

2003 Modern Studies

Advanced Higher

Finalised Marking Instructions

STUDY THEME 1: COMPARATIVE POLITICS AND RESEARCH METHODS

SECTION A

Marks

1. Context A: Functions of Political Parties

To what extent has there been a revival of centre right political parties in the UK (including Scotland) and either the USA or Germany in recent years? (30)

General points:

- Quality answers will have a coherent structure and balanced analysis.
- High quality answers will compare across their chosen countries regularly throughout the answer rather than having a large section on the UK and a smaller section on either the USA or Germany tagged on at the end. Expect more emphasis on the UK from most candidates.
- Credit highly philosophical discussion about the nature of what is now meant by centre-right in relation to UK and either US or German politics.
- Reward up to date exemplification.
- Credit candidates who make implicit conclusions throughout the essay.
- One-sided responses should merit a maximum of 14 marks.

UK (including Scotland)

Expect some reference to some of the following:

- Overall some patchy evidence of revival of Conservative Party but hardly sustained or spectacular.
- Conservative performance in the 1999 Scottish Parliament elections. The importance of AMS for gaining representation.
- The 2001 General Election result and the failure to make any significant inroads into Labour's majority – look for some detailed discussion of the reasons for this.
- Performance in by-elections has been poor.
- Some decent performances in local elections and in the European elections. The low turnout and anti-Euro stance may be factors here.
- Opinion poll evidence does not indicate any serious signs of sustained revival. Expect candidates to allude to the reasons for this.
- Credit any other relevant arguments.

USA

- Regaining of Presidency and control of Congress indicates a shift; however, debate about the Presidential result in 2000.
- Debate about whether Gore threw election by moving too far to the left in 2000. Clinton already a 'right-wing' Democrat.
- Loss of Republican control of the Senate due to defection on one senator who was unhappy with the Bush legislative agenda.
- Congressional elections in November 2002 – Republicans now control both houses.
- Varied picture at local/state level. Most Governorships in Republican hands.
- Credit any other relevant arguments.

Germany

- Coalition the norm so acts as a filter for the more extreme excesses of right and left.
- Loss of federal control in 1998 after 16 years in control.
- Some progress made in various Lander, albeit in coalition.
- CDU and their leader (E. Stoiber) have been consistently ahead of SPD and G. Shroeder in opinion poll evidence.
- Results of the 2002 elections (CDU/CSU increased their vote but not enough to form a government) and reasons to help explain this.
- CDU won in two Lander – lower Saxony and Hesse
- Credit any other relevant arguments.

2. Context B: Functions of Elections

Account for the patterns in electoral turnout and voting behaviour in recent years in the UK (including Scotland) and either the USA or Germany.

(30)

- Quality answers will have a coherent structure and balanced analysis.
- High quality answers will compare across their chosen countries regularly throughout the essay. Expect most reference to the UK.
- Reward up to date exemplification.
- Credit candidates who make implicit conclusions throughout the essay.
- This may be a difficult question for candidates to structure coherently: some allowance may be made here. If a quality answer deals with one aspect only award a maximum of 17/30.

UK (including Scotland)

- Turnout declining at General Elections. Look for reasons to help explain this eg lack of divergence between the two major parties; disillusionment with politics; lack of credible alternative to New Labour.
- Scottish Parliament turnout – too early for any discernible patterns but low. Issue of PR.
- Local and European elections – low turnout and reasons for.
- Voting behaviour – continued decline in class voting; 'catch all' development; significant tactical voting in 1997 and 2001; Conservative Party still lacking in credibility; issue voting; Scottish Parliament – tactical use of second vote for minority parties such as Greens and SSP.
- Credit any other relevant arguments.

USA

- Turnout traditionally low, especially at local/state level.
- Look for development of the reasons for low turnout eg necessity to register; voter turnout high amongst those who actually register; lack of ideological division between Republicans and Democrats.
- Many candidates may develop lines of argument related to the debacle of the 2000 Presidential result. This is acceptable but do not over-credit such a narrow perspective.
- Voting behaviour – factors might include: geographic patterns, ethnic patterns, socio-economic divisions, third party factors eg Reform Party, Ralph Nader factor etc.
- Credit any other relevant arguments.

