

Edexcel POLITICS

Component 1: UK POLITICS



MY 2017 MANIFESTO: Strong, not entirely stable, leadership

- 1. *The abolition of the Lords (except me).***
- 2. *Full facial coverings to be kept legal, especially bucket-related headgear.***
- 3. *No third runway to be built at Heathrow: where we're going we don't need runways.***
- 4. *Ceefax to be brought back immediately, with The Oracle and other Teletext services to be rolled out by the next Parliament.***
- 5. *Regeneration of Nicholson's Shopping Centre, Maidenhead.***
- 6. *Buckethead on Brexit: a referendum should be held about whether there should be a second referendum.***
- 7. *Nuclear weapons: A firm public commitment to build the £100bn renewal of the Trident weapons system, followed by an equally firm private commitment not to build it. They're secret submarines, no one will ever know. It's a win win.***

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Key Questions checklist

| 1. Democracy and participation | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| | Current systems of representative and direct democracy |
| 1 | 1. What are the pros and cons of direct versus representative democracy? |
| 2 | 2. What is the case for reforming the UK democratic system? |
| 3 | 3. Is the UK experiencing a 'participation crisis'? |
| 4 | 4. What are the reasons for lower participation rates? |
| 5 | 5. How should the system be reformed? Should voting be made compulsory? |
| | A wider franchise and debates over suffrage |
| 6 | 1. What are the key milestones for the widening of the suffrage? |
| 7 | 2. How did the suffragists and suffragettes help to extend the franchise? |
| 8 | 3. Should 16- and 17-year-olds be given the vote? |
| | Pressure groups and other influences |
| 9 | 1. What are the different ways of categorising pressure groups? |
| 10 | 2. What methods are available for pressure groups to exert influence? |
| 11 | 3. Why do some pressure groups have more influence than others? |

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| 12 | 4. Case studies of two pressure groups: Occupy London; Vote Leave |
| 13 | 5. How do think tanks, lobbyists and corporations influence politics? |
| Rights in context | |
| 14 | 1. How did civil rights and responsibilities develop in the UK? |
| 15 | 2. What are the debates over the extent, limits and tensions within rights in the UK? |
| 16 | 3. Case studies of the extent, limits and tensions within the UK's rights-based culture: Qatada and Hamza |
| 2. Political parties | |
| Functions and Funding of Political Parties | |
| 17 | 1. What are the functions of political parties? |
| 18 | 2. How are the UK's political parties funded? |
| 19 | 3. Is party political funding 'fit for purpose'? |
| Established political parties | |
| 20 | 1. What is the difference between left-wing and right wing political ideas? |
| 21 | 2. Is Labour still committed to socialist principles? |
| 22 | 3. Are the conservatives still committed to Thatcherite principles? |

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| 23 | 4. What do the Liberal Democrats stand for? |
| 24 | 5. How do the major political parties compare? |
| | Emerging and minor UK political parties |
| 25 | 1. How important are minor political parties in the UK? |
| 26 | 2. Case studies: UKIP and The Green Party |
| 27 | 3. How similar are the minor parties? |
| | UK political parties in context |
| 28 | 1. How has a multi-party system developed? |
| 29 | 2. Why do some parties succeed and some parties fail? |
| 30 | 3. How important is the media to political party success? |
| | 3. Electoral systems |
| | Different Electoral Systems |
| 31 | 1. What are the advantages and disadvantages of FPTP? |
| 32 | 2. What are the advantages and disadvantages of AMS; STV and SV? |
| 33 | 3. How does FPTP compare to the Single Transferable Vote? |

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| | Referendums and how they are used |
| 34 | 1. What is a referendum? |
| 35 | 2. How have referendums been used in the UK? |
| 36 | 3. What are the cases for and against referendums in a representative democracy? |
| | Electoral System analysis |
| 37 | 1. Why are different electoral systems used in the UK? |
| 38 | 2. What has been the impact of the different electoral systems in the UK on the type of government appointed? |
| 39 | 3. What has been the impact of different systems on party representation? |
| 40 | 4. What has been the impact of different systems on voter choice? |
| | 4. Voting behavior and the media? |
| | Case studies of 3 general elections: 1983; 1997 and 2017 |
| 41 | 1. Explain the factors that influenced the outcome of each election |
| 42 | 2. What is the influence of class on voting patterns? |
| 43 | 3. What is the influence of gender; age; ethnicity and region as factors in influencing voting behavior? |

| | The influence of the media |
|-----------|---|
| 44 | 1. What is the role of the media in politics? |
| 45 | 2. What is the impact of the media in politics? |
| 46 | 3. Should we have opinion polls? |

Course Overview

Advanced (A) Level

The Pearson Edexcel Level 3 Advanced GCE in Politics consists of **three** externally examined papers. You must complete all assessment in May/June in any single year.

| Component 1: UK Politics | | |
|---|---|---|
| How you will be assessed | Content covered | Assessment overview |
| Written examination: 2 hours 33⅓% of the qualification 84 marks | You will study: 1. Political Participation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • democracy and participation • political parties • electoral systems • voting behaviour and the media. 2. Core Political Ideas <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • conservatism • liberalism • socialism. | Section A: Political Participation One 30-mark question from a choice of two (each question uses a source) – you must complete one of these. Plus one 30-mark question from a choice of two – you must complete one of these. All questions assess AO1, AO2 and AO3. Section B: Core Political Ideas One 24-mark question from a choice of two, which assesses AO1, AO2 and AO3. |
| Component 2: UK Government | | |
| How you will be assessed | Content covered | Assessment overview |
| Written examination: 2 hours 33⅓% of the qualification 84 marks | You will study: 1. UK Government <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the constitution • parliament • prime minister and executive • relationships between the branches 2. Non-Core Political Ideas – one idea from the following: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • anarchism • ecologism • feminism • multiculturalism • nationalism. | Section A: UK Government One 30-mark question from a choice of two (each question uses a source) – you must complete one of these. Plus one 30-mark question from a choice of two – you must complete one of these. All questions assess AO1, AO2 and AO3. Section B: Non-Core Political Ideas One 24-mark question from a choice of two, which assesses AO1, AO2 and AO3. |
| Component 3: Comparative Politics | | |
| You will study either USA or Global Politics Written examination: 2 hours 33⅓% of the qualification 84 marks | For USA , you will study: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the US Constitution and federalism • US Congress • US presidency • US Supreme Court and civil rights • democracy and participation • comparative theories. OR For Global you will study: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • sovereignty and globalisation • global governance: political and economic • global governance: human rights and environmental • power and developments • regionalism and the European Union • comparative theories. | Section A One 12-mark question from a choice of two, which assesses AO1 and AO2. Section B One compulsory 12-mark question focused on comparative theories, which assesses AO1 and AO2. Section C Two 30-mark questions from a choice of three, which assess AO1, AO2 and AO3. |

Component 1 Overview

Component 1: UK Politics and Core Political Ideas

There are two compulsory sections to this component: UK Politics and Core Political Ideas.

UK Politics

This section explores the nature of politics and how people engage in the political process in the UK.

Students will investigate in detail how people and politics interact. They will explore the emergence and development of the UK's democratic system and the similarities, differences, connections and parallels between direct and indirect democracy. They will focus on the role and scope of political parties that are so central to contemporary politics, including the significance of the manifestos they publish at election time and their relevance to the mandate of the resulting government.

This section allows students to understand the individual in the political process and their relationship with the state and their fellow citizens. Students will examine how electoral systems in the UK operate and how individuals and groups are influenced in their voting behaviour and political actions. This component will further examine the role of the media in contemporary politics. It will also give students an understanding of voting patterns and voting behaviour.

There are four content areas in UK Politics:

1. Democracy and participation
2. Political parties
3. Electoral systems
4. Voting behaviour and the media.

Core Political Ideas

This section allows students to explore the three traditional political ideas of conservatism, liberalism and socialism. Students will learn about the core ideas and principles and how they apply in practice to human nature, the state, society and the economy, the divisions within each idea and their key thinkers.

There are three content areas in Core Political Ideas:

1. Liberalism
2. Conservatism
3. Socialism.

Assessment information

- First assessment: June 2019.
- The assessment is 2 hours.
- The assessment is out of 84 marks.
- The assessment consists of **two** sections:
 - Section A – Political Participation: this section is worth 60 marks
Students answer one source question requiring comparative analysis from a choice of two and one non-source question from a choice of two. AO1, AO2 and AO3 are assessed.
 - Section B – Core Political Ideas: this section is worth 24 marks
Students have a choice of two questions and they answer one. AO1, AO2 and AO3 are assessed.

These questions will focus on content areas 1 and 2 and require students to use the key ideas of thinkers (content area 3) in their answers. These questions will cover either one core political idea or two core political ideas.

No other materials, for example a calculator, are required for this paper.

Sources

AO2 and AO3 require students to study and respond to 'political information'. In this qualification, this is carried out through the questions in Section A that use a source. These sources will be a single written (text) source only or a single source that combines both text and data (pie chart, tables, simple graphs such as a bar chart), all related in some way to UK politics.

Sources will be selected to ensure that they give students opportunities to bring in their own knowledge and understanding, to engage in comparative analysis and to evaluate by making judgements and drawing conclusions.

For each source, information relating to the context of the source is provided.

This information will not be discretely assessed, however it is provided to help students to engage with the information provided in the source.

UK Politics content

| Subject content | Students should gain knowledge and understanding of: |
|--|--|
| <p>1 Democracy and participation</p> <p><i>Key terminology</i></p> <p>Legitimacy</p> <p>Direct democracy</p> <p>Representative democracy</p> <p>Pluralist democracy</p> <p>Democratic deficit</p> <p>Participation crisis</p> <p>Franchise/suffrage</p> <p>Think tanks</p> <p>Lobbyists</p> | <p>1.1 Current systems of representative democracy and direct democracy.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The features of direct democracy and representative democracy. The similarities and differences between direct democracy and representative democracy. <p>Advantages and disadvantages of direct democracy and representative democracy and consideration of the case for reform.</p> <hr/> <p>1.2 A wider franchise and debates over suffrage.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Key milestones in the widening of the franchise in relation to class, gender, ethnicity and age, including the 1832 Great Reform Act and the 1918, 1928 and 1969 Representation of the People Acts. The work of the suffragists/suffragettes to extend the franchise. <p>The work of a current movement to extend the franchise.</p> <hr/> <p>1.3 Pressure groups and other influences.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> How different pressure groups exert influence and how their methods and influence vary in contemporary politics. Case studies of two different pressure groups, highlighting examples of how their methods and influence vary. Other collective organisations and groups including think tanks, lobbyists and corporations, and their influence on government and Parliament. <hr/> <p>1.4 Rights in context.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Major milestones in their development, including the significance of Magna Carta and more recent developments, including the Human Rights Act 1998 and Equality Act 2010. Debates on the extent, limits and tensions within the UK's rights-based culture, including consideration of how individual and collective right may conflict, the contributions from civil liberty pressure groups – including the work of two contemporary civil liberty pressure groups. |

| Subject content | Students should gain knowledge and understanding of: |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 2 Political parties | 2.1 Political parties. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The functions and features of political parties in the UK's representative democracy. How parties are currently funded, debates on the consequences of the current funding system. |
| <i>Key terminology</i> | |
| Old Labour (social democracy) | |
| New Labour (Third Way) | 2.2 Established political parties. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The origins and historical development of the Conservative Party, the Labour Party and Liberal Democrat Party, and how this has shaped their ideas and current policies on the economy, law and order, welfare and foreign policy. |
| One Nation | |
| New Right | |
| Classical liberals | 2.3 Emerging and minor UK political parties. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The importance of other parties in the UK. The ideas and policies of two other minor parties. |
| Modern liberals | |
| Party systems | |
| Left wing | 2.4 UK political parties in context. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The development of a multi-party system and its implications for government. Various factors that affect party success – explanations of why political parties have succeeded or failed, including debates on the influence of the media. |
| Right wing | |

| Subject content | Students should gain knowledge and understanding of: |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 3 Electoral systems | 3.1 Different electoral systems. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> First-past-the-post (FPTP), Additional Member System (AMS), Single Transferable Vote (STV) Supplementary Vote (SV). The advantages and disadvantages of these different systems. Comparison of first-past-the-post (FPTP) to a different electoral system in a devolved parliament/assembly. |
| <i>Key terminology</i> | |
| First-past-the-post (FPTP) | |
| Additional Member System (AMS) | |
| Single Transferable Vote (STV) | 3.2 Referendums and how they are used. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> How referendums have been used in the UK and their impact on UK political life since 1997. The case for and against referendums in a representative democracy. |
| Supplementary Vote (SV) | |
| Safe seat | |
| Marginal seat | 3.3 Electoral system analysis. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Debates on why different electoral systems are used in the UK. The impact of the electoral system on the government or type of government appointed. The impact of different systems on party representation and of electoral systems on voter choice. |
| Minority government | |
| Coalition government | |

| Subject content | Students should gain knowledge and understanding of: |
|---|---|
| <p>4 Voting behaviour and the media</p> <p><i>Key terminology</i></p> <p>Class dealignment</p> <p>Partisan dealignment</p> <p>Governing competency</p> <p>Disillusion and apathy</p> <p>Manifesto</p> <p>Mandate</p> | <p>4.1 Case studies of three key general elections.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Case studies of three elections (one from the period 1945–92, the 1997 election, and one since 1997), the results and their impact on parties and government. • The factors that explain the outcomes of these elections, including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o the reasons for and impact of party policies and manifestos, techniques used in their election campaigns, and the wider political context of the elections o class-based voting and other factors influencing voting patterns, such as partisanship and voting attachment o gender, age, ethnicity and region as factors in influencing voting behaviour, turnout and trends. • Analysis of the national voting-behaviour patterns for these elections, revealed by national data sources and how and why they vary. <p>4.2 The influence of the media.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The assessment of the role and impact of the media on politics – both during and between key general elections, including the importance and relevance of opinion polls, media bias and persuasion. |

Core Political Ideas content

Conservatism

Conservatism seeks to conserve society as it is and is suspicious of change. Conservatism values pragmatism over ideological thinking, seeking to adapt its values over time, according to changes in society. However, new right thinking within conservatism in the 1970s and 1980s challenged much of what conservatism had traditionally stood for.

There are three content areas:

1. Conservatism: core ideas and principles
2. Differing views and tensions within conservatism
3. Conservative thinkers and their ideas.

| Subject content | Students should gain knowledge and understanding of: |
|--|--|
| 1 Conservatism: core ideas and principles | Core ideas and principles of conservatism and how they relate to human nature, the state, society and the economy: |
| Key terminology | |
| Hierarchy | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• pragmatism – flexible approach to society with decisions made on the basis of what works – to cover links between pragmatism and traditional conservative and one-nation philosophy |
| Authority | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• tradition – accumulated wisdom of past societies and a connection between the generations – to cover how this creates stability, links with organic change, and enhances humans’ security |
| Change to conserve | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• human imperfection – humans are flawed which makes them incapable of making good decisions for themselves – to cover the three aspects of psychological, moral and intellectual imperfection |
| Atomism | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• organic society/state – society/state is more important than any individual parts – to cover how this links to the underpinning of the beliefs of authority and hierarchy and a cohesive society• paternalism – benign power exerted from above by the state, that governs in the interests of the people – to cover the different interpretations by traditional (an authoritarian approach, the state knows what is best so the people must do what they are told) and one-nation conservatives (there is an obligation on the wealthy to look after those who are unable to look after themselves) and why it is rejected by New Right Conservatives• libertarianism (specifically neo-liberalism) – upholds liberty, seeking to maximise autonomy and free choice, mainly in the economy – to cover the moral and economic values associated with this idea. |

| Subject content | Students should gain knowledge and understanding of: |
|---|--|
| <p>2 Differing views and tensions within conservatism</p> <p><i>Key terminology</i></p> <p>Noblesse oblige</p> <p>Anti-permissiveness</p> <p>Radical</p> <p>Human imperfection</p> | <p>The differing views and tensions within conservatism:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • traditional conservative – commitment to hierarchic and paternalistic values • one-nation conservative – updating of traditional conservatism in response to the emergence of capitalism • new right – the marriage of neo-liberal and neo-conservative ideas and include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o neo-liberal: principally concerned with free-market economics and atomistic individualism o neo-conservative: principally concerned with the fear of social fragmentation, tough on law and order and public morality. |

| Subject content | Students should gain knowledge and understanding of: |
|--|--|
| <p>3 Conservative thinkers and their ideas</p> <p><i>Key terminology</i></p> <p>Laissez-faire</p> <p>Empiricism</p> | <p>The key ideas of the following thinkers to exemplify the content from areas 1 and 2:</p> <p>Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Order – an ordered society should balance the human need to lead a free life. • Human nature – humans are needy, vulnerable and easily led astray in attempts to understand the world around them. <p>Edmund Burke (1729–1797)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Change – political change should be undertaken with great caution and organically. • Tradition and empiricism – practices passed down for generations should be respected. <p>Michael Oakeshott (1901–1990)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human imperfection – suggestion that society is unpredictable and humans are imperfect. • Pragmatism – belief that conservatism is about being pragmatic. <p>Ayn Rand (1905–1982)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Objectivism – this advocates the virtues of rational self-interest. • Freedom – this supports a pure, laissez-faire capitalist economy. <p>Robert Nozick (1938–2002)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Libertarianism – based on Kant’s idea that individuals in society cannot be treated as a thing, or used against their will as a resource. • Self-ownership – individuals own their bodies, talents, abilities and labour. |

Liberalism

Liberalism is seen essentially as a product of The Enlightenment as it recognises that humans are rational creatures capable of understanding the world and making decision for themselves. The defining feature of liberalism is its belief in individualism and freedom.

There are three content areas:

1. Liberalism: core ideas and principles
2. Differing views and tensions within liberalism
3. Liberal thinkers and their ideas.

| Subject content | Students should gain knowledge and understanding of: |
|---|--|
| <p>1 Liberalism: core ideas and principles</p> <p><i>Key terminology</i></p> <p>Foundational equality</p> <p>Formal equality</p> <p>Equality of opportunity</p> <p>Social contract</p> <p>Meritocracy</p> <p>Mechanistic theory</p> <p>Tolerance</p> <p>Limited government</p> | <p>Core ideas and principles of liberalism and how they relate to human nature, the state, society and the economy:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • individualism – the primacy of the individual in society over any group – to cover egoistical individualism and developmental individualism • freedom/liberty – the ability and right to make decisions in your own interests based on your view of human nature – to cover how liberals guarantee individual freedom, the link between freedom and individualism, that freedom is ‘under the law’ • state – it is ‘necessary’ to avoid disorder, but ‘evil’ as it has potential to remove individual liberty, thus should be limited; this is linked to the liberal view of the economy • rationalism – the belief that humans are rational creatures, capable of reason and logic – to cover how rationalism underpins an individual’s ability to define their own best interests and make their own moral choices, creating a progressive society • equality/social justice – the belief that individuals are of equal value and that they should be treated impartially and fairly by society – to cover foundational and formal equality and equality of opportunity • liberal democracy – a democracy that balances the will of the people, as shown through elections, with limited government (state) and a respect for civil liberties in society – to cover why liberals support it as well as why they are concerned about it. |

| Subject content | Students should gain knowledge and understanding of: |
|---|---|
| <p>2 Differing views and tensions within liberalism</p> <p><i>Key terminology</i></p> <p>Egoistical individualism</p> <p>Developmental individualism</p> <p>Negative freedom</p> <p>Positive freedom</p> <p>Laissez-faire capitalism</p> <p>Keynesianism</p> | <p>The differing views and tensions within liberalism:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • classical liberalism – early liberals who believed that individual freedom would best be achieved with the state playing a minimal role • modern liberalism – emerged as a reaction against free-market capitalism, believing this had led to many individuals not being free. Freedom could no longer simply be defined as 'being left alone'. |

| Subject content | Students should gain knowledge and understanding of: |
|---|--|
| <p data-bbox="236 331 533 394">3 Liberal thinkers and their ideas</p> <p data-bbox="236 439 459 470"><i>Key terminology</i></p> <p data-bbox="236 492 416 524">Harm principle</p> <p data-bbox="236 544 400 575">Minimal state</p> <p data-bbox="236 595 411 627">Enabling state</p> | <p data-bbox="608 331 1278 394">The key ideas of the following thinkers to exemplify the content from areas 1 and 2:</p> <p data-bbox="608 439 943 470">John Locke (1632-1704)</p> <ul data-bbox="608 481 1347 613" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="608 481 1347 544">• Social contract theory – society, state and government are based on a theoretical voluntary agreement. <li data-bbox="608 555 1347 613">• Limited government – that government should be limited and based on consent from below. <p data-bbox="608 647 1034 678">Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–97)</p> <ul data-bbox="608 689 1326 822" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="608 689 1326 752">• Reason – women are rational and independent beings capable of reason. <li data-bbox="608 763 1326 822">• Formal equality – in order to be free, women should enjoy full civil liberties and be allowed to have a career. <p data-bbox="608 855 967 887">John Stuart Mill (1806-73)</p> <ul data-bbox="608 898 1331 1030" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="608 898 1331 960">• Harm principle – that individuals should be free to do anything except harm other individuals. <li data-bbox="608 972 1331 1030">• Tolerance – belief that the popularity of a view does not necessarily make it correct. <p data-bbox="608 1064 943 1095">John Rawls (1921-2002)</p> <ul data-bbox="608 1106 1337 1305" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="608 1106 1337 1169">• Theory of justice – opinion that society must be just and guarantee each citizen a life worth living. <li data-bbox="608 1180 1337 1305">• The veil of ignorance – a hypothetical scenario where individuals, agree on the type of society they want from a position where they lack knowledge of their own position in society. <p data-bbox="608 1339 970 1370">Betty Friedan (1921-2006)</p> <ul data-bbox="608 1382 1331 1554" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="608 1382 1331 1444">• Legal equality – women are as capable as men and that oppressive laws and social views must be overturned. <li data-bbox="608 1456 1331 1554">• Equal opportunity – women are being held back from their potential because of the limited number of jobs that are ‘acceptable’ for women. |

Socialism

Socialism is defined by its opposition to capitalism. It aims to provide a clear alternative that is more humane and based on collectivism not individualism, co-operation not competition and social equality not inequality. There is a wide variety of traditions within socialism, with the goal of abolishing or minimising class division.

