



**2011 Modern Studies**

**Higher Paper 1**

**Finalised Marking Instructions**

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## General Instructions

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

## Before assigning a mark to the answer

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

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

C	8
B	9 - 10
A	11 - 15

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

**PROCESS > GRADE > MARK**

## Section A – Political Issues in the United Kingdom

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

#### Question A1

*“To what extent do Members of the Scottish Parliament (MSPs) influence decision making in the Scottish Government?”*

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

Opportunities for MSPs to take part in the decision making process.  
Extent of the influence of MSPs on decision making in the Scottish Government.

**And**

Balanced comment/analysis of the extent to which MSPs influence decision making in the Scottish Government.

#### Answers may refer to:

- Principles of Scottish Parliament include openness, responsiveness and accountability.
- Scottish Parliament electoral system means that it is unlikely that one party will dominate. Most likely scenario is coalition or minority government. Influence of individual MSPs is arguably greater.
- SNP minority Government. Must rely on support of other parties to pass legislation. Defeated over trams, minimum alcohol pricing and plans to replace Council Tax with Local Income Tax. Had to drop plans for a Referendum Bill. Past difficulties in passing Finance Bills (Budgets): Conservative MSPs able to secure a commitment to extra police officers, etc.
- Agreement in 2007 between SNP and Scottish Green Party to co-operate although in 2009 Budget was passed with support from all parties except Greens.
- First Minister’s Question Time (214 oral questions/9,744 written questions answered in Chamber 2009-10). Possible for opposition to influence decision making but FM has backing of Civil Service that puts opposition at disadvantage. Alex Salmond regarded as strong FM but can be held to account eg apology over so-called loss of ‘tartan tax’ powers.
- Questions to Ministers.
- Committees. There are around fifteen committees. Some are mandatory eg Equal Opportunities and Public Petitions. Others are subject committees eg Education and Long Life Learning. Range and Scope of committees huge with inquires in recent years on the Scottish economy, tourism and child poverty in Scotland.
- Most MSPs are members of at least one committee. Committees conduct inquires and produce reports. Scrutinise Government legislation and have power to alter bills. Committees can put forward their own proposals for new legislation in the form of committee bills.
- The Commission on Scottish Devolution (Calman Commission) was set up by opposition parties to review devolution in Scotland. SNP Government did not support motion to set up.
- Scottish Government does not require legislation to implement all policy eg abolition of prescription charges or bridge tolls.
- Impact of S.P. elections. SNP majority Government 2011.

- MSPs have right to introduce legislation (Member's Bill). Patrick Harvie's Bill (Offences (Aggravation by Prejudice Act 2009)) was adopted by SG. However MacDonald's End of Life Assistance Bill, where MSPs had a free vote, was defeated.
- Other relevant points.

**15 marks**

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

### Question A2

*“Some groups outside Parliament have more influence on decision making in Central Government than others.” Discuss.*

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

Ways different groups outside Parliament seek to influence decision making in Central Government.

Extent of influence of different groups outside Parliament on decision making in Central Government.

**And**

Balanced comment/analysis on the view that some groups outside Parliament have more influence on decision making than others.

### Answers may refer to:

- Use of the media campaigns, petitions, lobbying, rallies and demonstrations, publicity stunts eg those used by (New) Fathers 4 Justice campaign.
- Direct action eg fuel protests of 2000 and 2007; recent anti-capitalist protestors; student protestors.
- Backing of MPs by trade unions and private businesses.
- Use of internet including Facebook, Twitter and YouTube. MySociety on-line campaign played a part in ensuring MPs expenses would be released under FOI.
- Evidence to suggest numbers of PG and range of activities has risen in recent years.
- The influence of the media on decision making.
- Pressure groups extend opportunities for participation and provide channel of communication between government and people.
- Insider and outside groups. Insider groups have close links with government departments or other official bodies. They are trusted and negotiate quietly often out of sight so difficult to gauge their influence. Outsider groups which lack recognition seek to convert and mobilise public opinion using such tactics as demonstrations and rallies.
- Groups with larger memberships or more money, causes that are compatible with government views and or arise from specific circumstances (Snowdrop campaign) are more likely to be successful.
- Sectional/Interest exist to defend or promote interest of their members eg trade unions or National Farmers Union. Cause groups exist to promote a cause eg nuclear disarmament or the abolition of blood sports.
- Success of high profile Ghurka campaign led by Joanna Lumley and of trade unions campaign to prevent part-privatisation of Royal Mail. Success of others, such as Jamie Oliver’s campaign to improve quality of food available to school pupils, are more difficult to determine.
- Cash-for-influence affair (similar to MPs Cash for Questions affair in the 1990s).
- 1.7m people signed e-petition on Downing Street website in 2007. In 2009, government decided to scrap plans for a national road charge scheme.