Germany

- Traditional pattern is for high turnout at all levels.
- Falling trend in voter turnout but relative to UK/USA it is still high
- Credit well developed reasons to help explain recent trends in voter turnout.
- Voting behaviour – look for developments related to 'catch all' nature of politics; socio-economic divisions; religious divisions eg with the CSU in Bavaria; Greens have significant following and achieved higher vote in 2002 election; position of the old Communist Party in Eastern Germany; other factors eg ticket splitting under AMS to facilitate coalitions.
- Credit any other relevant arguments.

3. Context C: Decision-making in Central Government

"Governments have not provided clear leadership in recent times. Instead, they have been led by outside influences such as pressure groups, the media and public opinion."

Discuss with reference to the UK (including Scotland) and either the USA or Germany.

(30)

- Quality answers will have a coherent structure and balanced analysis. This will be difficult for candidates, as this question is a broad one open to a wide variety of interpretations. Credit those who outline their understanding of the question and give their response a particular focus and appropriate prioritisation.
- High quality answers will compare and contrast across their chosen countries.
- Reward up to date exemplification.
- Credit candidates who make implicit conclusions throughout the essay.

Some factors that may emerge include:

UK (including Scotland)

- Conflict with Iraq – Government going against public opinion.
- New Labour's approach over the Euro and European issues more widely.
- The fuel protests.
- PPP.
- The agricultural crisis and knock-on effects eg BSE, Foot & Mouth, impact on the tourist industry.
- Tensions within a Scottish context due to coalition.
- Countryside Alliance led to some modifications to government policy.
- Credit any other relevant well-discussed analysis.

USA

- Conflict with Iraq.
- Clinton's failed health-care reforms.
- The Welfare Reform Bill.
- The Lewinsky Affair.
- Environmental issues.
- Gun control.
- The 'War on Terrorism' – discussion of whether a populist measure or a conviction based approach by 'some' within the US Executive.
- Credit up to date exemplifications and any other relevant arguments.

Germany

- Influence of the Greens re nuclear policy.
- Government's attempts to appease public opinion on Germany's position with regard to the 'War on Terrorism' and distancing itself from the USA's hard line approach.
- Government was very pro-Euro and did not waver despite growing concerns in public opinion in the period 1999 onwards.
- Credit any other relevant arguments.

4. Context D: Central and Devolved/State Government

"In recent years the relationship between central governments and devolved/state governments has been characterised by conflict rather than co-operation."

Discuss with reference to the UK and either the USA or Germany.

(30)

- Quality answers will have a coherent structure and balanced analysis.
- Candidates may offer a variety of interpretations. Do not expect a standardised approach to this question. Credit candidates who outline their structure at the outset and offer sustained analysis.
- Reward up to date exemplification.
- Credit candidates who make implicit conclusions throughout the essay.

Some points that may arise include:

UK (including Scotland)

- Discussion around the UK position with a Labour Government in Westminster and a Lab-Lib Democrat coalition in Holyrood and Wales. This leads to less of a confrontational set of circumstances than might be the case in future. Expect candidate to allude to the reasoning behind their arguments here.
- Conflict between Labour Government and Ken Livingston over PPP for the London underground.
- Debate and discussion in Scotland about the Scottish Executive's use of Sewell Convention to ensure conformity with the UK on a number of devolved issues.

USA/Germany

- The debate in the USA of a 'Disunited States of America' due to lack of central direction and greater decentralisation favoured by the Republicans. Many Democrats fear the USA is now too fragmented in its decision-making leading to greater inequalities between states and individual citizens.
- In the USA and Germany conflicts arise due to the different political views of the states/lander to those of the Federal Government.
- In Germany the Federal Government is having significant difficulty in reforming the education system due to it being a responsibility of the lander.
- Credit any other relevant arguments.

