

Mark Scheme (Results)

Summer 2012

GCE Government & Politics Global Political Issues 6GP04 4D

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On what grounds has humanitarian intervention been justified?

#### Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)

Humanitarian intervention is military intervention that is carried out in pursuit of humanitarian rather than strategic objectives. Humanitarian intervention can be justified on a variety of grounds, including the following:

- Its prime justification is that humanity is indivisible, in the sense that moral responsibilities cannot be confined merely to one's own people or state. There is therefore an obligation to 'save strangers', if the resources exist to do so and the cost is not disproportionate.
- Humanitarian and strategic considerations often go hand in hand, especially in view of growing global interconnectedness. Humanitarian intervention can therefore be justified on grounds of enlightened self-interest; for example, to prevent a refugee crisis that may create deep political and social strains in other countries.
- State sovereignty cannot justify a government's abuse of its own people; as sovereignty ultimately resides with the people, widespread abuses forfeit a government's legitimacy, justifying intervention by other states. These states thus have a 'responsibility to protect'.
- Humanitarian intervention may also, but not necessarily, lead to regime change; insofar as it does, a concern to promote democracy and strengthen respect for human rights.
- Humanitarian intervention may also be a means of preventing regional instability and helping to make regional wars less likely.

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

- A limited definition with at least two justifications explained
- There will also be at least one relevant example

- A good definition with at least three clear justifications explained
- There will also be at least two good examples

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

Why has nuclear arms control been so difficult to bring about?

#### Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)

Nuclear arms control has been difficult to bring about for a number of reasons, including the following:

- As realists point out, the security dilemma is an intractable problem, meaning that security regimes are always likely to break down and arms races are unavoidable.
- Linked to this, states are always liable to view their build-up of arms as legitimate in terms of providing defence and ensuring deterrents, regardless of the international agreements that they have signed up to. This is a particularly powerful consideration as nuclear weapons are seen as the ultimate way of preventing military intervention by other states.
- Nuclear arms control seeks to control the most heavily armed, and therefore the most powerful, of the world's states, notably the USA and the Soviet Union during the Cold War.
- States may seek nuclear arms because of the prestige they bring, membership of the 'nuclear club' being one of the determinants of great power status.
- Regional rivalries often encourage nuclear proliferation, as in the case of India and Pakistan.
- Spread of technology scientific know how
- Failure of control bodies IAEA
- Double standards on the part of the current nuclear states.

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

- Limited outline of two factors or reasons with at least one explained
- There will also be at least one relevant example

- At least three reasons or factors clearly identified
- There will also be at least two good examples to support effective explanation

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

Explain the implications of the idea of sustainable development.

#### Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)

Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. It is therefore based on the idea of cross-generational justice and the notion that future generations are entitled to living standards at least as prosperous as those enjoyed by present generations.

The principal implication of sustainable development is that economic and environmental goals should be considered in conjunction with one another. In particular, limits must be placed on economic growth to ensure that the ecological costs of growth do not threaten its long-term sustainability. This means, in effect, getting richer slower. As far as energy resources are concerned, sustainability has been associated with attempts to slow down the exploitation of finite fossil fuel resources and to increase investment in renewable sources of energy. For some, sustainability can be achieved by substituting human capital for natural capital, implying that improved technology can compensate for environmental degradation. For example, better roads or a new airport could compensate for the loss of habitat or agricultural land.

It has been suggested that sustainable development has been used as a tool by the developed world to limit growth in the developing world.

An implication is that significant debate has opened between deep and shallow ecologists.

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

• A limited definition with at least two implications identified and simply explained

- A clear definition of sustainable development is given
- At least three implications will be identified and explained

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS	
Level 3 (11-15 marks)	<ul> <li>Good to excellent:</li> <li>knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>	
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What is the North-South divide, and how does it contribute to explaining global poverty?

#### Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)

The North-South divide is an idea that was popularised through the so-called Brandt Reports of 1980 and 1983. It suggested that the world is divided into a 'global North' and a 'global South', based on the tendency for industrial development to be concentrated in the northern hemisphere, and for poverty and disadvantage to be concentrated in the southern hemisphere, although the terms are essentially conceptual rather than geographical.

