

Mark Scheme (Results)

Summer 2013

GCE Government and Politics 6GP03 3B
Political Ideologies

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| | |
|---|---|
| No. 1 | On what grounds have conservatives justified property? |
| Indicative content (<i>this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points</i>) | |
| <p>Conservatives have justified property on a number of grounds, including the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conservatives have regarded property as a vital source of security, something to fall back on, particularly in times of economic difficulty. This is crucial for Conservatives, because of the belief that people are psychologically dependent and thirst, above all, for security. • Property ownership gives people a 'stake' in society and so promotes a range of important social values, notably a respect for law and the property of others. By strengthening social cohesion, property thus counters the tendency towards anarchy and base self-interest. • Property has been viewed as the exteriorisation of personal identity, in that people 'see' themselves in their property. Property is therefore a source of personal satisfaction and emotional well-being. • New Right conservatives use essentially liberal arguments in support of property, viewing it, variously, as a reflection of individual merit (and thus as a right), an economic incentive and a means of reducing individuals' dependency on the state. <p>A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited knowledge of at least one conservative justification for property <p>A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clear explanation of at least two conservative justifications for property. | |
| LEVELS | DESCRIPTORS |
| Level 3 (11-15 marks) | <p>Good to excellent:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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. |

| | |
|---|---|
| <p><i>Level 2</i></p> <p>(6-10 marks)</p> | <p>Limited to sound:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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. |
| <p><i>Level 1</i></p> <p>(0-5 marks)</p> | <p>Very poor to weak:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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 | Explain the link between liberalism and individualism. |
| Indicative content (<i>this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points</i>) | |
| <p>Individualism is a belief in the primacy or supreme importance of the human individual over any social group or collective body. Viewing humans as individuals implies both that they have unique identities and qualities and that they enjoy an equal moral and political status.</p> <p>Individualism is the central principle of liberal ideology, affecting almost every liberal doctrine and theory. For example, the belief in individualism establishes a strong support for individual freedom, reflected in the principle that that each individual is entitled the maximum possible liberty compatible with a like liberty for all. Individualism also inclines liberals to support toleration, respecting the views and values of others even when one disapproves of them. Egoistical individualism, which emphasises that individuals are self-seeking and largely self-reliant creatures, provides the basis for classical liberal ideas and theories, while developmental individualism, which reflects a belief in personal growth and self-realisation, provides the basis for modern liberal ideas and theories.</p> <p>A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited, but possibly implicit, awareness of the nature of individualism. • Limited knowledge of the link between liberalism and individualism. <p>A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clear understanding of the nature of individualism. • Clear explanation of the link between liberalism and individualism. | |
| LEVELS | DESCRIPTORS |
| <i>Level 3</i> (11-15 marks) | <p>Good to excellent:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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. |

| | |
|---|---|
| <p><i>Level 2</i></p> <p>(6-10 marks)</p> | <p>Limited to sound:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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. |
| <p><i>Level 1</i></p> <p>(0-5 marks)</p> | <p>Very poor to weak:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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

Why have democratic socialists believed that the victory of 'gradualism' is inevitable?

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

Gradualism refers to the achievement of political and other goals by a process of gradual and peaceful change. In this case, it involves the achievement of socialism through a series of incremental reforms, rather than revolution, usually brought about by democratic pressure.

Socialists, influenced by Fabian Society thinking, have extolled the 'inevitability of gradualism' for a number of reasons, including the following:

- The spread of political democracy (especially universal suffrage) effectively places power in the hands of the working class, traditionally the numerically dominant class in any industrial society.
- Working class voters will 'naturally' support socialist parties, as socialism reflects working-class interests, reflected in its commitment to eradicate poverty, promote redistribution, and so on.
- Once in power, socialist parties will be able, over time and constitutionally, to carry out a far reaching reforms, transforming capitalism and creating a more equal and socially just society. This is based on the belief that the state is a neutral umpire in society.

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

- Limited, and probably implicit, awareness of the nature of gradualism.
- Limited knowledge of at least one reason why democratic have believed that the victory of socialism is inevitable.

A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:

- Clear understanding of the nature of gradualism.
- Clear explanation of at least two reasons why democratic socialists have believed that the victory of socialism is inevitable.

| LEVELS | DESCRIPTORS |
|---|---|
| <p><i>Level 3</i> (11-15 marks)</p> | <p>Good to excellent:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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. |
| <p><i>Level 2</i> (6-10 marks)</p> | <p>Limited to sound:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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. |
| <p><i>Level 1</i> (0-5 marks)</p> | <p>Very poor to weak:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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. |

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| No. 4 | On what grounds have anarchists rejected constitutionalism and consent? |
|--------------|--|

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

Constitutionalism refers to the imposition of checks on the exercise of government power by either the establishment of formal rules (usually through a codified constitution) or institutional fragmentation, so creating a network of checks and balances.