SECTION B

Marks

1. **"Political parties and researchers often follow up surveys and opinion polls with face to face individual interviews or telephone interviews that can be semi-structured or structured in design."**
- (a) **Describe the advantages and disadvantages of using either semi-structured or structured individual interviews as a follow-up to earlier research.** (10)
- If candidates attempt to answer both semi-structured and structured mark both and reward the higher of the two as a final mark.
 - Go to a maximum of three marks for any one point fully developed and exemplified.
 - If only advantages or disadvantages alluded to, go to a maximum of six marks.
 - The answer does not have to be equally balanced for full marks. It could be achieved by six marks for advantages and four for disadvantages or vice versa.
 - Look for development and exemplification of points rather than listing. Do not over credit list type responses as the candidate must show an understanding as well as a knowledge of the issue under discussion.
- (b) **Outline some of the limitations of telephone interviewing as a follow-up to earlier research.** (5)
- A maximum of three marks for any one fully developed point.
 - Two points well developed may merit full marks.
 - Award greater credit for those responses that relate specifically to the context of research rather than generalised responses.
 - Credit exemplifications.
2. (a) **What problems might arise from using the information in this table for comparison purposes when reviewing UK Referenda?** (5)
- A maximum of three marks for any one fully developed point.
 - Two problems may merit full marks if developed enough.
 - Points to consider might include – not all UK wide referenda, time issues and importance of events at the time. These could affect turnout significantly.
- (b) **Outline the advantages of using the table to predict a "low" turnout for referenda on the "the single currency" and "electoral reform for Westminster".** (5)
- A maximum of three marks for any one fully developed points.
 - Two advantages may merit full marks if well developed.
 - Points to consider might include – turnout levels generally low, the issues under discussion might not be of great importance to the general public.

(c) **What additional information would a researcher require when trying to predict more accurately the turnout for a referendum on either "a single currency" or "electoral reform for Westminster"?** (5)

- Do not double credit if candidates answer in relation to both issues. If both are attempted, mark both and credit the section that attains most marks. Disregard the other section for marks purposes.
- Two points well developed may merit full marks.
- Issues could include – opinion poll evidence; focus group input etc.

STUDY THEME 2: LAW AND ORDER AND RESEARCH METHODS

SECTION A

Marks

1. Context A: Theories of Law and Order

"Legislation intended to protect the rights of the individual has brought little benefit to the vast majority. Instead it has merely acted as a legal shield to that minority who seek to break the law and a legal impediment to those who seek to bring them to justice."

(30)

General Points

- Quality answers will have a good structure, balance and coherence.
- Candidates should draw a well balanced conclusion at the end, but credit highly candidates who draw valid and reliable conclusions which they have based on the evidence presented throughout.
- Reward up to date exemplification.

Candidates should exhibit a broad range of both knowledge and analysis in order to answer this question well.

A response that merits an 'A' will exhibit a depth **of both** knowledge and analysis.

The response can be expected in two parts.

Part One – Candidates are required to exhibit knowledge of recent legislation and how this intended to protect individual rights. This knowledge will then be subject to analysis which will allow a conclusion to be drawn as to the extent this has benefited the public at large.

Part Two – Candidates may concentrate on the second part of the question. In this part of the response there should be knowledge of concerns raised about legislation by the police, politicians, legal experts and the general public. These concerns should be analysed and a conclusion drawn to see if these are indeed an impediment to justice and a legal shield for criminals.

Responses will vary greatly but expect reference to the following:-

For Part One – Human Rights Act incorporated in Scots Law 1999 (rest of UK 2001) with benefits being:

- Comprehensive across all areas of social life.
- Common across all EU countries.
- Enforceable through UK courts without previous need for recourse to Europe.
- Sets individual rights out clearly in one document for the first time ever in the UK.
- Change of culture in terms of law making and the judicial process with respect to individual rights.

Candidates may also refer to:

- Data Protection Act
- Consumer Credit Act
- Freedom of Information Act

These should be analysed and a conclusion drawn as to the extent they benefit individuals.

For Part Two – References to legislation may well be topical, such as:

- Minimum sentencing powers curbed as in high profile cases such as Jamie Bulger etc.
- All life sentences issued prior to 1999 are having to be reviewed on a case by case basis to ensure they comply with legislation.
- Concerns raised by the police about cases dismissed as 'minor' technical breaches.
- Judges' interpretation of the act criticised by some in the legal profession as being too strict and too literal.
- Individual rights being defended at the expense of the rights of groups in society.
- Lack of political control and thus democratic accountability argued by some politicians (mainly Conservative, but not exclusively)
- Many areas still remain open to interpretation and require to be tested in Law.
- Freedom of Information Act an improvement but much still remains held at Government discretion.
- More information available in Scotland than the rest of the UK.