- Failure to Save the Scottish Regiments campaign.
- Arguably, internet-based pressure convinced the UK Government to open up MPs expenses to public scrutiny.
- Influence of senior civil servants.
- References to influences on peers in the House of Lords.
  
- Other relevant points.

**15 marks**

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

### Question A3

*“Political parties elect their leaders differently but the choice of leader is crucial to electoral success.”* Discuss.

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

The ways in which party leaders are elected.

The importance of the party leader in achieving electoral success.

**And**

Balanced comment/analysis on the view that the choice of party leader is crucial to electoral success.

With reference to at least two political parties, **answers may refer to:**

#### **Conservatives**

- Two stage election process since 1998: system established by William Hague. Stage 1 involves Conservative MPs voting in secret until two candidates left. Stage 2 involves party members in postal vote between two candidates (OMOV).
- Election is triggered by resignation of Party Leader or by 15% of Conservative MPs writing to Chairman of the 1922 Committee supporting a motion of no confidence in the leader.
- If leader gets simple majority of Parliamentary Party (more than 51%) then no election challenge can be made for twelve months. If leader loses vote of no confidence, leader resigns and cannot stand in the election which follows. David Cameron elected leader December 2005.
- Nominated for leadership passed to Chairman of 1922 Committee.
- Procedures for electing Scottish Conservative leader.

#### **Labour**

- When in opposition, leadership election is triggered by 12.5% of the parliamentary Labour Party.
- When government, election requires two thirds support of party conference votes.
- Since 1993, leader chosen by electoral college comprising of three equal sections: Labour MPs and members of the EU parliament, constituency party members and trade unions affiliated to the Party. Gordon Brown leader June 2007.
- Election based on principle of One Member One Vote (OMOV).
- Within constituency section, every CLP has one vote which is given to the leadership candidate who wins ballot of individual members.
- Within the trade union section, every affiliated trade union is given a share of the overall trade union vote based on size of trade union membership. Every affiliated trade union hold a postal ballot of its members and its electoral college votes are divided between the candidates according to their share of the postal ballot.
- Procedures for electing Scottish Labour leader.

### **Liberal Democrats**

- Any MP can stand provided they have backing of at least 7 colleagues and 200 party members from 20 different constituencies. Election by STV. All 73,000 party members entitled to vote.
- Nick Clegg narrowly elected leader October 2007.
- Procedures for electing Scottish Liberal Democrat leader.

### **Scottish National Party**

- Leader and deputy leader elected by simple majority. Alex Salmond polled 75% of vote in September 2004 election (Nicola Sturgeon 54% of vote for deputy).
- Analysis of importance of party leader in achieving electoral success:
  - Cameron is widely held to have improved Conservative fortunes. He has tried to embody the deeper changes the Conservatives have made to their policies and image; more inclusive and less 'nasty'.
  - Apart from a brief 'Brown bounce' in September 2008 at the start of the economic crisis, Brown's leadership is widely seen to be a liability to Labour's electoral success. There have been frequent rumblings of a leadership challenge culminating in the 'coup that never was' in June 2009.
  - Salmond is widely seen as an asset to the SNP. A shrewd politician who dominates the Scottish Parliament. The SNP's electoral fortune picked up after returned to the membership in 2004. In contrast, neither Iain Gray nor Tavish Scott have had much of an impact. Annabel Goldie has been a better performer on TV and in the Scottish Parliament but not enough to revive fortunes of Scottish Conservatives.
- Other relevant points.

**15 marks**



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

### Question A4

*“Some factors affecting voting behaviour are more important than others.” Discuss.*

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

The factors affecting voting behaviour.

