



**2008 Modern Studies**

**Higher – Paper 1**

**Finalised Marking Instructions**

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## General Instructions

1. Carefully *Process* the answer. By this is meant 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 may 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 answers 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 not over-credit...etc.**

As only whole numbers may be used in allowing 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 answer to that question.
7. **NEVER:**
  - Use “**candidates may refer to**” advice in the marking instructions as a check list, 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) into the mix
  - Make a hasty pass/fail/grade mark judgement on what may appear 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

*Critically examine the role of local government in a devolved Scotland.*

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

The part played by local government (responsibilities and decision making powers) in a devolved Scotland

The limitations on local government decision making powers and responsibilities in a devolved Scotland

**and**

Balanced comment on/analysis of the role of local government in decision making in a devolved Scotland.

#### Answers may refer to:

- local government serves, represents and is accountable to, the people of different communities.
- delivery of cost-effective local services (mandatory, permissive, discretionary): importance of these.
- *Public Attitudes to Local Government in Scotland* report highlighted that throughout the UK the institution of local government is not well thought of. Generally perceived to be bureaucratic, inefficient and wasteful of public money.
- services more highly regarded than the institution.
- 38% (2005 Scottish Household Survey) agreed that their council was addressing the key issues affecting the quality of life in their neighbourhood.
- one of the principles of local government is ‘inclusion for all’, hence, recent injection of cash into modernising facilities and getting young people involved in physical activity.
- setting and collection of the Council Tax; ‘concordat’ between SNP led administration and COSLA to freeze council tax until 2010; less ring fencing of grants; councils may retain any efficiency savings they make.
- Scottish Government works in partnership with local authorities in making decisions and delivering services.
- local government issues can now be fully aired and debated in the Scottish Parliament and its committees.
- councils have better access to ministers and civil servants than previously.
- three year funding has given councils the chance to plan ahead and have brought greater financial stability.
- changes to Scottish Enterprise involve the transfer of ‘local’ responsibilities to local authorities. The responsibility for providing local business support to be handed to local councils. Move recognises the role of local authorities as players in economic development.
- Scottish Government is the top tier of government vested with the powers to legislate on local government and on Scottish domestic functions.
- majority of local government income derived from Rate Support Grant and other Scottish Government monies; weighting of grants dependent on need/ability of councils to raise Council Tax/non domestic rates.
- councils increasingly forced to implement policies they do not support, for example, PFI/PPP, ‘Best Value’; concerns over funding of Free Personal Care.
- reduction in council role: social housing provided through housing stock transfers.
- council planning decisions can and are overturned by the Scottish Government; Donald Trump Golf Resort issue has raised questions about the role of local government in big development projects and effectiveness of planning procedures.

- claim that local government's share of public spending has fallen to an all-time low, whilst that of unelected and unaccountable 'quangos' has risen; this seen as an affront to local democracy.
- claim that devolution has undermined the status of local government. Pre-devolution, local government got greater media coverage. Full-time, all Scotland local government correspondents no longer exist as press attention and resources now focused on Parliament.
- implications of SNP's first budget 2007. Promised not to cut the number of councils. Withdrew previous threats of penalties for overspending. Extra funding – not ring fenced. Seen as giving COSLA greater flexibility and responsibility.
- other relevant points.

**15 marks**

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

### Question A2

*Assess the effectiveness of pressure groups in influencing decision-making in Central Government.*

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

The ways in which pressure groups attempt to influence decision making in Central Government

The impact (successes/failures) of pressure groups on decision making in Central Government

**and**

Balanced comment on/analysis of the effectiveness of pressure groups in influencing decision making in Central Government.

#### Answers may refer to:

- campaigns, protests, demonstrations, use of media, lobbying, petitions, e-petitions, letter writing, direct action, sponsorship of political candidates etc.
- sectional/interest groups and promotional/cause groups.
- insider/outsider groups.
- both the number and range of pressure groups have increased in recent years; growth of single-issue groups.
- under Labour the number of sources of political power has increased and there are more decision-makers for groups to try to influence; the implementation of devolution has created new power hubs for pressure groups to focus on.
- importance of access to Government and compatibility with Government thinking; size and type of membership, funds, and tactics; prevailing social/economic/political climate; level of public support.
- a pressure group might be part of the relevant policy community on some issues but excluded on others; in the Foot and Mouth epidemic of 2001, the NFU prevented an inoculation programme but the earlier fuel protests were in part created by the fact that many smaller farmers felt they were being ignored by the government.
- despite student protest marches against proposed top-up fees, the government went ahead with proposals.
- refusal of government to introduce PR for Parliamentary elections signified the limited influence of Charter 88.
- CBI seen as clear winners; CND as clear losers. In recent years there have been more ‘smaller’ winners; fewer ‘larger’ winners.
- successful 2005 Jamie Oliver initiative to persuade the government to allocate bigger subsidies to school meals.
- failure of the Stop the War (mobilised greater numbers on the streets than Make Poverty History) and the Countryside Alliance campaigns.
- Make Poverty History campaign seen (in hindsight) as a qualified success.
- declining influence of traditional campaigning has led to pressure groups contesting elections.
- success not always measured simply in policy outcome terms, rather the extent of engagement of the political establishment.
- so far, although there are lots of e-petitions on Number 10’s website, they have mostly just allowed the disgruntled to let off steam.
- other relevant points.