2. Context B: Crime and Public Disorder in the UK

Examine the belief that crime has a major social and economic impact only on the working class.

(30)

General Points

- Quality answers will have a good structure, balance and coherence.
- Candidates should draw a well balanced conclusion at the end; however, credit highly the response that draws conclusions throughout the answer.
- Reward up to date exemplification.

Candidates can be expected to outline various theoretical explanations for crime and victimisation and mix these with some hard evidence to substantiate their theories. Most responses will argue the case that this belief is true; **however**, if a candidate fails to acknowledge that there are arguments to the contrary then the candidate cannot achieve a mark higher than 14. Examination rather than reiteration is the key to a good response.

Candidates are likely to refer to:

- Classic Marxist theory with poor being victims of capitalism – laws being written in favour of business classes and at the expense of the proletariat.
- New Left thinking which accepts much of the traditional Marxist theory.
- Structuralists.
- Contrasting theories of victimology.

Candidates are likely to support arguments with evidence such as:

- Official crime statistics show that crime is concentrated most heavily in poor and inner city areas.
- The British Crime Survey shows that poorer people are more likely to be the victims of violent crime and have the greatest fear of crime.
- Other victim surveys confirm the findings of the BCS.
- Poor are less likely to be protected from crime (alarms, security etc).
- Poor are more likely to suffer serious economic impact from crimes such as burglary and theft because they are less likely to be insured
- Criminal compensation is less for the poor as it is based on lost potential income
- Realist Victimology eg Walkgate, Kinsey, Crawford argues that for many of the poor, ethnic minorities and women, crime is not a rare occurrence; and the fear of the crime is a real experience
- Credit any other relevant points.

In examining the case against this belief candidates may also consider:

- Crime ultimately has an economic effect on all sections of society as crime costs money which is ultimately paid for by the taxpayer. Those paying more tax ultimately pay the higher price.
- Insurance premiums based on crime levels rise for all.
- Class based analysis is out of date – working class either no longer exists or is so difficult to accurately identify that the premise of the question is invalid.
- Positivist victimology – as used in BCS says an average person over the age of 16 can expect an assault once every century, family car stolen once every 60 years' and burglary of the family home once every 40 years. Thus crime is not a major problem and so the effects are over-exaggerated.
- The social effects of crime are felt by everyone as it destroys the environment and forces people to change their behaviour.
- Middle and upper classes are victims of white collar and corporate crime in the same way as everyone else.
- Although it is fair to say that the poorer sections of society are more likely to be victims of violent crime in the street (not in the home) other crimes have a greater spread of victims.
- Crime statistics are unreliable as they show crime levels where police efforts are concentrated. If police efforts were concentrated in other areas then different trends would materialise.
- Credit any other relevant points.

The arguments should be synthesised and a valid and reliable conclusion should be drawn.

3. Context C: Responses to Crime and Public Disorder in the UK

Critically analyse the assertion that "community policing has failed".

(30)

Candidates should respond to this question in a balanced manner making points for and against the assertion. Candidates who fail to examine both sides should receive a maximum mark of 14.

An 'A' pass will contain not only a lot of knowledge, but also a high degree of analysis with conclusions drawn throughout the response as well as the end.

For

- Crime statistics show an increasing level of violent offences and theft.
- The latest British Crime Survey shows the public have an increasing fear of crime and a belief that crime is getting worse.
- Crime initiatives based on a modified Zero Tolerance approach, such as the Spotlight Initiative in Strathclyde and Nottingham have proved more successful in terms of tackling crimes of violence and theft.
- Police Forces across the country are abandoning community based approaches and returning to reactive policing.
- The Police have failed to persuade the public and the politicians of the need for the extra resources required to make 'community policing' a success. Clearly they are not persuaded by the merits of the case.
- Community policing only works where there is some form of defined cohesive community. Many of the areas of high crime are areas where the community has lost its cohesion and thus its ability to react to crime and policing in a positive manner. (This argument can be used for both sides of the argument – as a failure because it has failed to halt disintegration).
- Community Policing has failed to attract a significant number of officers from ethnic minority backgrounds into the police.

