



Examiners' Report

June 2010

GCE Government and Politics 6GP03 3D



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Introduction

6GP03 3D Global Politics

A good proportion of responses to the questions showed that candidates had been well prepared for the examination and possessed appropriate and often substantial knowledge and understanding. Three broad factors had a particular influence on the hierarchy of performance. First, as applies to examinations generally, there was a difference between candidates who had read the question carefully and focused on the specific issue or issues raised, and those who tended, to a greater or lesser extent, to write about the general theme of the question. Second, performance was variable in relation to the conceptual and theoretical understanding that is expected of candidates. Better candidates could define and explain terms with confidence and understood the theoretical dimension of questions, while weaker candidates tended to think, and write, in terms of empirical developments only. Third, the synoptic requirements of the essays were dealt with more or less successfully. The most successful candidates recognised that every essay question is now an invitation for candidates to engage in a debate or discussion, in which there are two or more sides to the argument, sometimes, but not always, rooted in contending theoretical perspectives. Weaker responses, however, tended to be analytical rather than evaluative, providing information and demonstrating knowledge and understanding but without developing an overall argument based on an awareness of rival views.

Question 1

The best responses to this question often started by providing an overall definition of globalisation, usually understood in terms of the widening, deepening or speeding-up of global interconnectedness or the growth of 'supraterritorialism'. Explanations of economic globalisation varied significantly. Very few candidates had no understanding of the process, but weaker ones often mistook economic interdependence, brought about through international trade, for economic globalisation, in which national economies are drawn into an interlocking, global economy. Trade promotes internationalisation rather than globalisation, except when it takes the form of intra-firm trade. Stronger responses flagged up developments such as the growth of transnational production and the increasing importance of global markets that create a supposedly 'borderless world'. The term political globalisation has a less clear-cut meaning, most candidates understood it in terms of the shift of decision-making responsibility from states to international organisations, and the best saw this as a response to economic globalisation, an attempt to regulate and even manage the global economy. In this sense, political globalisation lags badly behind economic globalisation. Others, legitimately, construed political globalisation to refer to either the worldwide spread of certain values and ideas (usually human rights) or the worldwide triumph of western liberal democracy.

Question 2

A surprisingly small number of candidates showed an awareness of how and when the EU had tried to develop a Common Foreign and Security Policy, particularly as the second pillar of the Treaty of European Union. Nevertheless, very few candidates were unaware of the broad thrust of this policy, often making reference to the creation of the new post of a High Representative by the Treaty of Lisbon. Accounts of why progress towards integration in this area have been slow varied considerably. Although most responses recognised that state sovereignty was an issue, very few were able to explain why cooperation over foreign and security matters was more politically sensitive than, say, cooperation on economic matters. Good responses often reflected on the implications of developing an effective EU Foreign and Security Policy for NATO and relations with the USA, in many cases discussing tensions between 'Atlanticists' and 'Europeanists' in terms of defence and foreign affairs. The EU's limited military capability was widely seen as a cause of the EU's weak Foreign and Security Policy, when, in practice, it is at least as much a consequence of the difficulty experienced in promoting cooperation in this area.

Indicate your first question choice on this page.
You will be asked to indicate your second question choice on page 6.

Put a cross in the box ☒ indicating the first question that you have chosen.
If you change your mind, put a line through the box ☒
and then indicate your new question with a cross ☒.

Chosen Question Number:

Question 1 ☒

Question 2 ☒

Question 3 ☒

Question 4 ☒

Question 5 ☒

It has been difficult to develop an effective EU foreign and security policy due to controversies surrounding wider and deeper European integration*. Since 2004, the EU has been expanded to a maximum of 27 member states, compared to just 6 in 1957. This naturally creates complications in regard to the intentions ~~of~~ and national interests of each individual state. The Council of Ministers in the EU debates and decides on foreign and security policy, but is intergovernmental in both areas, meaning that each member state has a veto. The ministers who sit at the Council of ministers are representatives of each nation and so are accountable and therefore will want to convey the wishes of their state accurately. As the EU has

grown, it has inevitably struggled with consensus on such issues as foreign policy. This was clearly demonstrated over the strongly conflicting views on the Iraq war between UK, France and Germany. It is clear that 27 nation states with diverse culture and history will never agree consistently with one set foreign and security policy, though attempts have been made to further integrate the EU and indeed there have been calls for a federal, united, sovereign EU which would take foreign policy decisions at a supranational level. This would be the only likely way of achieving united defence policies.

Currently, these ~~policy~~ decisions are made at state level and ~~this~~ ^{this} would be hard to alter.

