



National
Qualifications
2024

X858/76/12

**Politics
Paper 2**

TUESDAY, 14 MAY

11:15 AM – 12:30 PM

Total marks — 28

Attempt **BOTH** questions.

Write your answers clearly in the answer booklet provided. In the answer booklet you must clearly identify the question number you are attempting.

Use **blue** or **black** ink.

Before leaving the examination room you must give your answer booklet to the Invigilator; if you do not you may lose all the marks for this paper.



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Total marks — 28
Attempt BOTH questions

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

SOURCE A

Traditional Labour

‘Traditional’ Labour describes the Labour Party from its conception in the early twentieth century until the mid-1990s.

The Labour Party had its origins in socialist ideas and were positioned towards the left of the political spectrum. This involved supporting social equality and trying to reduce levels of disadvantage. As such, the Labour Party was generally in favour of high taxation in order to fund public services such as health and education. For example, the redistribution of wealth allowed Attlee’s Labour Government to introduce the National Insurance Act 1946 which provided sickness and unemployment benefits, and also to create the NHS in 1948. Labour believed strongly in the Welfare State as a ‘safety net’ for those in need and that wealth should be redistributed to improve the life chances of citizens as this in turn would positively improve wider society for all.

As the 1980s progressed, it became apparent that the Labour Party was beginning to lose support from many of their core voters, arguably due to their frustrations at Labour’s inability to improve the economy. They were perceived by some voters as being too focused on opposition to the privatisation of industries such as coal and gas, which were often criticised for being inefficient. The 1980s was viewed by some political commentators as being a decade of unmitigated failure for the Labour Party. There was an appetite for change and a desire for the economy to be reinvigorated in order to have further growth and improved employment opportunities. This was at odds with the Clause in their parties’ constitution (Clause IV) which stipulated the need for common ownership and nationalisation. This had been in place since 1917 and was at the heart of the Labour Party’s values.

The Labour Party was created from the trade union movement in order to provide the opportunity for working people to have their voice heard. Traditionally, the Labour Party closely associated itself with trade unions and as such, supported the rights of trade unions to take action such as strike action or an overtime ban. Many Labour politicians had previously been involved with the trade union movement such as Nye Bevan, who was a Labour cabinet minister and former trade union official. Labour were routinely beaten at the ballot box as many voters were not convinced by their close associations with trade unions, their policies or their leadership. As a result, Labour were in opposition to the Conservative Party for a period of 18 years, including the landslide victories of the Thatcher government in both 1983 and 1987, much to the frustration of many party members and supporters.

1. (continued)

SOURCE B

New Labour

'New Labour' covers the period in the Labour Party's history from the mid-1990s until 2010.

Following the sudden death of the Labour leader John Smith, Tony Blair became the leader of the Labour Party in 1994, beating both Margaret Beckett and John Prescott in a leadership contest. Blair emerged victorious winning 57% of the vote and it was clear from the outset that he had strong ideas about how best to improve the party's electoral success. Blair was of the view that Labour had to change direction as, in its current form, it risked increasingly missing out on electoral support from groups of voters in society. As such, it was decided to change Clause IV of the party's constitution, removing the party's commitment to common ownership of means of production. This was viewed as a controversial move by some as this clause had significantly emphasised Labour's social identity and key values. By modifying Clause IV there was an acknowledgement that there had to be a shift in focus, embracing a market economy.

New Labour decided to explore public/private initiatives to fund social infrastructure such as new schools and hospitals. Moving towards a more central political position meant that New Labour were able to attract the support of more voters. Increasingly, New Labour were appealing to middle class voters who had previously been considered more likely to vote for the Conservative Party. These changes were reflected in the 1997 general election where Labour won a landslide victory. They won 418 seats in the House of Commons compared to the Conservatives, who only won 165. This success was a result of a wider strategy to occupy the middle ground which became known as the 'Third Way' and New Labour becoming a 'catch-all' party.

Under Blair's leadership, New Labour accepted changes to trade unions, such as the legislation that had been brought in under the previous Conservative Government. One of the ways New Labour sought to change their relationship with trade unions was by reducing their influence within the party. This involved reducing the number of union representatives on the party's national executive committee and limiting the power of the unions to nominate candidates for parliamentary seats. This was a departure from the previous approach which strongly supported trade unions. Whilst New Labour still relied on trade union support, Blair said that the relationship between Labour and trade unions would be characterised by 'fairness not favours'.

Use only the information in Sources A and B.

Compare the key changes between traditional Labour and New Labour.

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

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[Turn over

2. Study Sources A–F then attempt the question which follows.

SOURCE A % voting for Democratic presidential candidate by age, race and income, 2016 and 2020

Age

	18–24	25–29	30–39	40–49	50+
2016 — Hillary Clinton	56	53	51	46	44
2020 — Joe Biden	65	54	51	54	47

Race

	White	Black	Latino	Asian	Other
2016 — Hillary Clinton	37	88	65	65	56
2020 — Joe Biden	41	87	65	61	55

Income

	Under \$30,000	\$30,000–49,000	\$50,000–99,999	\$100,000–199,000	\$200,000+
2016 — Hillary Clinton	53	51	46	47	48
2020 — Joe Biden	54	56	57	41	44

SOURCE B % voting for Republican presidential candidate by age, race and income, 2016 and 2020

Age

	18–24	25–29	30–39	40–49	50+
2016 — Donald Trump	35	39	40	50	53
2020 — Donald Trump	31	43	46	44	52

Race

	White	Black	Latino	Asian	Other
2016 — Donald Trump	58	8	29	29	37
2020 — Donald Trump	58	12	32	34	41

