

Mark Scheme (Results)

Summer 2012

GCE Government & Politics EU Political Issues 6GP04 4A

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Summer 2012
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Question Number	Question		
1.	Why has the use of Qualified Majority Voting (QMV) been criticised?		
Indicative content (this is not on exhaustive account of valouent naints)			

Candidates should demonstrate an understanding that QMV was designed to be a compromise between a veto and straightforward majority voting system.

The main reasons for criticism of QMV are on the basis of **democracy** and **sovereignty**:

- QMV means that member states can be outvoted in key areas, without being able to block decisions that they disagree with e.g. on CAP
- The expansion of QMV has further eroded national sovereignty. This has been subject
 to particular criticism in the UK, where it has fuelled further anti-EU coverage in the
 media
- Increased use of QMV means fewer national vetoes, which less enthusiastic members like the UK desire to keep e.g. Blair's "red lines". Cameron has also declared that he wishes to re-negotiate areas where the UK can 'opt-out' as it did with the Social Chapter.
- Not all decisions are made by QMV, undermining the principle of supranationalism
- Re-weighting of QMV has been controversial e.g. the post-Nice QMV has been more complex with the 'triple-weighting' system of adopting legislation and gave some countries proportionally more power than they deserved e.g. France, Spain and Poland
- Since the 2004 enlargement, QMV has favoured the smaller states as their voting strengths are not proportional to their population, thus adding to the idea of a 'democratic deficit' in the EU
- The extension of QMV under Lisbon was seen as a step towards supranationalism

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

- A limited understanding of the system of Qualified Majority Voting
- Largely focused on one criticism of QMV

- A clear awareness of at least 2 criticisms of OMV
- At least one of these criticisms should refer to democracy OR sovereignty

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
Level 3 (11-15 marks)	 Good to excellent: knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 2 (6-10 marks)	 knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 1 (0-5 marks)	 Very poor to weak: knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.

Question Number	Question									
2.	Explain	why	freedom	of	movement	within	the	EU	has	been
	controve	ersial.								

Candidate should demonstrate an understanding that freedom of movement was one of the major features of the Single European Act.

- There are fears that organised crime will increase as border controls are relaxed
- Not all countries within the EU apply the rules in place equally e.g. France and Italy
- There are concerns that there will be conflicts between member states because of rule avoidance e.g. the European Commission was forced to resolve the dispute between France and Italy
- There are concerns that MEPs may not have a say on reform to the Schengen rules despite co-decision
- Continued expansion could destabilise labour markets
- There have been criticisms of migrant workers failing to contribute to the economy as many send their wages home which has become an issue for the far right
- Eastern European countries have experienced a 'brain drain' which adversely affects their economy

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

- Largely focused on one controversy surrounding the freedom of movement
- A limited understanding of the issues surrounding the freedom of movement

- A clear awareness of at least 2 areas of controversy
- An awareness of the impact of the freedom of movement

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Level 3 (11-15 marks)	 Good to excellent: knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
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Question Number	Question	
3.	How significant is the post of the President of the European Council?	
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Candidates should demonstrate an awareness that the post of President of the European Council is not a new post, but one which was changed by the Treaty of Lisbon.

The Treaty of Lisbon set out the administrative duties of the President, chairing meetings and ensuring the smooth running of the European Council's body and policies and seeking consensus.

However, it can also be argued that the post leaves a great deal of scope for an individual President to take on a more prominent role- if a charismatic leader was appointed, there is the potential for them to act as a President of Europe who would act on the world stage as a speaker for the whole of the EU. The appointment of then Prime Minister of Belgium Herman Van Rompuy suggested that the EU currently prefers a less pro-active President.

In office, Van Rompuy has played a more leading role than expected, chairing meetings on the economic crisis and providing strategic guidance to member states on economic issues. He has also tried to turn the European Council into a cabinet-style institution, suggesting it meet monthly- but he is entirely reliant on the goodwill of other European heads of state to attend such meetings.

