2009 Modern Studies

Higher – Paper 1

Finalised Marking Instructions

General Instructions

1. Carefully *process* the answer. This means 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 assigning 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

Assess the impact of devolution on decision making for Scotland.

> **"Pass" and better answers should feature developed, exemplified knowledge and understanding of:**
>
> The impact of the devolved powers on decision making for Scotland.
> The impact of other features of devolution on decision making for Scotland.
> **And**
> Balanced comment on/analysis of the impact of devolution on decision making in Scotland.

Answers may refer to:

The devolved powers.
- Provide the opportunity to deliver "Scottish solutions to Scottish problems."
- Legislation enacted by the Scottish parliament that would have been unlikely to be passed within the time constraints imposed at Westminster.
- Criticisms made of "waste of time legislation": the Fur Farming (Prohibition) Scotland Bill – Scotland didn't have any fur farms. The Anti-Social Behaviour Bill of 2004 aimed at cutting youth crime but it increased; view that things have not even improved for foxes, with more killed after abolition than before.
- Criticisms that debates often staged on matters over which the Scottish Parliament has no control, for example, identity cards.

The reserved powers
- Disputes arising from these: nuclear power, extradition of Libyan prisoners, control over elections, financial help to scrap council tax and fund free personal care, share of Westminster funding for English prison building, immigration and asylum (Vucaj case).
- "Barnett Formula" funding levels for Scotland.
- Sewel Motions (instances when it is convenient for legislation on devolved matters to be passed by the UK Parliament).
- Retention by Westminster of responsibility for fiscal and monetary policy leaves the Scottish parliament impotent in the face of world economic and financial crisis.

The electoral system
- Significance of same/different party-led governments at Holyrood and Westminster.
- Resulting coalition and minority led governments have been criticised as being "legislation light" (in the SNP's first year of government, nine bills were introduced of which five passed).
- View that the Scottish Parliament has been used more as a forum of debate with the First Minister governing outside it by executive order (reversal of hospital closures, reduction in prescription charges) – "relying on the strength of argument in parliament, not the argument of parliamentary strength".
- Concern that little or no progress has been made on a number of pledges in the SNP 2007 election manifesto.

- The role of the Joint Ministerial Committees.
- View that the respective roles of the Scotland Office, Scottish Secretary and (reduced number of) Scottish MPs at Westminster are being marginalised.
- 2002 survey findings that 48% of councillors thought that devolution had reduced the role of local government.
- Calman Commission interim report (December 2008) made no recommendations about extending devolution.

- Other relevant points.

15 marks

Study Theme 1B – Decision Making in Central Government

Question A2

Backbench MPs have little influence on decision making in Central Government.
Discuss.

> **"Pass" and better answers should feature developed, exemplified knowledge and understanding of:**
>
> The opportunities for and ways in which backbench MPs may influence decision making in Central Government.
> The limitations on the opportunities and ways in which backbench MPs may influence decision making in Central Government.
> **And**
> Balanced comment on/analysis of the view that backbench MPs have little influence on decision making in Central Government.

Answers may refer to:

- Opportunities for backbench MPs to influence decision making in central government include debates, select committees, standing committees, House of Commons inquiries, Ministerial Question Time, Prime Minister Question Time, liaison committee, early day motions, Ten Minute Rule Bills, Private Members Bills, Opposition days, Parliamentary Party groups and divisions.
- Ministers see questions in advance although supplementary questions are allowed.
- Prime Ministers questions not seen in advance but no supplementary questions are allowed.
- MPs can write to the speaker indicating a desire to speak in debate but no guarantee that they will be called.
- Standing committees (which scrutinise every new law) are thinly attended and skip over chunks of each bill.

- MPs don't have the time to look at legislation in detail – have to put more energy into their constituency work if they want to get re-elected.
- "Influence" limited by the whip system, the executive's control of the parliamentary timetable and the payroll vote.
- The Government controls the legislative timetable.
- Tony Blair's first ever defeat came in 2005 on the proposal to allow detention of suspected terrorists for 90 days.
- Backbench influence may depend upon a number of factors including the size of the Government majority, party loyalty and discipline, weight of public opinion.
- Ministers expect almost as a matter of course to have to bargain and persuade if they are to limit backbench revolts.
- Ban on Foxhunting on the Statute Book because Labour MPs refused to let it go – rejecting all Government offers of compromise.
- There was extensive consultation on the Welfare Bill (2006). Ministers wrote personally to the 100 MPs with the highest concentration of IB claimants, offering to discuss the proposals with both MPs and their constituents in the MPs constituencies. Original proposals were watered down.
- Claim that Tony Blair's first defeat (Terrorism Bill in November 2005) was brought about by a failure to listen to backbenchers.
- The January 2006 defeat (Racial and Religious Hatred Bill) caused by the whips getting the numbers wrong – allowing too many Labour MPs to be absent for campaigning in a by-election. The Prime Minister was allowed to leave the Commons before the second (lost by just one vote) division.