There are three content areas:

1. Socialism: core ideas and principles
2. Differing views and tensions within socialism
3. Socialist thinkers and their ideas.

| Subject content | Students should gain knowledge and understanding of: |
|---|--|
| 1 Socialism: core ideas and principles Key terminology Fraternity Cooperation Capitalism Common ownership Communism | Core ideas and principles of socialism and how they relate to human nature, the state, society and the economy: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • collectivism – to cover how collective human effort is both of greater practical value to the economy and moral value to society than the effort of individuals • common humanity – to cover the nature of humans as social creatures with a tendency to co-operation, sociability and rationality, and how the individual cannot be understood without reference to society, as human behaviour is socially determined • equality – is a fundamental value of socialism – to cover the disagreements among socialists about the nature of equality and how it is critical to the state, society, the economy and human nature • social class – a group of people in society who have the same socioeconomic status – to cover the extent to which class impacts on socialists’ views of society, the state and the economy • workers’ control – to cover the importance and the extent of control over the economy and/or state and how it is to be achieved. |

| Subject content | Students should gain knowledge and understanding of: |
|--|---|
| 2 Differing views and tensions within socialism Key terminology Evolutionary socialism Marxism Revisionism Social justice | The differing views and tensions within socialism: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • revolutionary socialism – socialism can be brought about only by the overthrow of the existing political and societal structures • social democracy – an ideological view that wishes to humanise capitalism in the interests of social justice • Third Way – a middle-ground alternative route to socialism and free-market capitalism. |

| Subject content | Students should gain knowledge and understanding of: |
|---|---|
| <p data-bbox="231 300 494 360">3 Socialist thinkers and their ideas</p> <p data-bbox="231 405 454 439">Key terminology</p> <p data-bbox="231 456 472 486">Class consciousness</p> <p data-bbox="231 506 491 535">Historical materialism</p> <p data-bbox="231 555 336 584">Dialectic</p> <p data-bbox="231 604 488 633">Keynesian economics</p> | <p data-bbox="531 300 1294 360">The key ideas of the following thinkers to exemplify the content from areas 1 and 2:</p> <p data-bbox="531 400 1241 430">Karl Marx (1818–83) and Friedrich Engels (1820–95)</p> <ul data-bbox="531 445 1318 638" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="531 445 1209 533">• The centrality of social class – the ideas of historical materialism, dialectic change and revolutionary class consciousness. <li data-bbox="531 548 1318 638">• Humans as social beings – how nature is socially determined and how true common humanity can be expressed only under communism. <p data-bbox="531 674 911 703">Beatrice Webb (1858–1943)</p> <ul data-bbox="531 719 1310 848" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="531 719 1294 779">• ‘The inevitability of gradualness’ – the gradualist parliamentary strategy for achieving evolutionary socialism. <li data-bbox="531 790 1310 848">• The expansion of the state – that this, and not the overthrow of the state, is critical in delivering socialism. <p data-bbox="531 884 943 913">Rosa Luxemburg (1871–1919)</p> <ul data-bbox="531 929 1331 1090" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="531 929 1331 990">• Evolutionary socialism and revisionism – this is not possible as capitalism is based on an economic relationship of exploitation. <li data-bbox="531 1001 1331 1090">• Struggle by the proletariat for reform and democracy – this creates the class consciousness necessary for the overthrow of the capitalist society and state. <p data-bbox="531 1126 919 1155">Anthony Crosland (1918–77)</p> <ul data-bbox="531 1171 1315 1332" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="531 1171 1262 1258">• The inherent contradictions in capitalism – does not drive social change and managed capitalism can deliver social justice and equality. <li data-bbox="531 1270 1315 1332">• State-managed capitalism – includes the mixed economy, full employment and universal social benefits. <p data-bbox="531 1368 884 1397">Anthony Giddens (1938–)</p> <ul data-bbox="531 1413 1326 1574" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="531 1413 1326 1500">• The rejection of state intervention – acceptance of the free market in the economy, emphasis on equality of opportunity over equality, responsibility and community over class conflict. <li data-bbox="531 1512 1286 1574">• The role of the state – is social investment in infrastructure and education not economic and social engineering. |

1. Democracy and Participation

1.1 Current systems of representative democracy and direct democracy

What is Democracy?

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4MH89RzS39g>



Direct Democracy

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y5W45Va0cPE>



What is **direct democracy**?

- Direct democracy can be defined as: "the direct, constant and unhampered involvement of the people in political life." It is a system in which the people make all of the key decisions themselves.
- It can be described as a system of self-government, because it is the people rather than professional politicians who govern – there are no professional politicians to govern.
- Politics is 'happening' all the time, because decisions on new issues constantly need to be made.
- Decisions can be made unanimously or by a vote. A **majority** is needed for legislation to be passed.

Athenian direct democracy

- Democracy first emerged in Athens, which was a city-state in Ancient Greece, approximately 2,500 years ago.
- The Athenian system allowed all free adult men who had been born in Athens to attend an Assembly, in which decisions were made about laws and how the city would be governed.
- It was a system of direct democracy because the Athenian people made all of the key decisions themselves.
- It wouldn't be seen as fully democratic now because women, slaves and foreigners (those who had been born elsewhere) were not allowed to attend the Assembly.
- It would be impractical to have this kind of democracy in the modern world because there are too many people for everyone to attend an assembly.

What is a **referendum**?

- It is a modern version of direct democracy, because the people are asked to make a political decision themselves.
- It can be defined as “a **popular vote** on an issue of public policy”. This means that the people vote on a single issue, usually framed as a yes/no question.
- It may be either binding, which means that the government is forced to carry out the people’s decision, or advisory, which means the government will take the public’s wishes into account in their decision-making, but they reserve the right to make a different decision.
- In the UK referendums are affected by **Parliamentary Sovereignty**. This means that Parliament has the final say on all political matters, so technically a UK referendum can never be binding.
- There are two great examples of referendums you should remember:
 - ◆ The referendum on Scottish independence in 2014, which voted in favour of Scotland remaining part of the UK.
 - ◆ The referendum on UK membership of the European Union (EU), which took place in June 2016 and resulted in **Brexit** – a victory for the Leave campaign.

Are there any other forms of direct democracy?

Initiatives

- These are a form of referendum brought about by citizens.
- If a certain number of signatures are obtained, calling for a referendum on a particular issue, then a vote must be held.
- They are used regularly in Switzerland.

Propositions

- These are used by some US states, notably California.
- They are referendums held at the same time as state elections.
- Citizens are able to place an issue on the ballot paper by collecting a set number of signatures (the number required is relative to the number of votes cast for the governor at the last election).
- The group sponsoring the proposition must also pay for its inclusion on the ballot.
- Recent propositions include:
 - ◆ A proposal to legalise medical marijuana (1996)
 - ◆ A proposal to ban gay marriage (2008) passed, but later defeated on appeal.

Representative Democracy

What is **representative democracy**?

- Representative democracy is political system in which most decisions are made by elected representatives rather than the people themselves. It has several features:
- Features of representative democracy

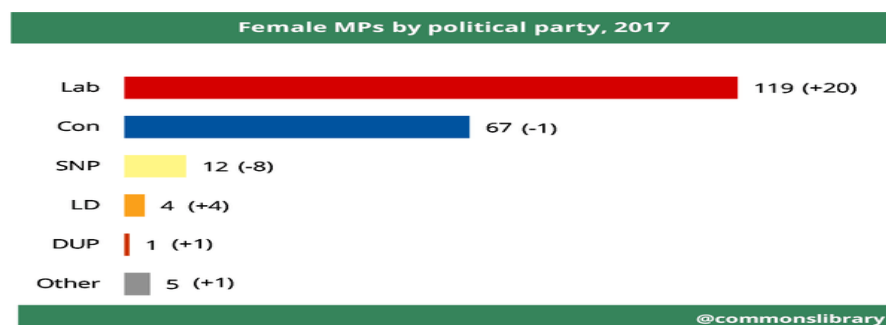
| Feature | Further detail and examples |
|--|--|
| Free, fair and regular elections at a range of levels. | For example, in the UK we elect MPs to the national government, members of devolved regional parliaments/assemblies and local councillors. |
| Universal suffrage/ wide franchise . | 'Suffrage' or 'the franchise' refer to the right to vote. In the UK we have universal suffrage, which means that all adults have the right to vote. We have a <i>wide</i> franchise, because many different types of people are included. |
| Assemblies or legislatures which pass laws. | The Parliament at Westminster is the most important legislature in the UK, because it makes laws that affect everyone. Other legislatures are the Scottish Parliament (Holyrood), the Welsh Assembly and the Northern Irish Assembly (Stormont), but these have limited law-making powers and cannot override Westminster. |
| The people do not make decisions directly, rather their representatives do this on their behalf. | MPs make decisions on behalf of their constituents . It is important to remember that the MP does not just represent those who voted for him/her, rather s/he represents everyone living within his/her constituency. |
| Representatives are accountable to the people. | If the people are not happy with the job their representative or government is doing, then they can vote for a different representative in the next election. In this way representatives are held responsible for their actions and decisions. |
| Decisions reached on the basis of a majority. | MPs need a majority of votes to be elected. Proposed laws need a majority of votes in both Houses of Parliament to pass. |
| A range of political parties which represent differing policies and ideas. | There is no <i>need</i> for parties to exist at all in a representative democracy, because the electorate vote for the individual candidate, not a party (in most electoral systems). However, parties naturally develop in democracies, as people with similar ideas work together to maximise their chances of influencing and making law. Most democracies have 2-3 major parties and several minor parties. |

Advantages of representative democracy

- Representative democracy is the only practical form of democracy in a large modern society. Direct democracy is unpractical for many reasons.
 - ◆ For example, the country would have to be divided into thousands of very small self-governing areas just to enable everyone to have their say in the assembly.
- Representative democracy allows citizens to carry on with their ordinary lives without having to research complex political issues, attend political meetings and participate in debate, which would be extremely time-consuming.
 - ◆ For example, MPs participate in debates and committee work 5 days a week. In a direct 'Athenian' democratic system everyone would be a full-time politician!
- Representative government is government by experts or specialists. MPs are usually highly educated in relevant subjects and have the time to research issues in depth to inform their decisions.
 - ◆ For example, many MPs have degrees in PPE (Philosophy, Politics & Economics) and Law, which helps them to understand the issues on which they are **legislating**.
- Representative democracy provides **accountability**. Through elections and free speech the public can hold office holders to account, throwing out bad governments and poorly performing ministers.
 - ◆ For example, in 2010 the public were dissatisfied with the Labour government and voted them out of office.
- Representative democracy provides stability. The general public can be prone to extreme reactions to certain circumstances, which could result in extreme changes to laws if the public were making laws directly.
 - ◆ For example, in the early years of the century there was a moral panic concerning paedophilia, which led to mobs persecuting and beating up paedophiles, and various demands by the public for changes in the law. This was in response to three separate high profile murder cases involving young girls, despite the fact that overall rates of such crimes were unchanged. While laws were tightened up, the fact that full-time experts were able to consider the facts dispassionately limited excessive changes being made, which would have prevented children from engaging in positive activities with adults under certain circumstances.
- Representative democracy is pragmatic and evolves in a range of areas, in the UK it has adapted to the use of referendums. It could adapt to the use of initiatives and the power of recall over representatives.
 - ◆ For example, the UK didn't really use referendums before 1975, but since then it has gradually become established practice to hold a referendum to justify any **constitutional** change.
 - ◆ The use of e-petitions, especially by the government itself, takes us some way towards formal initiatives.
 - ◆ The Liberal Democrats explicitly support giving citizens the power of recall.

Disadvantages of representative democracy

- Political scientists often point out that the social background of MPs is very narrow. They are overwhelmingly white, male, heterosexual, middle-aged (in their 50s) and upper-middle class. Many younger MPs have Politics or PPE degrees and worked as special advisors (SPADs) to ministers before they became MPs, so they have no experience of the 'real world'. This means that they are not a true reflection of the people they represent and therefore they may not understand what is in the best interests of the people.
 - ◆ For example, only 29% of MPs are female and only 6.6% are from ethnic minorities.
 - ◆ The average age of MPs is 51.
 - ◆ 4.9% of MPs are homosexual, although this is close to the proportion in the general population.
 - ◆ 20% of MPs were privately educated (compared to 7% of the general population) and 20% went to Oxbridge.



- Some minorities may feel excluded and marginalised under a system of representative democracy
 - ◆ For example, approximately 14% of the general population is from an ethnic minority, but only 6.6% of MPs are from ethnic minorities, so ethnic minority citizens may feel that their views are not often heard by politicians.
 - ◆ Additionally, while women are not a minority group in society, politics, especially at Cabinet level, is dominated by men, which means women are likely to feel their concerns are regarded as peripheral rather than central issues.
- It can be argued that the nature of political parties also restricts voter choice because the main political parties are trying to appeal to the same group of 'middle of the spectrum' voters, so their policies are very similar. This is partly because people of very similar backgrounds and opinions are making policy in the first place.
 - ◆ For example, in the 2015 election, all of the main parties agreed that austerity policies were necessary, they just disagreed on the details.
- Participation levels are often low and this calls into question the legitimacy of the system, because there is no way of knowing whether non-participants would disagree with the political system or haven't voted simply because they don't care (**apathy**).
 - ◆ For example, less than two thirds of the electorate voted in each of the last four general elections pre 2017 (2015, 2010, 2005, 2001).

Advantages and disadvantages of direct democracy and representative democracy

| Advantages of direct democracy | Disadvantages of direct democracy |
|--|---|
| Gives equal weight to all votes, unlike a representative system where the varying sizes of constituencies mean that votes do not all have equal value. | Impractical in a large, heavily populated modern state where decision-making is complicated. |
| Encourages popular participation in politics by expecting people to take their duties as citizens seriously. | Many people will not want to – or feel qualified to – take part in decision-making, so political activists decide what happens. |
| Removes the need for trusted representatives, as people can take responsibility for their own decisions. | Open to manipulation by the cleverest and most articulate speakers, who will persuade people to support their viewpoint. |
| Develops a sense of community and encourages genuine debate. | Will of the majority is not mediated by parliamentary institutions, so minority viewpoints are disregarded. |

Table 1.1: Direct democracy – advantages and disadvantages

| Advantages of representative democracy | Disadvantages of representative democracy |
|--|---|
| The only practical system in a large modern state, where issues are complex and often need rapid response (for example, the deployment of troops). | May lead to reduced participation as people choose to hand responsibility to politicians. |
| Politicians form parties, bringing coherence and giving people a real choice of representative. Pressure groups form to represent different interests, promoting debate and encouraging pluralist democracy . | Parties and pressure groups are often run by elites pursuing their own agendas, not truly representing the people. |
| Reduces chances of minority rights being overridden by 'tyranny of the majority'. | Minorities may still find themselves under-represented as politicians are more likely to follow the views of the majority to secure election. |
| Elections allow people to hold representatives to account. | Politicians are skilful in avoiding accountability, especially as general elections are usually 5 years apart in the UK. |
| Politicians are (in theory) better informed than the average citizen about the many issues on which they must take a view. | Politicians may be corrupt and incompetent, may betray election promises or put loyalty to their party before responsibility to the electorate. |

Table 1.2: Representative democracy – advantages and disadvantages

Key term

Pluralist democracy
a type of democracy in which a government makes decisions as a result of the interplay of various ideas and contrasting arguments from competing groups and organisations.

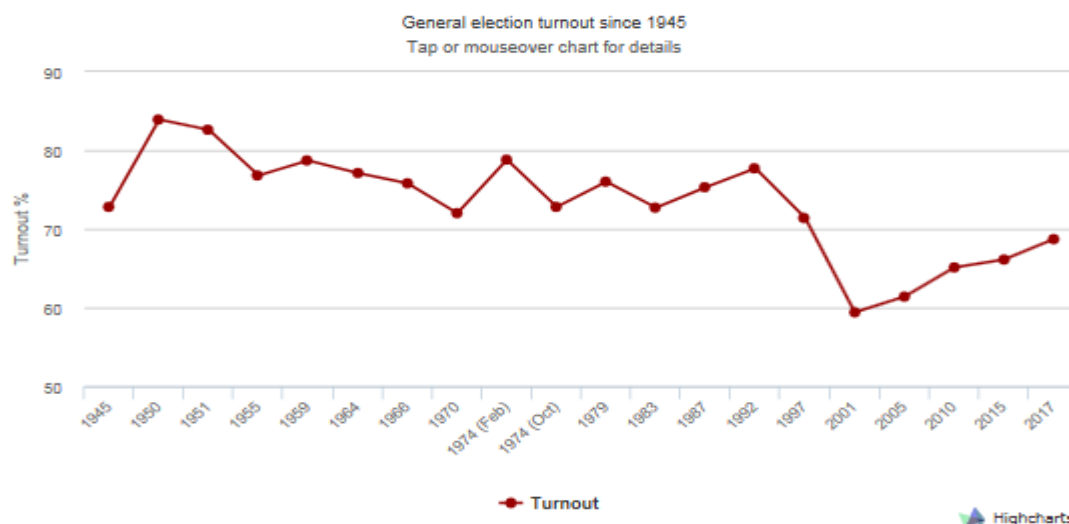
General election turnout 1945 – 2017





 2K  134

The chart below shows the percentage of registered voters who actually voted at each general election from 1945—2017, excluding votes deliberately or accidentally spoiled. Voter turnout data is also available for individual constituencies at the 2015 — 2010 — 2005 — 2001 — 1997 general elections, and for Westminster by-elections, the London Mayor elections, and for European parliament elections.



The table below shows the same data, in reverse order, together with the percentage turnout for each of the four regions. To sort the table click on the column headings:

General election turnout since 1945, by region

| Election Year | UK | England | Wales | Scotland | N. Ireland |
|---------------|-------|---------|-------|----------|------------|
| 2015 | 66.1% | 65.8% | 65.7% | 71.1% | 58.1% |
| 2010 | 65.1% | 65.5% | 64.7% | 63.8% | 57.6% |
| 2005 | 61.4% | 61.3% | 62.6% | 60.8% | 62.9% |
| 2001 | 59.4% | 59.2% | 61.6% | 58.2% | 68% |
| 1997 | 71.4% | 71.4% | 73.5% | 71.3% | 67.1% |
| 1992 | 77.7% | 78% | 79.7% | 75.5% | 69.8% |
| 1987 | 75.3% | 75.4% | 78.9% | 75.1% | 67% |
| 1983 | 72.7% | 72.5% | 76.1% | 72.7% | 72.9% |
| 1979 | 76% | 75.9% | 79.4% | 76.8% | 67.7% |
| 1974 Oct | 72.8% | 72.6% | 76.6% | 74.8% | 67.7% |
| 1974 Feb | 78.8% | 79% | 80% | 79% | 69.9% |
| 1970 | 72% | 71.4% | 77.4% | 74.1% | 76.6% |
| 1966 | 75.8% | 75.9% | 79% | 76% | 66.1% |
| 1964 | 77.1% | 77% | 80.1% | 77.6% | 71.7% |
| 1959 | 78.7% | 78.9% | 82.6% | 78.1% | 65.9% |
| 1955 | 76.8% | 76.9% | 79.6% | 75.1% | 74.1% |
| 1951 | 82.6% | 82.7% | 84.4% | 81.2% | 79.9% |
| 1950 | 83.9% | 84.4% | 84.8% | 80.9% | 77.4% |
| 1945 | 72.8% | 73.4% | 75.7% | 69% | 67.4% |

Source: House of Commons Research Papers 01/37, 01/54, 05/33 & 10/36

Latest Party membership figures

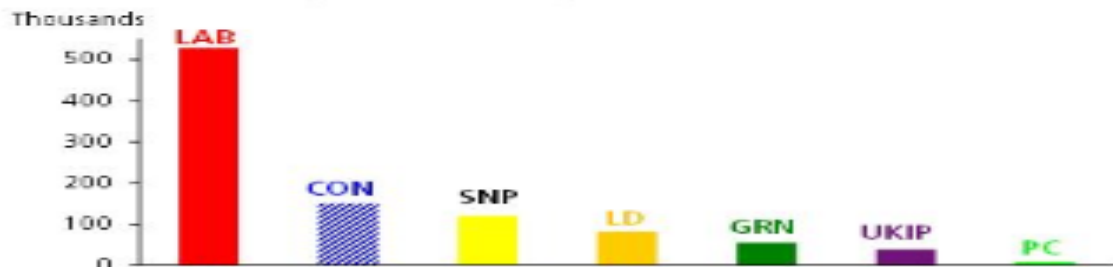
Membership of all political parties (and income from membership) has risen notably since 2013, both in total and as a percentage of the electorate.

According to the latest available estimates from political parties' head offices, press releases and media estimates:

- The **Labour Party** has around 517,000 members, as of March 2017.
- The **Conservative Party** had 149,800 members as of December 2013, the latest available estimate published by Conservative Campaign Headquarters (CCHQ).
- The **Scottish National Party** has around 120,000 members, as of July 2016.
- The **Liberal Democrat Party** has 82,000 members, as of February 2017.
- The **Green Party** (England and Wales) has 55,500 members, as of July 2016.
- **UKIP** has around 39,000 members, as of July 2016.
- The **Plaid Cymru** has 8,273 members, as of July 2016.

Membership of UK political parties

Latest available data (as of March 2017)



Note: Conservative figures are as of 1 December 2013 (Latest available estimate)

Source: latest available figures provided by party head offices and media releases