The relative importance of different factors affecting voting behaviour.

**And**

Balance comment/analysis on the view that some of the factors affecting voting behaviour are more important than others.

#### Answers may refer to:

- A range of factors are said to affect voting behaviour including:
  - Media.
  - Social class.
  - Age.
  - Gender.
  - Residence.
  - Ethnicity.
  - Image of party leader.
  - Issues.
- Credit highly candidate who integrate factors. For example, social class and media can be seen as separate factors but they are related. Professional class voters may cross different newspapers, television and websites from lower class voters and are therefore, exposed to a different set of media influences.
- Models of voting behaviour including social structures model and rational choice model. Debate as to extent to which rational choice model has taken social structures model. Some commentators (Sarlvik and Crewe) argue that absolute class voting and relative class voting have steadily declined and that ‘issue voting’ has become more important. Others (Heath) argue that although class voting has declined it remains the most important underlying factor affecting voting behaviour. The most recent studies (Manza, Hunt and Brooks) agree more with Heath.
- Tactical voting.
- Dealignment.
- Third party choices.
- Non-voting.
- Evidence of voting patterns from 2010 UK General Election (or other elections).
- Discussion of relative importance of different factors eg importance of Iraq War in relation to Muslim vote 2005, emphasis placed on successful media campaign by political parties, impact of ‘economic crisis/recession’, etc.
- Other relevant points.

**15 marks**

## Study Theme 2 – Wealth and Health Inequalities

### Question B5

*“Poverty is the most important factor that affects health.” Discuss.*

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

The link between poverty and health.  
Other factors that may also affect health.

**And**

Balanced comment/analysis on the view that poverty is the most important factor that affect good health.

#### Answers may refer to:

- Health reports including ‘Equally Well’ (2008); annual ‘Health in Scotland’ reports; research from Glasgow Centre for Population Health; WHO Lenzie/ Calton Report 2008, etc.
- Statistics in terms of normality and morbidity. Scottish Government figures show that in 2007:
  - average life expectancy for males in Scotland was 74.9 but only 57.3 years in most deprived area. East Dunbartonshire was 78.0 years for males
  - under 75 deaths from heart disease and cancer were markedly higher in most deprived areas.
- Impact of low income:
  - welfare dependency
  - poor housing
  - run down local environment and effect on physical and mental health
  - oxfam’s ‘FRED’: Forgotten, Ripped off, Excluded, Debt.
- Harry Burns’ research on ‘biology of poverty’. Experience of being brought up in ‘chaotic circumstances’ has an effect on the body’s immune system leading to a more unhealthy life, longer recovery from illnesses/operations and lower life expectancy.
- Other factors may include:
  - lifestyle choices (inc. smoking, alcohol, diet, drug misuse and exercise)
  - hereditary factors
  - gender
  - race
  - availability and uptake of preventative medical care
  - access to private medical care.
- Credit highly candidates who avoid over simplification and acknowledge that certain health issues transcend class differences eg alcohol misuse or lack of exercise.
- Other relevant points.

**15 marks**

## Question B6

*“Health and welfare provision should be the responsibility of government.” Discuss.*

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

Government health and welfare provision.

The debate over government/individual responsibility for health and welfare.

**And**

Balanced comment on/analysis as to whether or not health and welfare provision should be the responsibility of government.

### Answers may refer to:

- UK and Scottish Government health and welfare provision may include:
  - National Health Service
  - Benefits – JSA, State Retirement Pension, Pension Credit, Child Benefit, Income Support, Employment Support Allowance, tax credits, free prescriptions in Scotland, etc.
- Founding principles of the Welfare State – universalism with flat-rate contributions (NI) giving ‘cradle to grave’ coverage.
- Debate over extent of government health and welfare provision. Individualism and collectivism. Individualists stress importance of self-reliance and need to avoid a ‘dependency culture’ whereas collectivists stress importance of fairness and equality in society.
- Labour’s ‘Third Way’ – policy of ‘welfare to work’. Welfare Reform Bill 2009 aims to further support people back into work as putting more responsibility on claimants to move towards work or lose benefit.
- Increased use of means testing welfare system against a background of rising costs.
- Impact of an ageing population. Future rises in ratio of dependents to workers.
- Widening of health and wealth gaps between most and least affluent.
- Strong public support for NHS. 2009 opinion poll in Guardian suggests public want NHS to be protected from future public expenditure cuts.
- SNP Scottish Government has been collectivist in approach eg free prescriptions and free school meals S1-3.
- Major political parties agree that health and welfare provisions is the responsibility of both the Government and the individual. The role of Government is to help the individual help themselves.
- 2009, Labour has proposed extending ‘free’ social care for the elderly in their own homes in England and Wales.
- Cameron’s view on welfare – big government is wasteful and fails; talks of ‘social entrepreneurs and community action’; proposed reforms to NHS in England and Wales; challenges to idea of ‘Big Society’.
- Other relevant points.

