



X858/76/11

**Politics
Paper 1**

MONDAY, 29 APRIL

INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES

Candidates should enter their surname, forename(s), date of birth, Scottish candidate number and the name and Level of the subject at the top of their first answer sheet.

Total marks — 52

SECTION 1 — POLITICAL THEORY — 12 marks

Attempt **EITHER** question 1(a) **OR** question 1(b).

SECTION 2 — POLITICAL SYSTEMS — 20 marks

Attempt **EITHER** question 2(a) **OR** question 2(b).

SECTION 3 — POLITICAL PARTIES AND ELECTIONS — 20 marks

Attempt **EITHER** question 3(a) **OR** question 3(b).

Write your answers clearly on your answer sheet. On your answer sheet you must clearly identify the question number you are attempting.

Marks are shown in square brackets at the end of each question.

An OW in the margin indicates a new question.

SECTION 1 — POLITICAL THEORY — 12 marks
Attempt EITHER question 1(a) OR question 1(b)

1. (a) Analyse the concept of power with reference to the work of Steven Lukes. [12 marks]

OR

- (b) Analyse the key features of representative democracy.

In your answer you **must** refer to the work of at least **one** relevant theorist. [12 marks]

SECTION 2 — POLITICAL SYSTEMS — 20 marks
Attempt EITHER question 2(a) OR question 2(b)

2. (a) There are significant differences between both the key features and the importance of constitutions.

Discuss with reference to **two** political systems you have studied. **[20 marks]**

OR

- (b) To what extent can legislatures effectively scrutinise the actions of government?

You must refer to **two** political systems you have studied. **[20 marks]**

SECTION 3 — POLITICAL PARTIES AND ELECTIONS — 20 marks

Attempt EITHER question 3(a) OR question 3(b)

3. (a) To what extent is the rational choice model more relevant in explaining voting behaviour than other models in the UK today? **[20 marks]**

OR

- (b) Traditional grassroots campaign strategies have a much greater impact on the electoral performance of political parties than the use of new technology.

Discuss. **[20 marks]**

[END OF QUESTION PAPER]



National
Qualifications
2019

X858/76/12

**Politics
Paper 2**

MONDAY, 29 APRIL

INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES

Candidates should enter their surname, forename(s), date of birth, Scottish candidate number and the name and Level of the subject at the top of their first answer sheet.

Total marks — 28

Attempt **BOTH** questions.

Write your answers clearly on your answer sheet. On your answer sheet you must clearly identify the question number that you are attempting.

Sources marked with an asterisk differ in some respects from those in the printed paper.

Marks are shown in square brackets at the end of each question or part question.

An OW in the margin indicates a new question.

Total marks — 28
Attempt BOTH questions

1. Study Sources A and B, then answer the question which follows.

SOURCE A

Hobbes and the conservative view of the state

Shortly after the beheading of the king at the end of the civil war in 1651, Thomas Hobbes, an English philosopher, wrote *'Leviathan'*. A leviathan was a mythical sea creature that swallowed whole ships. Hobbes compared government to a leviathan, a dominant state created to enforce order, and his work focused on the reasons for political obligation and the basis of the state's right to rule. Hobbes argued that the purpose of government was to impose law and order to prevent anarchy and disorder. Hobbes supported the idea of an absolute state with unlimited power. Hobbes' arguments in *'Leviathan'* marked a major departure from the prevailing notion of the 'divine right of kings' as the source of political authority. The views of Hobbes influenced the development of the conservative position on the role of the state.

Hobbes used the idea of society before the establishment of governmental authority. He called this the state of nature. No morality exists in this state of nature in which there is unlimited freedom. He argued that life in this state of nature would be 'solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short'. Everyone would live in constant fear. There would be no laws or anyone to impose them. Hobbes argued that the only way out of this position, would be for people to accept some dominant power to enforce peace and order on everybody. For Hobbes the absence of this would be a 'war of all against all'.

Hobbes developed an idea from English contract law and referred to this arrangement as the social contract. Hobbes maintained that the social contract was an arrangement only between the people and not between them and their monarch. The people would agree to accept the unquestioned rule of a sovereign state. The monarch would make and apply the laws to achieve a peaceful society. Hobbes argued that there was a stark choice facing society, either accept the unlimited rule and power of the state or face chaos and war. For Hobbes there was no question against accepting the authority of the state, if individuals did not agree to accept this authority the only outcome would be disorder.

Hobbes' views were developed from his account of human nature. In his work *'Leviathan'* he stresses our animal nature, leaving each of us to live independently of each other, acting only in our own self-interest. Therefore, for Hobbes man isn't a social animal. Hobbes articulates that human nature is evil and that only an unlimited and sovereign monarch can maintain order against our inherent tendency to evil.