The North-South divide explains global poverty in terms of the structural relationship between the North and the South. In particular, it draws attention to the way in which aid, developing-world debt and the practices of TNCs help to perpetuate inequality between the high-wage, high-investment industrialised North and the low-wage, low-investment, predominantly rural South. The prosperity of the North has therefore been achieved at the expense of the South, the two being bound together through asymmetrical interdependency.

There are alternative better ways of explaining global poverty such as the Wallerstein model.

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

- A limited definition with at least an outline explanation of 'global North' and 'global South'
- There will also be a simple, perhaps implicit, link established to global poverty, supported by at least one example

- Clear awareness of the concept is demonstrated with at least three clear features of the North-South divide outlined with reasonable accuracy
- There will also be a simple but probably explicit link to global poverty

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

Explain the key criticisms that have been made of the 'clash of civilisations' thesis.

# Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)

The 'clash of civilisations' thesis suggests that twenty-first century global order will be characterised by growing tension and conflict, but this conflict will be cultural in character, rather than ideological, political or economic. The criticisms that have been made of the thesis include the following.

- The thesis is based on a model of culture and civilisation that is simplistic at best. In reality, civilisations are complex and fragmented, overlapping with one another at a variety of points. The idea of clear 'fault-lines' between civilisations is therefore highly questionable.
- There is at least as much evidence of harmony and peaceful coexistence between civilisations as there is of suspicion and rivalry. The idea of inherent misunderstanding and inevitable conflict between civilisations is therefore difficult to sustain.
- Instead of a trend towards cultural polarisation, there has been a more towards cultural homogenisation, not least through the impact of globalisation, a widening acceptance of human rights and the gradual expansion of democratic rule.
- There are numerous examples of clashes within civilisations rather than between civilisations.

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

- Limited explanation of the 'clash of civilisations' thesis
- Identification and limited explanation of at least one criticism

- Clear explanation of the 'clash of civilisations' thesis
- Identification and explanation of at least three criticisms with examples

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

'Human rights are simply a form of western cultural imperialism.' Discuss.

## Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)

Human rights are rights to which people are entitled by virtue of being human. Human rights are universal, fundamental, indivisible and absolute. From the liberal, western perspective, human rights transcend ideological and cultural differences. This is because they belong to all human beings rather than to members of any particular nation, race, religion, gender, social class or whatever. This is, in part, evident in the developing understanding of human rights, whereby if 'first generation' civil and political rights had a liberal western character, 'second generation' economic, social and cultural rights drew on socialist assumptions, while 'third generation' solidarity rights have articulated the aspirations of the developing world. Some 146 countries from all the world have signed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, with other UN human rights conventions enjoying similarly widespread support.

However, one of the key arguments against human rights is that they amount to a form of western cultural imperialism. Postcolonial theorists have argued that circumstances vary so widely from society to society, and from culture to culture, that the task of developing authoritative or universal moral values is impossible. Human rights therefore have an inherently western character and are based upon liberal assumptions about the importance of individualism in particular that may not be applicable to non-western cultures and countries. Moreover, human rights have been used as a weapon to legitimise the extension of western economic, political and military influence across the globe. Such a postcolonial critique of human rights has been particularly influential in Asia and in the Moslem world. In Asia it has been expressed in the development of the rival idea of 'Asian values', which supposedly reflect the distinctive culture, history and religious background of Asian societies. In parts of the Islamic world, the secular doctrine of human rights has been criticised on the grounds that rights, and all moral principles, derive from divine, rather than human, authority. As such, the UN Declaration and, for that matter, any other human principles and laws are invalid if they conflict with the values and principles outlined in Shari'a law.