**15 marks**

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

### Question C7

Assess the effectiveness of government policies to reduce social and economic inequalities in South Africa.

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

Government policies to reduce social and economic inequalities.

Extent to which government policies have been effective in reducing social and economic inequalities.

**And**

Balanced comment/analysis of the effectiveness of government policies to reduce social and economic inequalities.

### Answers may refer to:

- Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) is main growth strategy. Introduced in 2003 it also aims to ensure all South Africans have equality of opportunity. Operates through series of codes of practice (adopted 2007). Replaced GEAR (1996-2000) which aimed to develop SA economy through promotion of more open market, privatisation and increased foreign investment. This policy had only limited success.
- Accelerated and Shared Growth initiative aims to halve poverty and unemployment by 2014.
- Expanded Public Works Programme to create one million work opportunities by 2009.
- National Skills Fund widened to assist young, unemployed and lesser skilled.
- Increased in spending on education and health. Number of students in Higher education to 750,000 in 2005 of South Africans now live within 5km of health facility.
- Programmes to ensure everyone has access to drinkable water, sanitation and electricity.
  
- Inequalities within and between races in terms of housing, health, income, poverty, education, employment/unemployment, crime and health.
- Gini co-efficient for South Africa has widened in recent years (0.6) with inequalities growing fast amongst blacks (0.64).
- In 2007, 80% of people had electricity in home (58% 1996), 70% water in home (61%), 71% sanitation (50%).
- SA Government figures show 40% of people live in poverty – more than half surviving on less than one dollar a day. UN figure is higher with most being black.
- White unemployment is around 8% but Black unemployment may be as high as 50%.
- Increase in black middle class ('Black Diamonds') to 2.6m. Black representation reached 22% in top management in 2007.
- Decrease in income poverty for most South Africans but increase in levels of white South African poverty.

- Average white household salary 5.5 times the average black salary (2008) but difference falling.
- 2.3m new houses completed with 3.1m housing subsidises provided to improve housing.
- Government target of delivering 30% of agricultural land to black majority unlikely to be met as only 5% redistributed by 2007.
- SA described as “45/55” society – 45% in poverty and 55% not.
- Inequalities between provinces Gauteng wealthiest province, Eastern Cape poorest.
- Economic impact of 2010 World Cup.
- Other relevant points.

**15 marks**

## Study Theme 3B –China

### Question C8

To what extent has social and economic change benefited the people of China?

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

Social and economic change.  
Impact of social and economic change.

**And**

Balanced comment/analysis of the extent to which social and economic change has benefited the people of China.

#### Answers may refer to:

- Market economy has been steadily developing since early 1980s. Encouragement of individual initiatives and entrepreneurship.
- China joined World Trade Organisation in 2001. Third largest economy in world (US \$4.32 trillion 2008).
- Introduction of Household Responsibility System. Today most farms operate as private businesses.
- Dismantling of work permit system (hukou).
- Foreign investment, encouragement of private business, changes to banking system.
- In 2009, Hu stated that China will continue to develop its ‘socialist market economy’ although US did not recognise China as a market economy at that time.
- Recession has seen government establish control over some privately owned businesses eg in airlines, steel and coal industry.
- Majority in China has benefited from social and economic reform but all have not benefited equally.
- Rise in average per capita income to \$4644 (2009).
- Richest 10% of Chinese population account for 33.1% of consumption, poorest 10% only 1.8%.
- In 2009, 43m Chinese people below revised poverty line of 1,100 yuan per year but big decrease from 200m in poverty in 1978.
- A World Bank report 2006 stated income of bottom 10% of Chinese people had decreased by 2.4% in that year.
- Urban rural contrasts. Between 2005-07, one-third of rural households experienced poverty. Urban incomes growing at between 10-15% per year, far higher than rural incomes.
- Availability of private health care and private education.
- Environmental pollution and loss of land, housing, etc for some groups of people.
- Increase in corruption, crime, and other social skills to capitalist society.
- Hu’s promotion of ‘Harmonious Society’ partly reflects CPC’s concerns with growing inequality.
- Development of social security system.
- Increase in use of mobile phones and internet users. There is greater access to information on-line but many websites remain blocked eg Twitter.