SOURCE B

Locke and the liberal view of the state

John Locke was a highly influential Enlightenment thinker and is famous for his work, the *'Two Treatises of Government'*. Locke's work had a major impact on liberal political thinking, particularly the sources of political authority and legitimate government. He sided with the Protestant Parliament against the Catholic King James II in the Glorious Revolution of 1688. This event reduced the power of the king and made Parliament the major authority in English government. Locke's views on why we should accept the authority of the state was an outgrowth of his optimistic view of human nature. Locke trusts in the goodness of human nature. Locke believed that man was benevolent, happy and peaceful, and would naturally seek a positive relationship with fellow citizens. For Locke, man was a social animal but he accepted that disputes could arise and therefore a state with limited powers would be required to resolve these.

Locke felt that humans could live peacefully in a state of nature and were governed by 'natural law' and that all humans were entitled to the god-given natural rights to life, liberty and property. Locke's writings contended that natural rights existed in the state of nature. These rights were inalienable and could never be voluntarily given up or taken away by individuals. Men existed in the state of nature in perfect freedom to do what they wanted. Locke did however acknowledge that there was a risk of conflict where there was unlimited freedom and that some might try to limit the rights of others. As a result there would need to be an arbiter to ensure that the rights of citizens could not be encroached by others. This then would lead to people agreeing to establish government and laws to ensure the protection of their natural rights. As he put it 'where there is no law there is no freedom'.

For Locke the social contract existed between the individual and the state as long as the state existed to protect the natural rights of life, liberty and property. This was the extent of the obligation to obey the government. The duty to follow the laws existing only insofar as the state fulfilled its part of the contract to protect life, liberty and property of its citizens. Where the state failed to do so Locke argued that individuals had the right to remove and replace the system of government and laws. Thus the existence of the state was dependant on the consent of the governed and its role must be limited only to the protection of the natural rights of all.

Using only the information in Sources A and B.

Compare Hobbes' and Locke's views on the state.

In your answer you **must** make **three** points of comparison and reach an overall conclusion. **[8 marks]**

2. Study Sources A–E, then answer the question which follows.

* **Source A** Presidential election data (2008 and 2012)

In the table below, year is followed by: US Presidential candidate; Percentage of votes.

| Year | Presidential candidate | Percentage of votes |
|------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| 2008 | Barack Obama (Democrat) | 52.9% |
| 2008 | John McCain (Republican) | 45.6% |
| 2008 | Others | 1.5% |
| 2012 | Barack Obama (Democrat) | 51.1% |
| 2012 | Mitt Romney (Republican) | 47.2% |
| 2012 | Others | 1.7% |

In the table below, year is followed by: US Presidential candidate; Electoral College votes (seats).

| Year | Presidential candidate | Electoral College votes (seats) |
|------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 2008 | Barack Obama (Democrat) | 365 |
| 2008 | John McCain (Republican) | 173 |
| 2012 | Barack Obama (Democrat) | 332 |
| 2012 | Mitt Romney (Republican) | 206 |

* **Source B** Congressional election data for Democrats and Republicans (2008–2012)

Part 1 — Senate (100 members)

In the table below, year is followed by: Political party; Members pre-election; Members post-election; Change.

| Year | Political party | Members pre-election | Members post-election | Change |
|------|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------------|--------|
| 2008 | Democrats | 51* | 59* | +8 |
| 2008 | Republicans | 49 | 41 | -8 |
| 2010 | Democrats | 59* | 53* | -6 |
| 2010 | Republicans | 41 | 47 | +6 |
| 2012 | Democrats | 53* | 55* | +2 |
| 2012 | Republicans | 47 | 45 | -2 |

(*includes independents who vote with the Democrats in the Senate)

Part 2 — House of Representatives (435 members)

In the table below, year is followed by: Political party; Members pre-election; Members post-election; Change.

| Year | Political party | Members pre-election | Members post-election | Change |
|------|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------------|--------|
| 2008 | Democrats | 236 | 257 | +21 |
| 2008 | Republicans | 199 | 178 | -21 |
| 2010 | Democrats | 257* | 193 | -64 |
| 2010 | Republicans | 178 | 242 | +64 |
| 2012 | Democrats | 193 | 201 | +8 |
| 2012 | Republicans | 242 | 234 | -8 |

* Source C 2012 presidential election: voting by region and community

Part 1 — voting by region

In the table below, region is followed by: Percentage votes Barack Obama (Democrat); Percentage votes Mitt Romney (Republican).

