

Mark Scheme (Results)

Summer 2015

Pearson Edexcel GCE Government & Politics (6GP03/3D)

Paper 3D: Structures of Global

Politics

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General Marking Guidelines

- All candidates must receive the same treatment. Examiners must mark the first candidate in exactly the same way as they mark the last.
- Mark schemes should be applied positively. Candidates must be rewarded for what they have shown they can do rather than penalised for omissions.
- Examiners should mark according to the mark scheme not according to their perception of where the grade boundaries may lie.
- There is no ceiling on achievement. All marks on the mark scheme should be used appropriately.
- All the marks on the mark scheme are designed to be awarded. Examiners should always award full marks if deserved, i.e. if the answer matches the mark scheme. Examiners should also be prepared to award zero marks if the candidate's response is not worthy of credit according to the mark scheme.
- Where some judgement is required, mark schemes will provide the principles by which marks will be awarded and exemplification may be limited.
- When examiners are in doubt regarding the application of the mark scheme to a candidate's response, the team leader must be consulted.
- Crossed out work should be marked UNLESS the candidate has replaced it with an alternative response.

No. 1 Explain the key features of the liberal approach to global politics.

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

Liberalism has been the dominant ideological force shaping western political thought. Liberalism stresses morality, peace and cooperation, there is a focus on the concept of balance and harmony amongst competing actors. There is a belief that a natural equilibrium will emerge in the relationship between states.

Conflict isn't inevitable and compromise and a balance of interests leads to a possibility of peace and cooperation. Free trade is considered to provide prosperity and mutual benefit which encourages peace between states.

Whilst liberals accept that competition between states is inevitable, there is also a belief in internationalism. Complex interdependence suggests that people and states are connected through trade, climate change, human rights etc in a way that encourages cooperation.

The 'democratic peace thesis' would suggest that the spread of democracy makes conflict less likely between states. Liberals also stress the development of international law and of international organisations as further indicators of and providers of peace and stability.

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

- Likely to be two explained features of the liberal approach although explanation may be limited
- Limited use of examples

- Likely to be three well explained features of the liberal approach
- Good use of examples and possibly theorists

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.

No. 2 Why has there been disagreement about the implications of unipolarity for global order?

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

Unipolarity refers to an international system in which there is only one pre-eminent state or pole. The period following the end of the cold war and the demise of the Soviet Union/Russia as a superpower led some to conclude that we had entered a period of unipolarity with the United States operating as the dominant state or hegemon.

There is a view that unipolarity can provide a degree of stability as the dominant state can act as the 'world's police force', preventing war and ensuring the status quo. The dominant state has an interest in providing economic and financial stability and leadership. This view can portray the hegemon as a benign hegemon.

Critics suggest that unipolarity leads to fear, resentment and hostility among other actors, particularly where the dominant state is considered to act as a predatory hegemon. Unipolarity, in this view, is considered to be an unstable system.

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

- Likely to be some attempt at a definition/explanation of unipolarity
- Explanation of the reasons why there is disagreement although limited

- Likely to be a good attempt at a definition/explanation of unipolarity and likely to be some historical context
- Fuller explanation of both the positive and negative view of unipolarity with good examples

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.

No. 3 Explain how the EU contains elements of both intergovernmentalism and supranationalism.

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

Intergovernmentalism refers to interaction amongst states which takes place on the basis of sovereign independence. Intergovernmentalism suggests that there is no higher power than the state. Supranationalism is based on the idea that there can be an authority that is higher than the nation-state and which can impose its will on the state.

The EU supports both elements of supranationalism and intergovernmentalism. This can be illustrated through a study of the institutions of the EU. The European Court of Justice can over-rule member state law which would suggest that it is a supranational body. The European Parliament, European Central Bank and European Commission are also considered to be supranational bodies.

The Council of Ministers operates through a mixture of voting principles with important decisions being taken by unanimous agreement and others by qualified majority voting. There is some debate over this institution but it is primarily considered to be an intergovernmental institution.

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

- Likely to be a limited explanation and/or definition of the key terms
- Likely to be an explanation of two elements/institutions of the EU by way of analysis and example

- Likely to be a good explanation and/or definition of the key terms
- Likely to be an explanation of three or more elements/institutions of the EU by way of analysis and example

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
	Good to excellent:
Level 3	
(11-15 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 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.

No. 4 What is 'hard power'? How significant has it been in recent years?

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

Hard power is the ability of one state to influence another through the use of compulsion or inducement in the form of threats or rewards. The standard tools of hard power are military 'sticks' or economic 'carrots', although the debate about the decline of hard power tends to focus more on military than economic developments.