- Backbenchers secured complete smoking ban in England in preference to the partial ban favoured (in line with Labour's 2005 Manifesto promise) by the Government.
- Education and Inspections Bill (2006), a key plank in the Labour Government's legislative programme only passed as a result of opposition support.
- View that backbenchers secured a compensation package for those most affected by the abolition of the 10p income tax rate (2008) denied by Gordon Brown, claiming he was not "pushed about" by Labour MPs.
- The 103 back-bench rebellions (30% of all divisions) during the 2007 – 08 Westminster session was the most inflicted on any governing party for more than 30 years (but 3/4 of the revolts consisted of fewer than ten Labour MP's.)
- Despite the rebellions the Government won every whipped vote.

- Other relevant points.

15 marks

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

Question A3

To what extent are there ideological differences within and between the main political parties?

"Pass" and better answers should feature developed, exemplified knowledge and understanding of:

Ideological differences within the main political parties.
Ideological differences between the main political parties.
And
Balanced comment on/analysis of the extent to which there are ideological differences within and between the main political parties.

Answers may refer to:

- British politics looks like it is becoming an increasingly ideology-free zone.
- Blair claimed he was "beyond ideology" and Cameron has said he does not do "isms".
- UK political party ideologies less clear-cut than in the past. Core ideology has largely been abandoned in favour of pragmatic policies.
- Parties moving towards the centre ground with so-called 'big-tent' policies.
- Politics is no longer a case of "one party that solely believes in a modern market economy and doesn't understand society and the other party that is solely committed to some sense of social obligation to others and doesn't understand a market economy".
- Parties fighting their political battles away from the ideological centre ground and the mainstream issues get punished; 'what works is what counts'.
- View that UK politics is characterised not by ideological differences but by who can bring about the best competitive economy, social justice and community.
- Whilst politicians on both sides like to present themselves as un-ideological, their ideologies are just becoming increasingly similar.

The Labour Party

- The 'third way' – an effort to merge some of Labour's embedded ideals with the changes made under years of Conservative government (through 'triangulation') became the unofficial ideology of the Labour Party.
- Left wing members claim that the party has abandoned its socialist roots and become 'Thatcherism with a human face'. They argue that collective action is vital in a world where individuals feel more powerless than ever before, and criticise Conservative policies (where they grudgingly acknowledge them) as being based on hostility to collective action, especially through the state.
- Resurfacing of the radical left at the 2008 party conference as a consequence of the need for a 'state' response to financial meltdown and a 'party' response to quash any possibility of a Conservative Party electoral success.
- Scottish Labour Party has not fully embraced the 'third way'.

The Conservative Party

- Cameron's third way version attempts to reconcile core Conservative principles to the changes made by years of Labour government and:
    - endorses Labour's view that poverty in Britain is a pressing issue. However his team attack measures that increase voters' reliance on the state.
    - refutes Thatcherism's claim that tax cuts are the allies of a stable economy. (New Labour cultivated the view that tax cuts would destabilise the economy.)
    - concedes that offenders sometimes merit sympathy as well as punishment thus provoking the tabloid 'hug a hoodie' jibe.
    - agrees that rights need formal, legislative protection.
    - urges party members to be less vocal in their Euroscepticism.
    - tones down the party's view on immigration claiming that Labours 'lax' immigration policies have encouraged a 'new slave trade'.
    - embraces environmental politics.
    - makes the Conservative party look more inclusive – recognition of gay and lesbian couples who cement their relationships via the new Civil Partnerships Act + promise that they too would benefit from a restored marriage tax allowance.
- Cameron's *Built to Last* (2006) endorsed by barely 1/5 in an all-party ballot. It listed 8 'values'; in a March 2006 Populus poll for The Times, respondents wrongly attributed 5 of the statements to Labour rather than the Conservatives.
- Internal differences over grammar school-social mobility, and Europe.
- Many members alienated by refusal to promise tax cuts.
- Graham Brady resigned from the front bench over betrayal of grammar schools.
- In recent leadership contests, Conservative leftists argued for greater social tolerance in order to make the party more attractive to minority groups while those on the right argued that social freedom had already gone too far and it was time for a reassertion of traditional values.
- View that the New Tories are a decaffeinated blend of New Labour.

The Liberal Democrat Party

- The belief in the rational individual is the hallmark of liberal ideology.
- Authors of *The Orange Book, Reclaiming Liberalism* (2004) showed they were keen to embrace the 'Thatcherite' economic ideas.
- Drifting into the middle ground. Plans to cut income tax and embrace market reforms in the NHS.
- View that the Liberal Democrat commitment to social justice weakening.
- Divided between modernisers, keen to bring fresh rigour to policy-making and more left-wing traditionalists.
- In rejecting either Simon Hughes or Chris Huhne as their new leader it seems to have opted against a decisive move either to the left or the right.