**15 marks**

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

### Question A3

*There are few policy differences between the main political parties.*

*Discuss.*

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

Political party policies selected from the following: law and order; taxation; education; Europe

Differences and similarities between these policies

**and**

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

**Answers may refer to:**

#### Law and Order

(Westminster 2005)

- **Labour:** dedicated policing teams for every area; 25,000 community support officers; 1,300 more prison places; double the cash for drug treatment.
- **Conservative:** 40,000 extra police; 10-fold rise in drug rehab places; addicts to choose rehab or prison; end some early releases; 20,000 more prison places; judges to set min and max sentences.
- **Liberal Democrat:** 10,000 extra police; tackle drug dealers rather than cannabis users; out-of-hours school courses against ‘yob’ culture; local communities to decide sentences for low-level criminals.

(Holyrood 2007)

- **Labour:** retain DNA and fingerprints of all crime suspects; justice centres to allow criminals to carry out ‘pay back’ duties in communities.
- **Conservative:** more police officers; additional investment in drug rehab services; judges to be given discretion to refuse bail/review operation of bail.
- **Liberal Democrat:** more police; tougher community services with offenders working to repay crimes; youth justice boards.
- **SNP:** extra police; end short term jail sentences; more info for communities on dangerous paedophiles in their area.

## Education

(Westminster 2005)

- **Labour:** parents can select specialist schools; 200 new City Academies; new powers to control truancy and disruption; university top-up fees up to £3,000, with grants for poorest students.
- **Conservative:** 600,000 new school places to boost choice; allow good schools to expand and create new ones; heads able to expel disruptive pupils; no student fees – charge interest on loans.
- **Liberal Democrat:** cut class sizes for youngest children; all children to be taught by a qualified teacher in each subject; abolish “unnecessary tests”; scrap university fees.

(Holyrood 2007)

- **Labour:** raise to 18 the age to which school must be in EE&T; create skills academies; literacy and arithmetic tests for school leavers.
- **Conservative:** more power to head teachers; councils to be given control of education budgets.
- **Liberal Democrat:** new schools. Extra teachers; reduce class sizes; one hour physical activity per child per day.
- **SNP:** abolish graduate endowment and pay off graduate debt; cut class size to 18 in P1-P3.

## Taxation

(Westminster 2005)

- **Labour:** reform the “unsustainable” council tax; spending plans affordable without tax rises; tax relief for “hard working families”.
- **Conservative:** no “Third Term” tax rises; £4bn to cut taxes including £1.3bn cut in council tax for pensioners; possible cuts to inheritance tax and stamp duty.
- **Liberal Democrat:** replace council tax with a local income tax; new 50% tax rate on earnings over £100,000 a year; raise stamp duty threshold to £150,000 to help first-time buyers.

(Holyrood 2007)

- **Labour:** no above inflation Council Tax increases.
- **Conservative:** retain Council Tax with 50% cut for all households where occupants over 65.
- **Liberal Democrat:** abolish Council Tax and set Local Income Tax from 2009-2010 (average rate 3.5% to 3.75%.)
- **SNP:** abolish Council Tax and set Local Income Tax nationwide at 3p (at basic and higher rates.)

## EU (Westminster 2007)

- **Labour:** adoption of proposed EU constitution after referendum; join the single currency if five economic tests show it is in UK interests; UK should be at “heart” of Europe.
- **Conservative:** opposed to EU constitution and would hold early vote; UK to get powers back over fishing; quit the social chapter; oppose adopting euro.
- **Liberal Democrat:** Work towards the right conditions for joining the euro, then call referendum; pro EU constitution.
  
- In 2004 Michael Howard complained that New Labour was stealing every Conservative policy within days of it being unveiled; now accused of stealing Conservative policies on inheritance and “non-dom” taxes and Lib. Dem policy of taxing air travel.
- Heavy prison sentences originally Conservative Party Policy.
- Both Conservative and Labour vying to be seen as the more competent administrators of a free market economy.
- Conservative admission that there will be no tax reductions during any first term in office.
- Issue of ‘green taxation’.
- Absence of real differences seen as a significant cause of fall in election turnout.
- Other relevant points.

**15 marks**

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

### Question A4

*Assess the influence of social class on voting behaviour.*

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

The influence of social class on voting behaviour  
The influence of other factors on voting behaviour  
**and**

Balanced comment on/analysis of the influence of social class on voting behaviour.