Van Rompuy has also chosen to report to the European Parliament after each Council session, has agreed to answer written questions monthly, and meets regularly with the leaders of the various political groups- suggesting that he is trying to be more pro-active than previous Presidents.

The role of the President is, however, limited by the overlap between his roles and other institutions, the lack of a mandate and lack of accountability. Some member states have called for direct elections to strengthen this role and increase democratic legitimacy.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

- Largely focused on one aspect of the post of the President of the European Council
- A limited understanding of the post and significance of the President of the European Council

- A clear awareness of at least 2 reasons why the post is OR is not significant
- An attempt at a balanced argument

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Level 3 (11-15 marks)	 Good to excellent: knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
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Question Number	Question
4.	Explain the key issues facing the EU related to future enlargement.

Candidates should understand that the main criticisms have been as follows:

- It has placed greater strain on EU finances, especially the CAP and regional fund- it is estimated that even with an annual growth of 2% above the rest of the EU, it will take member states between 25 and 60 years to catch up with the average EU GDP
- An increased agricultural bloc (including larger farm units) could have severe environmental effects, or could damage the interests of the Third World
- In the short-term, the poorer nature of the new entrants is stretching the regional development programme
- Concerns have been raised about the extensive migration from the east and its consequences
- There are fears that the way may have been opened for the import of organised crime and easier trafficking
- Decision-making has become more difficult
- Deadlock over reforms may increase
- Questions have been raised over where the borders of Europe lie i.e. who should and should not be allowed to apply for future entry to the EU?

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

- Largely focused on one issue related to future enlargement
- A limited understanding of the issue of future enlargement

- A clear awareness of at least 2 issues related to future enlargement
- An awareness of political issues related to future enlargement

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Level 3 (11-15 marks)	 Good to excellent: knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 2 (6-10 marks)	 knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.
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Question Number	Question
5.	To what extent is the European Commission accountable?
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Candidates should demonstrate an awareness that the EC is not an elected body and therefore has no mandate.

The role of the EC is wide-ranging, and includes policy initiation, monitoring of implementation, management of European programmes and mediating amongst the member states.

Ways in which the EC is held to account include:

- Being limited by its own size and role: much EU administration is carried out by the member states themselves
- Being expected to be politically neutral- the EC cannot operate alone, and must seek to forge links with the relevant ministers in all member states
- Policy initiatives are <u>not</u> decisions- that is the role of the Council of Ministers and the European Parliament who can reject such suggestions outright
- Commissioners must appear regularly before the European Parliament to account for their actions
- The European Parliament can dismiss the whole Commission e.g. 1999 dismissal for corruption and nepotism
- The European Parliament has to approve the appointment of the President of the EC

However:

- The EC is part of the 'democratic deficit' of the EU, as it is unelected and the
 peoples of the member states have no say over its appointments: it has no mandate
 and no democratic legitimacy
- The strategic position of the EC means it has a huge amount of influence over the development of the EU
- Enlargement has meant that not all member states are represented

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

- Largely focused on one issue related to accountability
- A limited awareness of issues related to the accountability of the European Commission

- A clear awareness of at least 2 reasons for OR against accountability
- An attempt at a balanced argument

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
Level 3 (11-15 marks)	 Good to excellent: knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 2 (6-10 marks)	 knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 1 (0-5 marks)	 Very poor to weak: knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.

Question Number	Question	
6.	'Reform of the Common Agricultural Policy is always likely to fail.'	
	Discuss.	
Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)		

Candidates should demonstrate an awareness that CAP reform has been put on by

Candidates should demonstrate an awareness that CAP reform has been put on hold for the time being, and is due to be re-examined in 2014.