Against

- Community policing has never had the resources it requires and has thus never been properly tested in this country.
- Community policing cannot by itself tackle crime. Crime has to be tackled in a much wider sense than just through policing. Thus it is possible that rising crime is down to the failure of other factors or initiatives.
- Most police forces have had to abandon 'community policing' as they do not have the resources (particularly manpower) to tackle the problems.
- Community Policing requires the police to have within their ranks a true reflection of the population at large. Thus community policing cannot hope to gain the trust of the public until they are representative of the community they serve (eg initiatives in Northern Ireland which are not mirrored on the mainland).
- Crime statistics show that overall crime is dropping.
- Community Policing only works where there is some form of defined cohesive community. Many of the areas of high crime are areas where the community has lost its cohesion and thus its ability to react to crime and policing in a positive manner. (This argument can be used for both sides of the argument – in support of community policing because it is not the fault of the community policing itself). However, the candidate must make it clear in their response which way they are interpreting this argument.
- Any other relevant points.

4. Context D: The Penal System

"Prisons will always fail in terms of rehabilitation in democratic societies, as rehabilitation is a long term process. No politician that seeks re-election for themselves, or their party, will sanction the investment required to introduce properly funded rehabilitation schemes. After all, the benefits of these schemes may not be seen for a generation."

Discuss in relation to the views outlined in the statement above.

(30)

General points

- Quality answers will have a good structure, balance and coherence.
- Candidates should draw a well balanced conclusion at the end; however, credit highly the candidate that draws conclusions throughout the response.
- Reward up to date exemplification.

Markers can expect a wide range of responses to this question as there are a lot of different areas for the candidate to explore, however, the crux of the question is about rehabilitation and the extent to which it fails because of under-funding. Credit highly reference to experience outwith the UK, but do not penalise a candidate that bases their response solely on the UK experience. To that end expect some of the following arguments to be put forward.

For

- Prisons have become places of incarceration – due to increasing numbers and a shortage of resources. Rehabilitation is expensive and thus in a system where resources are under pressure it is one of the first things to be cut.
- Re-offending rates for Scottish prisons remain depressingly high. This experience is mirrored throughout most democratic societies.
- Many prisons in the UK date back to the Victorian era where incarceration was a more important design consideration rather than rehabilitation.
- Experience of successful rehabilitation schemes such as the Special Unit in Barlinnie or the sex offenders unit in Peterhead is that these are placed in jeopardy, and their long term future in doubt despite their acknowledged success, due to financial considerations.
- There is no political capital to be gained on spending money on unseen rehabilitation.
- Public mood in times of rising crime is for retribution rather than rehabilitation. This is particularly true in UK and USA.
- Credit any other relevant points.

Against

- Some successful rehabilitation schemes are in operation in UK jails and are well resourced (look for concrete examples).
- Taking control of spending places prison funding out of democratic control and thereby accountability.
- Successful rehabilitation schemes operate all over the democratic world eg Sex offenders in Denmark, violent offenders in Pennsylvania.
- Scandinavian countries have traditionally placed greater emphasis on the rehabilitative element than the UK.
- Argument put forward by the chief of the prison service that by the time some offenders reach the prison service they are already beyond rehabilitation and that rehabilitation should take place much earlier to allow it a chance to succeed.
- Rehabilitation has to take place outside of prison, and to that end to allow proper rehabilitation to take place societal attitudes towards those with a criminal background need to change.
- Credit any other relevant points.

Answers should be presented with a valid and reliable conclusion.

SECTION B

Marks

Question 1

- (a) **Describe the advantages of using postal questionnaires as a method of large-scale research.** (5)

- Allows a large geographical spread of information to be collated from a single base.
- Relatively cheap way of conducting large scale research.
- Gives a standardised response without human interference.
- Gives a large bank of quantitative data to use.
- Any other valid reason

Award up to a maximum of three marks for each well-developed point.