The Scottish Nationalist Party

- Describes itself as a democratic left-of-centre party committed to independence for Scotland, internationalist in outlook and liberal in its social policies.
- Historically collectivist (although possibility of 'mutualisation' being included in the party's manifesto for the 2011 Holyrood elections) – its main issue is between 'gradualism' and 'fundamentalism'.

- Other relevant points.

15 marks

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

Question A4

Critically examine the view that the media is the most important influence on voting behaviour.

"Pass" and better answers should feature developed, exemplified knowledge and understanding of:

The influence of the media on voting behaviour.
Other factors that influence voting behaviour.
And
Balanced comment on/analysis of the view that the media is the most important influence on voting behaviour.

Answers may refer to:

- Most people get their political news from television, which by law must remain neutral, although political parties would complain that it does not.
- Parties feel that Party Political Broadcasts are important but most people claim to either turn off or turn over.

- Around half of the UK households take a newspaper on a daily basis. Newspapers clearly biased.
- Evidence suggests that voters tend to choose a newspaper that supports their political outlook or they mainly read stories that agree with their politics.
- Many readers are neither affected by political bias nor aware of the political stance taken by their reading material.
- Political parties still court partisan press support. The *Sun* claims to have helped Labour win the last three elections.
- 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 2005, 5 of the 10 national daily newspapers with almost 16m readers supported Labour against 3 with 10m readers who backed the Conservatives. Sunday papers split 4/4. The *News of the World, Sunday Mirror*, the *People* and the *Observer* with 9.4 million readers backed Labour, while, the *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Express* returned to the Conservatives, joining the *Mail on Sunday* and *Sunday Telegraph*, together with a total readership of 7 million.
- Several papers supported tactical voting; according to MORI the election coverage by the two newspapers most anguished about Iraq (*Guardian & Independent*) persuaded many of their readers into a tactical vote for the Liberal Democrats.
- With tabloid sales falling year-by-year many editors believe that a political front page is nigh on commercial suicide. During April 2005 more than 3/4 tabloid front pages featured stories other than the election.
- In the 2005 election, newspapers' online editions played a significant role in election coverage and were used by considerable numbers of voters, particularly the young.
- Scottish 2007 campaign fought by the media on the front pages and high in the bulletins unlike 1999 and 2003 when war reporting filled much available space. SNP sought to dampen pro Labour bias by sending poll evidence to newspaper editors to stress how many of their readers were pro-Nationalist.
- As Labour's campaign failed to impact on the SNP's poll lead, several editors turned up the heat on the Nationalists (The Sun, depicting an SNP victory with a hangman's noose).

- The final Sunday of campaigning saw four newspapers back Alex Salmond as First Minister and the Scotsman followed suit.

- Many radio listeners already have a committed political allegiance.

- Each of the parties had a website and the 2005 election was the first to feature candidate blogs with 'proxy blogs' being written for candidates whether they liked it or not.
- Lynne Featherstone who won Hornsey and Wood Green for the Liberal Democrats on a 15% swing wrote a daily blog. She felt that because journalists read it and commented on what she posted, the site 'had a significant role in raising her profile'.

- View that it is probably the day-to-day spin in the mass-market tabloids that sways some voters, particularly those least interested in politics.
- Much of the media portrayal of politicians and government is negative; impact on voter turnout?
- View that 'rational choice model' (policies, competence and leadership) has taken over from 'social structures model' (class, age, gender) as most important influence on voting behaviour.
- Party dealignment.
- Party strategists convinced that women hold the key to who wins and who loses elections.
- Constituency campaigning used to be widely viewed as a traditional, familiar but ultimately pointless activity. Recent research has shown that the more intense the local campaign the greater the turnout in that constituency. In most cases it has been found that the stronger a party's campaign is in a constituency, the better it does there in the election.

- 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 impact of income on health.

> **"Pass" and better answers should feature developed, exemplified knowledge and understanding of:**
>
> The impact of income on health.
> Other factors that impact on health.
> **And**
> Balanced comment on/analysis of the impact of income on health.

