



**2012 Modern Studies**

**Higher Paper 1**

**Finalised Marking Instructions**

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## **Markers' Meeting**

You should use the time before the meeting to make yourself familiar with these instructions and any scripts which you have received. Do not undertake any final approach to marking until after the meeting. Please note any points for discussion at the meeting.

Note: These instructions can be considered as final only after the markers' meeting when the full marking team has had an opportunity to discuss and finalise the document in the light of a wider range of candidates' responses.

## **Marking**

The utmost care must be taken when entering marks. Where appropriate, all summations for totals must be carefully checked and confirmed.

## **Recording of marks**

Always enter the total mark (using red ink) as a whole number on the front page.

All entries on the Mark Sheet must be made in red.

Markers are reminded that they must not write comments on scripts.

## General Instructions

1. Carefully **process** the answer. Read the answer and highlight **on the script**, any inaccuracies and/or irrelevancies. In **processing** the answer, you must check out the validity/accuracy of any exemplification that does not feature in the SQA marking instructions. **Processing** the answer in this way should give you a “feel” for whether or not, **taken as a whole**, the answer merits a “pass”.
2. “Pass” and better answers must feature **both** knowledge and understanding of the issue **and** analysis of/balanced comment on the issue being addressed.
3. If the answer merits a “pass” or better, you should now grade it. “Pass” and better are graded taking into account such criteria as the relevancy, accuracy and extent of detailed exemplified description and analysis of/balanced comment on, the issue.

## Before assigning a mark to the answer

4. Review the answer in terms of any requirements such as **for top/full marks candidates must do, do not over-credit...etc.**

As only whole numbers may be used in allocating marks to answers, the marks available for each grade are:

C	8
B	9 - 10
A	11 - 15

5. Use the full range of marks up to and including 15.
6. Be consistent. If, well into your marking, you find yourself crediting/penalising an approach to a question that you previously didn't, **you must** now review your marking of every other answer to that question.
7. **Never**
  - Use “answers may refer to” advice in the marking instructions as a checklist ticking off points made in the answer then applying your own arithmetical formula to arrive at a mark.
  - Add your own additional criteria (legibility, length of response, etc.)
  - Make a hasty pass/fail/grade judgement on what appears to be a confused start to the answer.
8. **Always**

**PROCESS > GRADE > MARK**

## Section A – Political Issues in the United Kingdom

### Study Theme 1A: Devolved Decision Making in Scotland

#### Question A1

*“In carrying out its functions, local government in Scotland has come into conflict with the Scottish Government.” Discuss.*

**“Pass” and better answers should feature developed, exemplified knowledge and understanding of:**

The roles and functions of local government in Scotland.

Conflict (and co-operation) between local government and the Scottish Government.

**And**

Balanced comment/analysis of the view that in carrying out its functions local government has come into conflict with the Scottish Government.

#### Answers may refer to:

- Provides opportunity for people to take part in local decision making which in theory makes for better governance.
- Mandatory, discretionary and permissive functions of local government. Local authorities also play a regulatory role eg granting licences and an advocacy role in promoting the interests of local communities.
- 32 unitary authorities (29 mainland and 3 island councils).
- Collaboration between local government and voluntary sector in delivering services.
- Scottish Parliament is law-making body for devolved issues. It can pass laws setting out the powers and duties of local authorities.
- Councils receive around 80% of funding from Scottish Government (Aggregate External Finance which includes non-domestic rates). Most other finance comes from Council Tax, rents and charges for services.
- STV electoral system means Scottish councils are often run by a coalition which includes representatives from the same party as the Scottish Government. Local government offers a pathway to the Scottish Parliament. SNP has largest number of councillors (263) and formed Scottish Government for first time in 2007.
- ‘Concordat’ (Single Outcome Agreements) between Scottish Government and local authorities from 2007-11. Councils given increased budgets and less ring-fencing in return for Council Tax freeze.
- Demands for end to Council Tax rise freeze. Threat of cut to local authority budgets if CT freeze not maintained.
- PFI/Scottish Futures Trust. Opposed in principle and in practice by many councillors.
- Recommendations of Independent Budget Review (Beveridge) of public spending in Scotland. Reduction in Scotland’s budget by as much as £42bn over 16 years. Recommendations included a fall in public sector employment by as many as 60,000 by 2014-15 and public sector pay freezes. Glasgow Council claim cuts in grants will ‘kill the city’.
- On-going speculation with regard to reducing number of councils or the centralisation of delivery of some council services eg education, fire service.