- (b) **Outline some of the limitations of telephone interviewing as a follow-up to earlier research.** (5)

- Difficulties faced in contacting people so random sample may not result eg people who are available at certain hours of the day.
- Time gap between the two parts of research.
- Cost.
- Interviews are not carried out face to face and therefore not as easy to gauge reaction and pursue further.
- Responses can be open to bias or misinterpretation by researchers.
- Difficult to verify the respondent.
- Any other valid criticism.

Award up to a maximum of three marks for each well-developed point.

- (c) **Suggest, giving reasons, one alternative method of conducting this particular piece of research.** (5)

Credit any valid and reliable form of conducting this research; alternatives may include.

- Internet-based research through web site/e-mail.
- Researchers conducting questionnaires at random points across the country.
- Publication of questionnaire in the media (can be targeted).
- Any other valid method.

Each method chosen should be fully outlined and justified.

Question 2

- (a) **Which conclusions drawn by the Assistant Chief Constable can be validated by the evidence presented in the press release? Give reasons to support your answer.** (5)

- 'Less likely to die a violent death' – figures for murder are fairly reliable as most murders are reported.
- 'Less likely to have their car stolen' – as figures for car crime are fairly reliable due to the fact that insurance companies insist on reporting to the police before compensation can be paid.
- Up to a maximum of 3 marks for any point fully developed and exemplified.

- (b) **What further information would the reader of this press release require to allow further testing of the other conclusions drawn by the Assistant Chief Constable?** (6)

To verify the conclusion drawn on assault with deadly weapons.

- Previous figures over a measured period for assaults with a deadly weapon.
- Information about the way in which information is collected and recorded to measure consistency.
- Results from victim surveys.

To verify conclusions drawn on crime resolution.

- Previous figures for clear up rates
- Information about the way in which crime is recorded to measure consistency across time.
- Information on reporting levels across time.
- Award a maximum of 3 marks for any point fully developed and exemplified.

- (c) **In what way could the information contained in the above release have been presented more effectively?** (4)

Credit any reasonable response if fully justified – most likely responses will include

- Presenting information in graphical form – bar chart, line graph, pictograph etc.
- Information presented in tabular form.
- Highlighted text with figures contained in bullet points.
- Award a maximum of 3 marks for any point fully developed and exemplified.

STUDY THEME 3: THE EUROPEAN UNION AND RESEARCH METHODS

SECTION A

1. Context A: The United Kingdom and the European Decision-making Process

"Successive UK governments have failed to safeguard the interests of business, workers and the people of the UK."

Is this a fair assessment of the influence of British politicians within the European Union?

(30)

General Points

- Quality answers will have good structures, balanced analysis and coherence.
- Reward up-to-date exemplification.
- Credit highly conclusions which are clearly stated and which follow closely from the evidence and arguments presented in the body of the candidate's answer.

Expect candidates to explain how the UK government can influence the decision-making process. Expect reference to formal channels of influence, for example, via the Council/Council of Ministers and via the European Parliament. Credit candidates who explore the informal areas of negotiation – 'horse-trading' – which affect EU decisions.

Candidates should then assess the success of UK governments in safeguarding UK interests within the areas specified in the question. 'Successive' allows candidates to refer back to Conservative administrations as well as to the present Labour government.

Look for material which covers successful safeguarding of British interests as well as examples which illustrate the claim in the question. Again, some candidates may choose to take 'business', 'workers' and 'people' separately; others may assume that the interests of the three groups are, in an EU context, effectively the same. A well constructed argument which, by implication, covers all three groups, should receive full credit.

Note that candidates may employ the same evidence to support opposite sides of an argument – eg some may feel that the government's timetable for entering the Euro is safeguarding UK interests: others may argue that the same timetable is jeopardising UK interests. A similar situation may arise vis-a-vis the recent ten-country expansion of the EU. Give credit to a soundly argued case.