* countries such as Britain are reluctant to integrate further politically with the EU, ^{often choosing to 'opt out'} and attitudes such as this prove a major stumbling block in EU relations and deepening integration.



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Examiner Comments

The introduction succinctly identifies the major issues - all it needed was an earlier change of paragraph



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Examiner Tip

Ensure that the issues arising from the question are mentioned in the introduction.

Question 3

A large proportion of responses were able to explain hegemony clearly and accurately, albeit briefly. Good responses often reflected on the USA's role as a global hegemon, drawing parallels with the earlier role of the UK as a hegemon in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Some very good responses recognised that the term hegemony is used quite differently by realist theorists and by critical theorists, in which case the definition of the term is closely linked to its significance for global order. In a good range of answers, hegemony was linked to a potential for order and stability as well as resentment and conflict. Responses that emphasised the former either focused on the USA's role as the 'world's police officer' or showed an understanding of hegemonic stability theory, in which the existence of a global hegemon is seen to be a necessary condition for a successful liberal international order. On the other hand, when hegemony was linked to unipolarity, it was seen to be associated with instability, resentment and conflict, associated, in the most sophisticated answers, with a tendency of other states to 'balance' rather than 'bandwagon'. Many responses used the decline of US hegemony as a way of illustrating the difficulties involved in maintaining a hegemonic status.

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Chosen Question Number:

Question 1 ☐

Question 2 ☐

Question 3 ☐

Question 4 ☐

Question 5 ☐

A Hegemon is a state that holds political, economical, and technological ~~dominance~~ influence and is dominant on the world stage. Hegemonic stability theory is the most common known theory of hegemony and it suggests that on the world stage there should be a single dominant state who possess major influence over its neighbours and other states.

We can suggest that in today's ~~world stage~~ current point that the US could be the effective hegemon as it holds political, economical and technological influence over other states and so can be considered a hegemonic state. Hegemony can be significant for global order as it can help for states to cooperate and make decisions if there is one

hegemon state to follow. The defined hegemonic state ~~is a~~ will almost certainly be one of the larger states with the biggest economy which can aid global order.

However we can argue that the concept of hegemony can create wide conflict between states as each aims to attain hegemonic statuses, this is particularly between the larger states such as those trying to emerge as superpowers which can consequently result in a cold war; a war with no direct military action. We can see an example of this between the US and the Soviet Union where each state competed against each other to become the most powerful, and consequently the Soviet Union collapsed. The idea of hegemony follows the theory of realism; how something works in practice as it follows what is in the states best interests to do. For example if there was to be a global hegemon who possess strong military influence it would not be an

any states interests to challenge the hegemonic state thus keeping peace and war at bay.

However we can also argue that giving a state too much power can cause problems.

From this we can see that Hegemony in theory ~~is~~ and in relation to global order can be significant and problematic as it can cause major conflict between states.

**ResultsPlus**

Examiner Comments

Conclusions should conclude; this one reads almost like an introduction.

Question 4

Surprisingly few responses clearly outlined, at the outset, the enlargement process since 2004. Accounts of the current size of the EU ranged from as few as 15 to as many as 40 states. Better responses, on the other hand, gave examples of new member states and were at least accurate in recounting the numbers involved. The most commonly discussed implication of enlargement was the growing difficulty of decision-making, given the 'widening' process, with many comments about the attempt to develop an EU Constitution and, in due course, the Treaty of Lisbon. Good responses, nevertheless, examined other implications as well, including its impact on the politics of central and eastern Europe, and especially on the transition process for post-communist states, the changing balances within the EU that came from the accession of relatively less prosperous states, and the implications for established EU states of changed immigration patterns, crime and so forth. Some lower scoring responses tended to focus primarily on the implication of the expansions in 2004 and 2006 for the UK in particular.

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Since 2004 the EU has continued to enlarge. However ~~there are~~ this has implications. The worry is that because poorer countries are trying to join the EU, the budget for other countries ~~will~~ will be strained. For example if Turkey join the EU (which they have been trying to do for a few years, ~~the~~ much of the EU budget will be spent on trying to improve Turkey's economic position; this means countries such as Ireland will have the money spent on trying to improve their economy cut to help pay for Turkey. Another implication is that the Euro is spreading rapidly. Many EU countries are going to join the Eurozone. which makes it much easier for people travelling

within the EU, and for these EU
 citizens to move/live around the
 EU. A third implication of ~~the~~ EU
 enlargement is that the EU is
 becoming a larger entity, making
 it more powerful on the world
 scene. However because of this
 enlargement it is much more
 difficult to make unanimous
 decisions. So some institutions
 within the EU have had to ~~become~~
 be changed / reformed via the
 Lisbon Treaty to account for the
 growing number of countries.
 Voting has been changed in some
 institutions so that, not every
 country needs to agree to a
 piece of legislation or decision for
 it to be passed, they only need to
 be a majority ~~member state~~
~~as a result of this~~


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Examiner Comments

A large number of candidates ignored the increase in former communist
 members of the EU in favour of the problems posed by Turkey's (so far)
 failed application to join.