#### Answers may refer to:

- various measures of social class: Register General’s Social Scale, Standard Occupational Classification. The National Socio-Economic Classification Standard and links to voting behaviour.
- party support across social class seems to have continued along traditional lines; support was highest for the Conservatives in the top AB class and for Labour in the lower cohorts.
- Conservatives retained the largest share of AB vote and C1 vote. Share of C2 and DE rose from 2001 to 2005.
- Labour had the largest share of C2 and DE vote (but both fell).
- the Liberal Democrats increased their share in each group between 2001 and 2005.
- Labour has made long-term gains in the AB and C1 voters.
- Conservative lead over Labour in the ABC’s down from 35% between 1974 and 1992 to 5% or less in the 1997, 2001 and 2005 elections.
- Importance attached by political parties/psephologists to sub-groups within social classes: Mondeo Man/Worcester Woman/School Gate Mums.
- class dealignment – evidence that the electorate less committed (more floating voters) than in the past.
- Labour and Conservatives have won elections because they have been able to attract the support of people outside their core groups. While social class remains a strong indicator of party loyalty, social-economic divisions are much more complex than they used to be.
- Conservatives gained support amongst DE voters between 1997 and 2005.
- Labour gained support amongst AB voters between 1997 and 2005.
- changing nature of class.
- extent to which parties have abandoned their traditional ideological positions.
- in Scotland, different parties are in competition in socially similar areas. The electorate is aware of this and hence people of similar social backgrounds vote for different parties in different constituencies.
- the Rational Choice Model includes factors such as current issues, party leaders, past performance.
- the nature of the election, its importance, the workings of the electoral system being used are also now taken into account.
- Liberal Democrats did especially well in constituencies where there was a particular reason why voters might be disenchanted with Labour; those with large numbers of Muslim voters and those with large student populations.
- the Labour Party vote fell on average by over 5% more in seats with a relatively large Muslim population than it did in those with little or no such population. The increase in the Liberal Democrat vote meanwhile was around 5 points in such seats.
- the Labour Party vote fell by around 3% more in constituencies with large numbers of students, to the apparent benefit of the Liberal Democrat Party.

- the Green Party's best share of the vote (4.5%) came in constituencies where over 30% adults have a degree.
- the BNP did best in constituencies with relatively low proportions of people with a degree, especially if the constituency had a relatively large number of Muslims.
- UKIP did best in constituencies with a relatively large number of older people and, in places with few voters with degrees.
- Labour continues to be strong in its traditional heartlands in Scotland, Wales and the North of England. The Conservatives in the East and the South. Only in the South West did the Liberal Democrats secure 40% or more. In geographic terms, Scotland and Wales remain central to any Labour majority.
- no Conservative MPs in the big cities such as Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Sheffield and Glasgow.
- although gender appeared to have had little influence on party preference (34% of men and 38% women voted Labour) – 34/32 for Conservatives – there was a lower swing to the Conservatives among women (1.5%) than among men (5%).
- research claims that turnout increases by 4% in constituencies contested by women.
- among those in the 18-34 age group, 38% voted Labour, 27% Liberal Democrat and 21% Conservative.
- evidence suggests that it is no longer the case that people become significantly more inclined to vote, as they grow older.
- more than 81% of successful candidates served in the previous Parliament and only 18% elected for the first time.
- other relevant points.

**15 marks**

## Section B – Social Issues in the United Kingdom

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

#### Question B5

*Assess the effectiveness of government policies to reduce gender and ethnic inequalities.*

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

Government policies to reduce gender and ethnic inequalities

The impact of government policies on gender and ethnic inequalities

**and**

Balanced comment on/analysis of the effectiveness of government policies to reduce inequalities.

#### Answers may refer to:

- Child Tax Credit and Working Tax Credit.
- Government sees affordable child care as crucial to narrowing the wage gap.
- Minimum Wage and Statutory Pay Obligations.
- Maternity and Paternity leave.
- since 2003 companies have had to give serious consideration to employees (both genders) with children under six who request flexible working hours: one in five working women and one in ten men have taken up this ‘right to request’.
- Skills Strategy (July 2003) to address the fact that over 50% of women in part time work are working below their skill level.
- 2004: government set new Public Services Agreement targets for under-represented groups in senior management (two of which relate to women) for 2008.
- Equality Act (2006).
- Women’s Enterprise Task Force.
- Work and Families Act (2006) extended the right to request flexible working.
- Gender Equality Duty Code of Practice (from April 2007) places legal responsibility on public authorities to demonstrate that they treat men and women fairly. (implications for delivery of health care to both genders).
- Public Service Agreement Targets:
  - 37% women in the Senior Civil Service (SCS);
  - 30% women in top management posts (Pay Bands 2&3);
  - 4% ethnic minority staff in the SCS;
- the Commission for Equality and Human Rights (2007).
- Race Relations (Amendment) Act, 2000.
- Ethnic Minority Employment Task Force (2004) to tackle unemployment among black and Asian people.
- Education and Training policies.
- One Scotland.
- strategic review of local race equality work in Scotland (2004).
- gender pay gap between 2005 and 2006 at its lowest value since records began.
- women now 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 46% of all millionaires and are expected to own 60% of the UK’s wealth by 2010.
- EOC research shows women make up less than 10% of the senior judiciary, senior police officers, top business leaders, national newspaper editors and 0.8% of senior ranks in the armed forces, despite accounting for over half of the UK population and 46% of the labour force.