Answers may refer to:

- Statistical evidence from both government-generated reports and independent health research identifies the link between income, morbidity and mortality.
- Adults in the poorest fifth twice as likely to be at risk of developing a mental illness as those on average incomes.
- Among those aged 45 to 64, 45% of men and 40% of women in the poorest fifth report a limiting longstanding illness or disability, compared with 10% and 15% respectively for those in the richest fifth.
- The rate of infant death among social classes 1 to 4 is around 4 per 1,000 live births, compared with 5.5 for those in social classes 5 to 8.
- Those at the lowest end of the social spectrum have the highest consumption of 'junk food' and lowest of fruit and vegetables.
- People on low incomes cannot afford, and seldom have access to, shops selling good food.
- Women on below average incomes are twice as likely to be obese as women on above-average earnings.
- Unskilled men have a shorter life expectancy overall.
- Better off can afford better diets, leisure activities that promote good health, better housing and safer environments.
- Middle and professional classes more likely to consult health professionals, know how to get the best out of the system, and follow positive health promotion advice.
- Better off can afford the option of private health care.
- Almost half of all adults in the poorest fifth of the population have a limiting long-standing illness or disability (twice the rate for those on average incomes).
- There is a high incidence of heart disease in poorest areas of Scotland.
- Wealthiest area in Scotland (Bellsquarry) has life expectancy of 87.7 years while Glasgow is 54 for males – Shettleston Man as a personification of Glasgow's ills.
- A child born in Calton, in the east end of Glasgow is three times as likely to suffer heart disease and four times as likely to be hospitalised than a child in the city's prosperous suburbs.
- Difference in life expectancy between the best and worst areas in Edinburgh is 22 years (9 years in the Highlands).

- "Biology of poverty": View that extreme poverty can make people more susceptible to diseases such as cancer; biological factors may also be important in explaining the gap in health and lifespan between rich and poor as well as lifestyle and diet; people who are continually exposed to stress as a result of chronic social deprivation are more likely to suffer disease and cell malfunction.

- Women from ethnic minorities are twice as likely as white women to die during childbirth or soon afterwards (Maternity Alliance Report).
- Women have lower mortality but higher morbidity rates than men.
- Only 8.5% of those dying of cancer aged over 85 die in a hospice compared with 20% of all cancer deaths – illustrating inequalities in the way that care and support are made available to older people.

- Age, ethnicity, geography, lifestyle, social class, geography, the 'postcode lottery'.

15 marks

Question B6

Critically examine the success of recent government policies to reduce poverty.

"Pass" and better answers should feature developed, exemplified knowledge and understanding of:

Recent government policies to reduce poverty.
The consequences of these policies to reduce poverty
And
Balanced comment on/analysis of the success of government policies to reduce poverty.

Answers may refer to:

'Welfare to Work'
- 300,000 extra lone mothers have found employment – but these strategies have left behind large families or those with disabled children.
- Some five million women (20%) and four million men (18%) belong to households in poverty. This gap is half what it was in the mid-1990s. The fall reflects the decline in the poverty rates for two kinds of single adult households in which women predominate: lone parents and single pensioners.
- There are more poor adults in relative poverty since records began in 1961.
- Number of adults without children who live in poverty has changed little in a decade.

Tax credits
- Lifted lots of lone parents and families with children out of poverty.
- Things have improved in relative terms. Fewer children now live in what would have been called poverty a decade ago.
- If government had merely increased tax allowances and benefits in line with inflation since 1999 there would be 1.7m more poor children in the UK today.
- As the number of children helped by tax credits to escape poverty has increased, so too has the number needing tax credits to do so.
- Half the children in poverty are in families already doing paid work; this means that the key proposition behind the anti-poverty strategy – 'work is the route out of poverty' does not apply for many people. The underlying problem is low pay (despite **National Minimum Wage**).
- Target to halve child poverty by 2010 and end it by 2020 looks 'unattainable' as it would mean 300,000 children being moved out of poverty in each of the four years to 2010-11.
- 250,000 children in Scotland live in poverty.
- Most of the young adults aged 16 to 24 now in poverty were children when the Government first pledged to abolish child poverty in 1999. Two-thirds of them are single and without dependent children, many still living at home with their parents.
- UK child poverty is still above the EU average.

The [Means Tested] **Minimum Income Guarantee and Pension Credit**
- The big fall in poverty among pensioners, especially single pensioners, claimed as a major success of the anti-poverty strategy.
- These can have rapid and substantial effects on those with the lowest incomes but do not address the root of the problem.

Sure Start
- Recent research has proved it to be both popular and on track.
- Critics claim that it is ill-targeted (particularly failing ethnic minority groups), poorly implemented and a colossal waste of money.

Scottish Government initiatives

- Free school meals, reduction and phased elimination of prescription charges, the "Equally Well" agenda, A Curriculum for Excellence, 3-18 (to improve life skills and employability).

Fuel Poverty

- When more than 10% of income has to be spent on keeping warm.
- Government policy aims to eradicate fuel poverty among the elderly, disabled, children and long-term sick by 2010.
- Claim that there has been a significant reduction in the number of fuel-poor homes.
- Many households have been helped with cost of installing insulation and central heating.
- UK Government proposal (2008) that data identifying poorer families could be shared with companies to ensure they pay cheaper rates. (Most of the energy companies have "social tariffs".)
- Agreement reached with the power companies to increase the amount of money they spend in helping people get on to lower tariffs and helping people insulate their homes.
- Energywatch claims more than 4 million households in fuel poverty (2.5m officially).