Current systems of representative and direct democracy

1. What are the pros and cons of direct versus representative democracy?

2. What is the case for reforming the UK democratic system?

3. Is the UK experiencing a 'participation crisis'?

4. What are the reasons for lower participation rates?

5. How should the system be reformed? Should voting be made compulsory?

1.2 A wider franchise and debates over suffrage

Out of a population of 10.5 million, only c.400, 000 could vote by 1801

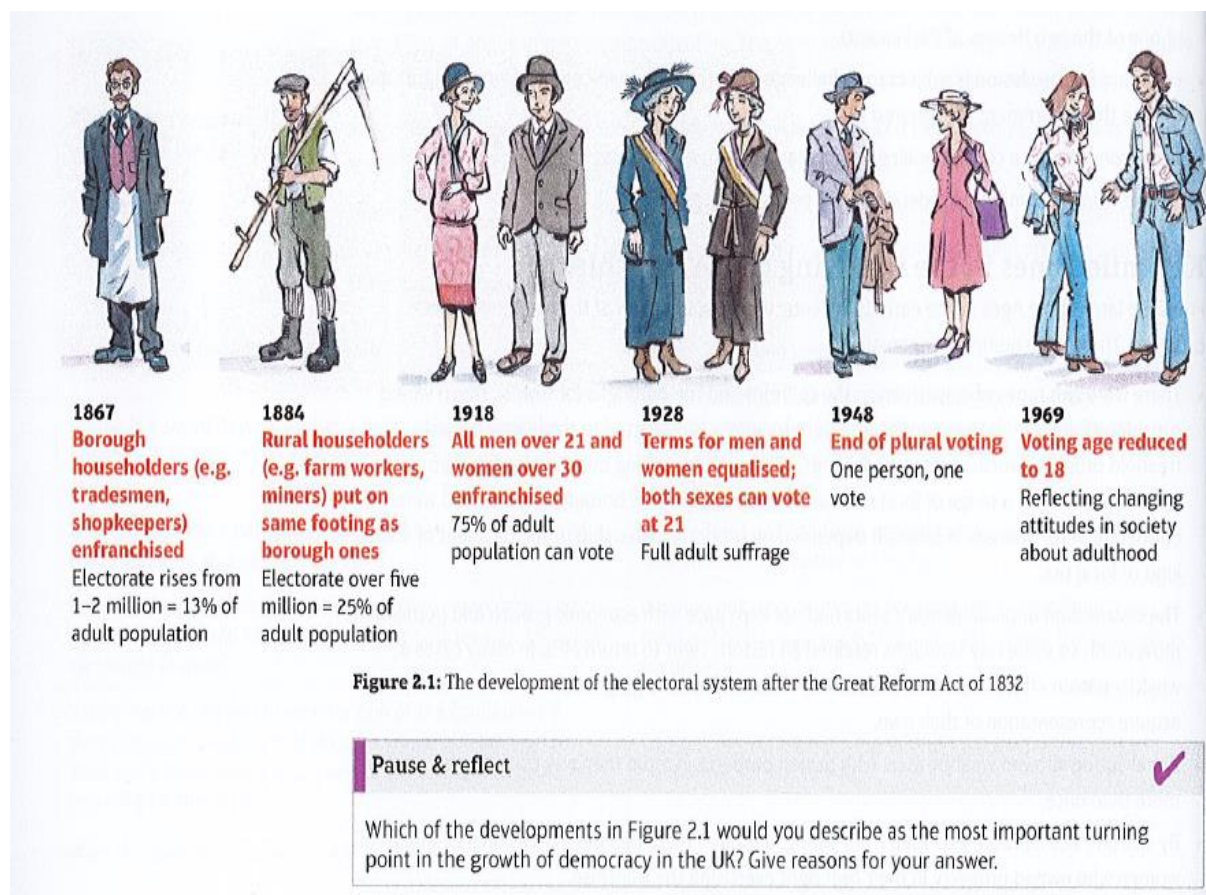
The 1832 Reform Act

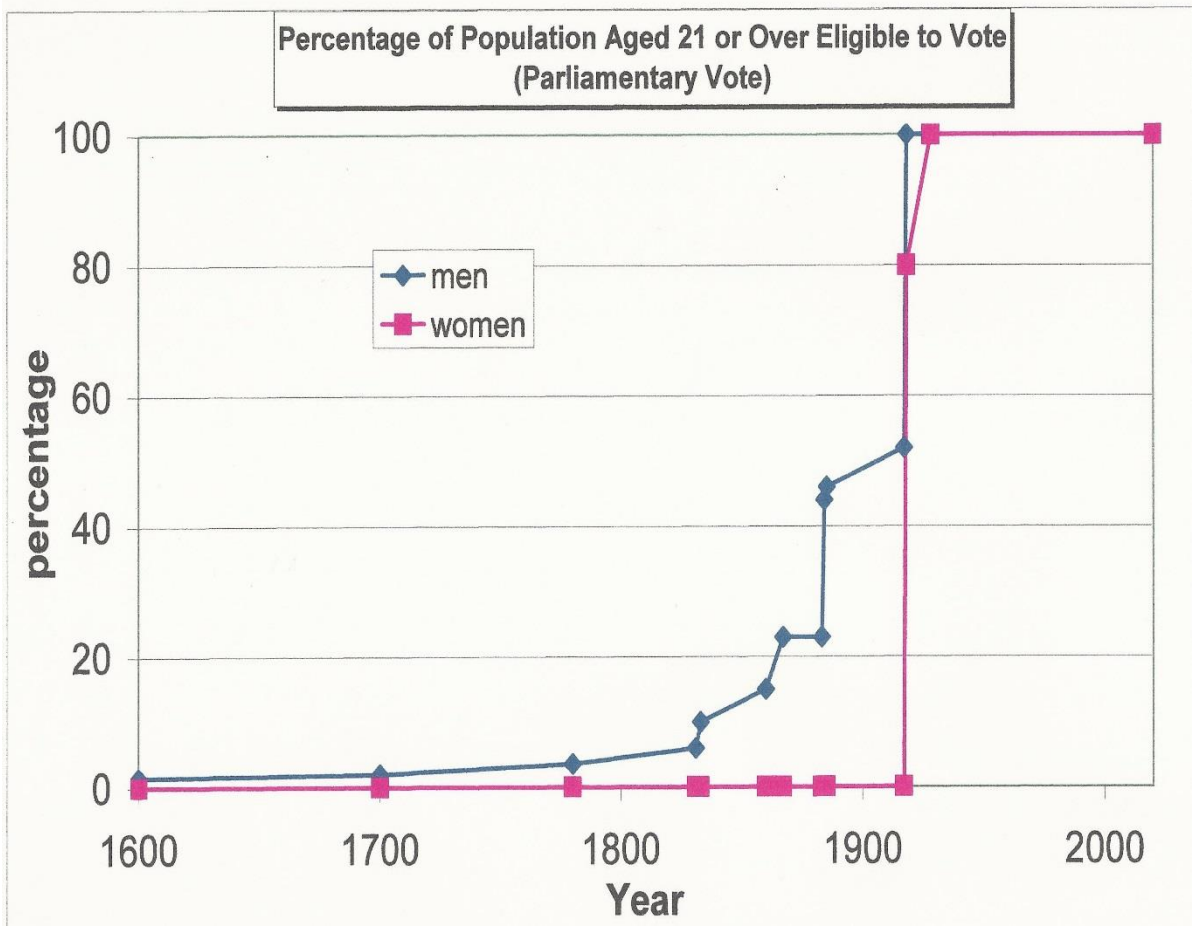
Partly in response to the riots Parliament passed the **1832 Reform Act**.

The act stated that:

- One in five men - those who owned property and earned more than £10 per year - got the vote.
- Seats must be created for MPs in new industrial towns such as Birmingham.
- Seats for MPs from **rotten boroughs** had to be removed.

There was a mixed reaction to the new political changes. The middle class was happy about the changes, but the working class still could not vote. Elections remained corrupt and the country was still run by the rich. MPs in the countryside continued to have more power than those in industrial towns.





<https://www.tutor2u.net/politics/reference/development-of-suffrage-franchise-in-britain-matching-exercise>



Enhancing Democracy

Votes for 16 year olds

Arguments in favour of lowering the voting age.

- Allowing voting at 16 places this right in line with other aspects of citizenship available at this age, which include the age of consent, the right to marry, entering the field of employment and income tax payment.
- Earlier involvement in politics will capture the younger generation and instil the political responsibilities of citizenship, fostering a sense of civic pride and duty. It can build on the citizenship curriculum in pre-16 schooling.
- Long term participation rates may rise if 16 year-olds develop the habit of voting, because they will carry on voting as they get older.
- Knowledge and competence are not significantly lower at 16 than 18. It can be argued that decisions about whether to continue in education (and what to study) or to go into employment are far more personally important decisions, to be taken at a younger age than voting.
- Involving under-18s will make youth issues a more relevant topic in elections. For instance career options and education are vital for this age group and political parties will have to make this a key topic in elections, as the Lib Dems have done with university tuition fees.

ANALYSIS: how could participation and democracy be strengthened in the UK?

| | Effective | Ineffective |
|--|---|--|
| Compulsory voting for all citizens | This automatically increases participation levels and forces elected representatives to take account of the views of all social groups, thus advancing democratic legitimacy. | However to force someone to make a choice and vote may be unreal, as there may be no genuine choice on offer. Many former authoritarian regimes, such as the USSR, cited turnout in the high 90%, but the choice on offer was false, because genuine opposition parties were banned. |
| Reducing the voting age to 16. | Matching the voting age to other 'maturation' levels is just and fair. It will develop political engagement and prevent frustration. | At 16 young adults are still not experienced enough to make that choice. |
| The greater use of referendums. | As a means of direct democracy, this instantly gives greater legitimacy to decisions. | However, the public can soon tire of referendums and their creation may reflect government drives as opposed to democratic advancement. |
| The use of initiatives and the process of recall. | It is argued that this would invigorate political life and give democratic power to the public. They will allow the public to draw up the political agenda and address popular issues which profession politicians may avoid. They will also engage and educate the wider public. | This may simply create political instability, where a sensitive and scheming media may really create puppets out of the electorate. They may further trivialise decision making and could unfavourably slant the political agenda with populist items. |
| The introduction of more electronic technology to aid participation. | This makes both the process of voting easier and makes participation more precise, swift and inclusive. | This may alienate the public further, making politics akin to a frivolous TV show, as opposed to voting being a major life-changing decision. Digital systems may also be subject to hacking and fraud and may appear less open and transparent. |
| A change to the voting system for Westminster elections. | On the one hand this could revitalise politics, especially at Westminster. If PR were to be introduced, it would make citizens feel that their vote was equal and counted. | However, there is no agreed electoral system that commands universal approval. In addition where PR has been introduced it has not especially delivered increased level of participation. |
| Increased provision of political education. | It is argued if the public in school and beyond were allowed greater levels of political education then levels of participation would increase as people would both value and understand the political process. | Constitutional reform by governmental structure may improve both participation and democracy – the House of Lords reform may be cited. |

A wider franchise and debates over suffrage

1. What are the key milestones for the widening of the suffrage?

2. How did the suffragists and suffragettes help to extend the franchise?

3. Should 16- and 17-year-olds be given the vote?

1.3 Pressure groups and other influences

Sectional and promotional pressure groups

| Sectional (Interest) | Promotional (Cause) | Social Movements |
|---|--|---|
| Tend to be exclusive and have restricted rather than open membership. Membership is restricted to people in particular occupations, professions or positions. | Have an open membership – anyone can join. | Similar to cause groups, but more loosely structured |
| Concerned with the well-being of their own members. | Concerned with the well-being of others, society in general and/or the whole planet. | Some members may also belong to traditional pressure groups |
| Seek to advance the interests of their members – driven by self-interest. | Seek to advance ideas, ideals or political causes – driven by altruism. | Some members just take part in a specific protest |
| Usually based on economic (people working in a particular industry/profession) or social (related to age, religion, ethnicity etc) groups. | Based on 'causes', such as the environment, animal rights etc. | Social movements are usually radical and seek to achieve a single objective |
| Examples include professional bodies and trade unions, such as the National Union of Teachers (NUT), the Law Society and the Confederation of British Industry (CBI). | Examples include Greenpeace, Shelter, Oxfam, the RSPCA and RSPB. | Examples include the 'Camps for Climate Action' created 2007-10 to oppose the expansion of Heathrow airport and the Occupy Movement from 2011 |

Insider and outsider pressure groups

| Insider | Outsider |
|--|---|
| An insider pressure group has a close and productive relationship with the government. This relationship may mean that insiders will be consulted before and during policy implementation. | An outsider has little or no government contact and are not consulted before/during policy formation/implementation, no matter what level of expertise they possess. |
| Insider groups will be highly unlikely to use direct action or break the law, as this would damage their relationship with the government. | Outsider groups may under certain circumstances be attracted to law breaking. For example, animal rights groups have broken into animal testing labs and freed the animals. |
| Examples of insider groups include the NFU and the BMA. | Examples of outsider groups include Earth First and the Animal Liberation Front. |

Functions of pressure groups

- **An educative function:** here pressure groups can provide information and education to the general public, making them aware of political events and facts. For instance pressure groups who campaign against pollution and aim to protect the environment may inform the public of pollution levels.
- **A representative function:** PGs can speak up for sections of society who are not adequately represented through the existing electoral system. For example, the Gurkha Justice Campaign, publicised by Joanna Lumley in 2009 is an example of a social group that was represented by a pressure group as opposed to a political party.
- **A participative function:** we have seen falling membership of political parties over the last 25 years but have witnessed the growing membership of pressure groups. It is through pressure groups that the public can participate in a variety of political issues and events. For example, citizens may go on marches organised by pressure groups such as those held by the Countryside Alliance, or they may sign petitions created by pressure groups.
- **Policy formulation:** here pressure groups can be credited with developing and creating policy which governments and political parties may take up. For instance economic groups such as the CBI and Trade Unions have influenced both Labour and Conservative governments and parties.
- **Policy implementation:** occasionally pressure groups implement policy. A good example of this is the National Farmers Union (NFU) who works alongside the government in policy implementation. Another example is the RSPCA who will carry out prosecutions where it considers animal welfare has been severely violated.
- **Scrutiny:** where pressure groups hold those in power accountable. For example, Greenpeace emails its members regarding Government progress/achievements on climate change targets.

Pressure group power

Methods used by pressure groups to influence government.

- They may protest and demonstrate in high profile venues such as governmental offices and parliament (outsiders).
- Insider groups are able to contact ministers and civil servants directly.
- Sectional groups may strike to disrupt economic activity, to pressure the government to give in to their demands.
- They may hand in petitions to the Prime Minister and ministers, or have their members write directly to the relevant ministers.
- They may use e-petitions and the internet, eg a YouTube video, to voice their concerns.
- Some pressure groups contribute to political party funds, such as political levy paid by trade union members who choose to support the Labour party. They are said to gain privileged access via this method if that party goes on to form a government.
- Some pressure groups may provide expert advice, including academic studies, for government when new legislation or policy changes are being considered, such as the Howard League for Penal Reform. This provides pressure groups with access to influence governments.
- Some pressure groups may use direct action.
- Pressure groups may also use the courts, seeking redress through judicial review.

What is direct action?

- The public actively become involved in politics as opposed to dealing through a representative or just voting in elections.
- Direct action takes many forms, both legal and illegal.
- Some pressure groups will organise marches and demonstrations, such as the Stop the War marches against the Iraq war from 2003 and the marches from 2010 against the rise in student tuition fees.
- Some trade unions may go on strike (official & unofficial) or break their contract of employment.

- Civil disobedience is where groups deliberately and publicly break the law in order to send a message to the government that they believe the law to be wrong and in need of change.
- Some pressure groups carry out 'sit ins' where they occupy public buildings. This was often used in the 1960s and has been used much more recently by students occupying their university buildings in protest against the rise in student tuition fees.
- Occasionally pressure groups may cause an illegal obstruction by blocking the highway. For example, Fathers4justice often brought traffic to a halt illegally in 2008-9, while Plane Stupid occupied a runway at Heathrow to protest against building a third runway.
- Some pressure groups aligned with campaigns against animal testing, such as the Animal Liberation Front (ALF), have carried out a number of illegal acts from grave violation to harassing animal laboratories.

Why do pressure groups use direct action?

- Pressure groups turn to direct action to advance their cause as other non-direct methods have either failed or are not available.
- At times pressure groups need the media spotlight and direct action is a method of achieving this.
- Often outsider groups turn to direct action as they do not have the privileged access to government enjoyed by insider groups.
- The failure or exhaustion of conventional or legal routes may cause illegal direct action as a last resort. For example, protestors against the hunting ban broke the law in frustration after their attempts to prevent it passing had failed.

Why do different pressure groups use different methods to achieve their aims?

Pressure groups resort to a vast range of methods to achieve their aims, quite often changing and amending these methods dependent on the results which they obtain.

- **To reach a wide audience**, wealthy pressure groups will pay for adverts to advance their cause. For example, The National Trust regularly uses the press to promote its causes. Other groups may use celebrities, often as patrons, to gain media attention. For example, the Duchess of Cambridge (Kate Middleton) is patron of a number of charities, including Action on Addiction.
- **To make best use of their resources**, many pressure groups will collect and arrange for petitions by holding events in town centres to attract members of the public. This is an affordable option for some pressure groups that have less finance. It may be especially relevant to serve local causes for some pressure groups.

- **To make use of their insider status**, insider pressure groups may simply make contact with the relevant government minister or senior civil servant to advance their cause. For example, the National Farmers Union (NFU) has close contact with the relevant Government department.
- **To reflect their outsider status**, outsider pressure groups who know that the government will not take notice carry out high profile stunts (at times illegal) to capture the public attention. Fathers4justice often used this as a device.
- **To fit in with and reflect the pressure groups membership and their level of radicalism.** Groups such as the RSPCA will not resort to direct action whereas groups such as the ALF will naturally resort to direct action.

Factors that can limit the success of pressure groups

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| Finance/wealth | A lack of finance may prevent a group buying adverts, paying higher salaries for good staff and carrying out public campaigns. |
| Size | Fewer members, especially low density of membership, may indicate a lack of public support. |
| Hostile public opinion | Government is unlikely to be sympathetic to a group whose aims run counter to public opinion. For example, Muslim groups who sought to protest at the Afghan War at Wootton Bassett met with widespread public hostility. |
| Adverse publicity | If the aims of the pressure groups receive a poor press, then this can spell disaster, even if government was initially supportive. |
| A hostile government | For example, the current government's austerity programme automatically makes them unsympathetic to any group proposing government should increase spending in any area. |
| Countervailing groups | A pressure group may have an opposing group(s) set directly against its aims. These are known as. For example, pro-choice (Abortion Rights) and anti-abortion (ProLife Alliance) groups. |
| Leadership and management | Poor leadership is unlikely to lead to successful campaigns. |
| Lack of expertise | A group that campaigns on a technical issue, such as climate change, is unlikely to be successful if it cannot support its arguments with hard evidence. |
| Insider or outsider status | Insider status can prevent groups from being critical of government in public campaigns. Conversely, outsider status can condemn a group to being permanently ignored by government. |

CASE STUDIES

1. Occupy Movement

<http://occupylondon.org.uk/about/about-2/>



What did they achieve?

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-17188327>



2. Vote Leave

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hC8qO1nyYoM>



What did they achieve?

<https://www.ft.com/content/90c054fe-3953-11e6-9a05-82a9b15a8ee7>



Misleading promises?

<https://www.indy100.com/article/8-of-the-most-misleading-promises-of-the-vote-leave-campaign-ranked-in-order-of-preposterousness--WyxD59VO3Nb>



Pressure groups and other influences

1. What are the different ways of categorising pressure groups?

2. What methods are available for pressure groups to exert influence?

3. Why do some pressure groups have more influence than others?

4. Case studies of two pressure groups: Vote Leave, Occupy London

5. How do think tanks, lobbyists and corporations influence politics?

1.4 Rights in context

The development of the UK's Constitution

Magna Carta (1215)

The Magna Carta is an English legal charter

The Magna Carta required King John of England to proclaim certain rights, respect certain legal procedures, and accept that his will could be bound by the law. It explicitly protected certain rights of the King's subjects, most notably the writ of **habeas corpus**, allowing appeal against unlawful imprisonment. Magna Carta was arguably the most significant early influence on the extensive historical process that led to the rule of constitutional law today in the English speaking world.

The Human Rights Act 1998

The Human Rights Act gives effect to the human rights set out in the European Convention on Human Rights. These rights are called Convention rights.

Examples of Convention or human rights include:

- the right to life
- the right to respect for private and family life
- the right to freedom of religion and belief.

The Human Rights Act means you can take action in the UK courts if your human rights have been breached.

The Equality Act 2010

The Equality Act brings together over 116 separate pieces of legislation into one single Act. Combined, they make up a new Act that provides a legal framework to protect the rights of individuals and advance equality of opportunity for all.

The nine main pieces of legislation that have merged are:

- the Equal Pay Act 1970
- the Sex Discrimination Act 1975
- the Race Relations Act 1976
- the Disability Discrimination Act 1995
- the Employment Equality (Religion or Belief) Regulations 2003
- the Employment Equality (Sexual Orientation) Regulations 2003

Debates over the extent, limits and tensions within the UK's rights-based culture

Since the passing of the Human Rights Act it has often been claimed that the UK has developed a 'rights-based culture'. All new legislation must be compliant with the act. Judges can declare earlier acts of parliament incompatible with it, although they cannot legally compel parliament to make changes. This is because of the all-important concept of **parliamentary sovereignty**.

One indicator of the growing prominence of rights has been an increased use of judicial review. The number of reviews rose from around 4240 in 2000 to around 15,600 by 2013. Examples of successful challenges to government policies include High Court rulings that retired Gurkha soldiers should be allowed to settle in the UK (2008), and that the government had not consulted fairly on compensation for people affected by the planned high-speed rail link (2013).

Its defenders say that judicial review is a vital means of defending citizens' rights, enabling the legality of government actions to be properly scrutinised; its critics argue that it places too much power in the hands of unelected and unaccountable judges.

A prominent example of judicial review – sometimes called 'judge-made law' – is the issue of privacy. Judges have been accused of effectively creating a privacy law through the way they have interpreted the Human Rights Act. In a series of high-profile court cases, they appeared to give priority to Article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights (the right to privacy) over Article 10 (the right to freedom of expression), as claimed by the press. This occurred even though specific legislation on the subject had not been passed by parliament and it was not explicitly covered by

common law. It seemed that wealthy individuals, who could afford to take legal action, had an unfair advantage. For example, in 2008 the High Court awarded Max Mosley, the head of the Formula 1 motor racing organisation, substantial damages when the *News of the World* published a story about his sex life, which he argued had breached his privacy. On the other hand it is worth noting that Mosley failed in a subsequent action in the European Court of Human Rights, which refused to rule that newspapers should notify people before printing stories about their personal lives.

For many on the right of British politics, a more serious fault of the Human Rights Act is the way that it seems to show favour to undeserving individuals, rather than protecting the legitimate freedoms of UK citizens. The Conservatives have argued for many years for the replacement of the act with a new 'British Bill of Rights', which would establish the supremacy of British courts over the European Court of Human Rights. The case of Abu Qatada illustrates the frustration caused by the way in which the Human Rights Act was implemented.

Case study: The Abu Qatada deportation case and the Human Rights Act

Abu Qatada, a radical Muslim cleric living in London since the 1990s, had made speeches justifying the use of violence to promote the Islamist cause and had served time in British jails. The security services regarded him as a threat and ministers wanted to deport him to his country of origin, Jordan, where he was wanted for trial. However, his legal advisers were able to fight deportation for 8 years on the grounds that he might be tried using evidence obtained under torture, a breach of the Human Rights Act. Only in 2013, after the UK had signed a treaty with Jordan pledging that such evidence would not be used, was Abu Qatada flown back to face trial. He was cleared of involvement in terrorist bomb plots in Jordan. Nevertheless the British authorities continued to view him as a dangerous influence.

Question

- Another high-profile extradition case was that of the Islamic fundamentalist preacher, Abu Hamza. Research this case to find out the part played by the European Convention on Human Rights.

The lack of clarity over the definition of rights can lead to conflicts between pressure groups and individuals. One example concerns the pressure group, the Campaign for Freedom of Information, that worked to help bring about the Freedom of Information Act (2000), which gives the public the right to access data held by public authorities. In 2006–07 this group opposed an attempt by a group of MPs to exclude parliament from the scope of the act. The MPs had argued that they should be exempt on the grounds that they were entitled to confidentiality in their correspondence with constituents. The bill passed the Commons but failed to find a sponsor in the Lords and was dropped.

Another example of this kind of conflict concerns walkers' 'right to roam' in the countryside, for which the Ramblers' Association campaigned for many years. This right was finally given legal force in the Countryside and Rights of Way Act (2000). Pop star Madonna and her film director husband, Guy Ritchie, were two celebrity landowners who contested the right of the public to walk across their land. The planning inspectorate ruled in 2004 that ramblers would have access to part of their Wiltshire estate that was out of sight of their home, meaning that their right to privacy would not be infringed.

Perhaps the most emotive area where the rights of the individual have come into conflict with the priorities of government is that of counterterrorism. The 9/11 terror attacks in the USA in 2001, and the 7/7 London Underground and bus bombings in 2005, led to government measures that limited civil liberties in the interests of protecting the wider community. Ministers argued that they

were entitled to detain terror suspects without trial on the grounds that a national emergency existed. In December 2004 the law lords (the highest court in the land before the creation of the Supreme Court) ruled that indefinite detention of foreign nationals, on suspicion of involvement in terrorism, was discriminatory. Faced with this legal challenge, the government passed a new law to introduce a system of control orders that enabled suspects to be closely monitored, such as through electronic tagging, a requirement to report to the police and removal of mobile phones and internet access. Control orders were kept in place, despite adverse rulings by judges, until 2011 when the coalition government replaced them with a modified version known as Terrorism Prevention and Investigation Measures (TPIMs).

It would not be true to say that there has been an unremitting erosion of human rights in response to fears of terrorism. Some restrictive measures have been abandoned in face of parliamentary and public opposition. For example, in November 2005, the Blair government's proposal to extend the period that a suspect could be held before being charged, from 14 to 90 days, was defeated in the Commons. The government then compromised on 28 days and abandoned a subsequent attempt to increase it to 42 days, following a defeat in the Lords in 2008. Under the coalition the 28-day period was halved, and the Labour government's plan for compulsory identity cards was scrapped.

However, the public has been remarkably willing to sacrifice some liberties at a time of heightened concern over security. Governments have tended to place the safety of society above the protection of individual rights. This explains why pro-human rights pressure groups such as Liberty have had limited success in deflecting government policy. For example, in 2013 the organisation failed to stop the introduction of so-called 'secret courts', which permit terrorist suspects and major criminals to be tried without the evidence against them being disclosed in full. Nor did they arrest the passage of the Investigatory Powers Bill – the so-called 'Snoopers' Charter' – which increases the power of the intelligence agencies by obliging internet companies to store information about customers' browsing history.