Income

	Under \$30,000	\$30,000–49,000	\$50,000–99,999	\$100,000–199,000	\$200,000+
2016 — Donald Trump	41	42	50	48	49
2020 — Donald Trump	46	43	42	58	44

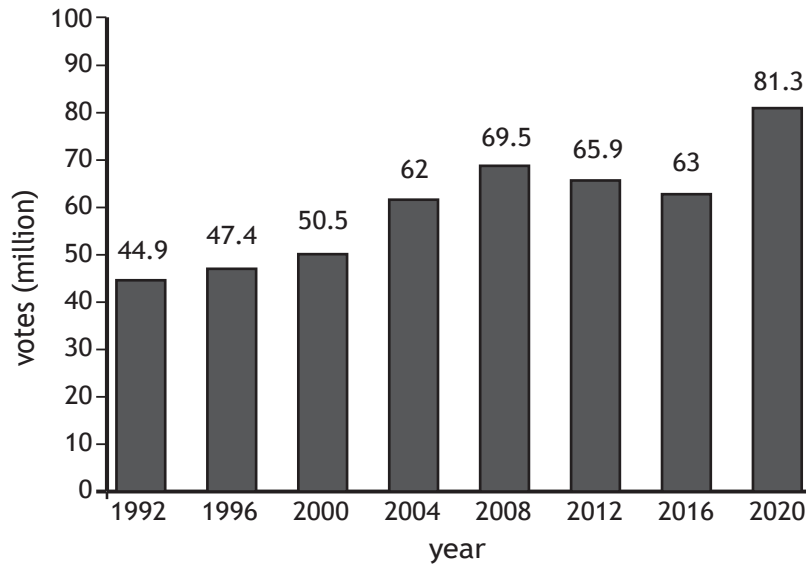
2. (continued)

SOURCE C Winning presidential election results, 1992–2020

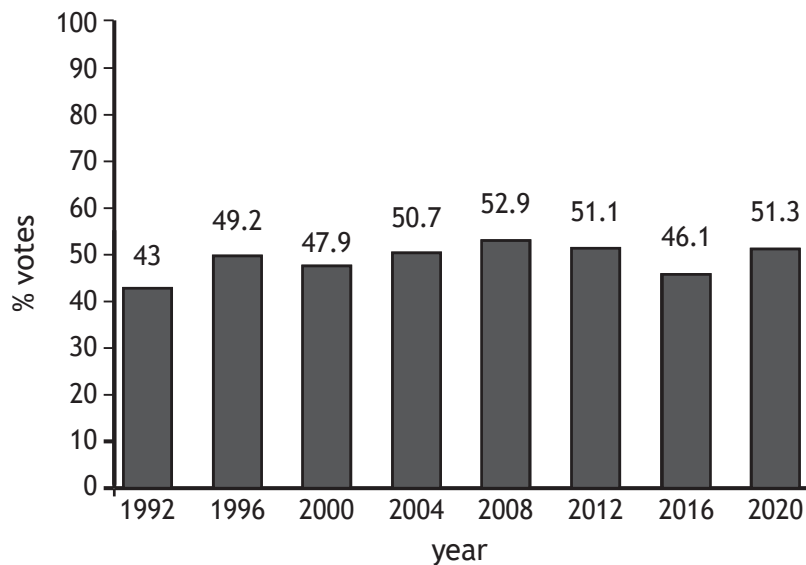
Election year	Candidate	Political party	Electoral College votes received	% Electoral College votes received
1992	Bill Clinton	Democrats	370	68.8
1996	Bill Clinton	Democrats	379	70.4
2000	George W. Bush	Republican	271	50.4
2004	George W. Bush	Republican	286	53.2
2008	Barack Obama	Democrats	365	67.8
2012	Barack Obama	Democrats	332	61.7
2016	Donald Trump	Republican	306	56.9
2020	Joe Biden	Democrats	306	56.9

SOURCE D Presidential election results statistics

Number of votes received in presidential elections by winning candidate, 1992–2020



% votes received in presidential elections by winning candidate, 1992–2020



SOURCE E Top ten donations to candidates' congressional campaigns, 2022

Top ten biggest donors	Amount (\$) given to Republican Party candidates	Amount (\$) given to Democratic Party candidates
George Soros	0	178,810,550
Richard Uihlein	89,758,039	0
Kenneth C. Griffin	68,571,500	2,900
Jeffrey and Janine Yass	56,241,400	0
Michael R. Bloomberg	0	49,528,825
Timothy Mellon	41,735,815	10,700
Sam Bankman-Fried	37,650,390	286,700
Stephen A. Schwarzman	37,395,642	0
Fred Eychaner	0	35,804,800
Peter Thiel	35,373,342	0
Totals	366,726,128	264,444,475

SOURCE F Spending and turnout in US elections, 2012–2022

Election	Total spending (\$ billions)*	Turnout (% voting-eligible population)
2012 presidential	3.4	58
2012 congressional	4.7	58.6
2014 congressional	4.8	36.7
2016 presidential	2.9	59.2
2016 congressional	5.1	60.1
2018 congressional	6.7	50
2020 presidential	6.5	66.9
2020 congressional	9.9	66.6
2022 congressional	8.9	46.8

*Adjusted for inflation

In the 2016 US presidential election, Donald Trump defeated Hillary Clinton by large margins in all sections of society. In 2020, this trend was reversed when Trump lost by large margins in most sections of society. By all measures Joe Biden is the most successful Democratic presidential candidate in recent years. The 2022 congressional elections were the most expensive ever, with Democratic donors being more generous than Republican donors. Between 2016 and 2020, turnout increased significantly at both presidential and congressional level.

Use only the information in Sources A–F.

To what extent does the evidence contained in these sources support the viewpoint above?

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