- Spat over severe weather school closures – councils unhappy at Scottish Government interference in local decision making.
- Disagreement over Edinburgh trams project, Trump golf course in Aberdeenshire, etc.
- Introduction of CFE exemplifies inherent tension between national government introducing national initiative but relying on 32 Local Authorities to implement. Position of East Renfrewshire Council.
- Other relevant points.

**15 marks**

## Study Theme 1B: Decision Making in Central Government

### Question A2

To what extent is the UK Parliament effective in controlling the powers of the Prime Minister?

**“Pass” and better answers should feature developed, exemplified knowledge and understanding of:**

The powers of the Prime Minister.

The opportunities afforded Parliament to exercise control over the powers of the PM.

**And**

Balanced comment/analysis on the view that Parliament is effective in controlling the powers of the Prime Minister.

### Answers may refer to:

- Prime Minister has power to:
  - appoint, reshuffle or dismiss ministers
  - to set government agenda eg calling and chairing Cabinet meetings; appointing members of Cabinet committees and deciding terms of reference
  - patronage: appoint ambassadors, top civil servants, judges, etc., and create peers/give out honours, use of the whip
  - control of Cabinet Office
  - increase in power of Prime Minister's Office
  - dissolve Parliament.
- Prime Minister is public face of government/national leader and no longer seen as 'first among equals'.
- In media age personality of PM has become more important. Argument that collective government has been replaced by 'presidential government' eg Blair's 'sofa government'.
- General Elections increasingly seen as battle between PM and Leader of Opposition eg series of national debates before 2010 Election.
- Limits to powers:
  - appointments require some need for political balance and administrative competence eg Blair's retention of Brown as Chancellor or Clegg as Deputy PM.
  - PM is leader of party and government but must retain support of both to continue. Support is conditional and based on performance and that PM seen best as chair rather than a president.
  - answerable to Parliament eg Prime Minister's Question Time.
  - rebellions (proposed EU referendum Nov 2011) and votes of no confidence.
  - limitations imposed by a coalition government eg compromise politics or in appointments eg Vince Cable's criticisms of his Government's policies.
  - role of House of Lords.
- Other relevant points.

**15 marks**

## Study Theme 1C: Political Parties and their Policies (including the Scottish Dimension)

### Question A3

Critically examine the view that there are few policy differences between the main political parties.

**“Pass” and better answers should feature developed, exemplified knowledge and understanding of:**

The policies of the main political parties.  
Extent to which the policies of the main parties differ.

**And**

Balanced comment/analysis on the view that there are few policy differences between the main political parties.

### Answers may refer to:

Differences/similarities in policy can be within or between parties in Scotland or the UK. Candidates may refer only to law and order, taxation, education and Europe as specified in the arrangements.

#### Conservatives

- Development of the ‘Big Society’; planned reduction in welfare role of State.
- Ensure economic stability; reduce budget deficit quickly.
- Abolish Income Tax of 50%.
- Limit immigration.
- Scrapping of ID Cards.
- Match Labour’s health and aid spending promises: managerial reforms and opening up NHS to new, independent and voluntary sector providers.
- Opt out from Charter of Fundamental Rights.
- Contracting out of police services.

#### Labour

- Support for further devolved decision making in Scotland (as Liberal Democrats).
- Reduce Government spending in the longer term to protect jobs and services.
- Continue to develop public services; commitment to more apprenticeships.
- Support increases in the National Minimum Wage.
- Extension to paternity leave; support for greater childcare provision.
- Referendum on the voting system: change to a wholly elected House of Lords.
- Health: opposition to UK Government’s proposals for NHS in England/Wales.

#### Liberal Democrats

- Commitment to reduce taxation for lowest earners; close tax loopholes for wealthy.
- Higher priority for environmental policy.
- No replacement of Trident nuclear weapons system.
- Scrapping of ID Cards.
- Shake up of education system in England and Wales.
- Constitutional change including reform of voting system (AV referendum lost), an elected House of Lords and a Freedom Bill.
- Differences within Liberal Democrats over tuition fees.
- Banking reform.