- Median income rises most years, so meeting any poverty reduction target is like "running up and down an escalator" according to Beverley Hughes (Minister for Children).
- Overall improvements in health (**increased health expenditure**) or educational achievement (**"Education, Education, Education"**) have sometimes left the most disadvantaged lagging even further behind.
- Well-meaning anti-poverty measures have nurtured a "why bother" society.
- The clawing back of benefits as people find better-paying jobs has undercut incentives for people to strive to improve their lot.
- The Tax Credits 'fiasco'.
- Those moving from the minimum wage to one of two thirds of average earnings can take home as little as 11p of every extra pound they earn as a consequence of the high marginal tax rates created by the benefits system.
- A growth in means-testing or other forms of targeting has allowed limited resources to be focused on those in greatest need but may have led to problems of take up and of widening disincentives to work or save.
- Complexity of claiming means tested benefits.
- 40% of ethnic minorities live in poverty. This is double the proportion for whites. Even Indians and Chinese are much likelier than whites to be poor despite outperforming them at school.
- The 30% poverty rate amongst disabled adults aged 25 to retirement is twice the non-disabled rate AND higher than a decade ago.
- View that the UK is now a nation of greater income inequality (more people now in relative poverty than since records began in 1961), in which the plight of the very poor has worsened.
- Of 56 poverty indicators tracked by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (2008), three quarters have stalled or are getting worse – a position being made all the more fragile with the onset of recession.
- View that government fuel poverty measures won't fix the problem – people will still be left out in the cold.

15 marks

Section C – International Issues

Study Theme 3A – The Republic of South Africa

Question C7

Critically examine the view that inequalities exist only *between* different racial groups.

"Pass" and better answers should feature developed, exemplified knowledge and understanding of:

Inequalities between racial groups in South Africa.
Inequalities within racial groups in South Africa.
And
Balanced comment on/analysis of the view that inequalities exist only *between* different racial groups.

Answers may refer to:

- South Africa has one of the most unequal income distributions in the world.
- The poor (two in three blacks living below the poverty level) and unemployed remain disproportionately black.
- Unemployment rates (2007): Black 30.5%, Coloured 19.4%, Indian/Asian 9.6%, and White 4.5%.
- Except for Whites, female unemployment is substantially higher than for males.
- Whites have 9.2% of the population but 45.3% of income.
- Whites control 90% of the assets and big companies.
- Only 7% of the stock exchange (target 25%) has moved into black hands.
- 90% of commercially viable farmland remains in white hands and the land redistribution target set for 2014 seems unlikely to be met.
- By 2000, blacks held 72% of civil service jobs as a result of expensively retiring 'Apartheid bureaucrats'.
- Poor education limits the social mobility of many South Africans.
- 22% of Blacks have no schooling; for Whites the figure is 1.4%.
- 59-77% of children in the best performing state schools are white.
- University entrance qualifications are most common amongst Indians and Whites, least common amongst Coloureds and Blacks.
- Many black homes are without water (20%), and electricity (13%): the populations of the shanty towns continue to grow. (More than half of local areas do not provide sanitation, clean water or rubbish to more than 40% of their households.)
- Housing shortage in Western Cape adds to tension between Coloureds (mixed race South Africans) and Blacks.
- Black life expectancy 60 years; White life expectancy 73 years.
- Whites far more likely to have private health care.
- Judiciary remains largely white.

- View that class is replacing race as the defining social dynamic of the South African 'cappuccino society'.
- Black Economic Empowerment policies have created a new Black middle class.
- 'Black Diamonds' said to number 2.6 million (2007), – a 30% increase in less than two years, – and to account for 12% of South Africa's black adults and 28% of the country's buying power (more than half of black buying power.)
- Distribution of wealth amongst Blacks is greater than in any other racial group in South Africa.

- Dissatisfaction of poorer Blacks is mirrored by recent hostility to immigrants from Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Somali shopkeepers.

- "Poor" whites come almost entirely from the Afrikaner community who make up 60% of the white population; they claim that the government's poverty alleviation programmes ignore them.
- Statistically, unemployment amongst white South Africans has doubled since the end of apartheid, with estimates of 10% of the white population now too poor to live in traditionally white working and middle class areas and having to live in conditions previously the reserve of poor blacks.

- Other relevant points.

15 marks

Study Theme 3B – The People's Republic of China

Question C8

Critically examine the view that there is little demand for political reform because of greater social and economic freedom.