The terrorist bombings on the London transport network on 7 July 2005 highlighted the tension between human rights and national security.

Abu Hamza

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/9590016/Key-events-in-battle-to-extradite-Abu-Hamza.html>



Aby Qatada

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v-3dJSVvhMU>



Similarly the Howard League for Penal Reform, which campaigns for the rights of prisoners, has struggled to persuade the government to implement its agenda. The rights of convicted criminals do not constitute a popular cause. However, the Howard League tends to win victories on relatively minor issues, such as securing a 2014 High Court ruling that obliged the government to drop its ban on prisoners' families sending books to them. On the wider issue of securing a reduction in the size of the prison population the League has been less successful, noting in a review in May 2016 that 'there is no public service in such disarray as the prisons'. As a rule, governments are unlikely to side with pressure groups that campaign for the rights of minority groups whom the wider public regards as undeserving of sympathy.

Rights in context

1. How did civil rights and responsibilities develop in the UK?

2. What are the debates over the extent, limits and tensions within rights in the UK?

3. Case studies of the extent, limits and tensions within the UK's rights-based culture: Qatada and Hamza

2 Political parties

2.1 Political Parties

Functions of a political party

- Political parties contest elections essential in a representative democracy. Parties have a function to contest elections by putting up candidates and creating a manifesto of new policies.
- A role to engage and assist participation in society, including any elections. Citizens can join political parties and contribute to their structure and ultimately policy formulation.
- They provide a channel whereby the public can participate in politics via voting or standing for office.
- Parties function to represent their members and support and promote their interests
- A role to represent the views and beliefs of large sections of society and to act in their interests. Today the major political parties can be said to be 'catch all' parties in that they do not exclusively appeal to one class or group and attempt to create a broad class attraction.
- They promote political education by explaining their beliefs and ideas. Parties also function to provide education on contemporary topics such as defence and the environment. A role to educate and inform the general public. Political parties' role is to stimulate open debate and to raise political awareness of issues and events
- They bring together a coherent set of ideas and policies. Parties also act to formulate policies on a wide range of topics such as the economy, education and foreign affairs. A role to create policy and ideas. Political parties are the creators of new policy innovations to ensure a progressive society in many areas such as economic and social policy. A party manifesto is a reflection of this function.
- They provide the personnel of government. Parties recruit members to provide not only candidates for elections but also officers in government and leaders in a national and local context. Recruiting, developing, and selecting the next generation of political leaders.
- A role to hold government office and wield power by managing the country.
- The process of government in the UK is made possible by organised political parties.
- In a modern context a major function of political parties is to ensure legislation is passed and service Parliament

Ways in which political parties differ from pressure groups.

| Parties | PGs |
|--|--|
| The aim of political parties is to achieve power and govern affairs of state. | Pressure groups seek to influence and persuade those who are in power. |
| Political parties will field candidates across all elections | Although pressure groups have stood for election this is not the norm |
| Political parties will have policies and ideas on a vast range of subjects | Pressure groups tend to be more specialised with a narrow policy and ideas focus |
| Political parties have clear lines of accountability and operate in a constitutional framework | Many pressure groups have less transparent frameworks for accountability. |

The funding of UK political parties

MPs are paid from general taxation (their basic annual salary in April 2017 was £76,000). They are also allowed to claim expenses to cover the cost of running an office, living in Westminster and their constituency, and travelling between the two. However, in the UK there has been resistance to state funding of parties (a practice that happens in some other countries). Instead parties must meet most of their election costs from the voluntary subscriptions of their membership and from fundraising events in MPs' constituencies. However, there is special state provision to support the activities of the opposition in parliament, known as Short money.

Party funding has been a controversial area because of the suspicion that powerful interests offer financial support in return for political influence (see the Case study). While the Conservative Party has historically been seen as the party of big business, Labour has traditionally been funded by the trade unions, which played a major role in founding the party and shaping its policies. During the 'New Labour' years (1994–2010) this was to some extent replaced by donations from successful individuals as Labour became friendlier towards the business community. The Liberal Democrats (the least well-funded of the main UK parties) often criticise their opponents for being bankrolled by the wealthy. The large parties have been accused of offering political honours, such as places in the House of Lords, to their most generous benefactors, a practice that seems to run counter to principles of democracy and openness.

In an attempt to overcome the perception that party funding had become an undemocratic feature of the UK political system, the Blair government passed the 2000 Political Parties, Elections and Referendums Act.

As a result of the 2000 act:

- an independent electoral commission was set up to supervise party spending on election campaigns
- the amount that a party could spend was capped at £30,000 in a constituency
- donations of more than £5,000 (nationally) or £1,000 (to a constituency party) had to be declared, and parties had to publish details of donations at regular intervals
- donations from individuals not on the UK electoral roll were banned.

This did not, however, put the issue of funding to rest. In the 'cash for peerages' scandal in 2006, it transpired that several wealthy individuals who had loaned money to the Labour Party had been nominated for honours. It seemed as if the party was exploiting a loophole in the law, which only regulated outright gifts. Blair was interviewed by the police and two of his aides also faced questioning. Although no charges were brought, the affair cast a shadow over Blair's last months in office. It was later decided that loans would be subject to the same rules as donations, and spending limits for parties were revised in the run-up to the 2010 election.

Potential reforms

In 2007 a report by a former civil servant, Sir Hayden Phillips, proposed to address the problem of private donations by moving towards a system where parties are funded from taxpayers' money. However, no subsequent government has acted on this recommendation. Pressure to make public spending cuts under the coalition government meant that this was not the time to place an additional burden on the taxpayer.

A suggestion supported by Labour and the Liberal Democrats at the 2015 election was to impose limits on individual donations to parties. This debate was complicated by issues of party-political advantage because the Conservatives, who stood to lose most from such a move, wanted to place corresponding restrictions on Labour's trade union backers. The Conservative government's 2016 Trade Union Act obliged new trade union members to choose whether to 'opt in' to making payments towards the political levy. This was expected to lead to a significant drop in the funding received by the Labour Party from the unions.



| | |
|---|--|
|  |  |
| Arguments for state funding of parties | Arguments against state funding |
| Parties play an important role in representative democracy, so deserve public funding. | Increased state funding could lead to calls for greater state regulation, possibly reducing parties' independence. |
| Public funding would remove the great disparity in resources available to different-sized parties. | It is hard to decide how much support a party should have to qualify for funding. |
| If the state matched donations by party members, it might encourage participation by the public and recruitment to parties. | Public funding could isolate parties from the wishes of the voters. |
| It would curb the possibly corrupt influence of private backers on party policy. | Taxpayers would resent compulsory contributions to parties of which they disapprove. |

Table 1.1: State funding of political parties – for and against

| Functions and Funding of Political Parties |
|---|
| What are the functions of political parties? |
| How are the UK's political parties funded? |
| Is party political funding 'fit for purpose'? |

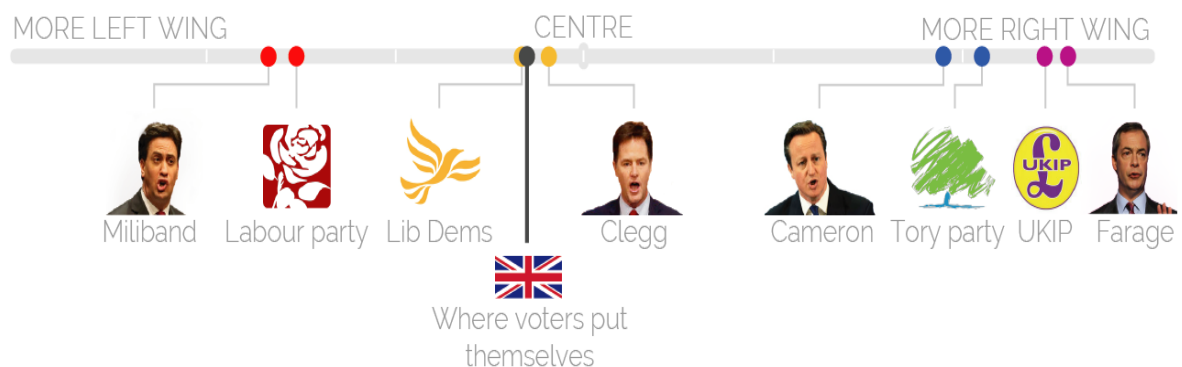
2.2 Established political parties

What is the difference between **left wing** and **right wing** political ideas?

The terms left-wing and right-wing are extensively used today to distinguish two main types of political values and principles. However, they are historically associated with the French Revolution – whether people sat to the right of the king and supported him, or whether they sat on his left and advocated change.

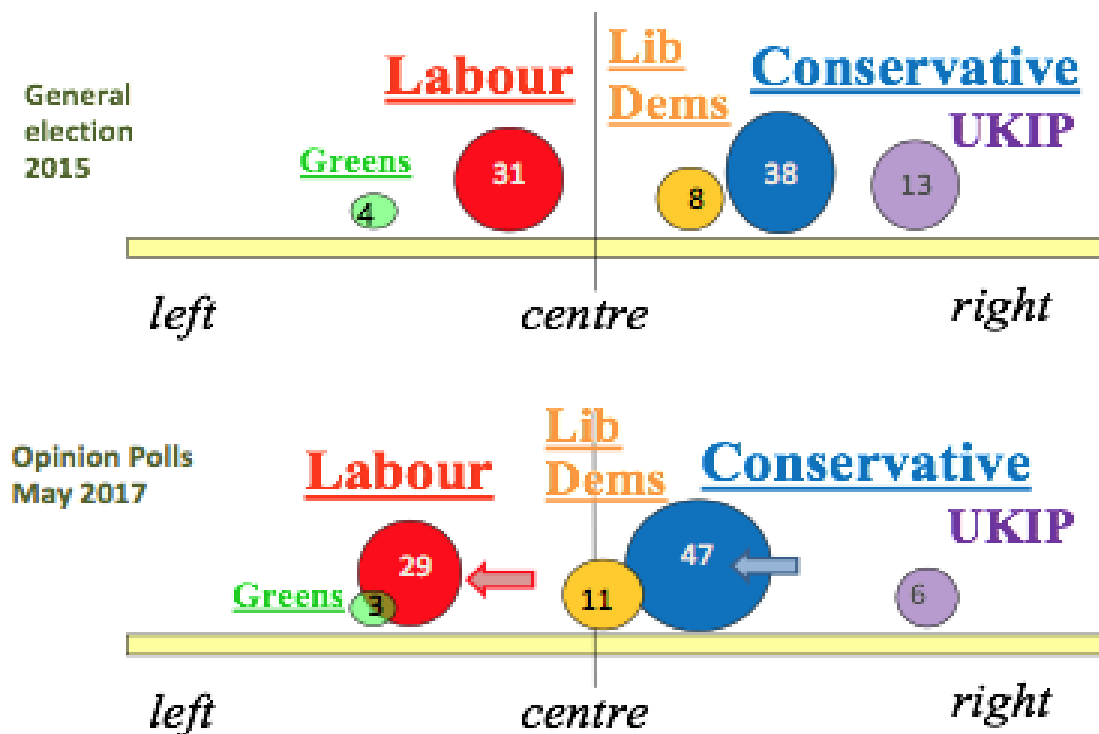
How voters see politicians, parties – and themselves

Respondents were asked to place the party leaders, the parties and themselves on a left-right scale ranging from "very left-wing" to "very right-wing". Average placements are shown.

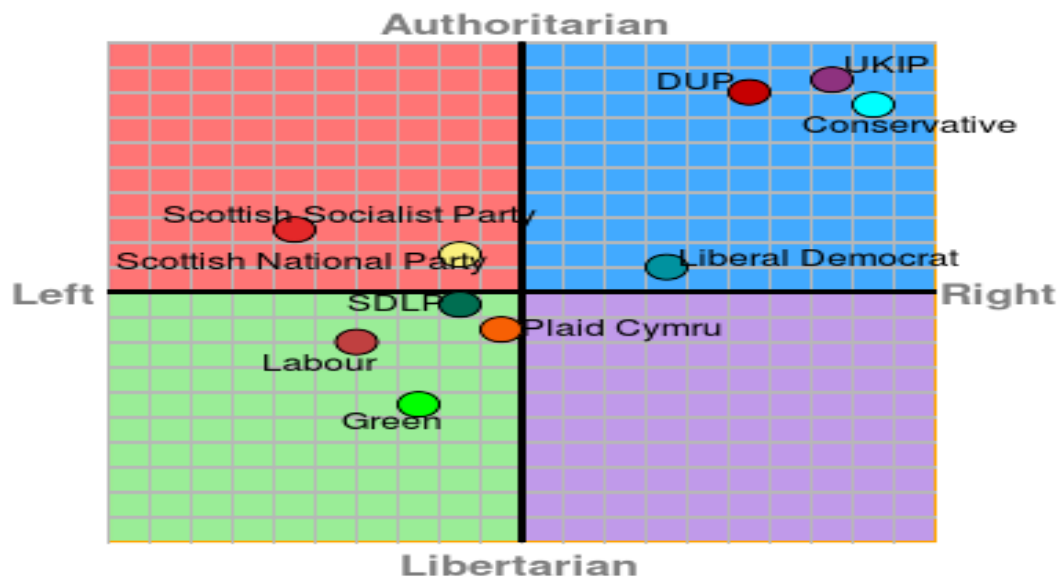


YouGov | yougov.com

Mar. 2-3, 2015



UK Parties 2017 General Election



<https://www.politicalcompass.org/>



The Labour Party

Ideas and policies that link the current Labour Party to socialism

The Labour Party in the UK has shown a commitment to socialism in the UK. This type of socialism can be seen as revisionist in that it seeks to reform capitalism, not overthrow it. The commitment to socialism has always been a feature but levels of this have varied. Current indicators of socialism could include:

- A firm belief in welfare to improve the conditions of the most vulnerable in society.
 - ◆ The above may be expressed in targeting benefits for those in greatest need such as those on low incomes or who may have disabilities.
 - ◆ Labour currently oppose the 'bedroom tax' and cuts to tax credit for low-income working families.
- A clear commitment to equality and to make society work more harmoniously with the reduction of class differences.
- Commitment to the NHS free at point of delivery.
- A commitment to improving education for all so that social mobility can more readily take place.
- A belief in state action in the economy to regulate and protect, as seen by the bank bailout in 2008. This links socialism to the reform of capitalism.
- A belief that to an extent crime arises out of social deprivation and therefore if this is addressed then crime levels will fall.

Factions within the Labour Party

- On one level these can largely be portrayed as the difference between New Labour and Old Labour. Each element harbours differing policy aims and ideas. This revolves around the degree of acceptance of the free market and a commitment to welfare; the debate between the 'hand up' versus the 'handout'.
 - ◆ Current 'New Labour' moderates: Andy Burnham, Yvette Cooper, Sadiq Khan, Chuka Umunna, Liz Kendall, Tristram Hunt.
 - ◆ Current 'Old Labour' Corbynistas: John McDonnell, Diane Abbott, Angela Rayner.
- **Momentum**: a mixture of traditional 'Old Labour' and more radical left-wing Corbynistas. Has been criticised for giving Trotskyist radicals access to too much power over decision-making and selection of candidates within the party.
- **Progress**: a group formed to maintain the core ideals of New Labour and push back against the rise of the far left, as represented by Corbyn, despite the fact that Corbyn's policies are not far from the centre ground (in ideological terms at least).

- **Blue Labour:** stands for less state intervention and more power in the hands of the people. It has links to conservatism in its emphasis on personal responsibility and the importance of traditional values, but remains socialist through a critique of capitalism and a commitment to workers having greater power in relation to executives and shareholders.
- **Purple Labour:** the Blairite wing of the party. Wants greater economic credibility and more power for lower levels of government, which would lead to devolution for English regions along the same lines as Scottish and Welsh devolution. Much of the pre-Corbyn Labour shadow Cabinet fit into this faction, such as Harriet Harman and Ed Miliband.
- **Red Labour:** Jeremy Corbyn's faction. Wants to return to Labour's roots. Emphasises redistributive taxation and re-industrialisation.

ANALYSIS: Is Labour still committed to its traditional socialist principles?

At the start of the 20th Century, Labour declared itself to be a socialist party committed to a peaceful or parliamentary route to achieving socialism.

| Committed | Not committed |
|---|---|
| A commitment to a major role for the state in delivering public services. This will ensure that the less fortunate in society have some minimal form of protection. | A process of continual revisions to that original socialist goal have included a re-wording of Clause IV which no longer commits the party to wide scale public ownership. |
| Interfering in the operation of a free market to curb the excesses of capitalism, hence the nationalisation of the banks. | An acceptance of many of the Thatcherite reforms from the 1980s and 90s, which made the operation of a free market a paramount goal. |
| Taxation at higher levels for the wealthy and thus redistributing wealth, for example the introduction of the 50p income tax rate by Brown's government. | Blair and then Brown took the party in a post-socialist direction, which can be seen as the rejection of Old Labour and the creation of New Labour. The party no longer sees itself as the party exclusively of the working class, but rather appeals to as wide an audience as possible. In the 2010 elections, the votes the party received from the middle classes outnumbered the votes from the working class. |
| The setting of a minimum wage. | A refusal to set the level of the minimum wage at the 'living wage' level. |
| The Labour Party is committed to the needs of the working classes and sees them as the most deserving section of society. As such it has tailored policies to alleviating this section's material poverty. This can be seen in welfare programmes, from welfare benefits to the minimum wage. | It is alleged that in order to be more electorally successful the Labour Party had to widen its appeal to all classes and sections of society. In so doing it has reached out to other classes in society and also to the business and city groups. |
| The Labour Party traditionally was not very active in terms of constitutional change. It may have favoured reform, but this was never at its core. | Since 1997 the Labour Party has delivered one of the most radical constitutional reform programmes in over 100 years and has changed the political framework of the UK. |
| The Labour Party is committed to be pro-state and favours intervention in the economy to secure fairness in society. The Labour Party has intervened in the economy where possible. It has nationalised Northern Rock and encouraged banks to merge in order to survive in a global market. However, the wide scale nationalisation programme, long a commitment of Labour before and after the Second World War, has gone. The emphasis of the new Clause IV is to control rather than to own. | The Labour Party was committed to the provision of universal benefits. Now, either by financial restraint or policy direction, benefits are targeted to achieve economic well-being. Labour was in favour of a managed economy where the Government was a key actor in securing outcomes on its own terms. There has been a move now in the Party to work with a market economy and be bound by the rules which a market system dictates, thus rewarding individual merit and hard work as a prime motivator. |
| In overview, the Labour Party may be seen as less ideological and focused and more pragmatic. More practical in achieving realistic outcomes than unobtainable ones. | |
| There is the accusation that Labour has adopted fully the reforms of Mrs Thatcher and the Conservative Party. The belief is the so called Third Way is a re-programming of the traditional principles of the Labour Party. This can be viewed as part of the change from Old Labour to New Labour. | |

The Conservative Party

One Nation conservatism

- One Nation conservatism is a form of conservatism that has influenced the Conservative Party in the 19th and 20th centuries.
- It is based around several core features, including paternalism, pragmatism and consensus.
- A key element of One Nation conservatism is the introduction of social reform to diminish but not to eliminate social inequalities, with the rich fulfilling an obligation (noblesse oblige) to meet the needs of the poor.
- Evidence that the Conservative Party is influenced by these principles includes the following:
 - ◆ A commitment to avoid social deprivation by supporting limited welfare.
 - ◆ A commitment to the NHS.
 - ◆ A willingness to intervene in the economy to a limited degree to prevent social breakdown. This may be seen as social liberalism.
 - ◆ A willingness to accept that 'there is such a thing as society' (contra Thatcher)
 - ◆ A drive to accommodate social inclusion, for example legislation by the coalition government, but driven by David Cameron and Michael Gove, to legalise gay marriage.
 - ◆ An emphasis on duty and obligations on those who have reaped rewards in a society to those less fortunate (the drive to close tax loopholes).
 - ◆ Large acceptance of the constitutional changes of the Labour Party in office (pragmatism).

Thatcherism

- Mrs Thatcher became leader of the Conservative Party in 1975 when she replaced Edward Heath as leader. In 1979 she became Prime Minister and fulfilled both roles until she was removed from office by her own party in November 1990.
- After a long period in office her political ideas have been termed as Thatcherism and can be said to have some of the following features:
 - ◆ A preference for the individual as opposed to the state. The above can be seen as 'rolling back' the state and the state doing less in social terms (providing fewer public services).
 - ◆ A preference for the free market and open competition. This can be seen in the process of privatisation where the state sold off its assets.
 - ◆ A strong commitment to lowering taxation to boost growth
 - ◆ A preference for strong law & order tactics, favouring prison and punishment. The above can be seen in a number of Criminal Justice Acts which increased sentences for offences.

- ◆ Thatcherism was seen to be anti-trade union. This was seen in the numerous statutes which restricted trade union power.
- ◆ In its latter stages Thatcherism was seen as being opposed to the integration of the EU and having a strong nationalistic character. The above was seen in the Bruges speech where Mrs Thatcher warned against the 'United States of Europe'

How has the Conservative Party distanced itself from Thatcherism?

- In 2005 David Cameron became leader of the Conservative Party and promised to move the party into a new direction, one in which its past ideas and policies would be reviewed. To this end certain Thatcherite views were abandoned.
 - ◆ A move away from aggressive individualism, which advocated that 'there is no such thing as society' to an acceptance of the need for a social conscience. The Big Society policy embodied a revival of the conservative belief in community instead of a focus on the individual.
 - ◆ A more forgiving and tolerant view of crime, not solely rooted in punishment but one also versed in tolerance and forgiveness, the so called 'hug a hoodie' approach mooted by Cameron. This is evident in current policy emphasising rehabilitation rather than retribution.
 - ◆ A growing emphasis on the environment above economic priorities, and a radical commitment to environmental schemes. However, this has largely been abandoned in practice, sacrificed on the altar of Austerity.
 - ◆ A clearer commitment to state provision in certain areas but especially health.
 - ◆ An acceptance of the constitutional change ushered in by Labour, opposed in the 1980s. A willingness to reform the constitution further, for example English votes for English laws (EVEL).
 - ◆ A move to the previous mantra of One Nation conservatism, which stresses the duty of the haves in society to feel the need to help the have-nots. Again, this has been abandoned in practice, especially since the Conservative majority government of 2015.
 - ◆ A more focused belief in the value and worth of civil rights than in the Thatcher period.
 - ◆ In education, a move away from endorsing selective methods to ensuring good educational provision for all.
 - ◆ A more understanding and tolerant view of alternative lifestyles and personal choices, accepting same sex unions and support for minorities
- However to an extent certain Thatcherite policies have remained in place
 - ◆ A firm belief in the free market solutions to solve economic problems. Supply side oriented not Keynesian demand stimulation.
 - ◆ Anti trade union positions and favouring the business community, thus listening more to the needs of business rather than labour.
 - ◆ A clear Eurosceptic approach to the EU as seen by the use of the veto in 2011 concerning the Euro and the commitment to renegotiating Britain's relationship with Europe, culminating in a referendum on EU membership by 2017.

- ◆ A lack of moral concern or compassion as the government cuts back on public services and certain benefits.
- ◆ A willingness to tax the better off as lightly as possible, seeing this section as the wealth creators for the rest of society.

What divisions exist within the current Conservative Party over ideas and policies?