- Constitution guarantees private property.
- 20m migrants have lost jobs as a result of the global economic crisis.
- Changes in some areas to one-child policy.
- Constitution guarantees religious freedom but little religious freedom in practice.
- Highest income groups in urban areas earn 5.6 times salary of lowest income groups.
  
- Other relevant points.

**15 marks**

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

### Question C9

Assess the effectiveness of government policies to reduce social and economic inequalities in the USA.

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

Government policies to reduce social and economic inequalities.  
Extent to which government policies have been effective in reducing social and economic inequalities.

**And**

Balanced comment/analysis of the effectiveness of government policies to reduce social and economic inequalities.

#### Answers may refer to:

- US Government/State welfare programmes. Most mainly funded by federal government but usually administered by state government includes:
  - Medicare, Medicaid and State Children’s Health Insurance Program (covers children who do not qualify for Medicaid)
  - Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) introduced as part of Welfare Reform Act 1996 and ties welfare payments to the search for work. Limited to five years for cash support
  - Food stamps
  - Affirmative Action programmes as they apply today
- American Recovery and Reinvestment Act 2009 – economic stimulus package worth \$787bn. \$82bn of package is to provide for expansion of unemployment benefits, social welfare provision, education and health care.
- Some States have more generous programmes of welfare support than others.
- No Child Left Behind (NCLB) 2001 – aimed to improve performance in public schools to improve qualifications/employability of all children. Backed with big increases in federal funding but on-going debate as to success.
- US has a rising Gini coefficient rating of over 0.4 one of the highest amongst developed nations.
- In 2007 Congressional Budget Office study found that incomes rose by 35% in some families affected by 1996 changes in US Government welfare-to-work programmes. On the other hand, many other families, many of which are black have experienced increased poverty.
- Race, gender and geographic inequalities in terms of housing, income, poverty rates, health, crime, education and employment/unemployment, etc.
- Success of minority groups and others – creation of Black middle class, Hispanic and Asian businesspeople, some Asian groups in terms of education, etc, do better than Whites.
- The debate over Affirmative Action.
- Prevailing individualist view within US society and that it is not government’s responsibility to reduce social and economic inequality.
- Impact of Obama’s proposed healthcare reforms which, if successful, would reduce the social inequality of access to healthcare.
- Other relevant points.

15 marks



## Study Theme 3D – The European Union

### Question C10

*“There is little disagreement within the EU over social and economic policies.”*

Discuss.

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

The main social and economic policies of the EU and their agreed aims.  
Social and economic policy on which there is disagreement within the EU.

**And**

Balanced comment/analysis of the extent of disagreement on social and economic policy among member states on the EU.