Hard power may be considered to have become less significant as a consequence of the rise of an alternative soft power. Soft power is based on the premise that attraction can be more compelling than coercion. Interdependence and interconnectedness ensure that hard power is considered to be more damaging than soft power. The spread of democracy is seen as a force for the promotion of soft rather than hard power with democracy operating as a stabilising force which makes hard power less acceptable to citizens.

There are numerous examples of the use of hard power which appear to have damaged the credibility and standing of the states who employ this hard power. The George Bush administration's use of hard power in Iraq and as part of the 'war on terror' stands as an example of hard power failure with a loss of hearts and minds. This is reflected in the shift in policy under the Obama administration. Despite all of this, there are many examples of the continued use of hard power in global politics, such as Russian intervention in Ukraine, which suggests that hard power is still considered to be a viable option.

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

- Likely to be a definition or explanation albeit limited
- Likely to be at least two valid arguments although limited in explanation and use of examples

- Likely to be a good definition and/or explanation
- Likely to be at least three good arguments or two in real detail with use of appropriate recent examples

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
Level 3 (11-15 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 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.
<i>Level 1</i> (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.

No. 5

Explain the main criticisms of the International Monetary Fund.

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

The International Money Fund is one of the key actors in the international political economy. The IMF was created at Bretton Woods and almost all countries are now members of the IMF, whose primary function is to maintain exchange rate stability by giving short-term loans to countries with balance of payments problems.

Criticism of the IMF tends to focus, primarily, on issues relating to policy and vote distribution.

There have been accusations that the IMF is a tool of the North in general and of the US specifically, to force global South to adopt a particular business model which benefits global North rather than South. The structural adjustment programmes, impact on sovereignty and emphasis on the Washington Consensus have been clear areas of criticism.

The vote distribution of the IMF is based on member states contributions to the IMF fund which ensures that the US has been the dominant state based on its voting strength. Changes to voting allocations do take place but continue to be an area of controversy with global South states having relatively little say in voting whilst the US, EU members and other global North states enjoy significant voting power.

The IMF has also been criticised for providing support to military dictatorships and to human rights abusers. It has also been criticised for its failure to prevent and also remedy the global financial crisis beginning in 2007.

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

- Likely to be some attempt at a historical background and/or brief explanation of IMF objectives, even if limited
- Likely to be two criticisms identified and explained even if in a limited way

- Likely to be a clear historical background and/or brief explanation of IMF objectives
- Likely to be three good criticisms identified and explained fully

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
Level 3 (11-15 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 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.
<i>Level 1</i> (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.

No. 6

'An effective system of global governance has now become a reality.' Discuss.

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

Global governance is a complex process of political interaction and decision making at the global level aimed at solving problems that affect more than one state or region when there is no power of enforcing compliance. States and governments remain the most significant institutions for decision making but intergovernmental and supranational bodies can also operate. Decisions are made by a system of horizontal and vertical interactions between officials in different levels of government working with counterparts from other states.

The view that global governance is an effective reality is based on the plethora of international institutions which have been created since the end of WW2 and their growing significance. Liberal theorists argue that there has been a trend towards global governance which is centred on international organisations. Arguments proposing that global governance is already an effective reality tend to focus on the economic sphere where global governance seems most advanced. The discussion could include those economic institutions which may, or may not have provided economic stability since they were created following the end of WW2. The IMF, IBRD and WTO are relevant here but discussion could also focus on G8 and G20 as well as the process of regionalism. Global governance may be seen more as an emerging process than a contemporary reality.

The view that global governance isn't an effective reality can be based on the view that international anarchy continues to reign. International organisations may be considered unreliable and ineffective due to a continued focus on sovereignty between states. Realists question the idea that international order, centred around effective global governance, can exist at all. Self help and power politics still operate.

- Likely to be an attempt at a definition /explanation of key term, even if limited
- Likelihood of some criteria for consideration of effectiveness even if limited
- Likelihood of at least a limited debate covering both views with a number of institutions/areas used for evidence
- Likelihood of at least a limited structure to the response

- Likely to be a good attempt at a definition /explanation of key term
- Likelihood of a range of criteria for consideration of effectiveness which may include economic stability, law, avoidance of anarchy, cooperation, justice etc
- Likelihood of a good debate covering both views with a good number of institutions/areas used for evidence
- Likelihood of a good structure to the response

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
<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

No. 7

To what extent has the EU become a significant global power?

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

Whether the EU has become a significant global power, or not, requires a consideration of a number of factors which would include political, military, economic and structural.