- A division over the party's attitude to its Thatcherite past. These divisions embody different attitudes to the role of the state, whether it should be active or passive in citizens' lives.
 - ◆ The traditionalists, who stress family values and law and order.
 - ◆ The libertarian section, which advocates low taxation and minimal state interference.
 - ◆ The 'modernisers', who stress ideas of social inclusion, efficient public services and concern about poverty.
- There may be disunity in preference for private provision in public services as opposed to enhancing state provision (NHS vs private medicine for example).
- There is disunity between those in the party who prefer unregulated capitalism in preference to some limited state intervention in the economy. This lack of unity may be seen with those in the party who wish to cut taxes and those who will not do so initially upon taking office.
- There is disunity over attitude to crime which has expressed itself on the one hand as authoritarian on one side (Chris Grayling – refused prisoners access to books from outside) and compassionate and reformatory on the other (Ken Clarke's evidence-based approach and Michael Gove's newfound commitment to rehabilitation).
- There may be a tension between those who prize economic freedoms above the party's commitment to its 'green' credentials. This may be one reason why Zac Goldsmith (a committed environmentalist) has decided to run for London Mayor rather than continue as an MP, as this mayoral role offers him greater freedom to pursue his ideals.
- There may be disunity between those who place social justice before the concept of 'self-help'.
- Within the party there is a lack of unity over the issue of the EU and the Euro. Few in the Conservative party support withdrawal, but there are groups who are termed Eurosceptic who fear any further integration and the Europhiles who are less apprehensive towards the EU.
- Many of these divisions may be depicted as a lack of unity between the 'new right' and the 'one nation' sections of the party.

The Liberal Democrats

Liberalism

- Liberalism is a broad political ideology, with a long tradition. It is based on the idea of individual freedom.
- Liberalism is associated with:
 - ◆ Attempts to codify or limit powers of the state, as such it welcomes a separation of powers and devolved/local government.
 - ◆ Social welfare and the responsibility of the state to support the most vulnerable in society.
 - ◆ Economic intervention to support business and advocated Keynesian methods
 - ◆ The promotion of individual rights and freedoms.
 - ◆ The concept of tolerance.

<https://www.tutor2u.net/politics/reference/key-people-in-the-development-of-the-liberal-democrats-matching-activity>



<https://www.tutor2u.net/politics/reference/timeline-development-of-the-liberal-democrat-party-matching-activity>



What do the Liberal Democrats stand for?

The party membership elected Tim Farron as their leader after the 2015 defeat and the resignation of Nick Clegg. The choice of a left-leaning MP who had not served in the coalition seemed to indicate that the Liberal Democrats wanted to dissociate themselves from their record in office. It is not easy to decide where exactly to place them on the political spectrum. A policy statement on their website says that they aim to keep Britain 'open, tolerant and united' – but this does not distinguish them much from other mainstream UK parties.

- **Economic policy:** At the 2015 general election the Liberal Democrats emphasised their continued commitment to eliminating the budget deficit, the most important policy underpinning their coalition with the Conservatives. However, it must be done in a way that was fair to the poor. In government they introduced a policy, to which the Conservatives signed up, of progressively raising the basic income-tax threshold so that more low-income people were

relieved of paying tax. They promised to 'borrow less than Labour, cut less than the Tories'. They stressed their environmental credentials more than their rivals, with a commitment to renewable energy and the expansion of the Green Investment Bank they had helped to establish, to attract funding for projects such as offshore wind farms.

- **Welfare policy:** In coalition the Liberal Democrats shared the Conservative objective of controlling spending on benefits, while uprating pensions and extending free childcare to enable parents to return to work. They differentiated themselves by pledging to curb benefits paid to better-off pensioners, in order to afford more support for the low-paid. On the NHS, just like the Conservatives and Labour, they pledged increased funding from 2015.
- **Law and order:** The Liberal Democrats aim to see that personal freedom is not eroded as a consequence of giving the authorities more powers to fight crime. They regard the defence of civil liberties as one of their key characteristics, distinguishing them from other parties. In coalition they opposed the Conservatives' plans for the so-called 'Snoopers' Charter', the Communications Data Bill, the purpose of which was to allow the monitoring of internet use. In their emphasis on the rehabilitation of prisoners, and the use of community service as an alternative to short-term prison sentences, they are close to the position taken by moderate Conservatives and Labour.
- **Foreign policy:** The Liberal Democrats have consistently been the most enthusiastic of all the UK parties for British membership of the EU. Perhaps the party's most distinctive policy position in opposition was its reluctance to accept the result of the Brexit referendum. This contrasted with the views of both Theresa May and Jeremy Corbyn who, although they had backed the 'Remain' cause, stated that they would respect the popular verdict.

Pause & reflect



Look back at the section on the functions of parties in the UK's system of representative democracy. How effectively do you think the Conservative, Labour and Liberal Democrat parties have fulfilled these functions in recent years?

EXTENSION ACTIVITY

Copy out the table below. Use the information on the current policies of the three main parties to complete each section. For each one, make sure that you provide a specific example of a policy.

Where do the main groups within the three parties stand on each of the key policy areas?

| Groups within the main parties | Economic policy | Welfare policy | Law and order policy | Foreign policy |
|--|-----------------|----------------|----------------------|----------------|
| Thatcherite/ New Right Conservative | | | | |
| Present day/ One-Nation Conservative | | | | |
| Moderate Labour | | | | |
| Corbynite Labour | | | | |
| Liberal Democrat | | | | |

Established political parties

What is the difference between left-wing and right wing political ideas?

Is Labour still committed to socialist principles?

Are the conservatives still committed to Thatcherite principles?

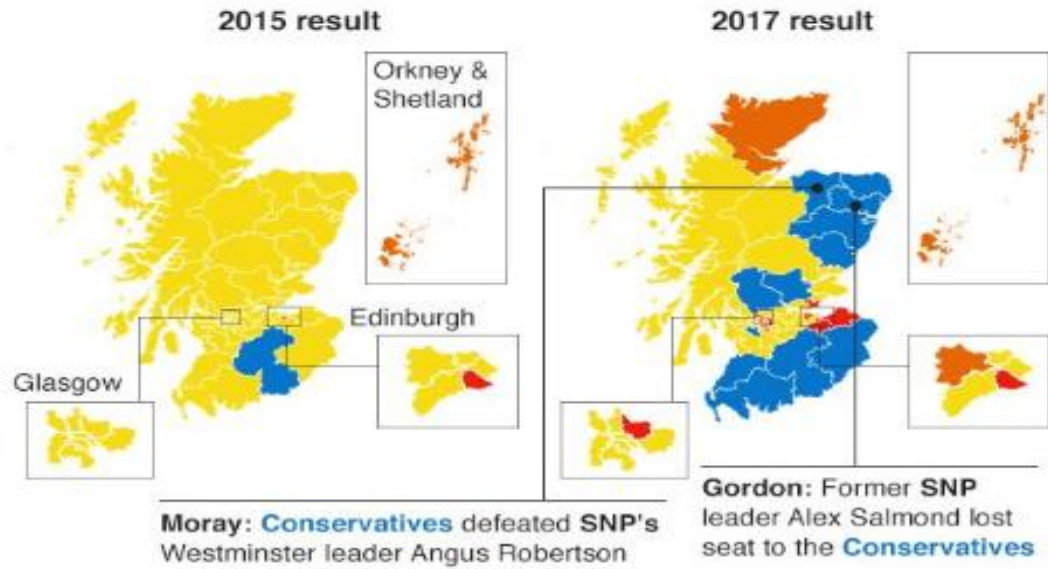
What do the Liberal Democrats stand for?

How do the major political parties compare?

2.3 Emerging and minor UK political parties

The Scottish National Party (SNP)

Scottish Tories surge



Seat change since 2015



BBC

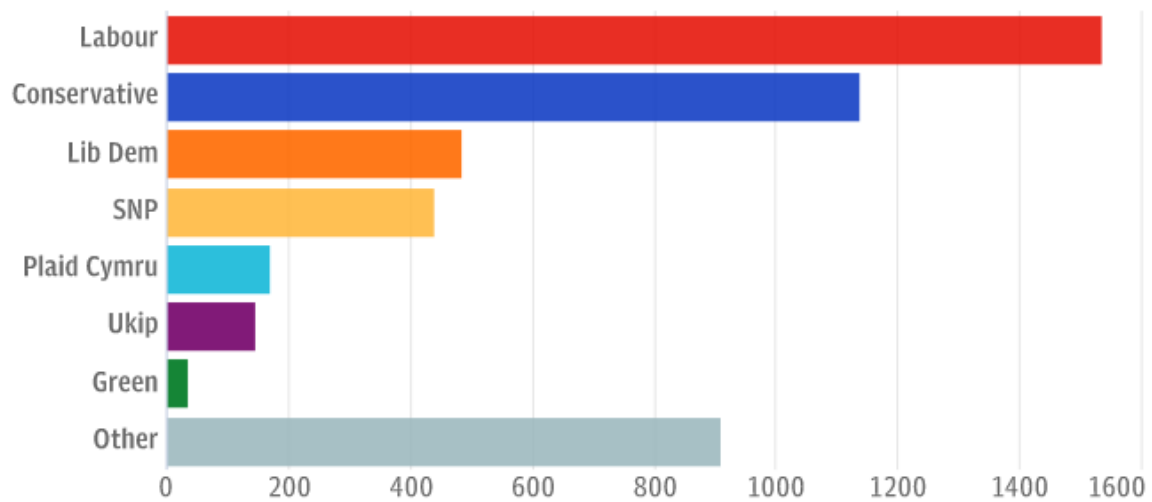
Guardian video 'How long can the SNP own Scottish Politics?':

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8cQym29siz0>

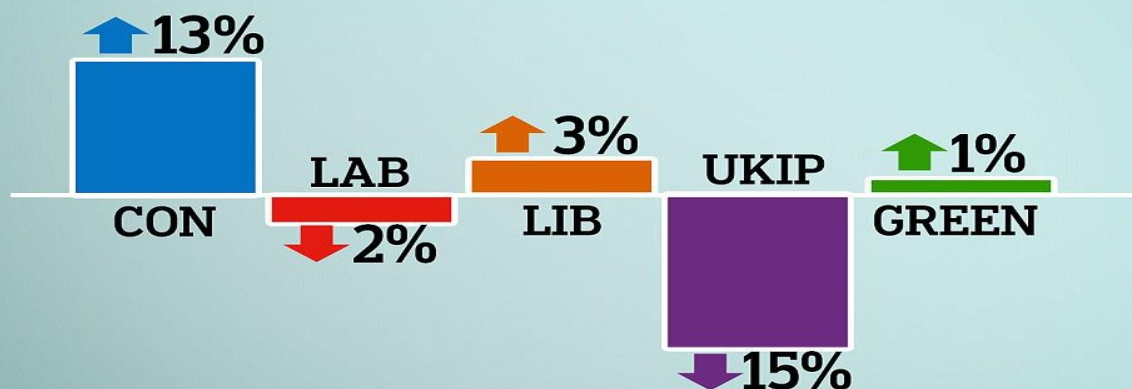


The UK Independence Party (UKIP)

Local council 2017 elections in England, Scotland and Wales
Number of council seats being defended by each party



LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 SHARE CHANGE IN ENGLAND SINCE 2013



The Green Party

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/election-2017-39993007>



Emerging and minor UK political parties

How important are minor political parties in the UK?

Case studies: UKIP and The Green Party

How similar are the minor parties?

2.4 UK political parties in context

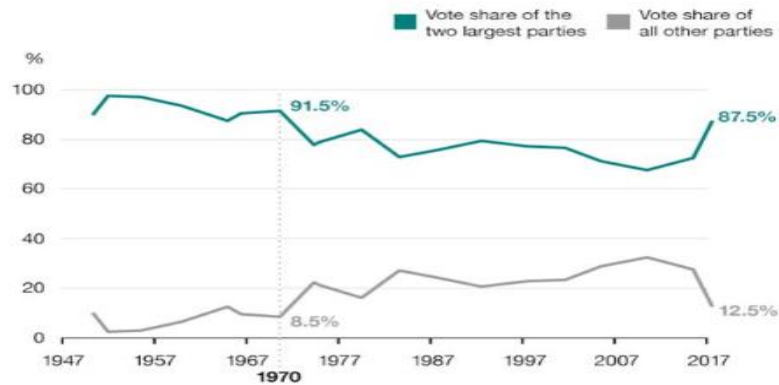
The development of a multi-party system

| Election | Leaders | Votes | | Seats | | Position | Government |
|----------|-----------------|-----------|------|----------|------|----------|-------------------------------|
| | | # | % | # | ± | | |
| 1992 | Paddy Ashdown | 5,999,606 | 17.8 | 20 / 650 | ▼ 2 | — 3rd | Conservative |
| 1997 | Paddy Ashdown | 5,242,947 | 16.8 | 46 / 659 | ▲ 28 | — 3rd | Labour |
| 2001 | Charles Kennedy | 4,814,321 | 18.3 | 52 / 659 | ▲ 6 | — 3rd | Labour |
| 2005 | Charles Kennedy | 5,985,454 | 22.0 | 62 / 646 | ▲ 10 | — 3rd | Labour |
| 2010 | Nick Clegg | 6,836,248 | 23.0 | 57 / 650 | ▼ 5 | — 3rd | Conservative–Liberal Democrat |
| 2015 | Nick Clegg | 2,415,862 | 7.9 | 8 / 650 | ▼ 49 | ▼ 4th | Conservative |
| 2017 | Tim Farron | 2,371,772 | 7.4 | 12 / 650 | ▲ 4 | — 4th | Conservative minority |

The return of two-party politics in England

While support for the Lib Dems in England dropped slightly, dwindled for the Greens, and fell off a cliff for UKIP, the combined vote share for the Conservatives and Labour is at its highest for decades.

Conservative and Labour vote share in England highest since 1970

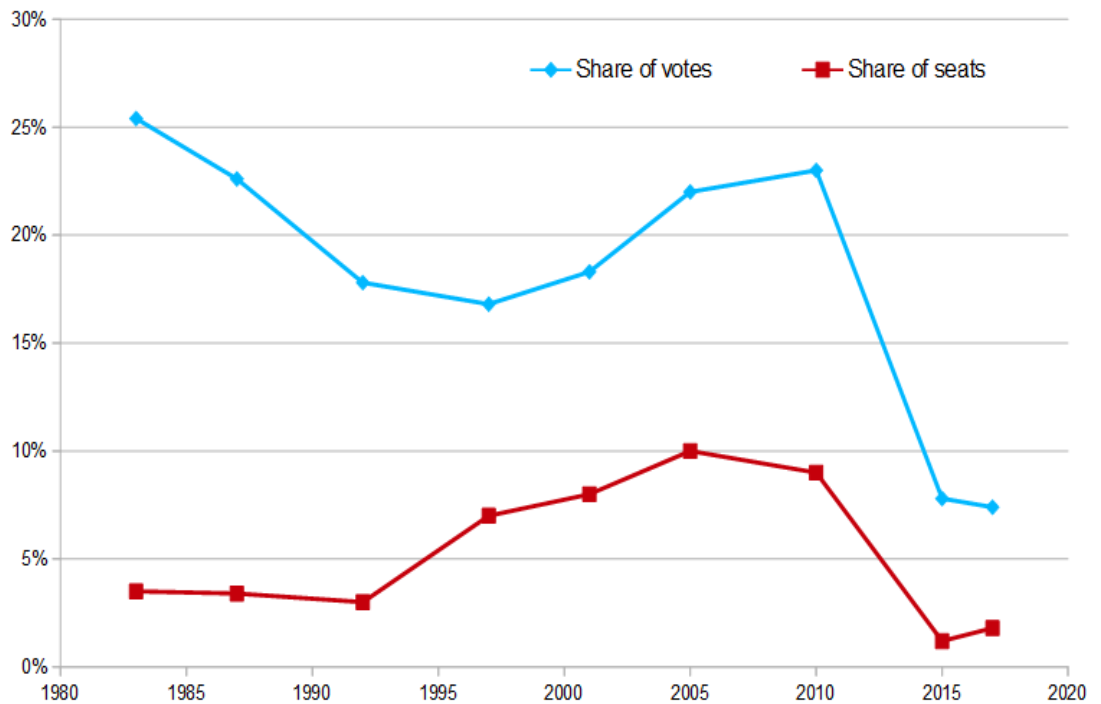


Source: House of Commons library

BBC

"I believe it's only a temporary return to two-party politics," UKIP leader Paul Nuttall said as he announced his resignation.

Historic Lib Dem vote and seat percentage



UK political parties in context

How has a multi-party system developed?

Why do some parties succeed and some parties fail?

How important is the media to political party success?

3 Electoral systems

3.1 Different electoral systems

Functions of an election

- They are a means by which citizens can participate in society. In a representative democracy voting is a crucial link in the participative process. Elections serve to be the means in a large society by which citizens can actively participate and feel involved in political life.
- They are a means of providing choice for the electorate; elections are contested by parties who offer different programmes if they are placed in power. Elections identify and secure that choice.
- Elections serve to 'showcase' the political spectrum in society: they allow for the display of mainstream politics and how elections are conducted serves to engage and educate the general public
- Elections have a representative function. Constituents are represented by their geographically based MP and in a national sense the parties represent the nature of political opinion in the country. Elections enable different shades of political opinion to be represented and act as a channel of communication for the public. For example, Caroline Lucas in securing the seat at Brighton speaks for the Green Party in the Commons.
- They provide a government. Following a general election a government will be formed. For example, in May 2015, the election produced a Conservative government.
- They are a method of conferring legitimacy on government and politicians. A new administration will claim a mandate to act based on victory in the preceding election.
- Elections are devices which allow governments to be fairly removed and new ones to form. If a party wins an election, it secures the right to govern. If a party loses an election, it bows to the loss and leaves the offices of state.
- They are a means of holding an **incumbent** government to account. For example, in 1997, and to an extent in May 2010, the incumbent governments were rejected by a majority of the electorate.

Elections in the UK

Types of elections held in the UK

- **General Elections:** provide members of Parliament (MPs) for all geographical locations in the UK. They also serve to determine the government and are seen as the most important elections in the UK.
- **By-elections:** provide representatives when a vacancy arises in a parliamentary constituency.
- **Local elections:** provide representation at a lower level by electing councillors who administer certain services in the locality.
- **Elections to the devolved assemblies:** provide representatives for regional government in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.
- **Mayoral elections:** take place for regionally elected mayors, including in London.
- **EU elections:** take place to elect MEPs – representatives to the EU.

What is **First Past The Post (FPTP)**?

- FPTP is used for general and local elections in the UK.
- To win under FPTP, the victorious candidate must have at least one more vote than his or her nearest rival – a **simple majority**. This is a **plurality** system, as the winner does not need an **overall majority** (over 50% of votes cast).
- Each constituency returns just one MP to Parliament.
- Each voter only has one vote and cannot express preferences for more than one candidate.
- It is not a proportional system, as the percentage of votes cast for a particular party will not usually match the percentage of seats gained.

What is the **Alternative Vote (AV)**?

- AV is used extensively by major UK political parties for selecting their leaders.
- It is a **majoritarian system**, which produces a winner supported by the majority of the electorate.
- It is a preferential system, where a voter ranks their preferences in order and can vote for as many or as few candidates as they like.

- To win, the victorious candidate needs an overall majority of votes cast, but several 'rounds' of counting may need to take place in order for one candidate to achieve 50%⁽⁺⁾ of the vote.
 - ◆ In the first round, votes are counted on the basis of first preferences. If no candidate achieves an overall majority, then the candidate with the lowest number of first preference votes is eliminated.
 - ◆ Second round: the votes from the eliminated candidate are redistributed to other candidates on the basis of second preferences. If no candidate achieves an overall majority, then the candidate with the lowest number of votes is eliminated.
 - ◆ The process of eliminating the candidate with the lowest number of votes and redistributing their votes to other candidates on the basis of lower preferences continues until one candidate achieves an overall majority.

What is the **Supplementary Vote (SV)**?

- SV is used for London Mayoral elections.
- It works in the same way as AV, except that voters are only able to express a first and second preference.
- If an overall majority is achieved by one candidate on first preference votes, then the process ends; if not, second preferences are then taken into account.

What is the **Party List** system?

- The Party List system is a form of **proportional representation**.
- It requires voters to choose a political party and usually not an individual candidate.
- Parties can put up as many candidates as there are seats available and the parties themselves determine who is on the list and the order in which they are ranked.
- Seats are allocated to reflect the percentage of the vote a party receives, using the D'Hondt method.
- Lists can be open (where voters are able to vote for individual candidates, rather than just a party) or closed, and regional or national.
- The Closed Party list is used in all regions of the UK, except Northern Ireland, for elections to the European Parliament.
- This method is acclaimed as being the most proportionate of all systems.

What is **Single Transferable Vote (STV)**?

- STV is a form of **proportional representation**, in which voters express preferences for as many candidates as they like.
- Multi-member constituencies are used, usually electing 5-9 representatives.
- Parties can put up as many candidates as there are seats available and voters can choose multiple candidates from the same party.
- To become elected a representative has to reach a quota. This quota is calculated using a formula calculated once all the votes are cast.
 - ◆ First, any excess votes (above the quota) gained by candidates who have already achieved the quota are redistributed to other candidates on the basis of second preferences.
 - ◆ Then, if there are still seats available, the candidate with the lowest number of votes is eliminated and their votes are redistributed to other candidates on the basis of second (or lower) preferences.
 - ◆ The process of redistribution of votes ends when sufficient candidates have reached the quota to fill all available seats.
- STV aims to avoid wasted votes as well as to achieve a proportional outcome.
- STV is used for the Northern Ireland Assembly at Stormont, elections for the European parliament in the province of Northern Ireland and more recently it has been introduced for local elections in Scotland.
- A process of redistributing votes take place, where those with excess first preferences are elected and those with fewest votes are redistributed.

What is the **Additional Member System (AMS)**?

- **AMS is a 'hybrid' voting system.**
- It is a combination of FPTP and the regional (closed) party list system. A **plurality and a proportional combination.**
- Voters have two votes, one for the candidate in their constituency and the other from the party list.
- This produces two types of representative, one local (through single-member FPTP constituencies) and one regional (through Party List multi-member constituencies).
- The party-list element is used to 'top up' the constituency vote. It is used correctively to achieve a more proportional outcome using the D'Hondt method.

- AMS is used for the devolved regions in Wales, Scotland and for the London Assembly. In Scotland and London (in the Greater London Assembly) 56% of seats are filled by FPTP; in Wales this is 67%.

How has the use of AMS affected party representation in the UK?

- A wider and more diverse range of political parties have been elected than under FPTP, which has meant that more political parties have enjoyed administrative power, such as the Liberal Democrats who formerly shared power in the Scottish parliament with Labour.
- Single party majorities are highly unlikely with AMS.
- It has reduced the dominance of the Labour Party in both Wales and Scotland. It has not become the automatic or 'natural' party of government.
- It has revived and enhanced the fortunes of the nationalist parties, Plaid Cymru and the SNP, and had a similar effect on the Liberal Democrats and the Green Party. Representation of the Conservative Party has also increased in Wales and Scotland.
- It has allowed for minor party representation, such as the Scottish Socialist parties in Scotland.

Why have proportional electoral systems have been more widely used in the UK since 1997?

- There was a growing dissatisfaction with the unrepresentative nature of FPTP.
- There was a desire to achieve wide support for the newly established devolved assemblies, as well as the newly created Greater London Assembly, from as wide a section of the electorate as possible.
- It has been used for European elections because it was seen to be more in line with the PR systems which were used in the other member countries.
- STV has been used in Northern Ireland for the devolved government because it was intended to bring about a government in which power was shared by the major parties.
- PR was part of Labour's commitment to constitutional reform and for democratic renewal.
- Some suggest that PR was 'on trial' for a possible introduction for Westminster which never materialised.