- higher women rise up the pay ladder, the greater pay gap becomes; 23% at director level.
- gender pay gap: UK women in full time work earn 17% less per hour than men. (new laws urgently needed to tackle this according to EOC recommendation, September 2007.)
- pay gap higher in the private sector than in the public sector.
- 155% increase in equal pay cases being lodged with tribunals between 2006-2007.
- occupational segregation: 70% of women with qualifications in science, engineering and technology do not work in those professions.
- state pension not 'gender proofed'.
- 'wraparound' state childcare policy, from 8am to 6pm unlikely to be in place before 2010.
- women from Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups (despite 'stellar' GSCE performance, likely to face a higher risk of unemployment, lower pay and fewer prospects for promotion.
- the CRE says that local government and the criminal justice system (including the police) have made good progress. However Whitehall departments, NHS trusts, further education colleges, district council and the Olympic Delivery Authority have fallen short.
- whereas there are 3, 460 white members of the senior civil service, only 70 are Asian and 20 black. Overall, just 4.1% of the top ranks come from a black or minority ethnic background.
- a study by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, reveals that ethnic minorities suffer twice the level of poverty of white Britons, as discrimination and disadvantage blight their life chances.
- the study finds that many Pakistanis and Bangladeshis are paid so little they are still classed as poor. 'Income poverty' traps 1 in 9 whites, but 6 out of 10 Bangladeshis, 4 out of 10 Pakistanis and 3 out of 10 Britons of black African heritage.
- "We have helped an additional quarter of a million people from ethnic minorities move into work over the last few years and the employment rate has risen to 60% in the last three years. But we are aware that more needs to be done." (Jim Murphy former minister for employment and welfare reform).
- other relevant points.

**15 marks**

## Question B6

*Critically examine the view that government, not individuals, should be responsible for health care and welfare provision.*

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

the *collectivist* and *individualist* approaches to health care and welfare provision Government health and welfare provision policies

Government health and welfare provision policies

**and**

Balanced comment on/analysis of the view that government, not individuals, should be responsible for health care and welfare provision.

### Answers may refer to:

- Collectivist emphasis on responsibility of government to invest in health and welfare to counteract inequalities borne by those who are victims of an exploitive system.
- original Beveridge principles of the welfare state; funded by social insurance and taxation, with citizens being provided for ‘from cradle to grave’, specifically with regards to health, housing, employment, education and poverty.
- public health care should be funded from taxation.
- Individualist emphasis on a reduced role for government, ‘lifestyle choices’ and greater individual responsibility.
- view that there is no such thing as society, only individuals.
- individuals should provide for their own health care through the private sector.
- view that the collectivist approach encourages a ‘dependency culture’.
- affordability of the welfare state dependent on getting even more people off benefit and into work.
- link between unemployment among lone parents and child poverty.
- Labour’s ‘Third Way’ – the welfare state exists for those in genuine need, but individuals have to be encouraged to become more self-sufficient.
- promotion of ‘social inclusion’ through ‘welfare to work’ policies with private sector involvement.
- welfare provision governed by ‘rights and responsibilities’/‘a hand up, not a hand out’.
- targeting and means – testing of benefits.
- Government response to the Turner Report on pensions.
- proposals for benefit reform.
- NHS continues to be supported from taxation; with mainstream clinical services staying public but the advantages of private sector involvement to meet targets is welcomed (less so in Scotland when Labour administered).
- emphasis on ‘healthy lifestyles’.
- Labour’s ‘holistic’ approach to health and welfare: health is not seen in isolation – its relationship to social class is acknowledged.
- Government has achieved success in lowering unemployment but there are still concerns about the high number of, for example, 1B claimants.
- the numbers in absolute poverty have gone down, but relative poverty has increased as the income gap between rich and poor has widened.
- health inequalities still a cause for concern.
- other relevant points.

**15 marks**

## Section C – International Issues

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

#### Question C7

*Assess the effectiveness of Black Economic Empowerment in reducing inequalities.*

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

The main aims and features of Black Economic Empowerment  
The impact of Black Economic Empowerment on reducing inequalities  
**and**  
Balanced comment on/analysis of the effectiveness of BEE in reducing economic inequalities.