### **Scottish National Party**

- Independence for Scotland.
- Commitment to support the scrapping of ID cards and Trident nuclear system.
- Protection of Scottish jobs with a focus on economic recovery especially in renewables; commitment to additional modern apprenticeships.
- Maintain public spending in the short-term to ensure economic recovery ('More Nats, Less cuts').
- Scrap the House of Lords and the Scotland Office; reduce Quango numbers.
- More funding/powers to the Scottish Parliament and greater fiscal autonomy.
- Protect free personal care for the elderly.
- Fuel duty regulator.
- Single police force for Scotland.
- Since 2010, Conservative and Liberal Democrat coalition in Westminster. In Scotland parties are in opposition.
- Labour was in coalition with the Liberal Democrats in the Scottish Parliament 1999-2007.
- Differences within and between parties emerged with regard to the 2011 AV referendum. 68% to 32% voted no to AV.
- Credit similarities and differences in policy within and between parties in relation to the 2011 Scottish Parliament elections.
  
- Other relevant points.

**15 marks**

## Study Theme 1D – Electoral Systems, Voting and Political Attitudes

### Question A4

To what extent is the media the most important factor affecting voter behaviour?

**“Pass” and better answers should feature developed, exemplified knowledge and understanding of:**

Influence of the media as a factor affecting voting behaviour.

Other factors that affect voting behaviour.

**And**

Balanced comment/analysis on the extent to which the media is the most important factor affecting voting behaviour.

### Answers may refer to:

- Most people get their political news from television, which by law must remain neutral.
- 2010 saw the first live leaders debates. Huge viewing figures; “Cleggmania”. But the leaders debates did not translate into large scale support for the Liberal Democrats.
- The press can be as partisan as it wishes; an issue with the popular press.
- There is little hard evidence that newspapers themselves directly influence voters; big decline in newspaper sales in recent years.
- Some voters may choose a newspaper that supports their political outlook or they mainly read stories that agree with their politics or they skip the political pages altogether.
- Political parties still court partisan press support. The Sun and Daily Mail are seen to be barometers of the critical “floating voter” opinion.
- Newspapers court the social class, age, gender and race of their readers by building their “political” message around what they believe their readers want to read.
- In 2010, ‘The Sun’ urged voters not to back Labour. This does not mean that it was “The Sun Wot Won It”. Public opinion had already turned against Labour.
- The Sun’s defection though, demoralised the Labour campaign and this may have impacted on voting behaviour.
- In 2007 Scottish election, tabloid papers went against the SNP but the SNP still won.
- In 2011 The Scottish Sun supported SNP, boosting the party’s morale.
- Parties are increasingly using social media to connect with and motivate both core and floating voters.
- SNP has been particularly astute in its use of twitter, Facebook and “virals”.
- Credit highly candidates who discuss other factors eg class, leadership but relate these to media, rather than as an isolated or “shopping list” factor.
- Social class is still important. But this is related to media usage as working class are more likely to read tabloids.
- Leadership is a critical factor, but this too is related to the leader’s ability to manage the media, eg Gordon Brown’s poor media showing via Youtube, Sky “bigotgate”, Iain Gray’s Subway episode. These can be compared with Alex Salmond’s showing on Question Time before 2011 Scottish elections.

- Role of the media in exposing sleaze/scandal eg MPs expenses. However, media becoming the news (News of the World) and weakening their influence. Murdoch's performance at CMS select committee.
- Other influences that affect voting behaviour include social class, age, gender, ethnicity, etc.
- Other relevant points.

**15 marks**

## Study Theme 2 – Wealth and Health Inequalities in the United Kingdom

### Question B5

*“The UK’s Welfare State continues to meet its aims.”* Discuss.

**“Pass” and better answers should feature developed, exemplified knowledge and understanding of:**

The aims of the UK Welfare State.

The extent to which the UK’s Welfare State meets its aims.

**And**

Balanced comment/analysis on the view that the Welfare State continues to meet its aims.