Different Electoral Systems

What are the advantages and disadvantages of FPTP?

What are the advantages and disadvantages of AMS; STV and SV?

How does FPTP compare to the Single Transferable Vote?

3.2 Referendums and how they are used

Why do governments hold referendums in the UK?

| Referendum | Circumstances |
|--|---|
| Membership of the EU – Brexit (2016) | The Conservative Party has been split over Europe since the 1980s. The 'Eurosceptics' are a powerful group and have pressured David Cameron into holding a referendum on the UK's membership of the EU. From 2013 onwards, when Cameron promised to hold the referendum, this ensured the Eurosceptics would vote with the government on key issues, so that the government could pass legislation. This referendum was therefore held to prevent a damaging split in the Conservative party. |
| Scottish independence (2014) | This asked if Scotland should remain part of the UK (and concluded it should). It was held because the Scottish National Party (SNP) won the 2011 Scottish parliamentary election and they had made a manifesto commitment to hold such a referendum. This was allowed by the UK government as they did not believe the SNP could win independence for Scotland. Referendums are also generally now seen as necessary to establish popular support for constitutional change . |
| Elected mayors (2012) | The Labour governments 1997-2010 established a precedent of holding referendums on proposals for cities to have elected mayors. When the coalition government decided to introduce elected mayors, they then had to follow precedent and hold referendums. Of the 10 cities holding referendums, only Bristol voted in favour of introducing an elected mayor. |
| AV (2011) | This referendum was held to satisfy the terms of the Coalition Agreement between the Conservative and Liberal Democratic parties. The Liberal Democrats had made a manifesto commitment to changing the electoral system, but the Conservative Party were against electoral reform. Holding a referendum was a compromise for both parties because it gave the decision to the people rather than one party getting its own way. The proposal to adopt AV as the UK's electoral system was rejected. |
| Welsh devolution (2011) | This referendum was held to satisfy increasing calls for the Welsh Assembly to be given wider law-making powers in view of its popularity and success in Wales. The proposal was accepted by a large margin. |
| Congestion charging in Manchester (2008) | The local authorities of Greater Manchester wanted to tax cars crossing the M60 to come into Manchester. The proceeds would be used to fund investment in public transport. The referendum was held to gain support for this policy, as it was very controversial, because car drivers were being asked to pay for benefits to others (those using public transport). Not surprisingly, the proposal was rejected. |
| North-East English devolution (2004) | This referendum was held to test the popularity of the government's policy of devolution to the English regions and to demonstrate public support for another constitutional change. The result was a |

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| | resounding 'no', which led the government to drop its policy of English devolution. |
| Good Friday Agreement (1998) | This referendum was also held to show popular support for a controversial policy. The policy concerned ending violent conflict in Northern Ireland and setting up a devolved Assembly to govern the region. It was necessary because without clear support from both Protestant and Catholic communities, the Agreement could have been seen as biased towards one community, which would have perpetuated rather than ended the violence. It was also important to demonstrate support for the constitutional element of the proposal. The Good Friday Agreement was accepted by the people, with a 'yes' vote of over 70%. |
| London Mayor (1998) | This referendum was held to fulfil a pledge made in the Labour party manifesto. Labour in 1997 promised in their manifesto to hold a referendum on an elected Mayor for London and an elected Greater London Assembly. The people of London accepted the proposal. |
| Scottish and Welsh devolution (1997) | These referendums were held to provide legitimacy to major constitutional changes and to fulfil pledges made in Labour's manifesto. Devolution had been an important policy for Labour since the 1970s and they took the earliest opportunity to hold referendums and put the policy into practice. |
| EU membership (1975) | This referendum was held for essentially the same reason as that of 2016 - to settle an internal party dispute. The governing Labour party had a very small majority and was split over membership of the European Economic Community (EEC), so the referendum was held in order that Cabinet members could campaign on opposing sides and the people could resolve their dispute. The referendum endorsed UK membership of the EEC. |

Strengths of referendums

- They are the most direct form of modern democracy. The people's views are clearly indicated and there is no confusion over the extent to which politicians are accurately representing public opinion. In this way referendums help to legitimise governmental decisions and confirm the principle of government by consent.
 - ◆ For example, the referendum on Scottish independence confirmed that the people of Scotland wanted to remain part of the UK, contrary to the claims of the SNP.
- If the people have given express consent, they are more likely to accept the decision that is made.
 - ◆ For example, the Good Friday Agreement could only succeed if it received widespread and clear support from most of the community, which could only be demonstrated by a referendum.
- Referendums can prevent governments from making unpopular decisions.
 - ◆ For example, there was no public appetite for adopting AV as the new electoral system for the UK in 2011, although there are increasing calls for a switch to some form of proportional representation in the wake of the 2015 general election result.

- Sometimes parties and governments are split over issues and are unable to resolve their differences. Referendums are used in these circumstances to provide a clear decision that everyone can abide by.
 - ◆ For example, the 2011 referendum on AV was held to resolve differences between the Coalition partners over electoral reform and the 1975 referendum on Europe was held to resolve differences within the Labour Party over European membership.
- A referendum **entrenches** constitutional changes. Since governments can be replaced every 5 years, changes can be reversed after a very short period of time by an incoming government. A referendum protects a constitutional change from being quickly reversed, as this would be seen as a new government going against the will of the people.
 - ◆ For example, it would have been very difficult for the Coalition government in 2010 to reverse Scottish and Welsh devolution established by the previous government.

Criticisms of referendums

- Issues may be very complex. This raises several problems. Firstly, most people are unlikely to make the effort to research the issues properly, so they will vote on the basis of an incomplete understanding. Secondly, they may get most of their information from biased sources such as newspapers, which follow the agenda of their owners. Thirdly, the public debate may focus on emotive issues rather than practicalities.
 - ◆ For example, the issues surrounding EU membership are extremely complex, but are often misrepresented as simple by politicians looking to gain public support. Additionally, many people (although by no means all) who are against EU membership are **xenophobic** rather than properly informed.
- Another reason why the public may vote on the grounds of reasons other than those relevant to the referendum concerns the involvement of the government. The electorate, especially in the middle of the **incumbent** government's term of office, are often unhappy with what the government is doing. They may therefore use a referendum to vote against the government's preferred option, as a way of expressing their dissatisfaction.
 - ◆ For example, in the 2011 AV referendum, the 'Yes' campaign was led by the Liberal Democrats, as they had campaigned for electoral reform before the 2010 general election. The victory for the 'No' campaign was therefore considered to be at least partly a vote against the Liberal Democrats by left-wing voters angry at the fact that the Party had formed a coalition with the right-wing Conservatives.
- A different type of problem can also be raised by complex issues, namely that it is impossible for them to be reduced to a yes/no format as a referendum requires. So, even if a referendum is held, there are residual problems that remain controversial. The referendum therefore is unable to provide a definitive resolution.
 - ◆ For example, one reason why the UK mostly holds referendums on constitutional issues is because they tend to be relatively straightforward. A social issue, such as the potential re-introduction of the death penalty or the legalisation of marijuana,

could be more complex in the sense that there are many different arguments, all suggesting different actions and potential consequences.

- Referendums can also prevent the government from acting to protect minorities. This is because a referendum result reflects the will of the majority, but takes no account of minority needs and preferences. If a government must abide by the result of a referendum, then it may not be possible for the corresponding legislation to make appropriate concessions to minority needs.
 - ◆ For example, the vote for Brexit has led to a rise in hate crime against migrants currently living in the UK as well as those wishing to emigrate to other European countries. In the weeks surrounding the referendum, hate crime was up by 42% in comparison to the previous years.
- Referendums can be manipulated by those in power to suit their own needs. This may occur when a party is split over an issue, but the general public is largely **apathetic** or in agreement. Under these circumstances, the referendum has the advantage for the party in question of resolving the internal rifts, but does not meet a clear democratic need.
 - ◆ For example, the referendum on EU membership of 1975 was held to reunite the Labour party so the Labour government could pass legislation more easily.
 - ◆ Similarly, the referendum on EU membership in 2016 was held to reunite the Conservative Party, so the **Eurosceptics** stop rebelling and embarrassing the government.
- A referendum rarely has a neutral or unbiased platform. Often one side has more money, more favourable media coverage and finance determines the outcome.
 - ◆ For example, the 'No' campaign in the 2011 AV referendum was very well-funded and well organised. It received a lot of media coverage in comparison to the 'Yes' campaign and the result was never really in doubt.
- When referendums are held frequently, the public can become more apathetic and therefore less likely to vote.
 - ◆ For example, in the 2012 mayoral referendums, **turnout** varied between 24% - 32%. This shows that the majority of the people didn't really care about whether they had an elected mayor or not.
- Low turnouts can undermine the legitimacy provided by the referendum. It can be argued that even when a vote is very close, a high turnout legitimises the decision made, because by participating, people implicitly consent to abide by the result on the basis that it has been made legitimately. When turnout dips below 50%, then a majority of people have not endorsed the decision made in any sense (whether by voting for it, or participating in the process).
 - ◆ For example, the 2011 referendum on extending devolved law-making powers to the Welsh Assembly only had a turnout of 35.6%, so devolution was extended, but on the basis of a dubious **mandate**.

Referendums and how they are used

What is a referendum?

How have referendums been used in the UK?

What are the cases for and against referendums in a representative democracy?

3.3 Electoral system analysis

ANALYSIS: UK electoral systems

| | Criticisms | Counter-arguments |
|--------------------|--|--|
| FPTP | <p>FPTP does not provide an accurate or fair reflection of how people voted because it does not give all political parties a justified (proportionate) share of the seats.</p> <p>Not all votes count or are of equal value, because some are not used to elect a candidate.</p> <p>FPTP sacrifices accuracy in favour of strong government. No governments in recent times have gained 50% of the votes cast, but there has only been one minority and one coalition government since 1945.</p> | <p>FPTP does provide electoral choice in a straightforward manner. The winning party can claim a mandate and there are established clear lines of accountability because one party can be held responsible for the government's successes and failures.</p> <p>FPTP provides strong government and that is to be prized above some of its drawbacks.</p> |
| Closed List | <p>The Closed Party List is used to elect MEPs.</p> <p>It can be criticised for giving representation to too many parties too small to govern or provide leadership. The system is also said to break the close link between voters and their representatives.</p> <p>The order in which individual candidates appear on the closed party list also gives too much power to party managers.</p> | <p>It is the most proportional system that we use in the UK and is fair to all political parties; as such votes are not wasted as citizens vote for their first choice rather than tactically. Furthermore it aids not only smaller parties but also helps minorities and women.</p> |
| AMS | <p>AMS has been criticised for creating confusion by providing two types of MP: one elected on a constituency basis, the other from the party list. Furthermore this party list is numbered by the party not the electorate. It has meant that some members who failed to secure a constituency seat are still able to gain election through this route. As such these two types can be said to enjoy differing levels of legitimacy given their election routes.</p> | <p>However, many argue that the combination of FPTP with the list system is the best compromise possible for the UK, keeping a constituency base with some proportionality. It widens choice and attempts to reduce wasted votes.</p> |
| STV | <p>STV is criticised for the uneven proportionality which may result in certain of the multi-member constituencies. It also attracts criticism in that it can lead to problematic in-fighting amongst party members as they search for popularity and</p> | <p>However the survival of a difficult peace process under STV is testament to its suitability. The uneven proportionality is still much fairer than FPTP. Teething issues with new systems can be overcome.</p> |

| | | |
|-----------|--|---|
| | <p>votes in the larger constituencies. STV has been attacked for the complexity of the calculation system and the difficulty in many electors has in understanding the system.</p> <p>Many votes were spoilt in Scotland when it was introduced for local government.</p> | |
| SV | <p>The Supplementary Vote (SV) has been criticised in that the victor always appears to be a compromise candidate with not achieving an outright victory of first preferences. Victory emerges from the second preferences of the more extremist votes which are redistributed</p> | <p>However it can be argued that it is a fairer system than FPTP and that a compromise candidate is far better than one who achieves victory on a more marginal base.</p> |

ANALYSIS: FPTP

| Strength | Critique |
|---|---|
| It is simple and easy to operate. All that is required is an 'X' in the box next to the chosen candidate's name. This allows all citizens clarity and confidence in use. Other electoral systems by contrast may appear cumbersome and complex. | However, it may be argued that this benefit is overrated. It may be the case that today's electorate can cope with listing numerical choice and preferences. This happens in other developed nations there is no evidence that the UK is less educated than our European counterparts, who use various other electoral methods. |
| It is quick to produce a result, there is no delay and elected members and governments are soon in place. It is alleged that PR systems can take some time for the final outcome to be calculated and delivered. | However, some allege that this 'speed' attribute is overrated. If electronic voting was introduced than other systems would be equally as swift. Furthermore it is suggested that although speed is valued, accuracy and fairness are more desired virtues to be prized. |
| The system produces strong governments at Westminster with working majorities; other electoral systems can often produce coalitions. | Two points to consider here however. Firstly it may be seen that strong government comes at the expense of unrepresentative government. Secondly it may be wrong to assume that a coalition government is a weak or a bad government: the opposing case for coalitions can be advanced. |
| The system maintains the MP/Constituency link and preserves and nurtures an important geographical link. | However, it may be seen that other electoral systems, such as AMS can equally maintain and possibly build on this link. It is not exclusive. |
| The system produces a good choice for the electorate and the two party format mirrors the natural divide in society. | It may be seen however that the choice on offer is illusory. It is hard for third or other parties to break a two party dominance, which is thrown up by FPTP. In addition the two party monopoly is not reflective of the political culture of the UK. |
| The system keeps extremism at bay. Minority parties with extreme and politically unsavoury or destabilising views are denied representation. | This may be true, but other electoral systems with in-built thresholds can equally achieve this outcome. |

ANALYSIS: Benefits/costs of changing from FPTP to PR for general elections

| Benefits | Costs |
|---|---|
| It will make the House of Commons more reflective of how the country voted. Fair representation is well worth pursuing by introducing PR for Westminster. It is laudable to sacrifice strong government for accurate representation as a principle in its own right. Some coalition governments under PR can claim the support of at least 50% of the electorate. | It will produce unstable governments which fail to secure a working majority, because there will be a strong likelihood of coalition government and coalitions are inherently unstable. |
| It will eradicate many of the anomalies or the alleged unfairness of the current system. These include issues such as tactical voting, safe seats, marginal seats etc. | The current system is easy to use and operate. |
| It will increase voter turnout at the general election. It can be said to increase participation as more people will vote knowing that their vote counts and will make a difference. On this basis elected representative and governments can increase their democratic legitimacy. It is alleged that participation rates may not rise but legitimacy credentials certainly will. | There is no major demand amongst the public for change. |
| It will revive the fortunes of the Liberal democrats and other smaller parties. PR will improve the representation of parties thwarted under FPTP currently at Westminster. A broader and more accurate range of parties increases democracy by allowing all shades of opinion some level of representation. Thresholds could be introduced to make the system effective and eliminate racist or other extremist parties. | It will serve to allow extremist parties to gain credence and respectability. |
| It will move to make votes nationally to be of equal value. | This will be at the expense of eradicating the link of MPs to a constituency base. |
| It will introduce a clear possibility of coalition governments. If a coalition government arises and this is a clear possibility of PR for Westminster then this is to be favoured. Coalitions introduce compromise and promote consensus, evidence of this is now apparent. | No one votes for a coalition, so the complete legislative programmes of coalition governments cannot be regarded as having been endorsed by the electorate. Thus, coalitions lack legitimacy in comparison to single party governments. |
| PR for Westminster will make the governments more accountable to the legislature, thus avoiding accusations of elective dictatorship. | |
| Differing systems of PR all have certain alleged benefits and some may be more easily adopted for Westminster than others | There are many types of PR and no one system emerges as being appropriate for the House of Commons. |

ANALYSIS: Proportional Representation

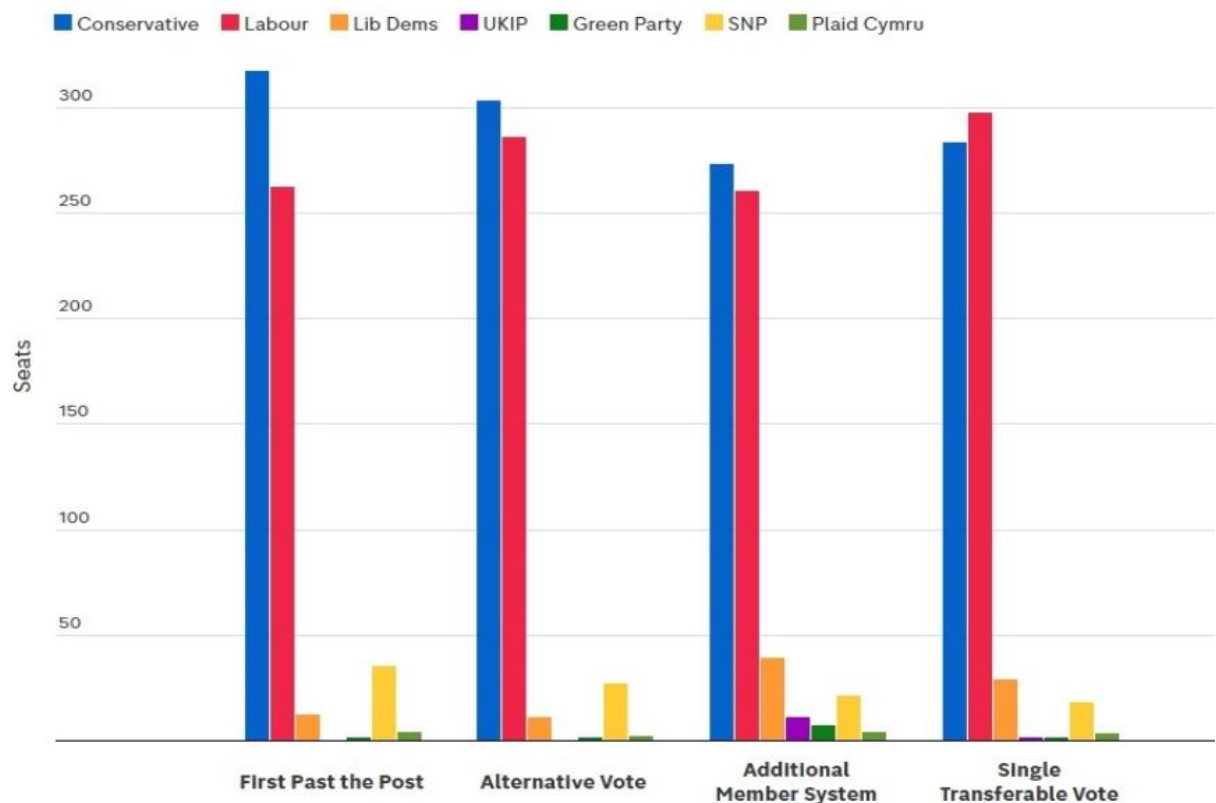
| | Advantage | Criticism |
|------------------------------------|---|--|
| Turnout | It is claimed that proportional systems increase turnout as voters feel that their vote will count and be effective, it will not be wasted and used to make a difference. | However evidence is not conclusive as to this claim, for example turnout for devolved elections is not higher than those for Westminster elections. |
| Legitimacy | It is claimed that proportional systems increase legitimacy as the outcome is more accurate it means that both Governments and individual representatives can rightly claim victory with a 'fair' system of turning votes in to seats. | However following elections in the UK under non-proportional systems such as FPTP, there is no heavily contested argument over the victor, for even following the outcome of the May 2010 General Election the formation of the coalition was seen as legitimate and just. |
| Representation for smaller parties | Proportional electoral systems will produce a more reflective and accurate outcome for small parties who under simple plurality systems will suffer, in reality this may mean growth and fair representation for the Green Party for example. | However, it may mean that some extreme parties gain a foothold in Parliamentary politics which have racist and undemocratic views, and this could destabilise society. |
| Coalition government | Proportional electoral systems are more likely to produce a coalition government which has at its core compromise and conciliation between different views in society. | However, coalitions can also be unstable and may fragment society as such proportional systems may harm democratic government. |
| Wasted votes | Under proportional electoral systems there are less likely to be 'safe seats' as under plurality systems. Seats which do not change hands and where some voters feel that their vote will simply be wasted and does not count, under systems of PR this is less prone to occur. | However, it is inevitable that some votes will have to be wasted, we cannot all vote for the winner and elections have to be combative and produce an outcome and a winner, PR is prone not to deliver a clear end result. |

How would the 2017 General Election look under PR?

<https://www.channel4.com/news/factcheck/how-would-parliament-look-under-proportional-representation>



Projected results under different voting systems



| Party | First Past the Post | Alternative Vote | Additional Member System | Single Transferable Vote |
|--------------|---------------------|------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Conservative | 317 | 303 | 273 | 283 |
| Labour | 262 | 286 | 260 | 297 |
| SNP | 35 | 27 | 21 | 18 |
| Lib Dems | 12 | 11 | 39 | 29 |
| Plaid Cymru | 4 | 2 | 4 | 3 |
| Green Party | 1 | 1 | 7 | 1 |
| UKIP | 0 | 0 | 11 | 1 |

SOURCE: ELECTORAL REFORM SOCIETY

Electoral System analysis

Why are different electoral systems used in the UK?

What has been the impact of the different electoral systems in the UK on the type of government appointed?

What has been the impact of different systems on party representation?

What has been the impact of different systems on voter choice?