| Region | Percentage votes Barack Obama (Democrat) | Percentage votes Mitt Romney (Republican) |
|---------------|---|--|
| East | 54 | 40 |
| Midwest | 50 | 45 |
| South | 41 | 54 |
| West | 48 | 40 |

Part 2 — voting by community

In the table below, community is followed by: Percentage votes Barack Obama (Democrat); Percentage votes Mitt Romney (Republican).

| Community | Percentage votes Barack Obama (Democrat) | Percentage votes Mitt Romney (Republican) |
|----------------------|---|--|
| Big cities | 69 | 29 |
| Mid-size cities | 50 | 40 |
| Towns | 41 | 56 |
| Suburban/rural areas | 48 | 50 |

* Source D 2012 presidential election: voting for the two main candidates by gender, age, race and income

Gender (%)

In the table below, presidential candidate is followed by: Male; Female.

| Presidential Candidate | Male | Female |
|------------------------|------|--------|
| Obama (Democrat) | 45 | 55 |
| Romney (Republican) | 52 | 44 |

Age (%)

In the table below, presidential candidate is followed by: 18–24; 25–29; 30–39; 40–49; 50–64; 65+.

| Presidential Candidate | 18–24 | 25–29 | 30–39 | 40–49 | 50–64 | 65+ |
|------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-----|
| Obama (Democrat) | 60 | 60 | 55 | 48 | 47 | 44 |
| Romney (Republican) | 36 | 38 | 42 | 50 | 52 | 56 |

Ethnicity (%)

In the table below, presidential candidate is followed by: White; Blacks; Hispanics; Asians; Others.

| Presidential Candidate | White | Blacks | Hispanics | Asians | Others |
|------------------------|-------|--------|-----------|--------|--------|
| Obama (Democrat) | 39 | 93 | 71 | 73 | 58 |
| Romney (Republican) | 59 | 6 | 27 | 26 | 38 |

Income (%)

In the table below, presidential candidate is followed by: Under \$30,000; \$30–49,999; \$50–99,999; \$100–199,999; \$200–249,999; \$250,000+.

| Presidential Candidate | Under \$30,000 | \$30–49,999 | \$50–99,999 | \$100–199,999 | \$200–249,999 | \$250,000+ |
|------------------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|------------|
| Obama (Democrat) | 63 | 57 | 46 | 44 | 47 | 43 |
| Romney (Republican) | 35 | 41 | 52 | 54 | 52 | 54 |

* **Source E** 2016 presidential election: voting for the two main candidates by gender, age, race and income

Gender (%)

In the table below, presidential candidate is followed by: Male; Female.

| Presidential candidate | Male | Female |
|------------------------|------|--------|
| Clinton (Democrat) | 41 | 54 |
| Trump (Republican) | 53 | 42 |

Age (%)

In the table below, presidential candidate is followed by: 18–24; 25–29; 30–39; 40–49; 50–64; 65+.

| Presidential candidate | 18–24 | 25–29 | 30–39 | 40–49 | 50–64 | 65+ |
|------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-----|
| Clinton (Democrat) | 56 | 53 | 51 | 46 | 43 | 45 |
| Trump (Republican) | 35 | 39 | 40 | 50 | 53 | 53 |

Ethnicity (%)

In the table below, presidential candidate is followed by: White; Blacks; Hispanics; Asians; Others.

| Presidential candidate | White | Blacks | Hispanics | Asian | Other |
|------------------------|-------|--------|-----------|-------|-------|
| Clinton (Democrat) | 37 | 88 | 65 | 65 | 56 |
| Trump (Republican) | 58 | 8 | 29 | 29 | 37 |

Income (%)

In the table below, presidential candidate is followed by: Under \$30,000; \$30–49,999; \$50–99,999; \$100–199,999; \$200–249,999; \$250,000+.

| Presidential candidate | Under \$30,000 | \$30–49,999 | \$50–99,999 | \$100–199,999 | \$200–249,999 | \$250,000+ |
|------------------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|------------|
| Clinton (Democrat) | 57 | 51 | 46 | 47 | 48 | 46 |
| Trump (Republican) | 41 | 42 | 50 | 48 | 59 | 48 |

The Democrats clearly won the 2012 elections by convincingly defeating the Republicans at every level and their performance in 2012 was almost as impressive as in 2008. In the 2012 presidential election Barack Obama defeated his Republican opponent Mitt Romney by decisive margins across every area and in all sections of society. The Republican candidate in 2016, Donald Trump, performed significantly better among all voter groups compared to Mitt Romney in 2012.

Using only the information in Sources A–E.

To what extent does the evidence contained in these sources support the viewpoint above?
[20 marks]