#### Answers may refer to:

- Welfare State – a system of social protection with the state taking the lead role in caring from ‘cradle to grave’.
- Designed to tackle the ‘Five Giant Evils’ (squalor, ignorance, want, idleness and disease) as identified by Beveridge in 1942. Post-war, resulted in an expansion of health (creation of NHS 1948) and education services, introduction of greater social security coverage and measures to improve housing.
- Developed with the principles of universal provision and flat rate contributions.
- Health:
  - Aims to be universal, comprehensive, free at ‘point of need’, high quality
  - Increases in life expectancy, lower death rates, wide range of high quality services, etc.
  - waiting lists and waiting times, hospital infections, staff shortages, food quality, etc.
- Education:
  - Provision from nursery to university level; specialised provision.
  - Rises in educational results, increased numbers at university, record investment.
  - international comparisons, numbers leaving school with no qualifications, shortages of staff and educational materials, cuts in education spending, etc.
- Social Security
  - wide range of benefits to many groups inc. elderly, children, those with disabilities, etc.
  - benefit levels are low, ‘dependency culture’, accessibility/complexity of benefits, etc.
- Housing:
  - local authority council housing provision, specialised provision eg sheltered housing, etc.
  - shortage/quality of available council housing, homelessness, etc.
- Other eg Children’s Services inc. fostering, adoption, etc.
- Increased real term spending on welfare provision in last 10 years. Cut backs since 2010.
- Charges for some NHS services eg prescriptions (free Scotland 2011), eye and dental charges.

- UK welfare state described as a 'liberal model'. Clear distinction between the 'deserving' and 'undeserving poor'.
- Other countries have more generous welfare state systems.
- Right wing/individualist view that welfare state is expensive, unsustainable, encourages dependency and delivers poor support; left-wing collectivist view that welfare state is integral to decent society, reduces poverty and reduces inequality.
- Blair's 'Third Way' and Cameron's 'Big Society'.
- Differences between Scotland, England and Wales eg prescriptions, care for elderly or tuition fees.
- Coalition plans to 'remodel' the Welfare State by ending 'dependency' or universality of Child Benefit. Attempts to 'encourage' disabled and long-term unemployed on Incapacity Benefit back to work.
- Coalition Government claim they meet fundamental principles of welfare state as they support those "genuinely in need". Beveridge did not intend to support those wilfully choosing a life of welfare dependency.
- Credit candidates who take a view and argue coherently that the aims of the Welfare State are no longer relevant for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century
- Other relevant points.

**15 marks**

## Question B6

Critically examine the view that Government has failed to reduce gender **or** race inequalities in the UK.

**“Pass” and better answers should feature developed, exemplified knowledge and understanding of:**

Government policies to reduce gender **or** race inequalities.  
Extent of gender **or** race inequalities in the UK.

**And**

Balanced comment/analysis on the view that Government has failed to reduce gender **or** race inequalities in the UK.

### Answers may refer to:

- Equal Pay Act; Sex Discrimination Act; Equality Act; The Commission for Equality and Human Rights; Gender Equality Duty Code of Practice; Women’s Enterprise Task Force; Equality Act 2010.
- Work and Families Act extended the right to request flexible working; extended further 2009.
- CTC and Working Tax Credit. Affordable child care (‘wraparound childcare’) as crucial to narrowing the wage gap.
- MW has disproportionately benefited women and minorities. Maternity and paternity leave.
- Gender pay gap: UK women in full time work earn 10% less per hour (2010). Higher for part-time work.
- Women make up 60% of the university population; success of women in reaching senior posts varies from place to place. ‘Glass ceiling’ only cracked, not broken.
- Women make up only 22% of MPs; only 12% of directors in FTSE 100 firms are women despite accounting for over 46% of the labour force.
- Sex and Power Report 2008.
- Pay gap has narrowed in some areas.
- Graduate unemployment is higher for males.
- In 2010, 20% of married women out-earn their partners; around 19% earn the same.
- Four in five paid carers are women. The care sector’s poor pay contributes greatly to the gender pay gap.
- Race Relations Acts.
- Tackling Race Inequality 2010.
- Black Pupils Achievement Programme/Aiming High Strategy, REACH and Ethnic Minority Employment Task Force.
- One Scotland.
- Unemployment higher amongst minority groups; far higher for 18-24 year olds; employment rates for ethnic minority groups lower but gap narrowing.
- Growing evidence of a ‘race pay gap’.
- Very few board members are from ethnic minority groups ‘Race for Opportunity Report.
- Stephen Lawrence verdict evidence that UK society has moved on from 1993 when Met police accepted it was “institutionally racist”.