Candidates may refer, with examples where appropriate, to some of the following. The list is neither exhaustive nor prioritised:-

- The Human Rights Charter.
- Budget refunds.
- EU health and safety requirements.
- Illegal refusal (of France) to import British meat following BSE and Foot and Mouth outbreaks.
- Failure to make EU targets 'stick' at Johannesburg environment conference.
- Impact of changes to CAP on UK agriculture/not enough progress on reform of agribusiness reliant on chemistry – effect on environment. CAP subsidies seen as unfair to UK – wealthier countries eg Netherlands, France and Germany receive higher subsidies. Still subsidy 'scams'. CAP uses around half of the EU budget.
- Industries in Scotland caught up in EU/US trade disagreements.
- Government timetable and tests on joining the Euro.
- The view that the UK sticks to the rules; others do not when it does not suit them
- Perceived demise of UK fishing – quotas seen as favouring other countries' fleets – schemes for leaving the industry not generous enough; UK government reaction to fish stock conservation proposals.
- Clashes between EU and UK law.
- Both Major and Blair have reserved the UK's position at Maastricht and Amsterdam respectively.
- Allegations of EU corruption and inefficiency continue.
- Germany appears to have made a better job than the UK of safeguarding its representation in the European Parliament, post-enlargement.
- Fallouts over asylum seekers (Sangatte).

Credit any other relevant points.

2. Context B: Representation in the European Parliament

"Throughout the EU, no one knows who their MEP is. Hardly anybody votes in European parliamentary elections and once the MEPs are elected, they have no power."

How accurate are these assertions about European parliamentary elections across the EU?

(30)

General Points

- Quality answers will have good structures, balanced analysis and coherence.
- Reward up-to-date exemplification.
- Credit highly conclusions which are clearly stated and which follow closely from the evidence and arguments presented in the body of the candidate's answer.

Candidates should, based on the phrase 'throughout the EU', cover more than the UK. Do not, however, expect them to cover every member country one at a time. Expect candidates to refer to EU-wide figures for elections to the European Parliament and to challenge, based on some countries' high-turnout figures, the assertions that 'no-one knows who their MEP is' and that 'hardly anybody votes'. The best responses will establish that there are variations among member countries, and may link that fact to the final claim that 'in the UK, no one knows who their MEP is'

Expect a substantial analysis, and probable rebuttal, of the claim that MEPs have 'no power'.

Some, though not all, of the issues which may be raised by candidates:

- Voting patterns in European Parliamentary elections have varied from member to member. Some have maintained a consistently high turnout; others such as the UK, have been regularly low. Overall drop in interest in European elections. (c.f. 2001 AH paper included a comprehensive table)
- There is anecdotal and 'tabloid' evidence that MEPs are not as well known as other parliamentary representatives, particularly in the UK – students may argue that given the areas/populations they cover this is not surprising.
- The European Parliament is not dealing with such immediate issues as national parliaments. MEPs do not get the same publicity as Westminster or Holyrood members – not surprising if they are less familiar – doesn't mean that they're not working.

3. Context C: Decision-Making in the European Union

Critically examine the argument that the Commission wields the real power in European Union decision-making.

(30)

General Points

- Quality answers will have good structures, balanced analysis and coherence.
- Reward up-to-date exemplification.
- Credit highly conclusions which are clearly stated and which follow closely from the evidence and arguments presented in the body of the candidate's answer.

Expect candidates to describe the composite of, and to outline the powers of, the Commission, and to relate their material to an analysis of overall decision-making in the EU.

Some of the points which candidates may make:

- The Commission is not elected; does not have full democratic authority. But democratic legitimacy greater after Maastricht and Amsterdam.
- Can initiate policy and represents the interest of the EU as a whole.
- Ensures that EU treaty agreements are applied by members, who sometimes don't fall in with Commission's advice.
- The Commission manages policies and negotiates trade and co-operation agreements.
- Commission's credibility undermined by past and continuing allegations of corruption. Treated with suspicion as 'Brussels bureaucrats'.
- Commission has day-to-day 'hands-on' experience of running EU – knowledge is informal power.
- Commission supported by substantial admin structure – reflects importance/power.
- European Parliament growing in importance – less 'clout' for Commission?
- Commission may regain 'power' ground with expansion of EU – expertise needed in more complex decision-making?
- Council and Council of Ministers still carry massive influence in decision-making.
- Treaties which widen the influence of the EU must be endorsed by national governments. Candidates may also point to the recent referendum in the Republic of Ireland – expansion of EU could effectively have been prevented by Republic's voters.