Question 5

A small number of responses to this question failed to offer at least a basic definition of supranationalism. In many cases these definitions were sophisticated and developed, not uncommonly contrasting supranationalism with intergovernmentalism. The key source of controversy identified in most answers was the threat that supranationalism, by definition, poses to state sovereignty, although only better responses were able to discuss this in terms of 'pooling' sovereignty. The EU's experiments in supranational governance were, unsurprisingly, widely discussed by many candidates, helping to demonstrate an awareness of the practice as well as the theory of supranationalism. The best responses were able to examine a wider range of controversies. These, not uncommonly, included controversies over supranationalism's implications for national identity and the difficulty, if not impossibility, of establishing genuinely democratic supranational bodies. Much, in this vein, was made of the EU's so-called 'democratic deficit'.

Question 6

This was essentially a theoretical question, an opportunity to weigh up and discuss contending realist and liberal views on the inevitability of conflict in global politics. A thankfully small number of responses showed little or no awareness of the theoretical dimension to this question, answering it instead primarily by providing account of a succession of international conflicts and wars, concluding that if war has occurred in all historical periods and in all societies, it must be inevitable. The main discriminator was nevertheless the sophistication with which candidates showed an awareness of rival realist and liberal views and their implications. In the best responses a range of realist views were analysed, including those that rely on state egoism, those that are based on the assumption of international anarchy and ones that stress an unavoidable security dilemma. Sophisticated responses nevertheless also acknowledged that realists, especially defensive realists, do not anticipate that global politics is characterised by unending war and conflict, pointing out, for example, the important role played by the balance of power in maintaining stability and peace. Strong responses also demonstrated a broad grasp of liberal theorising about conflict and war, in the best cases demonstrating how developments such as the spread of democracy, the growth of economic interdependence and the emergence of international organisations serve, in their different ways, to maintain balance and stability in the international system. Although strong responses often showed an awareness of particular authors and particular theories, marks were primarily allocated for the ability to analyse and evaluate the underlying realist and liberal arguments.

Question 7

Some responses to this question did little more than provide a well-informed account of the origins, development and workings of the UN, giving some attention to criticisms that had been made of the organisation. In such generalised responses, the criticisms often did not focus sufficiently, or at all, on how and why the UN may be considered to be 'outdated'. Better responses were thus more question-focused and certainly were more evaluative. Much was made in strong responses about the make-up of the UN Security Council and the idea that this reflects the pre-1945 world order, making the UN a badly outdated body. Generally candidates were keener on identifying criticisms of the UN rather than defending the organisation, sometimes leading to unbalanced responses. Those who defended the UN most effectively showed that it is a body that is being constantly updated as it takes on board new issues and new agendas. Thus, a concern with peacekeeping and humanitarian intervention in the 1990s has developed into support for strategies of peace-building and state-building subsequently. Similarly, the UN has provided a forum through which new thinking has been developed on development and poverty-reduction, not least through the idea of human development and initiatives such as the Millennium Development Goals. Others pointed out that the UN has provided the only viable forum for addressing emerging problems such as climate change, and cannot reasonably be blamed for failures that stem from the state-system and great power politics.

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and then indicate your new question with a cross ☒.

Chosen Question Number:

Question 6 ☒

Question 7 ☒

Question 8 ☒

Plan: UN - United Nations post war 1945

salvage nations + restore peace.

not always the best Rwanda eg. Does the SC need reform?

~~only restores peace~~ only interferes when its own countries are in trouble. ✓

But - does legitimise states → not outdated. ✓

liberalism - cannot restore peace with war. —

realism - need war. —

NATO - outdated. ✓

gleaze. ✓

too reliant on USA.

Answer:

The United Nations ~~was~~ ^{was created} in 1945 post war. Their body relies on collective security, to salvage nations and restore peace. The UN can be split up into different sections who perform different functions. The UN does agree with solving issues through violence and when a country takes attack on a member of the UN then they will retaliate. Since the fall of communism and the Soviet Union, NATO has been struggling to find a role and has also adopted the role of peacekeeping. The NATO troops are more equipped than the UN troops and it is factors like that which allow ~~it~~ the questioning on whether the UN is outdated.