The EU clearly has significant economic influence, especially as European integration has embraced both political union and monetary union. The sheer size of the EU in economic, trade and financial terms makes it a global power. It is a significant trading bloc with a significant currency which ensures a wide reaching influence.

The EU has significant structural power and is able to operate as a non-state actor in bodies such as the WTO, G8 and G20. The EU also has a degree of soft power which it has been able to use in relation to a number of areas including the ICC and on the issue of global climate change.

Although the EU may be weakened by the lack of a clear and single decision maker, comparable to that of a state, it does have a range of developing decision making apparatus in a widening number of areas and there have been attempts to strengthen the EU with the creation of a High Representative to better coordinate the EU's foreign policy in conjunction with a President of the European Council.

The view that the EU lacks significant global power is centred on a number of particular criticisms. Which include the following:

Progress on establishing a Common and Security Policy has been limited. Member states continue to retain control of their own foreign and defence policies, seen as key symbols of sovereign independence. This has particularly applied in the EU's failure to develop a significant military arm that enables it to project power within Europe and beyond. The EU's weakness in the 1990s in relation to atrocities in former-Yugoslavia, and in 1999 in relation to the Kosovo war, are testament to this. NATO remains the cornerstone of defence within the region rather than an EU equivalent. Structural power is weakened by difficulties over decision making and the EU is still absent from the top table in certain institutions, notably the P5 of the UN Security Council. EU member states have suffered significantly from the global economic downturn and debt crisis. The internal wrangling between member states over how best to respond to the debt crisis has weakened the EU and the perception that the EU is a particularly powerful economic entity. The growing Euroscepticism of certain member states adds to the impression that the EU has lost a degree of significance.

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

- Likelihood of at least a limited explanation of the term 'significant global power'
- Likelihood of at least a limited consideration of at least two areas of significance ie -economic, political/structural, cultural, military etc
- Likelihood of at least a limited use of valid examples
- Likelihood of at least a limited structure to the response

- Likelihood of at least a good explanation of the term 'significant global power' which may include a valid historical development/background
- Likelihood of at least a good consideration of at least three areas of significance ie -economic, political/structural, cultural, military etc
- Likelihood of a good use of valid examples
- Likelihood of at least a good structure to the response

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
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
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

'The impact of globalisation has been exaggerated.' Discuss.

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

Globalisation refers to the emergence of a complex web of interconnectedness that means that our lives are increasingly shaped by decisions that are made a great distance away. Distinctions are commonly drawn between economic, cultural and political forms of globalisation. Liberals tend to argue that globalisation has had dramatic and far reaching impact on international politics, while realists and others claim that the international system remains substantially unchanged.

Globalisation sceptics argue that the impact of globalisation has been significantly exaggerated. They would argue that states remain the principal actors on the world stage. Sceptics point out, for example, that the overwhelming bulk of economic activity still takes place within states. National economies, in other words, are not as irrelevant as globalisation theorists usually suggest. Only a tiny proportion of states are unable to control what happens within their borders. Furthermore, the trend towards regional and global governance does not spell the demise of the nation-state. In the first place, intergovernmental institutions may have grown in number but they remain weak and usually ineffective because control continues to reside with individual states. Second, the growth of regional and international organisations does not necessary imply the decline of state power, as these tend to be instruments through which states, and especially prominent states, seek to achieve their interests.

Liberals and especially so-called 'hyperglobalisers' portray globalisation as a significant development in international politics. The impact of globalisation has been greatest on the state and on sovereignty with states penetrated by external influences to a much greater extent than previously occurred. The decline of the state is apparent through the greater importance of non-state actors, including transnational corporations, NGOs, terrorist organisations, transnational criminal organisations and so forth. The interconnectedness and interdependence that globalisation has spawned, has altered relations between and amongst states, creating stronger pressure towards co-operation and integration with international judicial institutions and financial institutions serving as examples. There has been a trend towards regional integration and to the strengthening of global governance which can therefore be seen as a clear consequence of globalisation.

- Likelihood of at least a limited definition/explanation of the key term and sub elements such as cultural, political and economic
- Likelihood of at least a limited argument two sided- that impact has been exaggerated.
- At least a limited use of examples to support the argument.
- Likelihood of at least a limited structure to the response

- Likelihood of at least a good definition/explanation of the key term and sub elements such as cultural, political and economic globalisation
- Likelihood of at least a good argument two sided- that impact has been exaggerated.
- At least a good use of examples to support the argument.
- Likelihood of at least a good structure to the response Likelihood of reference to the Hyper-globaliser/Liberal, Sceptic/Realist and other theoretical views of the impact of globalisation.

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
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

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
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

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