The above list is not exhaustive and should be regarded as a guide.

Credit any other relevant points.

- The European Parliament, especially since 'co-decision' (via Single European Act, Maastricht and Amsterdam) with the Council has been developed, has extended its authority – strengthened role vis-a-vis Council and Commission.
- The Parliament is directly elected, conferring power and democratic legitimacy.
- The Parliament monitors the performance of the Commission – forced resignations in March 1999 – though many of the same Commissioners are still there.
- Can submit questions to Commission.
- Approves Commission's annual budget
- Approves president of Commission – can veto
- Must endorse accession agreements – currently very important.
- The European Parliament's powers in the context of those of other EU decision-making bodies, esp. Council, Commission, Council of Ministers.

Credit any other relevant points.

4. Context D: The European Union and the Wider World

"The European Union is an economic and industrial powerhouse, yet it has done little to help developing countries or to promote international trade."

Is this a fair judgement on the European Union's approach?

(30)

General Points

- Quality answers will have good structures, balanced analysis and coherence.
- Reward up-to-date exemplification.
- Credit highly conclusions which are clearly stated and which follow closely from the evidence and arguments presented in the body of the candidate's answer.

Expect candidates to attempt some (but not exhaustive) definition of the EU as an 'economic and industrial powerhouse'. The main thrust of the answer should relate to the second part of the question. Candidates may produce material which suggest that the EU has done more than a little, but that it has not done enough. Expect emphasis on developing countries, but 'international trade' includes eg Japan and the USA. Better answers will separate 'help' into trade and aid.

Some of the issues which may be introduced:

- Regular trade tensions with US – pressure on EU from US for relaxation of trade restrictions. Trade liberalisation ongoing.
- Involvement with WTO – encouraging trade. But WTO did not do well at Seattle.
- Lome Convention and subsequent agreements have offered special exemptions to developing ACP countries. To run for twenty years.
- EU policies to reduce poverty and to encourage sustainable development in tandem with WTO.
- Aid available via EU as a whole and via individual members' policies towards developing countries. EU members all in UN – Specialised Agencies.
- Expectation that developing countries will 'sort out' their political, economic and social situations.
- Continuing famine and poverty suggest that aid is not sufficient/not working.
- How much of money to developing countries from trade deals reaches eg farmers/local producers?
- Candidates may refer to the recent expansion of the EU as an example of widening trade links with the former 'Second World'.

Credit any other relevant points.

SECTION B

Marks

All parts of Section B should be answered. This section is worth 30 marks.

Question 1

- (a) **Use of the Internet as a source of information is now common among researchers. What are the strengths and weaknesses of relying only on the official European Union website for information about EU countries?** (10)

- EU collects statistics over huge range of activities – useful.
- Figures produced by EU admin likely to be result of sound procedures.
- Figures under permanent scrutiny by members/sceptics – encourages accuracy.
- Easy access to updates.
- Comparisons eg over time are possible.
- Figures come from many sources – all accurate and all from same procedures?
- Likely to adopt EU perspective – may have favourable gloss.
- Most 'up-to-date' figures on some issues may still be years old.
- May be important aspects of member countries' activities not covered by figures.

Credit any other relevant points.

Award up to three marks for each developed point.

- (b) **Which research method would you use to find out about the attitude of UK business leaders to joining the "Euro"? Justify your choice.** (5)

Candidates may well choose some version of an opinion poll/questionnaire. Credit awareness of strengths and limitations of method selected.

Award up to three marks for one developed point.

Question 2

(a) What reservations might a researcher have about accepting Source 1 as a useful source of information about the EU? (6)

- The UKIP is based on an anti-EU philosophy: biased.
- Reliance on assertion rather than fact.
- No coherence to choice of examples.
- Limited amount of information.

Credit any other relevant points.

Award up to three marks for each developed point.

(b) What steps could a researcher take to test the reliability of the figures quoted in Source 1? (9)

- Check with original sources that figures have been reported accurately.
- Check background to original source for bias.
- Check that the figures were collected for the original sources using sound research methods.
- Find independent research for the same areas and compare results.

Credit other relevant points.

Award up to three marks for each developed point.

[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]