#### Answers may refer to:

- BEE originally seen as a broad based government strategy that would transfer economic power to Blacks without disrupting the SA economy.
- BEE applies to skill, education and know-how as well as business.
- 1998 Employment Equity Act aimed at ensuring black South Africans get preferential treatment in hiring, promotion, university admission and the awarding of government contracts.
- 2004 BEE legislation contained more rigorous affirmative action.
- BEE Codes of Good Practice 2007 (to be reviewed in 10 years), involve transferring ownership to black people and women, ensuring representation at board and management level and preferential procurement of goods and services from black-and female-owned enterprises: setting of ambitious targets within 10-15 years.
- introduction of “generic score cards” 55 of the 100 points focussed on workers and those unlikely to have a shareholding in the company.
- many of BEE’s voluntarily agreed targets are modest and not all are expected to be achieved.
- BEE Advisory Council advises on and reviews BEE with aims of identifying sectors/stakeholders in economy that are BEE compliant.
- BEE mandatory only for government and state owned companies but BEE credentials pretty much required for those wishing to do business with the state.
- less than 2% of companies (accounting for 61% of the GDP) have to wrestle with the full codes. Foreign companies exempted from some of the rules.
- first informal phase of BEE saw it appointing party loyalists to senior posts in state corporations and using them as training grounds for future capitalists and managers.
- in 2004 - 68% BEE deals went to 6 black-owned (top ANC members’) businesses.
- growing and diversifying black middle class. BUPPIES (black and up and coming professionals) comprise 2.6 million “black diamonds” – a 30% increase in less than two years.
- Anglo American appointed its first black CEO in 2005.
- Patrice Motsepe – first black South African to make it to the Forbes Billionaires List (2008).
- 7% of the Stock Exchange ownership has moved into black hands (target 25%).
- whites control 90% of the assets and big companies.
- most companies nowhere near target of 40% black managers.
- many black businesses have failed or are struggling but successful black-owned businesses are now part of everyday life.
- pace of BEE varies from region to region. Progress slower in Kwa Zulu-Natal than in other areas.
- many BEE deals said to collapse into cronyism and corruption.
- except for a minority of instant millionaires, the majority of black people remain on the edges of the economy.

- income differentials between blacks and whites have declined.
- number of wealthy black households has increased far more quickly than whites.
- low income black households have dropped but whites have risen.
- whites total income share has fallen but blacks has risen.

BUT

- increase in number of people in shanty towns (5 toilets between 7000 people in Foreman Road).
- only 5% blacks obtaining university entrance qualifications.
- as high as 77% of children in the best state performing schools are white.
- Among the unemployed, 52% of blacks have no access to a regular wage earner.
- half of the local authority areas do not provide sanitation, clean water or rubbish collection to more than 40% of their households.
- 2m families live in shacks with no running water.
- whites have higher proportion of skilled or very skilled employment.
- skills deficit very much in evidence – South Africa had to import 2000 workers from Taiwan to build a new SASOL plant.
- 4.5m unemployed and an additional 3.5m who have given up looking for a job.
- 80% of unemployed aged between 15-34.
- 4m living on less than \$1 a day (2m in 1994).
- two thirds of South Africa's income held by a (mostly white) top 20%.
- view that BEE is about the transfer, not the transformation of power. It has turned South African into a 'cappuccino' society: a lot of black coffee at the bottom, a layer of white foam on top and a sprinkling cocoa on the very top for show. There has neither led to a wider distribution of wealth nor to a greater opening up of opportunities for previously disadvantaged individuals.
- view that BEE is disempowerment for whites and Asians.
- other relevant points.

**15 marks**

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

### Question C8

*Critically examine the view that China is becoming a more democratic society.*

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

Evidence of ‘democracy’ in China.

The ‘undemocratic’ features of Chinese society.

**and**

Balanced comment on/analysis of the extent to which China is becoming a more democratic society.

#### Answers may refer to:

- constitution guarantees the fundamental rights of all citizens, including freedom of speech.
- in March 1999, the National People’s Congress (NPC) included the concept of rule of law into China’s constitution.
- more open reporting of issues of concern in the media.
- political reform officially on the CPC agenda and is being introduced from the bottom up.
- contested elections in villages every three years since 1988, but these are controlled by the CPC through the selection/monitoring of candidates; direct elections at village and more recently township level are by law supposed to be free but local officials are thought to interfere/manipulate; evidence of arrests of villagers/lawyers who protest about selection process/results.
- talk of elections at county level and perhaps higher.
- Hong Kong (since 1997): half of government is non-communist and democratically elected although the leader is appointee of the CPC; free press, freedom of association, etc.
- 2007 saw first ever contest in the election (chosen by committee of 800 pro-Beijing ‘voters’) for the chief executive of Hong Kong – winner had to put on a show of electioneering.
- reform of the legal system in response to the market economy.
- in 2006 the Supreme Court reclaimed the power to review all death sentences.
- dissidents allowed to funeral service of deposed party chief Zhao Ziyang in 2005 and in November 2006 CPC organised a public commemoration of the 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the late Hu Yaoang, ousted because of reformist beliefs.
- widening of CPC membership to private business people who make up one third of membership but this is seen more as a pragmatic move to support business and not to extend democracy.
- anonymous text message on mobile phones prompted inhabitants of Xiamen to join one of the biggest middle class protests of recent years (May 2007). Protest (successful) was against plans to build huge chemical factory on a site in the suburbs.
- China remains a one party state with the Communist Party of China (CPC) in overall control.
- CPC controls the government by screening appointments and promotions to all posts: all appointments must be approved by the level above; there are elections to local and national congresses but direct election only at the lowest level.
- Organised opposition to CPC banned.
- CPC’s power not as great as in earlier years; weakened by fiscal and administrative decentralisation but CPC continues to control the overall direction of policy.