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

- Limited understanding of Human Rights and western cultural imperialism is demonstrated
- At least two arguments are given on each side or a stronger one sided argument

- Clear explanation is given of both Human Rights and western cultural imperialism
- There will be at least two arguments on either side of the debate, supported by

relevant examples

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		

A03	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	

**No. 7** To what extent is the issue of climate change an example of the 'tragedy of the commons'?

#### Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)

The 'tragedy of the commons' draws parallels between global environmental degradation and the fate of common land before the introduction of enclosures. In both cases, it suggests that the pursuit of private interest will always block the common good. As applied to climate change, this suggests that international agreement will always be difficult to achieve because states will ultimately act in line with their national interests, rather than what will generally benefit all of them. This is especially the case as tackling climate change imposes major costs on individual states in terms of investment in sometimes expensive mitigation and adaptation strategies, as well as accepting lower levels of economic growth. In such circumstances, states are encouraged to be 'free riders', enjoying the benefits of a healthier environment without having to pay for them. This can be illustrated by the Kyoto Protocol of 1997, in which key developed states, and especially the USA, refused to commit themselves to binding targets for reducing greenhouse gas emissions, and by the Copenhagen Summit of 2009, which failed to establish any legal or non-legal targets for national or global emissions reductions. In this view, only world government would be capable of breaking the deadlock imposed by the 'tragedy of the commons'.

However, 'the tragedy of the commons', may overstate the reluctance of individual states to act in their own collective interest. Despite the disappointments of Kyoto and Copenhagen, there is some evidence of a growing international consensus on the issue. This was illustrated at Copenhagen by the fact that developing states, including China, the largest emitter country, participated in the process, as did the USA. Alternatively, explanations other than the 'tragedy of the commons' can be offered for the failure of the international community to make significant progress on the issue of climate change. Other obstacles to progress include tensions between the developed and developing worlds over responsibility and burdensharing, disagreements over mitigation or adaptation strategies, and the difficulty of challenging the economic and ideological forces that have shaped capitalist modernity and which, arguably, underpin the 'carbon industrialisation' that is at the heart of the climate change problem.

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

- Limited definition or explanation of the 'Tragedy of the Commons' is outlined
- Perhaps implicitly an attempt is made to show how this idea links to climate change, with reference to key climate change meetings and outcomes and/or wider reasons for possible failure to tackle climate change

- Clear explanation is given of the 'Tragedy of the Commons' and how this might be linked to the idea of climate change
- There will be a reasonably balanced discussion involving good knowledge of

climate change meetings and outcomes and/or wider reasons for possible failure to tackle climate change

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		
<i>Level 2</i> (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		

A03	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	

'The only problem with international aid is that rich countries do not give enough.' Discuss.

## Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)

International aid refers to the transfer of goods or services from one country to another country, motivated, at least in part, by the desire to benefit the recipient country or its people. It may be organised on a bilateral or multilateral basis. Supporters of international aid have argued that it is the most significant way in which wealthy countries can discharge their development responsibilities and help to promote socio-economic development in other countries. Much international effort has therefore gone into attempts to boost the level of international aid. Although wealthy countries have committed themselves to meeting the UN's target of donating 0.7 per cent of their GNP to aid, donation levels have lagged far behind, with only five OECD states achieving the target in 2007. There is general agreement that the level of international aid is generally insufficient to support meaningful development, and that this is putting the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals at risk.

However, the idea that the only problem with international aid is that rich countries do not give enough can be seen to be misguided or simplistic. It is simplistic in the sense that the quantity of aid may be less important than its quality, given that much international aid has not, historically, been wisely focused and intelligently used. The World Bank has therefore devoted increasing resource to ensure that the provision of international aid is better focused and its impact more rigorously evaluated. At a deeper level, critics have argued that international aid is an ineffective way of fighting poverty and spurring economic growth, and may even be counter-productive. Amongst the criticisms that have been made of international aid are that it can discourage initiative and self-reliance within recipient countries and strengthen a culture of dependency, that it can distort markets, by reducing incentives and preventing the growth of entrepreneurship, and that it can entrench corruption and oppression, as autocratic rulers use aid funds not only to support their affluent lifestyles but also to widen political control and subvert opponents.

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

 Limited explanation of the debate over international aid with at least one argument on each side, each supported by at least one simple but reasonably accurate example

- Clear awareness of the debate over international aid and the activities of 'rich countries'
- At least two arguments on each side to provide a balanced discussion supported by relevant examples

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		
A02	Intellectual skills		
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good to excellent ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations		
<i>Level 2</i> (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		
A02	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		
<i>Level 2</i> (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		

A03	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)

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

A03	
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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