- Women from Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups most likely to face a higher risk of unemployment, lower pay and have fewer prospects for promotion. EOC's 'Moving On Up? The Way Forward' report 2007.
- 'Glass door'.
- Credit references to health policies and success or otherwise in reducing gender or race inequalities.

Other relevant points.

**15 marks**

## Study Theme 3A – The Republic of South Africa

### Question C7

*“The political strength of the African National Congress (ANC) does not threaten democracy in South Africa.” Discuss.*

**“Pass” and better answers should feature developed, exemplified knowledge and understanding of:**

Main features of the South African political system/extent of ANC support.  
The debate surrounding the ANC and their use of power.

**And**

Balanced comment/analysis of the view that the political strength of the ANC does not threaten democracy.

### Answers may refer to:

- South Africa is a constitutional democracy with a three-tier system of government.
- Federal state with nine provincial governments.
- Bicameral parliament elected every five years, comprising the 400 seat National Assembly and the 90-seat National Council of Provinces.
- Local government elected for 4 years; 284 metropolitan, district and local municipalities.
- Party List electoral system.
- 13 political groups represented in National Assembly.
- Constitution guarantees many rights including property rights and education; two-thirds of members of Parliament and at least 6 provinces need to support change to Constitution.
- 2009 was 4th General Election since Apartheid era, each won by ANC with large majorities. ANC obtained 65.9% of votes to National Assembly (264/400 seats). ANC also won 8/10 of the provincial legislatures. NA has 90 members. ANC 62 with DA 13 and COPE 8 – the remaining 8 seats shared between 5 other different parties.
- ANC won a majority in most of the councils. The DA won the largest share of votes in the City of Cape Town but no majority. The IFP won the majority in KwaZulu-Natal Province.
- 15 different political parties represented in Parliament.
- 26 parties contested all municipal or local elections in 2006. ANC won 66.36% nationally, with DA 14.8% and IFP 8%.
- The constitution provides for freedom of the press, and this is generally respected. Laws, regulation and political control of media content are considered to be moderate and there is little evidence of repressive measures against journalists.
- Newspapers and magazines publish reports and comments critical of the government, although the state-owned SABC is less likely to criticise.
- Hallmarks of democracy present: stable economy, survival of the constitution despite ANC's dominance in the chamber after 2004 election, many opposition parties and pressure groups, legal system pursuing corruption.
- Prevention and Combating of Corrupt Activities Act of 2004 a person in a position of authority who knows or reasonably suspects another person of fraud must report it to the police.

- Various corruption scandals that have affected the ANC. COPE made corruption an issue in 2009 election. Zuma has had corruption charges levelled against him on more than one occasion.
- Several respected organisations including SA trade unions have said that fraud and corruption could compromise the rule of law. Helen Zille said in Oct. 2009 that the ruling party is subverting the constitution and judiciary.
- Deputy President Motlanthe stated in Aug. 2010 that fight against crime and corruption must first start with ANC; speech came after two major corruption scandals involving high profile ANC figures.
- In 2008, Mbeki disbanded the Scorpions a combined police and prosecution unit that investigated corruption. Mbeki also dismissed independent head of the National Prosecution Authority.
- Motlanthe says he stands by rule of law and independent judiciary. Independent and well respected lawyer Edwin Cameron appointed to Constitutional Court.
- 2010 Media Bill (Protection of Information Bill) seen as threat to press freedom.
- Effectiveness of opposition parties – arguably still somewhat fragmented and divided. Some evidence ANC tolerates opposition rather than respects.
- Concerns about ANC intolerance towards media opposition.
- Criticism by Archbishop Tutu that Zuma’s ANC is “worse than apartheid rulers”. Claims ANC has lost touch with its roots and its leaders corrupted by power.
- Other relevant points.

**15 marks**

## Study Theme 3B –The People’s Republic of China

### Question C8

*“In China, democracy has been extended and human rights improved.” Discuss.*

**“Pass” and better answers should feature developed, exemplified knowledge and understanding of:**

China’s political and human rights record.

Recent moves towards democracy and better human rights.

**And**

Balanced comment/analysis on the view that democracy has been extended and human rights improved.