- report on Building of Political Democracy in China 2005 stressed the continued rule of the CPC. ‘Democracy’ in CPC speak does not mean allowing organised opposition.
- CPC does not allow free speech, a free media or organised protests but more grassroots organisations/activities beginning to develop; CPC tries to manage those who threaten indirectly and suppress those who challenge directly.
- Reporters Without Borders (RSF) rates China 163/167 in the world for press freedom.
- outspoken newspapers or editors sacked. *Bing Dian* closed in 2006 reputedly as part of a long-nurtured scheme to silence the paper’s “pursuit of democracy, rule of law, deliberation, liberty and rights”, according to its editor.
- high number of imprisoned journalists – 31 in 2006.
- Police force of 30,000 on-line monitors – dissidents who net-post views are imprisoned.
- evidence of lengthy detentions without trial for dissidents.
- no open elections in Hong Kong before 2017 and all candidates will have to be approved by central government. 2020 at earliest before Hong Kong citizens will have the right to directly elect all members of the city’s legislature.
- crackdown on Falun Gong.
- events in Xinjiang and Tibet.
- other relevant points.

**15 marks**

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

### Question C9

*Assess the effectiveness of Congress and the Supreme Court in checking the powers of the President.*

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

The powers of the President of the United States of America

The ways in which Congress and the Supreme Court can check the powers of the President  
**and**

Balanced comment on/analysis of the effectiveness of Congress and the Supreme Court in checking the powers of the President.

#### Answers may refer to:

- powers of the President laid out in the Constitution.
- Chief ambassador – determines foreign policy and diplomacy; appoints ambassadors and diplomats.
- may propose legislation at any time; calling a press conference; making an announcement at a public event.
- can issue rules/regulations and instructions (Executive Orders)\* that have the force of law and do not need Congressional approval *but may be declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.* (\*173 in Bush’s first term).
- submits the budget to Congress.
- signs legislation; can refuse to release money for legislation that he disapproves.
- President can issue ‘signing statements’ in which he gives directions about the ways in which legislation should be understood and interpreted.
- can adjourn/recall Congress *but Congress does not have to pass any laws during special sessions.*
- may veto legislation. Must act within ten congressional working days of receiving a bill from Congress. Only vetoes bills he is likely to be unsuccessfully challenged on (always studies final passage votes). In 2001-5, Bush was the first president since 1841 to get through an entire 4-year term without using a veto.
- Bush’s first use of the veto was in July 2006 (Stem Cell Research Enhancement Act). *A two-thirds majority vote in both the Senate and the House can override a veto as was the case in November 2007 (a bill authorising spending on water projects) – the first successful overturning of a presidential veto since 1998.*
- for a brief period between 1997 and 1998 Clinton had the ‘line item veto’ power *until the Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional.*
- ‘pocket’ veto can be used only at the end of a congressional session. *Congress cannot override.*
- runs the executive branch of the federal government and nominates executive branch officials and all federal judges (including the 9 Supreme Court Judges). *Senate confirms appointments by simply majority vote.*
- may make a ‘recess appointment’. Bush’s recess appointment of John Bolton as US ambassador to the UN bypassed the need for Senate confirmation.
- acts as Commander in Chief of armed forces (has power to wage war while *constitutionally* Congress declares and funds it); may call out the National Guard.
- In 2002 Bush claimed an inherent presidential authority to order military actions to pre-empt hostile action against the USA. What constitutes a threat is at the discretion of the president.
- Negotiates treaties. *Congress scrutinises and a 2/3 Senate majority is required for ratification.*

- *in 2007 Bush lost the power to negotiate trade deals without Congressional backing.*
- may commute a sentence (commuted Lewis ‘Scooter’ Libby’s 30 month prison sentence in 2007) and issue a pardon at any time, even before a crime is charged, *but the power to grant pardon does not extend to impeachment.*
- appoints the Executive Office of the President.
- may make ‘personal interventions’ and issue ‘statements’. When a Bill banning the ‘cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment of detainees by Americans anywhere in the world’ was signed, a statement was issued reserving the right of the President to flout it.
- the House of Representatives may impeach the President. Senate conducts the trial. (*Speaker Pelosi has made it clear that impeachment proceedings against either the Vice-President or the President are “off the table”*).
- Legislative and nominee filibusters.
- Supreme Court can declare the actions of any member of the executive branch, including the President, to be unconstitutional. (Judicial Review).
- when the Supreme Court ruled that Mr Bush had exceeded his authority in setting up, without congressional approval, special military commissions to try some of the Guantanamo detainees, the President pushed through the 2006 Military Commission Act giving him just such authority.
- Terry Schiavo case (2005).
- resignation of US attorney general Alberto Gonzales seen as a congressional ‘scalp’.
- President often referred to as ‘bargainer-in-chief’.
- No Child Left Behind legislation passed with bipartisan support because the Democrats liked the extra money Bush threw in to sweeten the deal.
- Bush’s reform plans for social security failed – as did those on immigration (but was able to end ‘catch and release’ via an address to the nation).
- Bush found it difficult to get bills through Congress (before Democratic 2006 mid-term elections successes) because of divisions in his own party.
- presidential power traditionally thrives in emergency and crisis conditions.
- claim that Bush has marginalised Congress and established an ‘imperial presidency’.
- second term Presidents seen as ‘lame ducks’.
- other relevant points.