Reform has been difficult for several reasons, including:

- Each member state has a veto over CAP reform
- Many states have a vested interest in certain aspects of the policy so are resistant to change
- The reluctance of some member states to alienate the agricultural sector back home
- The resentment of the CAP by member states who have smaller agricultural sectors and so benefit less
- Farmers in some states have become dependent on CAP, leading to fears of economic collapse in the agricultural sector if too many subsidies were withdrawn/replaced
- Enlargement has increased demands for CAP subsidies, leading to the temporary exclusion of new member states from the benefits of CAP
- Developing countries perceive the CAP and the EU as protectionist, and so are reluctant to create a free trade environment with the EU (as suggested in the Doha talks)
- Proposals for reform by the Commission are subject to approval by the Council of Ministers e.g. the 2008 'Health Check' was markedly different from the EC's original proposals

However, reform has taken place, and can be argued to be necessary and even welcomed for the following reasons:

- The EU is both self-sufficient in food and a large exporter, which was one aim of the $C\Delta P$
- Since 2005, the CAP has no longer been the single greatest budget item of the EU, which was one aim of the reforms.
- The McSharry reforms built in a sliding scale of compensation for price decreases aimed at helping medium and small farmers cope with the changes
- Compromises were reached over how much direct aid CAP would extend to new members to avoid bankrupting the EU
- Issues such as the environment have been added to debates over CAP reform
- Future reform is still on the agenda, with governments such as the UK pushing for major reform

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

- Largely one-sided, most likely agreeing reform is likely to fail
- Limited awareness of past reforms

- A clear awareness of at least 2 past reforms
- Attempts balance with a conclusion in answer to the question on how likely reform is to fail

A01	Knowledge and understanding
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good to excellent knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Very poor to weak knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
AO2	Intellectual skills
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good to excellent ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Limited to sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Very poor to weak ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations

AO2	Synoptic skills
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good to excellent ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and clear insight into how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Limited to sound ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and a reliable awareness of how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Very poor to weak ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and a little awareness of how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
AO3	Communication and coherence
Level 3 (7-9 marks)	Good to excellent ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 2 (4-6 marks)	Limited to sound ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 1 (0-3 marks)	Very poor to weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary

Question Number C	Question
7. T	To what extent does Euroscepticism remain strong in the UK?

Candidates should demonstrate an awareness that there is no organised anti-EU movement in the UK, rather anti-EU feeling is represented by a disparate group of individuals and factions.

- Politically, the main opponents to continuing EU membership are UKIP and the BNP
- UKIP have so far failed to gain any seats in the UK Parliament suggesting that there is not enough widespread support across the UK for EU withdrawal.
- However, UKIP have been gaining in popularity in elections to the EU Parliament, most recently winning 11 MEPs in the 2009 elections.
- It can be argued, however, that this growing popularity is part of a UK-wide trend for giving protest votes to minority parties.
- The BNP also campaign for UK withdrawal from the EU, and have gained seats in the EU
 Parliament
- The main political parties are unanimous in their continuing support for the EU to different degrees.
- The Liberal Democrats have always been pro-EU, as they believe that in an age of increasing globalisation, the UK will only benefit if it is a pro-active member of a larger organisation.
- The Labour Party currently believe that the UK can only benefit from the EU is it is at 'the heart of Europe'
- The Conservative leadership also believes that the UK needs to stay at the 'heart of Europe', but without giving away any more sovereignty
- However, the Conservative Party as a whole is more divided over Europe, with factions
 who favour playing a positive role in the EU and also factions who would like the UK to
 leave the EU.
- There is also a distinct bias in the right-wing media against the EU, resulting in largely anti-EU reporting.
- Public opinion polls held six-monthly by *Eurobarometer* have actually shown a slight increase in support for the EU, with 30% supporting the EU in 2009. However, in comparison to an EU-wide average support of 53%, the UK can still be viewed as at least less pro-EU than the rest of the EU.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

- Limited awareness of reasons for OR against Euroscepticism in the UK
- Largely one-sided in the arguments presented

- A clear awareness of at least 2 arguments for OR against Euroscepticism remaining strong in the UK
- Attempts balance with a conclusion in answer to the guestion