> **"Pass" and better answers should feature developed, exemplified knowledge and understanding of:**
>
> Greater freedom as a result of social and economic reform.
> Other factors that influence the level of demand for political reform in China
> **And**
> Balanced comment on/analysis of the view that there is little demand for political reform (in China) because of greater social and economic freedom.

Answers may refer to:

- Chinese Communist Party has been accused of trying to spend its way out of trouble so as to retain its monopoly of political power.
- Mr Hu's "Harmonious Society" is the dominant socio-economic policy.
- Social controls have loosened and unprecedented economic freedom has been allowed.
- Demise of the *danwai* and *hukou*.
- Price controls have almost gone.
- Wealth creation encouraged.
- Labour contract law of Jan 2008 made it much harder to sack underperforming workers and created a role for trade unions in discipline, safety, pay and working hours.
- Agricultural reforms have brought wealth to some farmers.
- Tax reforms and subsidies have increased rural incomes (but urban incomes have grown faster.)
- Free education for rural children – although many still have to pay for textbooks.
- Sexual harassment of women made unlawful in 2005.
- New medical insurance scheme (2003), financed by central government, set up in place of long-discarded barefoot doctor scheme.
- To ease agony of thousands who lost only child in Sichuan earthquake, doctors to provide free treatments to reverse sterilisation procedures.
- Increase in right to legal representation
- In 2006 the Supreme Court reclaimed the power to review all death sentences.
- Party membership extended to new business classes.
- 2008 decision to "transform the entire rural policy" by giving farmers the right to rent out or sell the plots they lease from local "collectives" under "household responsibility contracts".

- CCP is widely seen as holding the country together and there is competition to join it.
- Chinese people have never enjoyed such social freedom and economic prosperity (although this is unevenly distributed) and show no great dissatisfaction with the CPC.
- View that economic reform has made huge strides and it is time to turn to politics.
- CCP controlled experiments in democracy.
- Mr Wen talks of "thought liberation" and making the party more accountable.
- A publication (Storming The Fortress) originating from the Party's academy for senior officials outlines "urgent" steps for political reform including freeing up the press. In accordance with the official line that political reform is on the CPC agenda, it states that the goal of the reform of China's political institutions is to become a democratic country under the rule of law by 2020.

- Suggestion that "Civic" organisations (to party officials NGO sounds too much like organised opposition) are to be given a role in "voicing the concerns of the people."
- CCP has been accused of "populism" – trying to boost its standing amongst the downtrodden and pandering to rising nationalism (protests at what the Chinese see as unfair foreign criticism over Tibet.) In 2007 the government ran an online survey on changes to China's public holiday pattern.
- Mr Hu on record as saying that China will never copy Western style democracy as this would be a "blind alley for China".
- Demand for political reform greatest in the provinces: Tibet, Xinjiang, Guangdong, Hong Kong – but each has a different 'political' agenda.
- Urban and rural protests (contradictions within the people) have increased in recent years – mainly fuelled by official wrongdoing and corruption - but politically organised opposition is rare.

- Award of the Olympics to China encouraged a speaking out on 'sensitive' topics.
- Internet has created an opportunity for vigorous debate that hardly existed a decade ago.
- CCP intolerant of opposition and relies on the support of the armed forces (biggest annual expenditure increases tend to be on the armed forces.)
- CCP remains dictatorial and determined to crush any organised dissent.
- CCP controls the media: outspoken newspapers closed, editors sacked, journalists jailed.
- Dissidents who net post views are jailed.
- Human Rights activists and members of unauthorised religious groups continue to be harassed/jailed.
- The CCP concept of 'democracy' does not extend to allowing organised opposition. All officially sanctioned comments are careful to stress the need to maintain the CPC's monopoly on power.
- December 2008: more than 300 of China's most prominent activists issued a wide-ranging appeal for democratic reform (Charter 08). Chief organiser Liu Xiabo detained and other signatories threatened or questioned.
- As economic growth falters, and unemployment and suspicion of officialdom (the contaminated milk scandal) rises, political activism may increase.

- Other relevant points.

15 marks

Study Theme 3C – The United States of America

Question C9

To what extent do ethnic minorities achieve the American Dream?

"Pass" and better answers should feature developed, exemplified knowledge and understanding of:

The achievement of the American Dream by ethnic minorities.
The non-achievement of the American Dream by ethnic minorities.
And
Balanced comment on/analysis of the extent to which ethnic minorities achieve the American Dream.

Answers may refer to:

The *American Dream* as having the freedom that allows all citizens to achieve their goals in life through hard work; for many it is the opportunity to have financial security, a home, successful career and the ability to send their children to the best schools possible.