**15 marks**

## Study Theme 3D – The European Union

### Question C10

*Asses the impact of enlargement on the European Union.*

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

The positive consequences of enlargement  
Concerns over recent and possible future enlargement  
**and**  
Balanced comment on/analysis of the impact of enlargement on the EU.

#### Answers may refer to:

- increase from 15 to 25 members in 2004, to 27 in 2007.
- Romania and Bulgaria became the 26<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> members at start of 2007.
- Croatia is engaged in formal membership talks. Macedonia has achieved candidate status and others are waiting in the wings.
- the Copenhagen criteria for membership include democracy, a free market economy, observance of human and minority rights, and political stability.
- stronger, peaceful and more stable Europe – lead up to membership has stimulated a wide range of social and economic reforms in new member states.
- has further promoted the rule of law and respect for human rights in new democracies.
- has helped the east European countries as they moved from communist central planning to liberal democracy.
- a more influential voice in international affairs.
- countries of western Balkans have been pacified and stabilised after the bloody 1990's thanks mainly to their hopes of EU membership.
- weakens Franco-German domination.
- opportunities for business.
- cheap labour good for economies of richer members.
- UK, Ireland and Swedish economies said to have gained the most (they immediately fully opened their labour markets to workers from the new entrants.)
- closer cooperation in dealing with crime.
- changes made in Turkey to boost hopes of membership.
- French and Dutch rejections of the constitution in 2005 partly reflected dissatisfaction over the 2004 enlargement.
- fears that EU machinery, originally designed for 6 members, cannot function effectively with 30 or more members.
- the *widening* (admitting new members) as *against* deepening (further integration of new members) dispute.
- impact on decision-making procedures – each member has veto on foreign policy making.
- relocation of business to countries with lower labour costs and worse social protection.
- immigration control issues.
- implications of extension of Schengen Agreement, which allows people to cross borders without having their passports checked, to 25 members (not UK and Ireland).
- demands on structural funds; losers and winners in development aid stakes.
- budgetary issues – UK rebate; CAP reform (or lack of it).
- new members likely to resist initiatives that cost more than they can easily afford.
- concerns about some new members being too pro-USA and too quick to provoke Russia.
- Poland the only member to block the start of negotiations with Russia on a new partnership agreement.
- Polish threat to veto any alteration to voting rights.

- many measures judged necessary to ensure that the enlarged union could continue to function put on hold by EU constitution stalling in 2005 after referendum defeats in France and Holland.
- Nice Treaty can only function in a union of a maximum 27 members – no more can join until a new treaty is in place.
- UK and Denmark now joined by Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic as non-euro members.
- Turkey accepted as eligible in 1963. If it ever joins it could become the most populous member by 2020 with more voting weight and more European Members than Germany.
- David Milliband's suggestion that the EU should expand beyond Europe to Russia, Middle East and Africa.
- implications of the Lisbon Treaty.
- enlargement brings economic benefits, cements political stability in Eastern Europe and lessens the prospects of a federal Europe.
- 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 importance of education and health care to successful development.*

**“Pass” and better answers should feature developed, exemplified knowledge and understanding with reference to specific African countries (excluding the Republic of South Africa) of:**

The role of education and health care in development

Other factors that contribute to development

**and**

Balanced comment on/analysis of the importance of education and health care to successful development.

#### Answers may refer to:

- education and health care provision (neither widely available free of charge in Africa), seen as fundamental to a country’s economic and social development.
- impact of literacy levels, school enrolment, levels of expenditure on health and education (public and private) in both actual and percentage terms, life expectancy, and infant/child mortality rates on development.
- lack of properly trained teachers, overcrowded classrooms, lack of teaching resources.
- African countries cannot afford to fund free health care. Health care professionals attracted by conditions in more developed nations.
- impact of HIV/Aids and Malaria.
- initiatives to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger/empower women/make cash available to encourage local businesses (on average it takes 64 days to register a business in Africa).
- importance of property rights and the rule of law.
- impact of other factors on development: good governance, conflict, debt, aid (and its uses), international investment, globalisation, types and levels of a country’s natural resources.
- Millennium Project has set up 12 “research villages” (target of 1000 by 2009) in 10 African countries to pioneer models of development (The Magnificent Seven) that can be copied but there is an admission that successful implementation depends upon foreign aid.
- even when aid is “properly” used, development does not come overnight: when Zambia’s foreign debt was reduced; most of the savings were spent on recruiting teachers and improving health care (fees for basic health care removed). Nevertheless, Zambia remains poor and still depends on aid.
- Mali is one of only five African countries to have fully qualified for America’s Millennium Challenge Account with its stringent criteria for good governance.
- Niger is the second poorest country on the planet but it is a democracy and has a free press. There has been a very slow response to its problems.
- according to the IMF, Africa’s economy is growing steadily but this masks differences between countries whose economies are improving (in many cases those rich in natural resources) and those, like Zimbabwe, and more recently, Kenya, whose are going backwards.
- similarly, there are development differences within specific countries. (Sudan has an oil-rich but undeveloped south complementing an educated, commercial north with few natural resources). Northern government feels no obligation either to share its wealth with poorer peripheral provinces or to behave well towards them.