Consent is the principle that government should be based on the will of the people, expressed in practice in regular and democratic elections.

Anarchists have rejected constitutionalism and consent on two main grounds:

- Anarchists (in contrast to liberals) believe that constitutionalism and consent are starkly ineffective as means of 'taming' government power. This is because all systems of rule, constitutional and democratic rule as well as arbitrary and dictatorial rule, are, by their nature, evil and oppressive.
- Anarchists hold that constitutionalism and consent promote subservience among the masses and recruit citizens into their own oppression, because they invest government with bogus legitimacy.

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

- Limited, but probably implicit, awareness of the nature of constitutionalism and consent.
- Limited knowledge of at least one reason why anarchists have rejected constitutionalism and consent.

A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:

- Clear understanding of the nature of constitutionalism and consent.
- Clear explanation of at least two reasons why anarchists have rejected constitutionalism and consent.

| LEVELS | DESCRIPTORS |
|---|---|
| <p><i>Level 3</i> (11-15 marks)</p> | <p>Good to excellent:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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. |
| <p><i>Level 2</i> (6-10 marks)</p> | <p>Limited to sound:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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. |
| <p><i>Level 1</i> (0-5 marks)</p> | <p>Very poor to weak:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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. |

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|---|---|
| <p>No. 5</p> | <p>Explain how neoliberals and neoconservatives disagree over the role of the state?</p> |
| <p>Indicative content (<i>this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points</i>)</p> | |
| <p>Neoliberals support a minimal state, one that merely maintains domestic order, enforces contracts and provides defence against foreign attack, leaving other matters, especially for economic and moral issues, in the hands of the individual. They do so on two grounds. First, 'rolling back' the state unleashes the dynamism of the market, offering the prospect of prosperity for all by removing the 'dead hand' of the state from the economy. Second, it has moral benefits in that it widens individual freedom and strengthening personal responsibility.</p> <p>Neoconservatives support a strong state, which has an influence that extends clearly into the social and moral realms. They believe that the state should be strengthened in three main areas. First, the system of law and order should be made more effective, particularly by using a stronger regime of punishments to deter wrong-doing. Second, traditional values should be upheld, if necessary by law, in order to ensure that society is bound together by a common culture. Third, similar thinking also inclines neoconservatives to support the promotion of national patriotism.</p> <p>Note: Neoconservatives do not support welfare and social reform, and in this sense agree with neoliberal thinking regarding the state.</p> <p>A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited knowledge of the neoliberal view of the role of the state. • Limited knowledge of the neoconservative view of the role of the state. • Or a clear explanation of one view of the state and a weak account of the other view. <p>A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clear explanation of the neoliberal view of the role of the state. • Clear explanation of the and neoconservative view of the role of the state. | |

| LEVELS | DESCRIPTORS |
|---|---|
| <p><i>Level 3</i> (11-15 marks)</p> | <p>Good to excellent:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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. |
| <p><i>Level 2</i> (6-10 marks)</p> | <p>Limited to sound:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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. |
| <p><i>Level 1</i> (0-5 marks)</p> | <p>Very poor to weak:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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

'Liberal democracy is a contradiction in terms.' Discuss.

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

Liberal democracy refers to a governmental arrangement that fuses a liberal belief in limited government with a democratic commitment to popular rule.

Liberal democracy can be viewed as a contradiction in terms to the extent that liberalism is inconsistent with democratic rule. Liberals have feared democracy for a number of reasons. These include the following. Democracy can be viewed as a form of collectivism, in that it upholds the will of 'the people', understood as an undifferentiated whole, rather than the views of private individuals. Democracy leads to the tyranny of the majority, thereby threatening minority rights and creating enslavement to conventional wisdom. Democracy also endangers wise and sensible government because it ignores the fact that knowledge and understanding are, inevitably, unequally distributed in society.

Liberal democracy is not a contradiction in terms in the sense that, despite the concerns above, liberals endorse democracy in most circumstances. Democracy has a number of advantages from a liberal perspective. These include that it helps to prevent over-mighty government by establishing a system of public accountability (protective democracy); that democratic participation promotes personal self-development and social betterment (developmental democracy); and that democracy is the best way of ensuring balance and harmony in a society of competing interests (pluralist democracy).

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

- Limited, but probably implicit, awareness of the nature of liberal democracy.
- Limited knowledge of why liberalism has been seen as compatible with democracy.
- Limited knowledge of why liberalism and democracy have been seen as incompatible.

