C – Political Representation

### Question C7

*To what extent do the delegate and trustee models place contrasting demands on the actions of representatives?* (20)

#### Delegate Model

- **Delegate** – a person who is chosen to act for another on the basis of clear guidance or instructions.
- Expected to convey the views of others with little capacity to exercise personal judgement or preferences, eg TU official.
- Requires regular elections and constituency meetings to ensure dialogue between delegate and electors/party members.
- Possibility of recall to give more control.
- Closer to popular sovereignty and helps check self-interest as supported by Paine and Rousseau, but it is argued that it limits the scope for leadership and it may lead to narrow thinking (local issues) and conflict between local and national issues.
- Relevant examples from UK to back up points made.

#### Trustee Model

- This model suggests that the role of a representative is to act in the interests of his or her constituents. The uninformed constituents may not have the necessary knowledge on issues to take an educated position on them. The representative is entrusted with the position to make decisions that will benefit the area he or she represents.
- This position also allows for the representative to take into consideration other factors such as the need of the state or nation as a whole.
- This definition is put forward by Edmund Burke and is clearly based on a historical period where mass education did not take place and illiteracy was rife. It has been criticised as being anti-democratic.
- Expected to exercise mature judgement and enlightened conscience – to act in the interest of others: an elitist approach believing that the masses do not know their best interests: possibilities of pursuing self-interests if they're allowed to exercise their own judgement.
- Relevant examples from UK to back up points made.
- Any other relevant points.

## Question C8

*'Long term influences on voting behaviour now have much less significance than short term influences.'*

*Discuss*

**(20)**

It is important to answer both parts of the question covering long-term and short-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.
- **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 short-term factors; 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.
- Decline in ideological differences between Labour and Conservative – scrapping of Clause Four by New Labour – clear evidence of partisan/class de-alignment.
- This has led to an increase in the number of floating voters.
- 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.
- **Short term influences** are specific to a particular election and do not allow conclusions to be drawn about voting patterns in general. This is the Rational Choice model – 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 prime ministers have won elections on the strength of the economy, eg Tony Blair and 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.
- Again the Sun ended their support for Labour in the 2010 General Election.
- Influence of 2010 Television debate on turning election into a presidential beauty contest.
- Any other relevant points.

## Question C9

*'The Additional Member System of voting has all the advantages of the First Past the Post system but none of its disadvantages.'*

*Discuss.*

**(20)**

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

- Candidates may explain the basic facts of the system of election in Scotland – the First Past the Post and the Additional Member System top up using list MSPs.
- Scotland is divided into 73 constituencies and each constituency elects one MSP. These are known as constituency MSPs. This is the electors' 'first vote'.
- The 'second vote' is used to elect 56 additional members. Scotland is divided into 8 parliamentary regions and each region elects 7 regional MSPs. In the second vote, the voter votes for a party rather than a candidate. The parties are then allocated a number of additional members to make the overall result more proportional. The regional MSPs are selected from lists compiled by the parties. These MSPs are also sometimes referred to as List MSPs.

### **Advantages of AMS**

- The whole assembly is proportionally representative and there is a better balance between electoral fairness and the need for constituency representation.
- It keeps alive the possibility of single party government.
- It allows electors to choose a constituency representative from one party yet support another party to form a government.
- 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, AMS enabled the Scottish Socialists, the Green Party, the Scottish Senior Citizens Unity 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.
- Any other relevant points.

## **Disadvantages of AMS**

- Retaining single member constituencies prevents the achievement of high levels of proportionality.
- The system creates two types of representatives which might create tension between them.
- Constituencies are much larger and therefore representation may suffer – others argue each constituent has more rather than less representation.
- Parties become more centralised and powerful due to decisions about who goes on the list and at what point.
- 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 voters' choice.
- It can lead to unstable and weak government. The SNP minority administration must gain support to pass its bills – failed to present its referendum bill to Parliament. And its 2010 minimum pricing of alcohol proposal was rejected by Parliament.
- It does not always create a more representative Parliament. In the 2007 Scottish elections, the numbers of MSPs from minority parties decreased from 17 to three.
- Any other relevant points.

## **Advantages of First Past the Post**

- It usually 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.
- 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.

## **Disadvantages of First Past the Post**

- It does not always produce decisive or fair results. In the February 1974 elections, the Conservatives gained more votes than Labour, yet had fewer seats. In the 2005 election, Labour formed a government with only 32.5% of the votes cast. The Independent newspaper described it as 'the most unfair election result of all time' as this was the lowest ever share of the vote for the winning party.
- 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, a Liberal Democrat candidate won with 26% of the vote.
- It is argued that First Past the Post leads to voter apathy. All of Glasgow's constituencies are held by Labour and the Conservatives do very badly. Why should a Conservative voter bother to vote when his/her vote will be of no consequence?
- It failed to deliver a clear mandate in the 2010 General Election and this led to the formation of a coalition government between the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats.
- Any other relevant points.

[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]