#### Answers may refer to:

- Enlargement – Seven potential new members to existing 27. Croatia likely to join 2011. Others, including Turkey which started negotiations for entry in 2005, will take longer. The Ukraine and Georgia have also been talked about as future members of the EU.
- Common Agricultural and Fisheries Policy. Disagreement over cost, implementation, success, etc.
- Monetary union – In 2009, 22 countries were using the euro with more to follow. Only the UK, Denmark and Sweden have not moved to the euro.
- EU Budget – 133.8bn euros in 2009. Most spent on agricultural subsidies and rural development (47% of total spend) and regional aid (32%).
- Working Time Directive and the opt-out. UK is continuing to resist pressure to end its opt-out from the maximum 48-hour working week.
- Lisbon Treaty/Reform Treaty – mainly political reform of EU but as new treaty amends Treaty on the European Union (Maastricht) and Treaty of Rome (established EC) credit. Includes new powers to EC, EP and European Court of Justice with regard to justice and home affairs.
- Disagreement between different political blocs (liberals, socialists, etc.) as well as between stages eg over immigration/free movement of labour.
- Enlargement debate. Supporters of further EU enlargement highlight the economic benefits of bigger EU market. The EU is now the single biggest market in the world. Opponents have concerns over impact of further enlargement in respect of cost and decision making.
- Disputes between member nations over CAP and CFP. Some countries such as France, Ireland and Greece do well from CAP. New EU members getting less from CAP than older EU members. Supporters of CAP say it is vital to rural communities, others argue costs too much and benefits relatively few people. EU Commission aims to bring a reformed CFP into existence by 2013.
- UK (and other) rebate.
- 2008 accord struck on the detention and deportation of illegal immigrants after years of disagreement.
- Lisbon Treaty/Reform Treaty came into force 2009. Aims to streamline EU institutions to make EU operate more efficiently. Ireland, Denmark and the UK will have right to opt in or out of any new policies in the area of justice and home affairs. Poland may also eventually opt out from charter of Fundamental Rights.
- Other relevant points.

**15 marks**

## Study Theme 3E – The Politics of Development in Africa (except RSA)

### Question C11

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

*“Education and health care are the most important factors in achieving successful development in Africa”. Discuss.*

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

The importance of education and health care on development.  
Other factors that influence development.

**And**

Balanced comment/analysis of the importance of health and education overall in securing successful development in Africa.

*For this question, candidates must demonstrate specific knowledge of at **least one** African country.*

### Answers may refer to:

- Extent of education/health provision in developing countries in Africa. May be taken from a variety of sources eg UN Development reports. Reference can be made to:
  - low levels of adult literacy
  - low level of school enrolment
  - high levels of illiteracy
  - low level of expenditure on health and education (public and private) in both actual and percentages terms
  - low life expectancy
  - infant/child mortality rates
  - other related measures of health and education development.
- Education and health are seen as fundamental to a country’s economic and social development.
- Examples of improved education/health care and link to increase levels of development.
- The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).
- Other relevant factors that influence development include:
  - good governance
  - terms of trade
  - conflict
  - debate
  - aid and international investment
  - types of levels of natural resources.
- Other relevant points.

**15 marks**

## Study Theme 3F – Global Security

### Question C12

*“The UN must reform to be effective when dealing with threats to international peace and security.” Discuss.*

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

The ways the UN deals with threats to international peace and security.  
The debate over reform on the UN.

**And**

Balanced comment/analysis of the view that the UN must reform to be more effective when dealing with threats to international peace and security.

#### Answers may refer to:

- In 2008, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon outlined plans for reform of the UN. He sought to strengthen UN's capacity for preventative diplomacy as well as increase UN's ability to support peace efforts once conflict had ceased.
- There are fifteen of UN's Security Council, five of which are permanent – the P5 who have power of veto – with the other ten members elected.
- General Assembly Task Force on Security Council Reform encompasses a variety of proposals, such as eliminating the veto held by the five permanent members, and expansion of the Council.
- On-going discussions with regard to financial contributions/spending.
- Calls for the UN to have a force of its own.
  
- View that it is easier to be critical of the UN rather than see where it has been 'quietly successful' eg Cyprus, Kashmir, Liberia and the Democratic Republic of Congo. In 2009, the UN had 17 on-going peace missions around the world.
- Criticism of UN in respect of Bosnia, Rwanda, Somalia, Kosovo and Darfur.
- View that although UN's institutional; arguments are complex the real problem for the UN is that its members are deeply divided about what they want from it.
- UN largely ignored by USA (and other countries) in respect of Iraq.
- North Korea and Iran's continued defiance of UN with regard to nuclear capability.
- Style of UN Security-General. Kofi Annan very high profile and wishing to be seen to be involved. Ban Ki-moon more low-key working hard in the background.
- Responses to terrorism – UN Global Counter – Terrorism Strategy.
- In 2001, UN Security Council authorised US to overthrow the Taliban in Afghanistan and for US and allies to set up the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF).
  
- Other relevant points.

**15 marks**

[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]