A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:

- Sound, in possibly implicit, understanding of the nature of liberal democracy.
- Clear explanation of why liberalism has been seen as compatible with democracy.
- Clear explanation of why liberalism and democracy have been seen as incompatible, with some ability to evaluate the balance of rival arguments.

| | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| 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 |
|---|--|
| <i>Level 3</i> (7-9 marks) | Good to excellent ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary |
| <i>Level 2</i> (4-6 marks) | Limited to sound ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary |
| <i>Level 1</i> (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 socialism defined by its rejection of capitalism?

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

Capitalism is an economic system characterised by the private ownership of wealth and economic activity regulated by market forces.

Socialism has, from one perspective, been very clearly defined by its rejection of capitalism. This applies in the case of fundamentalist socialism, especially in its Marxist or communist guise. In this view, capitalism is an irredeemable system of class oppression, an idea embodied in the Marxist doctrine of surplus value. This form of socialism is characterised by the politics of ownership, its chief goal being the abolition of private property, and therefore capitalism. Socialism is therefore equated with the establishment of common or collective ownership.

Alternative socialist theories have nevertheless tried to reconcile socialism with capitalism, in which case socialism is associated with the reform of the capitalist system, not its abolition or rejection. For social democrats or revisionist socialists, capitalism is perhaps the only available means of generating wealth, the problem of unregulated capitalism being that it distributes wealth in a manner that cannot be reconciled with the socialist commitment to equality. In this view, capitalism can be reformed by selective nationalisation, Keynesian demand management and comprehensive welfare provision. This form of socialism is characterised by the politics of social justice, the narrowing of material disparities, rather than their eradication. Neo-revisionists have taken these ideas a step further by embracing capitalism and rejecting nationalisation.

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

- Limited, but probably implicit, awareness of the nature of capitalism.
- Limited knowledge of why socialists have fundamentally rejected capitalism.
- Limited knowledge of why and how socialism has been reconciled with capitalism.

A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:

- Sound understanding of the nature of capitalism
- Clear explanation of why socialists have fundamentally rejected capitalism
- Clear explanation of why and how socialism has been reconciled with capitalism, with some ability to evaluate the balance of rival arguments.

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

No. 8

'The notion of a stateless society is merely an anarchist fantasy.'
Discuss.

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

The defining feature of anarchism is the notion that a stateless society is both desirable and practicable, certainly not a utopian fantasy. The basis for this is a theory of human nature that stresses the capacity of people for unregulated social harmony. For collectivist anarchists, this is grounded in optimistic assumptions about human nature, disposed as it is towards social solidarity, human sympathy and spontaneous cooperation, humans being essentially social creatures. However, this relies more on the idea of human 'plasticity' than on a belief in 'natural goodness'. Individualist anarchists, for their part, argue that natural order will arise in the absence of the state because of both the tendency of people to respect one another as rational creatures, and the calculation that long-self interest is better served by mutualism and cooperation, than by rivalry and conflict. In the case of both collectivist and individualist anarchism, stress is also placed on social institutions that promote order and stability, notably common ownership and the market mechanism.

Nevertheless, critics of anarchism reject the idea of statelessness as a mere fantasy. Liberals and others do so on the basis that, as individuals, humans are inevitably motivated by egoistical concerns, meaning that a stateless society would degenerate into unending conflict and strife, as social contract theorists so graphically pointed out. Conservatives make out a particularly strong case to this effect, based on the belief that humans are motivated by unchangeable non-rational drives, of which greed and selfishness are the most obvious. Although socialists have a more optimistic view of human nature, only Marxists agree with anarchists over the long-term feasibility of statelessness, even though they disagree about the process through which it can be achieved.

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

- Limited knowledge of how anarchists have justified the idea of statelessness.
- Limited knowledge of how and why anarchism has been criticised for advancing the fantasy of statelessness.
-

A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:

- Clear explanation of how anarchists have justified the idea of statelessness.
- Clear explanation of how and why anarchism has been criticised for advancing the fantasy of statelessness, with some ability to evaluate the balance of rival arguments.

| | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| 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 |
|---|--|
| <i>Level 3</i> (7-9 marks) | Good to excellent ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary |
| <i>Level 2</i> (4-6 marks) | Limited to sound ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary |
| <i>Level 1</i> (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 |
| Level 2 | Sound | 10 |
| | Basic | 8-9 |
| | Limited | 6-7 |
| Level 1 | Weak | 4-5 |
| | Poor | 2-3 |
| | Very poor | 0-1 |

PART B – ESSAY QUESTIONS (45 marks)

| <i>A01 / A02 / Synopticity</i> | |
|---------------------------------------|------|
| Level 3 (Good to excellent) | 9-12 |
| Level 2 (Limited to sound) | 5-8 |
| Level 1 (Very poor to weak) | 0-4 |

| <i>A03</i> | |
|---------------------------------------|-----|
| ...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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