#### Answers may refer to:

- Political rights – despite a Constitution guaranteeing freedoms and fundamental rights, the same Constitution describes the ‘democratic dictatorship’ led by the working class. Role of the People’s Liberation Army; registering of all organisations which may oppose the CPC single-party state.
- Evidence of ‘a lack of human rights’: right to a fair trial, religious freedom, One-child policy, media control, lack of fair trial, death penalty, laogai, Falun Gong, Tibet, women’s rights.
- Media – 1982 constitution guaranteed freedom of speech – however, ‘subversion of state power’ clause used against critics. Government runs main News Agency; forbids ideas on Tibetan independence; forbids any challenge to CPC power; blocks the internet.
- Legal – double appeals process in place since 2007. Saw 15% overturn of death penalty in first half of 2008. 30% fewer death penalties in 2007 compared to 2006. 55 crimes eligible for death penalty, down from 68 in 2010. Representation now allowed in courts.
- Olympics 2008 – International criticism of human rights lead to increasing dialogue and acceptance of improvements to work towards. Deported foreign protesters; ‘Protest parks’ allowed, but of 77 applications, 74 withdrawn, 2 suspended and 1 vetoed.
- Incidents of foreign reporters complaining of restrictions, intimidation and violence, however, also publicised that relations were more positive and improving.
- Religion – 1982 Constitution allows the right of freedom of belief, however CPC members must be atheist. CPC tries to control not only content but leadership eg latest Catholic leader appointed by state, not the Pope in 2007. Restrictions to practices on Tibetan Buddhism.
- Hong Kong – ‘One country – two systems’ with greater political freedom.
- Little tolerance of dissent groups, although criticism of corrupt local officials accepted. Liu Xiaobo author of Charter 08 jailed for 11 years on subversion charges. Liu Xiaobo awarded Noble Peace Prize. Mrs Liu under house arrest.
- Number of strikes, demonstrations and riots has grown 22% annually indicating rising discontent amongst ‘losers’ in the economic transformation eg expropriation of farmland and real-estate development in urban areas, food and environmental scandals suggest potential challenge to regime. However, not too likely as more ‘winners’ and those with political status believing that CPC strategies are necessary in the long term.

- Village elections since 1998 and now in about 650,000 villages; 75% of population.
- In 2008 Shenzhen 'highest GDP area – selected to elect government officials at district level'; 70% to be directly elected, however, selected from a pre-approved list.
- CPC argue welfare of all should always be above rights of the individual. A strong and stable authority must regulate potential conflicts. They claim social breakdown in the West is a result of excessive individual freedom.
- 'One-size-fits-all' definition of human rights should not apply internationally.
- Other relevant points.

**15 marks**

## Study Theme 3C – The United States of America

### Question C9

To what extent does Congress act as an effective check on the powers of the President?

**“Pass” and better answers should feature developed, exemplified knowledge and understanding of:**

The powers of the US President.

The ways in which Congress can act to check the powers of the President.

**And**

Balanced comment/analysis on the extent to which Congress acts as an effective check on the powers of the President. Credit references to Supreme Court if linked to President and Congress.

### Answers may refer to:

Presidential powers include:

- Chief Executive, Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces (power to wage war); responsible for treaty negotiation.
- Chief formulator of public policy – legislation dealt with by Congress drafted by Executive branch.
- Power of appointment: 6,000 new federal positions from top government officials. Nominates judges but requires Senate confirmation. Appoints top officials for federal agencies.
- Executive Orders do not require Congressional approval eg Bush Federal aid after Hurricane Katrina. Obama: soften ban on gays in military; regulation of heat-trapping gases; bi-partisan budget commission under his authority. Attempted closure of Guantanamo Bay; removal of barriers for stem cell research, etc.
- Department of Homeland Security and Patriot Act designed to give more power to President; a legacy of 9/11.
- Presidential vetoes (regular and pocket) or threat of veto.
- President can grant reprieves and pardons without confirmation – GW Bush commuted or rescinded 200 convictions; Obama had granted 68 to midway 2010.
- Executive privilege – established by precedent not the constitution. Nixon and Clinton famously denied this privilege.
- ‘Extraordinary powers’ – Bush administration in ‘War on Terror’.
- Presidential interventions.

Limits to presidential powers include:

- Congress sets the budget of the Executive, so a check on Presidential power.
- 2/3 majority can overturn a Presidential veto, except a pocket veto.
- Process and timings of elections. Mid-term elections (2010) altered the balance of power and thus support in the House of Representatives; Republicans control lower house
- Senate advice and consent required for the appointment of Cabinet members, ambassadors, judges and other senior executive officers. Obama had to threaten Senate with recess appointments in Feb. 2010.
- Congress has sole power to pass Constitutional amendments.
- House impeaches with a simple majority and Senate convicts with a 2/3 majority.
- Senate has to ratify treaties.