Achievement
- Growing black well-educated, well-paid, home-owning, middle class.
- There are many successful Hispanic entrepreneurs, particularly those of Cuban origin.
- Asians build on their educational success to become high earners (especially those of Chinese, Japanese and Korean origin.)
- A number of Native American tribes (California's Cabazons and New Mexico's Sandias) have benefited from the gaming (casino) industry. Others (Arizona's Navajos) from their control of natural resources.
- Enhanced by a number of high profile appointed & elected ethnic minority political figures. "Disproportionate" representation is due to a number of factors.
- The 2008 election of Barack Obama as president.

Non-Achievement
- Blacks experience twice the average unemployment rate, earn 35% less on average than whites, have lower home ownership rates (48%), are more likely to underachieve in education, to live in crime ridden, almost jobless ghettos and have poorer health and less access to health care.
- 69% of blacks born out of wedlock and 70% of these births are to single (not cohabiting) mothers.
- Only 5% of firms are black-owned, though blacks account for 13% of America's population.
- Hispanics endure high poverty rates, similar home ownership rates to blacks, slightly lower unemployment rates but a slightly higher average income than blacks, lower educational attainment levels than both blacks and whites, and restricted access to health care.
- 50% of all Hispanic children in America born out of wedlock with more than half of young Hispanic children in families headed by a single mother living below the federal poverty line, compared with 21% raised by a married couple.
- Native American reservations have some of the highest rates of poverty (almost one in three), unemployment, welfare dependency, school dropout, alcoholism, and other indicators of poverty and social distress (life expectancy for Native Americans in Arizona is 54.7 years) of any communities in the United States.
- 38% of families headed by a Native American single mother live in poverty.

- Part played by Affirmative Action and racial preferences (each of which incur both white and black opposition) in helping blacks achieve the American Dream.
- Julian Bond of the NAACP claims that racism (Jan 6, 2007) is still "epidemic" in America. Black conservatives, while never denying that racism persists, think it is much less severe than before and no longer the main obstacle to black advancement.
- Black students who study hard are accused of "acting white" and are ostracised by their peers.
- Until the Clinton reforms of the 1990s welfare often paid better than an entry-level job and the counter-culture taught young blacks that working for "chump change" was beneath their dignity.
- Even when blacks earn as much as whites, the whites are typically far wealthier, blacks save, whites invest.
- The sub-prime mortgage crisis likely to cost many blacks their homes.
- Blacks are more likely to be jailed but they do commit proportionately more crimes – the black murder rate (2005) was seven times higher than that for whites and Hispanics combined.

- Other relevant points.

15 marks

Study Theme 3D – The European Union

Question C10

The Council of Ministers is the most important decision-making institution in the EU.
Discuss.

"Pass" and better answers should feature developed, exemplified knowledge and understanding of:

The decision making powers of the Council of Ministers.
The decision making powers of other EU institutions.
And
Balanced comment on/analysis of the view that Council of Ministers is the most important decision making institution in the EU.

Answers may refer to:

The Council of Ministers
- Is the main law-and-budget making body, which brings together national ministers (of, for example, finance, foreign affairs or agriculture).
- Often makes decisions by qualified majority, a weighted system of national votes, but on some issues (taxation) it has to be unanimous.
- Co-ordinates the broad economic policies of the member states.
- Concludes, on behalf of the Union, international agreements between the EU and one or more states or international organisations.
- May issue regulations, directives, decisions, common actions or common positions, recommendations or opinions.
- Can adopt conclusions, declarations or resolutions.
- Defines and implements the European Union's common foreign policy, based on guidelines set by **The European Council** which is made up of the 27 heads of government and meets four times a year, nominates the commission president and defines the general political guidelines of the European Union.

The European Commission has the sole right of initiating legislation, administers the budget and has other independent powers including deciding competition cases and representing the Union in trade negotiations.
- Is the origin of 80% of laws passed at national level.
- Answers to national governments – through the council – and to parliament.
- In principle, makes legislative proposals but these are examined within the Council, which can make modifications before adopting them.

The European Parliament (785 directly elected members) is an active participant in the legislative process.
- May adopt legislation jointly with the Council using the co-decision procedure but has no say in some matters such as justice and home affairs.
- Approves the choice of Commission president and can dismiss the entire Commission, but not individual Commissioners
- Shares with the Council authority over the EU budget and can therefore influence EU spending. At the end of the procedure, it adopts or rejects the budget in its entirety.

The European Court of Justice acts as the European Union's highest legal authority in areas for which the Union is responsible.

The Court of Auditors checks EU spending and qualifies the accounts every year.

- 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 influence of Non Governmental Organisations on development.

"Pass" and better answers should feature developed, exemplified knowledge and understanding of:

The influence of NGOs on development.
Other factors that influence development.
And
Balanced comment on/analysis of the influence of NGOs on development.