AO1	Knowledge and understanding
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good to excellent knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Very poor to weak knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
AO2	Intellectual skills
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good to excellent ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Limited to sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Very poor to weak ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
AO2	Synoptic skills
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good to excellent ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and clear insight into how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Limited to sound ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and a reliable awareness of how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Very poor to weak ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and a little awareness of how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions

AO3	Communication and coherence	
Level 3 (7-9 marks)	Good to excellent ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary	
Level 2 (4-6 marks)	Limited to sound ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary	
Level 1 (0-3 marks)	Very poor to weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary	

Question Number	Question
8.	'The goal of a federal Europe has been achieved.' Discuss.

Candidates should demonstrate an awareness of the ongoing debate over whether or not the EU should be intergovernmental or supranational.

Arguments that the EU has become federal include:

- Supranationalism has been extended in recent years, with the extension of QMV
- The ECJ is also a truly supranational institution
- Arguably, this has moved the EU more towards its own brand of Euro-federalism, where member states share sovereignty with supranational organisations.
- The Lisbon Treaty centralised decision-making more e.g. changing the role and powers of key institutions
- The role of the ECJ has been extended into Home Affairs
- The right to veto decisions in certain policy areas has been cut further (although member states still have the option of a 'yellow' or 'orange' card)

Arguments that the EU has NOT become fully federal include:

- Attempts to make the EU more federal have failed e.g. the Constitution Treaty
- Tax harmonisation still does not exist
- There is no effective supranational defence or foreign policy.
- The institutions of the EU are still essentially intergovernmental in nature.
- The Euro has not fully integrated the economies of Europe as not all member states have joined the Eurozone
- The recent economic crisis saw a distinct lack of supranational direction as most states dealt with the crisis in their own country rather than following an EU-wide policy.
- Not all states are equally enthusiastic about further EU integration- the UK in particular is seen as reluctant to give up any more national sovereignty.
- Enlargement has also prevented the EU from becoming federal as reforms have focused on how to make decision-making smoother
- There also remains a lack of consensus on the European social model versus the free market model, thus inhibiting the feasibility of greater supranationalism.
- States also ultimately preserve their sovereignty by reserving the right to leave the EU
- Where unanimous voting is required members retain independence by use of a veto
- Certain areas are outside EU jurisdiction, notably most criminal and civil law, most social policy and still a great deal of economic policy.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

- Limited awareness of the arguments and issues surrounding federalism in the EU
- Largely one-sided in the arguments presented

- A clear awareness of at least 2 arguments for OR against achieving federalism
- Attempts balance with a conclusion in answer to the question

AO1	Knowledge and understanding
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good to excellent knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Very poor to weak knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
AO2	Intellectual skills
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good to excellent ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
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Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Very poor to weak ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
AO2	Synoptic skills
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good to excellent ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and clear insight into how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Limited to sound ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and a reliable awareness of how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Very poor to weak ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and a little awareness of how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions

AO3	Communication and coherence
Level 3 (7-9 marks)	Good to excellent ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 2 (4-6 marks)	Limited to sound ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 1 (0-3 marks)	Very poor to weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary

SUMMARY A2 MARKING GRIDS

These grids should be used in conjunction with the fuller Level descriptors.

PART A - SHORT QUESTIONS (15 marks)

Level 3	Excellent	15
	Very good	13-14
	Good	11-12
	Sound	10
Level 2	Basic	8-9
	Limited	6-7
Level 1	Weak	4-5
	Poor	2-3
	Very poor	0-1

PART B - ESSAY QUESTIONS (45 marks)

AO1 / AO2 / Synopticity		
Level 3 (Good to excellent)	9-12	
Level 2 (Limited to sound)	5-8	
Level 1 (Very poor to weak)	0-4	

AO3	
Level 3 (good to excellent)	7-9
Level 2 (Limited to sound)	4-6
Level 1 (Very poor to weak)	0-3

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