- Health reform – a major election policy for Obama has ‘ping ponged’ between the Executive and Congress since his election, passed March 2010; difficulties with ‘American Jobs Act’. But White House Chief of Staff Daley looking at range of executive orders and directives as “White House can’t wait on Congress”. Supreme Court involved and will rule in July 2012 if President Obama’s healthcare reforms are constitutional.
- Congress held up closure of Guantanamo; refusal to resettle detainees in US.
- Credit references to Supreme Court where links are made between President, Congress and Supreme Court.

Other relevant points.

**15 marks**

## Study Theme 3D – The European Union

### Question C10

Assess the importance of the European Parliament in decision making within the European Union (EU).

**“Pass” and better answers should feature developed, exemplified knowledge and understanding of:**

The role and powers of the European Parliament.

The powers of the other EU institutions.

**And**

Balanced comment/analysis of the importance of the decision making powers of the European Parliament within the European Union.

### Answers may refer to:

- The European Parliament has 732 elected members; one of three key decision-making institutions.
- The European Parliament has say in 80% policy areas including agriculture and home affairs issue. Role in legislative process expanded over time as the scope of EU policy has grown.
- Amsterdam Treaty – the European Parliament and European Council sharing legislative power and must both approve a Commission proposal to become law. Lisbon Treaty enhancing the European Parliament’s role even further as its role of forming a bicameral legislature alongside the European Council becomes the ordinary procedure.
- Votes on Commission’s programme and monitors management of EU policies through oral and written questions.
- Role in EU’s legislative and budgetary processes and general supervision of the Council and the European Commission.
- Budget – the European Parliament and European Council have joint powers.
- Has right to dismiss entire Commission through a vote of censure. May also reject newly-proposed Commission and individual members – 2004 threatened veto to Commission headed by Jose Barroso who had to change proposed team to ensure the European Parliament’s approval.
- The European Parliament must approve new member states and all agreements entered into with non-member countries – eg trade agreements.
- Co-decision does not cover all aspects of EU policy eg tax and foreign affairs.
- Increasing checks and balance role, and increased forum for debate on international issues, although foreign policy rests with member states.
- The Council is the main EU decision making body, comprising Ministers from national governments.
- Discusses proposals put forward by the Commission, amends if necessary, but is then passed to the European Parliament in its role within a bicameral procedure.
- As decisions by the Council are subject to qualified majority voting (QMV) rather than unanimity (increases speed and efficiency in decision making) the Parliament’s role seen as an increasingly important democratic counterweight.

- The Commission initiates legislation. It is the executive and guarantor of treaties.
- Post Lisbon Treaty the future of the new constitutional arrangements in doubt as France and Netherlands and Ireland initially voted NO, adding to the claim that there is no public interest or engagement in the EU Parliament.
- Strain on the EU with regard to debt and future of the EU; national governments having to address not EU Parliament.
- Other relevant points.

**15 marks**

## Study Theme 3E – The Politics of Development in Africa

### Question C11

**With reference to specific African countries (excluding the Republic of South Africa):**

Assess the effectiveness of foreign aid in promoting development.

**“Pass” and better answers should feature developed, exemplified knowledge and understanding of:**

Foreign aid in its various forms.

Factors that limit the effectiveness of foreign aid.

**And**

Balanced comment/analysis of the effectiveness of foreign aid in promoting development.

Candidates must demonstrate specific knowledge of at least one African country.