4 Voting behaviour and the media

4.1 Case studies of three key general elections

Overview of elections since 1945

<https://www.tutor2u.net/politics/reference/general-election-results-matching-activity>



1983 Election



Majority – 144
PM Margaret Thatcher
Held on 9th June 1983

Electorate – 42,197,344
Turnout – 72.7%

Chart: Seats won at the 1983 general election



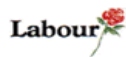
Table: 1983 general election results summary

| Party | Seats | Gain | Loss | Net | Votes | % | ±% |
|-------------------------------|-------|------|------|-----|------------|------|-------|
| Conservative | 397 | 47 | 10 | +37 | 13,012,316 | 42.4 | -1.5 |
| Labour | 209 | 4 | 55 | -51 | 8,456,934 | 27.6 | -9.3 |
| Liberal Democrat/SDP Alliance | 23 | 12 | 0 | +12 | 7,780,949 | 25.4 | +11.6 |
| Ulster Unionist | 11 | 3 | 1 | +2 | 259,952 | 1.1 | 0.0 |
| Democratic Unionist | 3 | 2 | 1 | +1 | 152,749 | 0.5 | +0.3 |
| Plaid Cymru | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 125,309 | 0.4 | 0.0 |
| Scottish National | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 331,975 | 1.1 | -0.5 |
| SDLP | 1 | 0 | 1 | -1 | 137,012 | 0.4 | 0.0 |
| Sinn Féin | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 102,701 | 0.3 | 0.0 |
| Ulster Popular Unionist | 1 | 1 | 0 | +1 | 22,861 | 0.1 | 0.0 |

https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=115&v=sf3NxCCS23Y



1997 Election















Majority – 179
PM Tony Blair
Held on 1st May 1997

Electorate – 43,714,673
Turnout – 71.4%
Full 1997 election results

Chart: Seats won at the 1997 general election



Table: 1997 general election results summary

| Party | Seats | Gain | Loss | Net | Votes | % | ±% |
|---|-------|------|------|------|------------|------|-------|
|  Labour | 418 | 145 | 0 | +145 | 13,518,167 | 43.2 | +8.8 |
|  Conservative | 165 | 0 | 178 | -178 | 9,600,943 | 30.7 | -11.2 |
|  Liberal Democrat | 46 | 30 | 2 | +28 | 5,242,947 | 16.8 | -1 |
|  Ulster Unionist | 10 | 1 | 0 | +1 | 258,349 | 0.8 | 0 |
|  Scottish National | 6 | 3 | 0 | +3 | 621,550 | 2.0 | +0.1 |
|  Plaid Cymru | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 161,030 | 0.5 | 0 |
|  SDLP | 3 | 0 | 1 | -1 | 190,814 | 0.6 | +0.1 |
|  Sinn Féin | 2 | 2 | 0 | +2 | 126,921 | 0.4 | 0 |
|  Democratic Unionist | 2 | 0 | 1 | -1 | 107,348 | 0.3 | 0 |
|  Speaker | 1 | | | | 23,969 | 0.1 | |
|  UK Unionist | 1 | 1 | 0 | +1 | 12,817 | 0 | |
|  Independent | 1 | 1 | 0 | +1 | 64,482 | 0.1 | 0 |

Source: House of Commons Research Paper 01/38 (pdf)

Labour 1997 original party political broadcast:

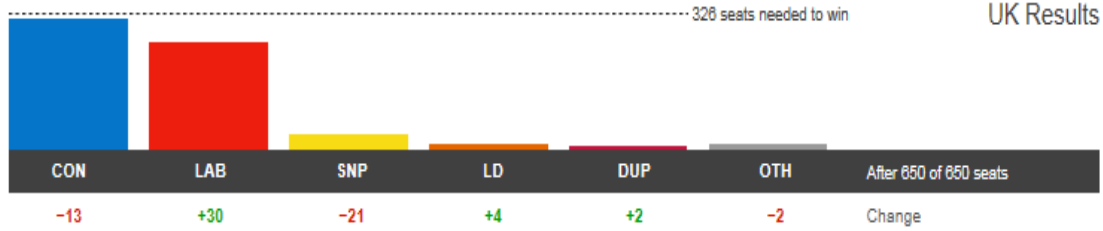
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qi5j7jjhm4M>



1997 election night aftermath: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RHXA5GykEbw>



2017 election



LIVE COVERAGE

About these results

Results

Share

- UK
- Eng
- NI
- Scot
- Wales

Election ends in Hung Parliament

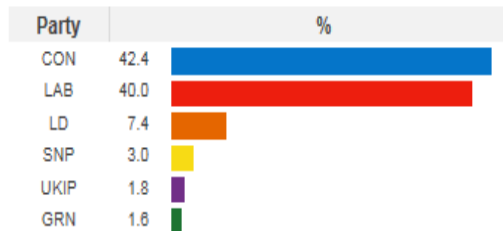
No party wins a majority in parliament as Theresa May's Conservatives lose seats in England and Wales to Labour and the Liberal Democrats, despite seeing their vote share rise.

Find a constituency

Constituencies A-Z

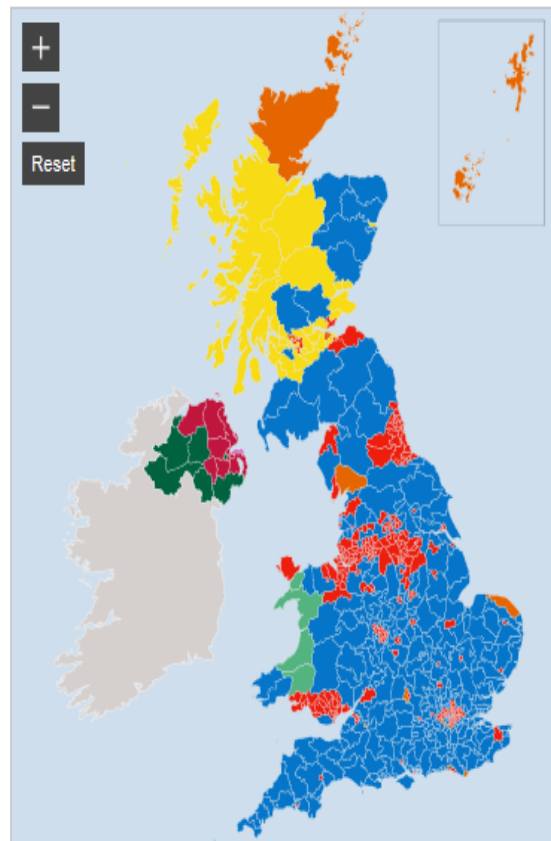
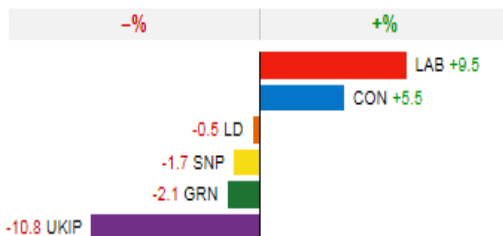
UK vote share

after 650 of 650 seats



UK vote share change since 2015

after 650 of 650 seats



UK results after 650 of 650 seats

SORT BY:

| PARTY | SEATS | +/- | VOTES | VOTE SHARE | +/- % |
|--|-------|-----|------------|------------|-------|
|  Conservative | 318 | -13 | 13,669,883 | 42.4 | +5.5 |
|  Labour | 262 | +30 | 12,878,460 | 40.0 | +9.5 |
|  Scottish National Party | 35 | -21 | 977,569 | 3.0 | -1.7 |
|  Liberal Democrat | 12 | +4 | 2,371,910 | 7.4 | -0.5 |
|  Democratic Unionist Party | 10 | +2 | 292,316 | 0.9 | +0.3 |
|  Sinn Fein | 7 | +3 | 238,915 | 0.7 | +0.2 |
|  Plaid Cymru | 4 | +1 | 164,466 | 0.5 | -0.1 |
|  Green Party | 1 | 0 | 525,435 | 1.6 | -2.1 |
|  UKIP | 0 | -1 | 594,068 | 1.8 | -10.8 |
|  Social Democratic & Labour Party | 0 | -3 | 95,419 | 0.3 | 0.0 |
|  Ulster Unionist Party | 0 | -2 | 83,280 | 0.3 | -0.1 |
|  Alliance Party | 0 | 0 | 64,553 | 0.2 | 0.0 |
|  The Yorkshire Party | 0 | 0 | 20,958 | 0.1 | 0.0 |
|  National Health Action | 0 | 0 | 16,119 | 0.1 | 0.0 |
|  Christian Peoples Alliance | 0 | 0 | 5,869 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
|  British National Party | 0 | 0 | 4,642 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
|  Monster Raving Loony Party | 0 | 0 | 3,890 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
|  Women's Equality Party | 0 | 0 | 3,580 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
|  Pirate Party | 0 | 0 | 2,321 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
|  English Democrats | 0 | 0 | 1,913 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
|  Workers Revolutionary Party | 0 | 0 | 771 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
|  Social Democratic Party | 0 | 0 | 469 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
|  Others | 1 | 0 | 186,675 | 0.6 | +0.3 |

After 650 of 650 seats
Change compared with 2015

Turnout  68.7%

Electorate 46,843,896

<https://www.tutor2u.net/politics/blog/seven-ways-to-look-at-election-data>



Case studies of 3 general elections: 1983; 1997 and 2017

Explain the factors that influenced the outcome of each election

What is the influence of class on voting patterns?

What is the influence of gender; age; ethnicity and region as factors in influencing voting behavior?

4.2 The influence of the media

Has the press lost its power?

<https://www.tutor2u.net/politics/blog/has-the-press-lost-its-power>



<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/conservative-social-media-strategy-attack-jeremy-corbyn-labour-twitter-facebook-video-stormzy-akala-a7784406.html>



The influence of the media

What is the role of the media in politics?

What is the impact of the media in politics?

Should we have opinion polls?

Key terminology glossary

UK Politics

| 1. Democracy and participation | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| Key term | Definition |
| Legitimacy | The rightful use of power in accordance with pre-set criteria or widely-held agreements, such as a government's right to rule following an election or a monarch's succession based on the agreed rules. |
| Direct democracy | All individuals express their opinions themselves and not through representatives acting on their behalf. This type of democracy emerged in Athens in classical times and direct democracy can be seen today in referendums. |
| Representative democracy | A more modern form of democracy through which an individual selects a person (and/or political party) to act on their behalf to exercise political choice. |
| Pluralist democracy | A type of democracy in which a government makes decisions as a result of the interplay of various ideas and contrasting arguments from competing groups and organisations. |
| Democratic deficit | A flaw in the democratic process where decisions are taken by people who lack legitimacy, not having been appointed with sufficient democratic input or subject to accountability. |
| Participation crisis | A lack of engagement by a significant number of citizens to relate to the political process either by choosing not to vote or to join or become members of political parties or to offer themselves for public office. |
| Franchise/suffrage | Franchise and suffrage both refer to the ability/right to vote in public elections. Suffragettes were women campaigning for the right to vote on the same terms as men. |
| Think tanks | A body of experts brought together to collectively focus on a certain topic(s) – to investigate and offer solutions to often complicated and seemingly intractable economic, social or political issues. |
| Lobbyists | A lobbyist is paid by clients to try to influence the government and/or MPs and members of the House of Lords to act in their clients' interests, particularly when legislation is under consideration. |

2. Political parties

| Key term | Definition |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Old Labour (social democracy) | Key Labour principles embodying nationalisation, redistribution of wealth from rich to poor and the provision of continually improving welfare and state services, which largely rejected Thatcherite/ free-market reforms or a Blairite approach. |
| New Labour (Third Way) | A revision of the traditional Labour values and ideals represented by Old Labour. Influenced by Anthony Giddens, the 'Third Way' saw Labour shift in emphasis from a heavy focus on the working class to a wider class base, and a less robust alliance with the trade unions. |
| One Nation | A paternalistic approach adopted by Conservatives under the leadership of Benjamin Disraeli in the 19th century and continued by David Cameron and Theresa May in the 21st century, that the rich have an obligation to help the poor. |
| New Right | There are two elements – (i) the neo (or new) Conservatives who want the state to take a more authoritarian approach to morality and law and order and (ii) the neo-liberals who endorsed the free-market approach and the rolling back of the state in people's lives and businesses. |
| Classical liberals | Classical liberalism is a philosophy developed by early liberals who believed that individual freedom would best be achieved with the state playing a minimal role. |
| Modern liberals | Modern liberalism emerged as a reaction against free-market capitalism, believing this had led to many individuals not being free. Freedom could no longer simply be defined as 'being left alone'. |
| Party systems | The way or manner in which the political parties in a political system are grouped and structured. There are several variants that could apply to the UK, these include one-party dominant, two-party, two-and-a-half party and multi-party systems. |
| Left wing | A widely-used term for those who desire change, reform and alteration to the way in which society operates. Often this involves radical criticisms of the capitalism made by liberal and socialist parties. |
| Right wing | This term reflects support for the status quo, little or no change, stressing the need for order, stability and hierarchy – generally relates to Conservative parties. |

3. Electoral systems

| Key term | Definition |
|--------------------------------|--|
| First-past-the-post (FPTP) | An electoral system where the person with the most number of votes is elected. Victory is achieved by having one more vote than other contenders – it is also called a plurality system. |
| Additional Member System (AMS) | A hybrid electoral system that has two components or elements. The voter makes two choices. Firstly, the voter selects a representative on a simple plurality (FPTP) system then a second vote is apportioned to a party list for a second or 'additional' representative. |
| Single Transferable Vote (STV) | This system allows voters to rank their voting preferences in numerical order rather than simply having one voting choice. In order to obtain a seat, a candidate must obtain a quota. After the votes are cast, those with the least votes are eliminated and their votes transferred and those candidates with excess votes above the quota also have their votes transferred. |
| Supplementary Vote (SV) | This is a majoritarian system. The voter makes two choices (hence the term 'supplementary'). If one candidate obtains over 50% on the first vote then the contest is complete, if no candidate attains this level, all but the top two candidates remain. Then the supplementary choices are re-distributed and whoever gets most votes from the remaining two, wins the seat. |
| Safe seat | A seat in which the incumbent has a considerable majority over the closest rival and which is largely immune from swings in voting choice. The same political party retains the seat from election to election. A majority of seats in UK Westminster constituencies are safe seats. |
| Marginal seat | A seat held by the incumbent with a small majority. There is no precise percentage or winning margin to which this aligns but a 10% margin would need only a swing of 5% to the rival party to take it. Marginal seats are important as they are where the outcomes of elections are decided. Only a minority of seats in UK Westminster constituencies are marginal. |
| Minority government | A government that enters office but which does not have a majority of seats in the legislature (Parliament). This makes passing legislation very difficult. |
| Coalition government | A government that is formed of more than one political party. It is normally accompanied by an agreement over policy options and office of state, as was the Conservative-Liberal-Democrat coalition from 2010–2015 |

| 4. Voting behaviour and the media | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| Key term | Definition |
| Class dealignment | The process where individuals no longer identify themselves as belonging to a certain class and for political purposes fail to make a class connection with their voting pattern. |
| Partisan dealignment | The process where individuals no longer identify themselves on a long-term basis by being associated with a certain political party. |
| Governing competency | The perceived ability of the governing party in office to manage the affairs of the state well and effectively. It can also be a potential view of opposition parties and their perceived governing competency if they were to secure office. |
| Disillusion and apathy | A process of disengagement with politics and political activity. Having no confidence in politics and politicians as being able to solve issues and make a difference. Manifested in low turnout at elections and poor awareness of contemporary events. |
| Manifesto | In its manifesto, a political party will spell out in detail what actions and programmes it would like to put in place if it is successful in the next election – a set of promises for future action. |
| Mandate | The successful party following an election claims it has the authority (mandate) to implement its manifesto promises and also a general permission to govern as new issues arise. |

Extra key words

| 1. Democracy and Participation | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| Key term | Definition |
| Initiatives | In countries such as Switzerland and some US states, citizens gather signatures on a petition for a public vote on a proposed new law – similar to a referendum but initiated by citizens not a public body. |
| Petitions | A formal request signed by citizens to those in authority recommending or opposing a specific change. In the UK if 100,000 people sign a petition then the issue will be discussed in Parliament. |
| Recall | A process for removing an elected official from office if a given percentage of voters in a constituency signs a petition calling for this based on the Recall of MPs Act 2015. |
| e-democracy | Digital or internet democracy that involves using information and communications technology to collect and register votes and opinions, and to involve citizens more widely. |
| Access points | These are essentially points in the political decision-making process where (mainly) pressure groups can seek to exert influence; the creation of the devolved assemblies created more such access points. |
| Compulsory voting | A legal requirement to vote supported in law. By not voting, a citizen may incur punitive sanctions, usually a fine. It is used in Australia and Belgium. |

2. Political Parties

| Key term | Definition |
|----------------------|---|
| Populist | A policy (or a movement) that has a very broad based appeal and may cut across or transcends traditional political lines; often seems to involve emotion rather than ideology or detailed analysis. |
| Social Liberals | A Liberal Democrat grouping that advocates welfare provision for all members of society – as in the design of the Welfare State by the Liberal Sir William Beveridge, implemented by the Labour government in 1945. |
| Orange Book Liberals | A grouping in the Liberal Democrats that is essentially economic in nature, favouring free-market solutions. Most Orange Book Liberals share many of the social goals of social liberals. |
| Consensus politics | Here, the main parties competing for power with a realistic chance of gaining office have very similar beliefs, goals and policies. Since the 1990s there has been a post-Thatcher consensus embracing the free market and social reforms on the 1980s and 1990s. |
| Adversary politics | A situation where the main opposing parties have opposite ideological views and recommend different approaches to the problems (and their solutions) which face society (not to be confused with adversarial politics, which involves the robust cut and thrust of debate). |
| Party factions | A sub-group within a political party – which is in the main aligned to the current party but which has preferential themes it wishes to see the party take up and promote. |

3. Electoral Systems

| Key term | Definition |
|-----------------------------|--|
| Constituency | A geographical area that elects a representative. This applies to Westminster constituencies for MPs and for other elections; though unequal in geographical size, the aim is each constituency contains a similar number of people. |
| Proportional representation | The generic term for a range of electoral systems that aim to provide or match a fair share of the seats in relation (proportion) to the votes cast. |
| Delegate | A person sent to speak and act on behalf of others with a pre-determined agenda to replicate the views and wishes of others. |
| Trustee | A person who can act with autonomy to act in the interests of others and think independently as events arise and circumstances may change. Electors place their 'trust' |
| Turnout | This simply means what percentage of the registered voters turned out and voted. There have been trends in turnout levels at various tiers of elections. |

4. Voting behaviour and the media

| Key term | Definition |
|-----------------------|--|
| Class voting | Voting in line with the political party that supposedly best protects and serves the interests of that particular class. |
| Floating/swing voters | Voters who are undecided which party they will support and are thus open to persuasion and influence |
| Core voters | A reliable cohort of a political party's supporters who will always vote in its favour. |
| Social class | A categorising or classification of the population according to their status in society. The classification can be based on occupation, wealth or income or any combination of these. |
| Valence issues | A valence issue covers a topic on which there is agreement between voters (e.g. crime is bad) and the decision for the voter is which party will deliver best on that agreed topic. |
| Economic voting | A model of voting that implies that a person casts their vote for a party thought likely to deliver economic prosperity to the individual and/or to the population as a whole (also known as instrumental voting). |
| Tactical voting | The process of not voting for your preferred candidate. Instead using your vote in order to prevent another candidate winning. This has to occur in seats where there is a third contender who has no realistic chances of winning. |
| Abstention | A conscious decision not to vote and take part in the democratic process and to withhold opinion or verdict. |
| Opinion polls | A view taken at a point in time that attempts to forecast what the actual vote will be when the election takes place. They have degrees of reliability and in 2015 made incorrect predictions. Only the exit poll taken after the polls had closed and collected after people had voted had clear reliability. |

Core Political Ideas

| Conservatism | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 1. Core ideas and principle | |
| Key term | Definition |
| Hierarchy | The Conservative belief that society is naturally organised in fixed tiers, where one's position is not based on individual ability. |
| Authority | For Conservatives, this is the idea that people in higher positions in society are best able to make decisions in the interests of the whole society; authority thus comes from above. |
| Change to conserve | That society should adapt to changing circumstances rather than reject change outright and risk rebellion and/or revolution. |
| Atomism | That society is made up of self-interested and self-sufficient individuals (also known as egoistical individualism). |

| 2. Differing views and tensions within conservatism | |
|---|---|
| Key term | Definition |
| Noblesse oblige | The duty of the wealthy and privileged to look after those less fortunate. |
| Anti-permissiveness | A rejection of permissiveness, which is the belief that people should make their own moral choices, suggesting there is no objective right and wrong. |
| Radical | Belief whose ideas favour drastic political, economic and social change. |
| Human imperfection | The traditional conservative belief that humans are flawed in a number of ways which makes them incapable of making good decisions for themselves. |

| 3. Conservative thinkers and their ideas | |
|--|--|
| Key term | Definition |
| Laissez-faire | A preference towards minimal government intervention in business and the state. |
| Empiricism | The idea that knowledge comes from real experience and not from abstract theories. |

Liberalism

1. Core ideas and principles

| Key term | Definition |
|-------------------------|---|
| Foundational equality | Rights that all humans have by virtue of being born which cannot be taken away (also known as natural rights and inalienable rights). |
| Formal equality | The idea that all individuals have the same legal and political rights in society. |
| Equality of opportunity | The idea that all individuals should have equal chances in life to rise and fall. |
| Social contract | The idea that the state/society is set up with agreement from the people to respect its laws which serve to protect them. |
| Meritocracy | A society organised on the basis that success is based on ability and hard work. |
| Mechanistic theory | The idea that the state was created by 'man' to serve the people and act in their interests. |
| Tolerance | A willingness to respect values, customs and beliefs with which one disagrees. |
| Limited government | The role of government is limited by checks and balances, and a separation of powers because of the corrupting nature of power. |

2. Differing views and tensions within liberalism

| Key term | Definition |
|-----------------------------|--|
| Egoistical individualism | The idea that individual freedom is associated with self-interest and self-reliance (see also atomism). |
| Developmental individualism | The idea that individual freedom is linked to human flourishing. |
| Negative freedom | The absence of external constraints in society as well as no interference in the private sphere. |
| Positive freedom | The idea that freedom is about personal fulfilment and realisation of potential. |
| Laissez-faire capitalism | An economic system, organised by the market, where goods are produced for exchange and profit, and wealth is privately owned. |
| Keynesianism | An economic system that requires government involvement to stimulate the economy to achieve full employment and price stability. |

3. Liberal thinkers and their ideas

| Key term | Definition |
|----------------|---|
| Harm principle | The idea that individuals should be free to do anything except harm other individuals. |
| Minimal state | The idea that the role of the state must be restricted in order to preserve individual liberty. |
| Enabling state | A larger state that helps individuals to achieve their potential and be free. |

Socialism

1. Core ideas and principles

| Key term | Definition |
|------------------|--|
| Fraternity | The bonds of comradeship between human beings. |
| Co-operation | Working collectively to achieve mutual benefits. |
| Capitalism | An economic system, organised by the market, where goods are produced for profit and wealth is privately owned. |
| Common ownership | Is the common ownership of the means of production so that all are able to benefit from the wealth of society and to participate in its running. |
| Communism | The communal organisation of social existence based on the common ownership of wealth. |

2. Differing views and tensions within socialism

| Key term | Definition |
|------------------------|---|
| Evolutionary socialism | A parliamentary route, which would deliver a long-term, radical transformation in a gradual, piecemeal way through legal and peaceful means, via the state. |
| Marxism | An ideological system, within socialism, that drew on the writings of Marx and Engels and has at its core a philosophy of history that explains why it is inevitable that capitalism will be replaced by communism. |
| Revisionism | A move to re-define socialism that involves a less radical view of capitalism and a reformed view of socialism. |
| Social justice | A distribution of wealth that is morally justifiable and implies a desire to limit inequality. |

3. Socialist thinkers and their ideas

| Key term | Definition |
|------------------------|---|
| Class consciousness | The self-understanding of social class that is a historical phenomenon, created out of collective struggle. |
| Historical materialism | Marxist theory that the economic base (the economic system) forms the superstructure (culture, politics, law, ideology, religion, art and social consciousness). |
| Dialectic | A process of development that occurs through the conflict between two opposing forces. In Marxism, class conflict creates internal contradictions within society, which drives historical change. |
| Keynesian economics | Government intervention – can stabilise the economy and aims to deliver full employment and price stability. |

Specimen Exam Paper

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| Write your name here | | |
| Surname | Other names | |
| Pearson Edexcel | Centre Number | Candidate Number |
| Level 3 GCE | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> |
| Politics | | |
| Advanced | | |
| Paper 1: UK Politics and Core Political Ideas | | |
| Sample assessment material for first teaching September 2017 Time: 2 hours | | Paper Reference 9PL0/01 |
| You do not need any other materials, including calculators which are not permitted. | | Total Marks |

Instructions

- Use **black** ink or ball-point pen.
- **Fill in the boxes** at the top of this page with your name, centre number and candidate number.
- There are **two** sections you must answer **three** questions:
 - in Section A answer **either** 1(a) **or** 1(b) **and then either** 2(a) **or** 2(b)
 - in Section B answer **either** 3(a) **or** 3(b).
- Answer the questions in the spaces provided
 - *there may be more space than you need.*

Information

- The total mark for this paper is 84.
- The marks for **each** question are shown in brackets
 - *use this as a guide as to how much time to spend on each question.*

Advice

- Read each question carefully before you start to answer it.
- Check your answers if you have time at the end.