It appears that the UN can be seen as outdated through the UN



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Examiner Comments

This paragraph is symptomatic of an approach which misinterpreted the question in terms of the purpose of the UN.

Question 8

This was a popular question, well answered by a large proportion of candidates. Although few, unhelpfully, provided an explicit definition of multipolarity, virtually all responses showed an awareness of multipolar trends. The best responses considered, on the one hand, multipolar developments in the global system and, on the other hand, limits and constraints on multipolarity. The principal alternatives offered to emerging multipolarity were, not surprisingly, unipolarity and the survival of the 'American empire' and bipolarity, usually based on growing rivalry between the USA and China. Many answers were able to reflect with insight up-to-date statistics on the nature and extent of the power of the USA, China, India, Russia, Brazil and so forth, in developing their arguments and supporting their conclusion. Less able responses tended to be generalised and made sweeping judgements on the basis of little explicit knowledge and understanding. These answers showed little insight into the nature of power and the various dimensions that global power can be broken down into.

The extent to which the world is now multipolar is debatable, ~~an~~ Undoubtedly, the USA has been the dominant ~~world~~ ^{global} hegemon post World War II, however the emergence of new, rival powers such as India, Russia, China and Brazil have arguably created a new world order, without ~~A~~ the USA at its head. In addition the power of supranational and ~~institutions~~ intergovernmental institutions such as the EU also create a multi-polar world.

After World War II, the USA was looked to as by the rest of the world as ~~the~~ the ideal and the American Dream encapsulated the hopes of many. This created a uni-~~pole~~ polar world, with America dictating its Pax Americana across the globe. However the ~~severe~~ ~~other~~ damage done to America's soft power through the War in Iraq, significantly damaged its reputation as the ideal to the rest of the world. The failure of America, enables other states to grapple for power in a multipolar world. China for example ~~agreed~~ ^{investment} agreed an deal with Greece to help save its failed economy.

This emulates soft power as the world sees China in positive light as it is helping another country, in addition it is also hard power as it deals with economics. America's loss of soft power is the rising powers gain. ~~as~~

~~Economically, the~~ One can argue that the world is multipolar as the emergence of new states which seek to challenge America's hegemony, ~~now~~ is increasingly fast and intense. This leads one to the relationship between a multipolar world and globalisation. The increase of globalisation has meant that no country is an island and this has impacted on America's power in a unipolar world. India has asserted itself as a global player through globalisation as it has enabled it to offer opportunities for businesses across the globe to invest in its ever growing economy. Thus while some argue that Globalisation is American imperialism and in this way increases American dominance, globalisation also creates equal opportunities and thus creates a ~~new~~ multipolar world.

The consequences of a multipolar world order is ~~also~~ disorder as there is no one hegemon to direct global events. This can be used as evidence to suggest that there still is a Unipolar world, as America is able to significantly direct and influence global events in the way it wants. The Iraq war for example went ahead, despite the lack of UN approval, thus showing America's status as the global hegemon. However, in contrast America's incapability to deal with global issues such as terrorism reflects the multipolar character of the world today. Indeed, the very existence of non-governmental organisations such as Al Qaeda undermine the principles of uni American hegemony and global order. In addition, intergovernmental institutions such as the EU, also wield significant power and influence in global events, thus showing the ~~presence~~ presence of a multi-polar global order.

However, one must question, if there is a multipolar world, who will emerge as the next hegemon? Despite damaging its reputation and undermining its soft

power, the USA remains ~~an~~ ~~it~~ as Obama stated 'the last best hope for the world.'

In conclusion, globalisation has increased the extent to which the world is multipolar through the presence of global issues such as terrorism. The failure of America as the global hegemon has also allowed new powers to emerge such as India, China and Russia, in addition there has also been an increased amount of influence from non governmental organisations such as TNCs and intergovernmental organisations.


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Examiner Comments

This is a good conclusion which touches on the main arguments and concludes.

Grade Boundaries

| Grade | Max. Mark | A* | A | B | C | D | E | N | U |
|-----------------------|-----------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| Raw boundary mark | 90 | 60 | 54 | 48 | 42 | 37 | 32 | 27 | 0 |
| Uniform boundary mark | 100 | 90 | 80 | 70 | 60 | 50 | 40 | 30 | 0 |

a* is only used in conversion from raw to uniform marks. It is not a published unit grade.

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