### Answers may refer to:

- The impact of aid from international organisations, national governments (eg DIFD) and NGOs (eg Oxfam, Save the Children, etc).
- Work of UN agencies (WHO, UNESCO, FAO, UNICEF) and programmes (WFP, etc.)
- Candidates may adopt a case study approach eg Malawi irrigation scheme in Thyolo area giving small plots of land and advice to farmers. However, government withdrawal of financial support for these extension services in the expectation of private sector investment, which has not happened. Action Aid blames World Bank with its fixation on agriculture for economic growth and not food supply.
- Debate that aid is needed to promote development/save lives and those who see aid as encouraging dependency.
- More than 10 years since Millennium Development Goals. Progress towards all goals – extensive poverty and hunger reduction, improvements in primary education enrolment and child mortality rates, reductions in HIV/AIDS rates, etc, but (sub-Saharan) Africa remains poorest continent.
- The impact of debt/debt cancellation. Annually, debt repayments exceed aid received. Structural adjustment programmes made things worse – only 5 countries cleared debt under HIPC (Heavily Indebted Poor Country) initiative.
- View the ‘free trade’ not ‘free aid’ will do more to promote development; cycle of dependency.
- Terms of world trade including fluctuations affecting cash crops. Dumping of subsidised farm products on local markets. Import tariffs and restrictions.
- Impact of ‘recession’.
- War. In 2010, 13 countries affected. Obstacles to development – destruction, death, scorched earth tactics, disruption to food supplies, financial costs, etc.
- Corruption within governments: Zimbabwe – Mugabe, Liberia – Charles Taylor.
- Agriculture progress report of World Bank questioned by Action Aid with special reference to Uganda where agriculture extension programmes were stopped. Other reports question the sustainability of Uganda’s Poverty Eradication Action Plan.

- Divided views within the UN on the way forward and failure of many members to reach the 0.7% of GNP to UN for development programmes.
- Effect of natural disasters.
- Other relevant points.

**15 marks**

## Study Theme 3F – Global Security

### Question C12

*“International terrorism is now seen by NATO as the main threat to global peace and security.” Discuss.*

**“Pass” and better answers should feature developed, exemplified knowledge and understanding of:**

The changing role of NATO and the threat from international terrorism.  
Other threats to international peace and security.

**And**

Balanced comment/analysis of the view that NATO now sees international terrorism as the main threat to global peace and security.

### Answers may refer to:

- Founded 1949, NATO retains traditional collective security role but also aims to promote democracy and encourage co-operation in order to avoid conflict.
- 28 countries are members of NATO; increase in partnerships with other countries across world eg Russia (NATO-Russia Council).
- New ‘Strategic Concept’ adopted at Lisbon Summit 2010 aims to develop NATO’s capabilities to meet new emerging threats eg international terrorism, cyber attacks or nuclear proliferation.
- 9/11/‘War on Terror’:
  - National security focus/increased restrictive legislation eg in UK – control orders, USA – Patriot Act, also increased airport security, bio-passports, surveillance operations, etc.
  - Afghanistan: International response. NATO entered Afghanistan 2001. Aim to defeat Taleban/destroy al-Qaeda (capture Bin Laden). NATO (ISAF) looking to hand control of security to Afghan forces in 2014.
- Anti-terrorism operations – ‘Operation Active Endeavour’ in the Mediterranean/Arabian Gulf. Also, looking to prevent illegal movement of people, arms or drugs that help finance terrorism.
- Recognition of the threat that terrorism poses – former UN Secretary General claimed terrorism a threat to international peace and security; high on UN agenda (UN Security Council meeting on international peace and security addressed by H. Clinton, 2010).
- Terrorism is not new but has taken on a new international dimension post 9/11. al Qaeda in particular has stated aims and targets of significantly wider focus.
- al-Qaeda global terrorist organisation. Numerous attacks around world eg London and Mumbai. Difficult to counter as groups operate separately from one another. Shift in location of al-Qaeda to Yemen. Oct. 2010 explosives found on cargo plane heading for USA but with stop over in UK.
- Importance of peacekeeping role: eg Kosovo (KFOR) in support of the United Nations and in support of peacekeepers elsewhere in the world.

Other threats to global peace and security which may be referred to include:

- Nuclear proliferation – Iran’s defiance of UN in its attempts to enrich uranium.
- Middle East – Israel/Palestine or continued instability in Iraq.
- North/South Korea – clashes threatened to escalate Nov. 2010.
- India/Pakistan; instability caused by al Qaeda/Taleban and war in Afghanistan.
- Expansion of NATO – seen as threat to Russia – Georgia/Abkhazia/S. Ossetia/Chechnya.
- Instability in Tunisia and Egypt (‘Arab Spring’). NATO’s involvement in Libya (providing air and logistical support in arming the Libyan rebels) and not in Syria.
- Global drug trade – seen as major issue for both UN and NATO.
- Competition over resources – eg oil and water.
- Other relevant points.

**15 marks**

[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]