Answers may refer to:

NGOs
- Work closely with many UN programmes and agencies.
- Respond to "development threatening" emergency and crisis situations.
- Good at small projects; handle these well and are sensitive to the needs of the local population, involving it in the decision making process; promote bottom-up development.
- Emphasise the "African" delivery of development.
- Create the physical human and social capital that raises the likelihood of future social and economic development.
- Neither create dependency nor discourage of local enterprise.
- Contribute to the international debate on development.
- May be used for political ends by governments that source them.
- May make things worse by easing the pressure for reform.
- May prevent an immediate famine but undercut local farmers, thus risking future famine.
- Eventually leave it to local government structures to sustain any improvements.
- Accused of a lack of transparency and accountability, of duplication of effort, and of embarking on short-term impact projects.
- Seen by their fiercest critics as a new form of colonialism.
- Increasingly asked by donors to provide measurable proof that they make a difference.
- View that aid is fragmenting: there are too many agencies financing too many small projects, using too many different procedures. "Fragmentation is the opposite of effectiveness" (Lennart Bage, head of IFAD).
- Operate at the whim of the government in whose country they are working.
- Claim by Professor Sir David King (former UK Government Chief Scientific Advisor) that NGOs from Europe and America are turning African countries against sophisticated farming methods including GM crops in favour of indigenous and organic approaches that cannot deliver the continent's much needed "green revolution".

Other Influences

- The attitude of African governments – some welcome NGO activity, particularly in education and healthcare provision, but others see them as interfering or even as a threat.
- 'Good governance'.
- Debt.
- Globalisation.
- Commodity prices, food prices, and the terms of trade.
- Bilateral and multi-lateral aid agreements.
- Conflict; countries affected by civil violence may lose, on average, just over two percentage points of growth a year and need 14 years to get back to normal.
- Investment in infrastructure.
- Land ownership.
- Population growth.
- Natural disasters.

- Other relevant points.

15 marks

Study Theme 3F – Global Security

Question C12

Assess the effectiveness of the United Nations in dealing with threats to international peace and security.

"Pass" and better answers should feature developed, exemplified knowledge and understanding of:

The ways in which United Nations may respond to threats to international peace and security.
The consequences of United Nations responses to selected threats to international peace and security.
And
Balanced comment on/analysis of the effectiveness of the United Nations in dealing with threats to international peace and global security.

Answers may refer to:

- The UN Charter requires that all members agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council.
- The UN Charter entitles the Security Council to take action in cases of a "threat to peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression." However "nothing should authorise intervention in matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state."
- Security Council may investigate disputes, recommend a political solution to a dispute, oversee cease-fires, patrol disputed borders, instruct UN members to impose sanctions to either prevent or stop aggression, to assist in taking military action against an aggressor.
- Security Council has five permanent members (p5) and 10 non-permanent members.
- Each Council member has one vote with decisions on procedural matters requiring support from at least 9/15 members and those on substantive matters the support of 9 members, including each of the p5.
- Some see this veto as a safety valve and consider that it is much better to have an obstructionist member on board than a furious one walking out.

- Inability of the p5 to agree on what should be done have often slowed the deployment of peacekeepers where they are most needed, (Darfur) or put an end to the nuclear posturing of Iran and North Korea (Russia and China watered down the text of resolutions and sanctions proposals.)
- UN ignored by USA over Iraq (The Bush doctrine).
- View that regional organisations are often better placed/equipped to deal with threats to international peace and security.

- The explosion of civil wars, ethnic and religious violence at the end of the Cold War caught the UN by surprise. It had no standing army, no effective military staff, and very little peacekeeping experience. Mistakes were made – slaughter in Rwanda and the Srebrenica massacre.
- Human Security Report 2005 (OUP) documented a 40% decrease in violent conflict, an 80% decrease in the "most deadly" conflicts and an 80% decrease in genocide since the end of the Cold War – largely attributed to UN efforts.
- There has been a six-fold increase in the number of soldiers and military observers deployed world wide between 1998-2007. UN peacekeeping forces often under-strength, under-resourced and under-equipped. (Powerful countries decide on the missions (and pay for them) while poorer countries supply the soldiers.)

- The UN has been credited with helping reduce the number of conflicts between states, as well as calming civil wars from Bosnia to Haiti, from Cambodia to Sudan, from Congo to Lebanon.
- Importance of the Peacebuilding Commission – finances reconstruction in countries emerging from conflict (Congo, southern Sudan, Liberia, Lebanon, Cote d'Ivoire).

- Concerns over the effectiveness of the UN have led to calls for the reform of the institution balanced by the view that ultimately it is member states that must take action and therefore bear the responsibility.
- UN Charter does not spell out what counts as "the use of force" in cyberspace (alleged Russian cyber attacks on Estonia, in 2007, and Georgia in 2008).

- Other relevant points.

15 marks

[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]