- recognition by **both** the UN Investing in Development: A Practical Plan to achieve the Millennium Goals **and** the Commission For Africa that “more aid is needed to meet Africa’s development needs”. However “outsiders cannot deliver development, it must be done by Africans” (Commission for Africa report).
- Africa’s population continues to increase with nothing like the required rate of economic growth to sustain it. Population growth has been described as the ‘unmentionable’, the elephant in the corner of the room.
- other relevant points.

**15 marks**

## Study Theme 3F – Global Security

### Question C12

*Critically examine the part played by the USA in achieving global security.*

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

The part played by the USA in achieving global security  
Concerns about the part played by the USA in achieving global security  
**and**  
Balanced comment on/analysis of the part played by the USA in achieving global security.

#### Answers may refer to:

- significance of both UN and NATO membership.
- spends the most money on UN peacekeeping. Pays about 26% of the cost for UN peacekeeping missions – size of contribution limited by US domestic law.
- has frequently led demands for reform of the UN, hinting that otherwise its financial contribution may fail.
- support crucial to election of Ban Ki Moon as UN Secretary General. View that the USA supported a weak candidate in order to undermine an organisation with which it has always had problems.
- provides 0.5% of UN peacekeeping personnel – president retains command of military personnel.
- view that without strong US leadership and involvement the UN would not amount to much and there is no hope of a peaceful and stable future for humanity this century.
- Gives protection to NATO and strongly supports the NATO Response Force.
- preferred to act alone after 9/11 despite NATO invoking Article 5 of its treaty – an attack on one ally is an attack on all.
- chose allied units in coalitions of the willing to go to war (on terror) in Afghanistan.
- protracted US/NATO difficulties in Afghanistan, where Americans bear the brunt of the fighting.
- invasion of Iraq in 2003, led by USA and UK (opposed by France and Germany): consequences for long-term peace and security in the area.
- NATO as a whole declined to send troops to Iraq (apart from a small training mission) but eventually agreed to take over ISAF (International Security Assistance Force) in Afghanistan.
- Taliban and Saddam Hussein speedily toppled from power but war on terror has since appeared to go less well.
- US forces retain responsibility for hunting down al-Qaeda’s fugitive figurehead Osama Bin Laden.
- relentless US diplomatic pressure to secure peace in the Middle East (Road Map); pressure on Israel to withdraw from Lebanon.
- USA-led Proliferation Security Initiative as a response to concerns over spread of WMD.
- 2007 Creation of AFRICOM (U.S Africa Command).
- USA played a big role in ending the war between north and south Sudan but the UN’s failure to stop either the atrocities in Darfur or the nuclear posturing of Iran and North Korea has stemmed largely from the inability of the so-called P5 (of which the USA is one) to agree on what should be done.
- USA opposed the Ethiopian invasion of Somalia in 2006 to topple the Union of Islamic Courts but gave assistance after the event.
- October 2007 sanctions against Iran seen as a reflection of USA’s despair at the UN.

- Russia blames US push for eastward expansion of NATO and US support for groups that have toppled governments in the former soviet sphere of influence for increased tension.
- plans for USA's missile defence plans for Europe seen as a threat to global security by Russia – USA accused of reigniting the arms race. Russia has threatened to place missiles in Belarus and has halted its participation in the Conventional Forces in Europe treaty.
- US policy towards North Korea and Iran (axis of evil), has heightened tension but could be seen to reduce nuclear proliferation and through joint diplomacy with others, has secured agreement for North Korea/Iran not to develop weapons-grade nuclear material.
- USA (has positioned the 2<sup>nd</sup> aircraft carrier group in the Gulf) seen as being on a collision course with Iran which it accuses of support for insurgents in Iraq and over Iran's continued attempts to develop regional supremacy.
- USA rejected the International Landmine Treaty.
- USA has given immunity to US subjects involved in actions to combat terrorism.
- accusations that the USA is a major arms supplier worldwide.
- Americans emphasise counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency, Europeans are more comfortable with peacekeeping and stabilisation.
- USA is in a position to play a decisive role in achieving global security – given its military, economic and technological capabilities – but it has always had a tendency towards unilateralism.
- other relevant points.

**15 marks**

[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]