SECTION A: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Answer ONE question from EITHER Question 1(a) on page X OR Question 1(b) on page X and then answer ONE question from EITHER Question 2(a) OR Question 2(b) on page X.

EITHER

- 1 (a) *This source is adapted from a report produced in 2014 by The University of London Constitutional unit, called 'Is Britain Facing a Crisis of Democracy?' The report was based on a four-year research project on this issue.*

'On certain measures, Britain does, indeed, appear to be facing something of a participation crisis in its political system. Levels of trust in government and confidence in the political system are lower than they were little more than a decade ago. Electoral turnout has fallen sharply, most noticeably at the 2001 general election. Meanwhile, the introduction of new political institutions since 1997, designed in part to restore people's trust and confidence, appears to have had little impact.

On the other hand, people do not seem more disengaged from the political system. Participation outside the ballot box has increased somewhat over the last fifteen or so years. Levels of political interest have not fallen, and people remain confident in their own ability to engage with the political process and to believe in the importance of voting at elections.

Perhaps the most reassuring evidence from our research is that which suggests the decline in trust and turnout is not due to long-term social forces, but to short-term political ones. The most plausible explanation for the decline in trust is the public reaction to allegations of misconduct and 'sleaze' on the part of politicians.

These conclusions suggest that the remedies for any 'crisis' largely lie in the hands of politicians themselves. Trust is acquired when words and actions accord with one another. And only a closely fought and clear competition between the parties appears to prompt many citizens to cast their vote. Meanwhile constitutional change should not be regarded as a quick fix. However it would be wise to look to measures to both reform and improve democracy in the UK. Hence, British democracy – and especially its politicians – certainly face a 'challenge'. But talk of a 'crisis' is premature.'

(Source: by Catherine Bromley, John Curtice, and Ben Seyd – <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/spp/publications/unit-publications/112.pdf>)

Using the source, evaluate the view that UK democracy is in crisis.

In your response you must:

- *compare the different opinions in the source*
- *consider the view and the alternative view in a balanced way*
- *use a balance of knowledge and understanding both arising from the source and beyond the source to help you to analyse and evaluate.*

(30)

Do not answer Question 1(b) if you have answered Question 1(a)

OR

- 1 (b) *This source is adapted from information on the Parliament website about the party system and information on the 'Vice magazine' UK website focused on minority parties.*

The party system

Political parties have existed in one form or another since at least the 18th century, they are an essential element of UK politics. Since the Second World War, all the Governments in the UK have been formed by either the Labour Party or the Conservative Party. This did differ in 2010 when the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats formed a coalition government. The major parties capture the main issues of the day and present choice. Furthermore, the current electoral system favours few parties in the race to govern.

Minority parties

'Minority parties' are those that sit outside the traditional big three (Labour, Conservative and Liberal Democrat Parties) and have had power over Parliament for over a century. A significant shift has taken place in politics in recent years, with more people questioning the 'Establishment of Westminster' and looking to parties like the SNP, Plaid Cymru, the Green Party and UKIP.

In 2015, UKIP and the Greens obtained 5 million votes between them, also the SNP reached 56 seats of the 59 available in Scotland, becoming the third largest party in the House of Commons. Minority parties are enjoying success and recognition. A secure victory is now not the expected norm for either Labour or Conservative Parties, they now have much to fear and much to lose from a range of minority parties who are gaining ground.

The voter has little to choose between when looking to the major parties. In terms of policy, there is little that separates the major parties and all the policy they produce is similar, with battles over style as opposed to substance. By contrast, many of the minority parties present a fresh approach to politics.

(Source: from www.parliament.uk – used under Open Parliament Licence v3.0 and adapted from: *The New Wave: Minority Parties – SNP, Plaid Cymru and the Green Party* http://www.vice.com/en_uk/video/the-new-wave-minority-parties)

Using the source, evaluate the view that the major parties still remain the dominant force in UK politics.

In your response you must:

- *compare the different opinions in the source*
- *consider the view and the alternative view in a balanced way*
- *use a balance of knowledge and understanding both arising from the source and beyond the source to help you to analyse and evaluate.*

(30)

AND EITHER

- 2 (a) Evaluate the extent to which general elections in the UK are lost by the government rather than won by the opposition.

You must consider this view and the alternative to this view in a balanced way.

(30)

OR

- (b) Evaluate the extent to which social factors determine voting behaviour.

You must consider this view and the alternative to this view in a balanced way.

(30)

(Total for Question 2 = 30 marks)

SECTION B: CORE POLITICAL IDEAS

Answer ONE question from EITHER Question 3(a) OR Question 3(b).

EITHER

- 3 (a) To what extent do modern and classical liberals agree over the role of the state?

You must use appropriate thinkers you have studied to support your answer and consider both sides in a balanced way.

(24)

OR

- (b) To what extent are different socialists committed to 'equality of outcome'?

You must use appropriate thinkers you have studied to support your answer and consider both sides in a balanced way.

(24)

(Total for Question 3 = 24 marks)

Appendix 1: Question paper command words

The following command words summarise the essential skills required of students in responding to questions. To ensure that students have a full understanding as to how to respond, please refer to the relevant levels-based mark schemes provided in the sample assessment booklet.

| Command word | Definition | AO assessed |
|----------------|--|--|
| Evaluate | To review ideas, issues and/or information and make substantiated judgements and draw conclusions. | AO1 (10 marks) AO2 (10 marks) AO3 (10 marks) |
| To what extent | To review political ideas and make substantiated judgements and draw conclusions. | AO1 (8 marks) AO2 (8 marks) AO3 (8 marks) |
| Analyse | To deconstruct ideas, issues and/or information in detail in order to find connections, similarities and/or differences and provide evidence of reasoned thinking. | AO1 (6 marks) AO2 (6 marks) |
| Examine | To consider an idea/concept carefully and in detail to identify what the idea/concept is and why it exists and compare ideas/concepts. | AO1 (6 marks) AO2 (6 marks) |

Explanation of Assessment Objectives (AO) for A level

| You must be able to: | | % GCE A Level |
|----------------------|--|---------------|
| AO1 | Demonstrate knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and issues. | 35 |
| AO2 | Analyse aspects of politics and political information, including in relation to parallels, connections, similarities and differences. | 35 |
| AO3 | Evaluate aspects of politics and political information, including to construct arguments, make substantiated judgements and draw conclusions. | 30 |
| | Total: | 100% |

Synoptic assessment

Synoptic assessment requires you to work across different parts of a qualification and to show your accumulated knowledge and understanding of a topic or subject area. Synoptic assessment enables you to show your ability to combine your skills, knowledge and understanding with breadth and depth of the subject.

Understanding Objective Assessments

Assessment objective 1 (AO1)

- Knowledge (suggests breadth)
- Understanding (suggests depth)

Demonstrated, for example, by:

- Naming something
- Setting out features/characteristics
- Describing functions
- Surveying information
- Defining terms
- Describing differences
- Supplying examples

Marks for AO1 are gained for accuracy (is it true or false?) and thoroughness (is it comprehensive or limited/superficial?)

Assessment objective 2 (AO2)

Analyse: Break something into its component parts and show how they relate to one another

Demonstrated, for example, by:

- Examining something closely
- Providing explanations (setting out purposes or reasons, or highlighting causal relationships)
- Demonstrating interconnections, similarities and differences
- Showing how two or more things resemble one another, or are connected
- Judging the balance between similarities and differences

Assessment objective 3 (AO3)

Evaluate: Make judgments on significance or value based on evidence

Demonstrated, for example, by:

- Assessing extent (judging how far something happens)
- Measuring effectiveness (judging how far something fulfils its purpose)
- Weighing up importance (judging the impact of something)
- Criticising a viewpoint or statement (judging the strength of an argument)
- Arguing to a conclusion (judging the respective strengths of competing viewpoints)

MARK SCHEMES

Politics Unit 1A/2A – UK Politics and Government - Source 30 Mark question

| Level | Mark | AO1: Knowledge and Understanding | AO2 :Explaining Comparisons and Concepts | AO3:Weighing up to make Judgements |
|---------|-------|--|---|---|
| Level 1 | 1–6 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Points don't relate to the question/source/s Supports points with very few examples /vague knowledge from the source/own knowledge Lacks understanding of political processes, concepts, theories and context | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Doesn't really explain or compare the views in the source/s Little explanation and argument about the similarities and/or differences in the source/s Answer does not use ideas/concepts to explain points | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Little evaluation of the different views in the source/s Simple argument and judgements are made in paragraphs but are not supported or explained In a conclusion the overall judgement is simple and described or does not follow the rest of the answer |
| Level 2 | 7–12 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Points relate to the question/ source/s Supports points with some examples selected from the source/own knowledge Shows some accurate knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and context | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Begins to explain and compare the views in the source/s Max L2 for answers which do not compare the source/s Some explanation and argument about the similarities and/or differences in the source/s Begins to use ideas/concepts to explain points | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some relevant evaluation of some of the different views in the debate from the source/s Simple arguments and judgements are made in paragraphs but are not always supported or explained In a conclusion the overall judgement is clear and party supported and follows rest of answer Max 2 if conclusion does not weigh up different views before making own judgement |
| Level 3 | 13–18 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Points mostly answer the demands of the question/ focus of the source/s Supports points with well selected examples from the source and own knowledge Explains points with mostly accurate knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and context | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Explain and compare the views in the source/s which relate to the debate Mostly focused explanation and argument of the similarities and/or differences in the source/s Mostly connects relevant ideas/concepts to explain points | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mostly relevant evaluation of the different views in the debate from the source/s Some clear/persuasive arguments and judgements are made in paragraphs which are mostly supported or explained In a conclusion the overall judgement is focused, mostly supported and explained |

| | | | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|--|---|--|
| <p>Level 4</p> | <p>19–24</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Points made answer the demands of the question /relate directly to the focus of the source/s • Supports points with precisely selected examples from the source and own knowledge • Explains points with accurate knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and context | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explain and compare the views in the source/s which relate to the debate throughout • Clearly focused explanation and argument of the similarities and/or differences in the source/s • Clearly connects relevant ideas/concepts to explain points | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relevant evaluation of the most of the different views in the debate from the source/s • Many clear/persuasive arguments and judgements are made in paragraphs which are mostly supported or explained • In a conclusion the overall judgement is focused, supported and explained |
| <p>Level 5</p> | <p>25–30</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Points fully answer the demands of the question/relate to several focuses in the source/s • Supports points with a range of precisely selected evidence from the source and own knowledge • Explains thorough and in-depth knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and context | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explain and compare all contrasting views in the source/s which relate to the debate • Clearly focused explanation and argument of the similarities and/or differences in the source/s throughout • Clearly connects relevant ideas/concepts to explain points throughout to fully answer the question | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fully relevant evaluation of all the different views in the debate from the source/s • Clear/persuasive arguments and judgements are made in paragraphs which are fully supported or explained • In a conclusion the overall judgement is fully focused, supported and explained |

Politics Unit 1B and 2B – Core and Non-Core Ideologies 24 Mark question

| Level | Mark | AO1: Knowledge and Understanding | AO2 :Explaining Comparisons and Concepts | AO3:Weighing up to make Judgements |
|---------|-------|--|--|--|
| Level 1 | 1-4 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Points don't relate to the question Supports points with very few examples /vague knowledge Lacks understanding of political processes, concepts, theories and context Makes limited reference to political thinkers' ideas | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Doesn't really explain or compare different views in the debate Little explanation and argument Answer does not use ideas/concepts to explain points | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Little evaluation of different views in the debate Simple argument and judgements are made in paragraphs but are not supported or explained In a conclusion the overall judgement is simple and described or does not follow the rest of the answer |
| Level 2 | 5-9 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Points relate to the question Supports points with some examples Shows some accurate knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and context Make some reference to political thinkers' ideas Max L2 if doesn't mention different political thinkers' ideas | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Begins to explain and compare different views in the debate Max L2 if doesn't balance different views Some explanation and argument Begins to use ideas/concepts to explain points | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some relevant evaluation of some different views in the debate Simple arguments and judgements are made in paragraphs but are not always supported or explained In a conclusion the overall judgement is clear and party supported and follows rest of answer |
| Level 3 | 10-14 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Points mostly answer the demands of the question Supports points with well selected examples Explains points with mostly accurate knowledge and understanding of political institutions, | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Explain and compare different views in the debate Mostly focused explanation and argument Mostly connects relevant ideas/concepts to explain points | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mostly relevant evaluation of the different views in the debate Some clear/persuasive arguments and judgements are made in paragraphs which are mostly supported or explained |

| | | | | |
|---------|-------|---|--|--|
| | | <p>processes, concepts, theories and context</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Refers to</u> different political thinkers' ideas | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In a conclusion the overall judgement is <u>focused, mostly supported and explained</u> |
| Level 4 | 15-19 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Points made answer the demands of the question</u> • Supports points with <u>precisely selected examples</u> • Explains points <u>with accurate knowledge</u> and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and context • <u>Refers to a range</u> of political thinkers' ideas | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explain and compare different views in the debate <u>throughout</u> • <u>Clearly focused</u> explanation and argument • <u>Clearly connects relevant</u> ideas/concepts to explain points | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Relevant</u> evaluation of the most of the different views in the debate • <u>Many clear/persuasive</u> arguments and judgements are made in paragraphs <u>which are mostly supported or explained</u> • In a conclusion the overall judgement is <u>focused, supported and explained</u> |
| Level 5 | 20-24 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Points <u>fully answer</u> the demands of the question/ • Supports points with <u>a range of precisely selected</u> evidence • Explains <u>thorough and in-depth knowledge</u> and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and context • Refers to a <u>full range</u> of political thinkers' ideas | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explain and compare <u>all contrasting</u> views in the debate • Clearly focused explanation and argument <u>throughout</u> • Clearly connects relevant ideas/concepts to explain points <u>throughout to fully answer the question</u> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Fully relevant</u> evaluation of all the different views in the debate • <u>Clear/persuasive</u> arguments and judgements are made in paragraphs <u>which are fully supported or explained</u> • In a conclusion the overall judgement is <u>fully</u> focused, supported and explained |

Politics Unit 2A – Essay 30 Mark question – UK Government

| Level | Mark | AO1: Knowledge and Understanding | AO2 :Explaining Comparisons and Concepts | AO3:Weighing up to make Judgements |
|---------|-------|--|--|--|
| Level 1 | 1–6 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Points don't relate to the question Supports points with very few examples /vague knowledge Lacks understanding of political processes, concepts, theories and context Makes 1-2 synoptic links or references to own knowledge from UK Politics/Political Ideas Units | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Doesn't really explain or compare different views in the debate Little explanation and argument Answer does not use ideas/concepts to explain points | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Little evaluation of different views in the debate Simple argument and judgements are made in paragraphs but are not supported or explained In a conclusion the overall judgement is simple and described or does not follow the rest of the answer |
| Level 2 | 7–12 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Points relate to the question Supports points with some examples Shows some accurate knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and context Makes some synoptic links or references to own knowledge from UK Politics/Political Ideas Units | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Begins to explain and compare different views in the debate Max L2 if doesn't balance different views Some explanation and argument Begins to use ideas/concepts to explain points | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some relevant evaluation of some different views in the debate Simple arguments and judgements are made in paragraphs but are not always supported or explained In a conclusion the overall judgement is clear and party supported and follows rest of answer |
| Level 3 | 13–18 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Points mostly answer the demands of the question Supports points with well selected examples Explains points with mostly accurate knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and context Makes some relevant synoptic links or references to own knowledge from UK Politics/Political Ideas Units | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Explain and compare different views in the debate Mostly focused explanation and argument Mostly connects relevant ideas/concepts to explain points | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mostly relevant evaluation of the different views in the debate Some clear/persuasive arguments and judgements are made in paragraphs which are mostly supported or explained In a conclusion the overall judgement is focused, mostly supported and explained |

| | | | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|---|--|--|
| <p>Level 4</p> | <p>19– 24</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Points made answer the demands of the question</u> • Supports points with <u>precisely selected examples</u> • Explains points <u>with accurate knowledge</u> and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and context • <u>Makes several relevant synoptic links</u> or references to own knowledge from UK Politics/Political Ideas Units | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explain and compare different views in the debate <u>throughout</u> • <u>Clearly focused</u> explanation and argument • <u>Clearly connects relevant</u> ideas/concepts to explain points | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Relevant</u> evaluation of the most of the different views in the debate • <u>Many clear/persuasive</u> arguments and judgements are made in paragraphs <u>which are mostly supported or explained</u> • In a conclusion the overall judgement is focused, <u>supported and explained</u> |
| <p>Level 5</p> | <p>25– 30</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Points <u>fully answer</u> the demands of the question/ • Supports points with <u>a range of precisely selected</u> evidence • Explains <u>thorough and in-depth knowledge</u> and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and context • <u>Makes well selected synoptic links</u> or references to own knowledge from UK Politics/Political Ideas Units • <u>Cannot reach L5 without synoptic links/references</u> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explain and compare <u>all contrasting</u> views in the debate • Clearly focused explanation and argument <u>throughout</u> • Clearly connects relevant ideas/concepts to explain points <u>throughout to fully answer the question</u> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Fully relevant</u> evaluation of all the different views in the debate • <u>Clear/persuasive</u> arguments and judgements are made in paragraphs <u>which are fully supported or explained</u> • In a conclusion the overall judgement is <u>fully</u> focused, supported and explained |

Politics Unit 3A – Comparative Politics 12 Mark Examine Question

| Level | Mark | AO1: Knowledge and Understanding | AO2 :Explaining Comparisons and Concepts |
|------------|-------|--|--|
| Level 1 | 1–3 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Points don't relate to the question Supports points with very few examples /vague knowledge Lacks understanding of political processes, concepts, theories and context | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Doesn't really explain or compare politics in the USA/UK <u>Max L1 if you only mention the UK OR the USA</u> Little explanation and argument about the similarities and/or differences between the UK/USA Answer does not use ideas/concepts to explain points |
| Level 2 | 4-6 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <u>Points relate</u> to the question Supports points with <u>some examples</u> <u>Shows some accurate</u> knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and context | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <u>Begins to</u> explain and compare politics in the USA/UK <u>Some</u> explanation and argument about the similarities and/or differences between the UK/USA Begins to use ideas/concepts to explain points |
| Level 3 | 7-9 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Points <u>mostly answer</u> the demands of the question Supports points with <u>well selected examples</u> <u>Explains points with mostly accurate</u> knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and context | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <u>Explains and compares</u> politics in the USA/UK <u>Mostly focused</u> explanation and argument of the similarities and/or differences between the UK/USA <u>Mostly connects relevant</u> ideas/concepts to explain points |
| Level 4 | 10-12 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <u>Points made answer the demands of the question</u> Supports points with <u>precisely selected examples</u> Explains points <u>with accurate knowledge</u> and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and context | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Explain and compares politics in the USA/UK <u>throughout</u> <u>Clearly focused</u> explanation and argument of the similarities and/or differences between the UK/USA <u>Clearly connects relevant</u> ideas/concepts to explain points |

Politics Unit 3B – Comparative Politics 12 Mark Analyse Question

| Level | Mark | AO1: Knowledge and Understanding | AO2 :Explaining Comparisons and Concepts |
|---------|-------|--|--|
| Level 1 | 1–3 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Points don't relate to the question • Supports points with very few examples /vague knowledge • Lacks understanding of political processes, concepts, theories and context • Limited comparative theory used | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Doesn't really explain or compare politics in the USA/UK • <u>Max L1 if you only mention the UK OR the USA</u> • Little explanation and argument about the similarities and/or differences between the UK/USA • Answer does not use ideas/concepts to explain points |
| Level 2 | 4-6 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Points relate</u> to the question • Supports points with <u>some examples</u> • <u>Shows some accurate</u> knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and context • <u>Some relevant</u> comparative theory used | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Begins to</u> explain and compare politics in the USA/UK • <u>Some</u> explanation and argument about the similarities and/or differences between the UK/USA • Begins to use ideas/concepts to explain points |
| Level 3 | 7-9 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Points <u>mostly answer</u> the demands of the question • Supports points with <u>well selected examples</u> • <u>Explains points with mostly accurate</u> knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and context • <u>Relevant</u> comparative theory used • <u>Max L3 with no comparative theory used</u> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Explains and compares</u> politics in the USA/UK • <u>Mostly focused</u> explanation and argument of the similarities and/or differences between the UK/USA • <u>Mostly connects relevant</u> ideas/concepts to explain points |
| Level 4 | 10-12 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Points made answer the demands of the question</u> • Supports points with <u>precisely selected examples</u> • Explains points <u>with accurate knowledge</u> and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and context • Comparative theory is <u>used effectively to answer the Q -</u> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explain and compares politics in the USA/UK <u>throughout</u> • <u>Clearly focused</u> explanation and argument of the similarities and/or differences between the UK/USA • <u>Clearly connects relevant</u> ideas/concepts to explain points |

Politics Unit 3C – Essay 30 Mark question – UK/US Politics

| Level | Mark | AO1: Knowledge and Understanding | AO2 :Explaining Comparisons and Concepts | AO3:Weighing up to make Judgements |
|---------|-------|---|--|--|
| Level 1 | 1–6 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Points don't relate to the question Supports points with very few examples /vague knowledge Lacks understanding of political processes, concepts, theories and context | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Doesn't really explain or compare different views in the debate Little explanation and argument Answer does not use ideas/concepts to explain points | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Little evaluation of different views in the debate Simple argument and judgements are made in paragraphs but are not supported or explained In a conclusion the overall judgement is simple and described or does not follow the rest of the answer |
| Level 2 | 7–12 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Points relate to the question Supports points with some examples Shows some accurate knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and context | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Begins to explain and compare different views in the debate Max L2 if doesn't balance different views Some explanation and argument Begins to use ideas/concepts to explain points | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some relevant evaluation of some different views in the debate Simple arguments and judgements are made in paragraphs but are not always supported or explained In a conclusion the overall judgement is clear and party supported and follows rest of answer |
| Level 3 | 13–18 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Points mostly answer the demands of the question Supports points with well selected examples Explains points with mostly accurate knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and context | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Explain and compare different views in the debate Mostly focused explanation and argument Mostly connects relevant ideas/concepts to explain points | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mostly relevant evaluation of the different views in the debate Some clear/persuasive arguments and judgements are made in paragraphs which are mostly supported or explained In a conclusion the overall judgement is focused, mostly supported and explained |

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| <p>Level 4</p> | <p>19–24</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Points made answer the demands of the question</u> • Supports points with <u>precisely selected examples</u> • Explains points <u>with accurate knowledge</u> and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and context | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explain and compare different views in the debate <u>throughout</u> • <u>Clearly focused</u> explanation and argument • <u>Clearly connects relevant</u> ideas/concepts to explain points | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Relevant</u> evaluation of the most of the different views in the debate • <u>Many clear/persuasive</u> arguments and judgements are made in paragraphs <u>which are mostly</u> supported or explained • In a conclusion the overall judgement is focused, <u>supported and explained</u> |
| <p>Level 5</p> | <p>25–30</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Points <u>fully answer</u> the demands of the question/ • Supports points with <u>a range of precisely selected</u> evidence • Explains <u>thorough and in-depth knowledge</u> and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and context | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explain and compare <u>all contrasting</u> views in the debate • Clearly focused explanation and argument <u>throughout</u> • Clearly connects relevant ideas/concepts to explain points <u>throughout to fully answer the question</u> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Fully relevant</u> evaluation of all the different views in the debate • <u>Clear/persuasive</u> arguments and judgements are made in paragraphs <u>which are fully</u> supported or explained • In a conclusion the overall judgement is <u>fully</u> focused, supported and explained |