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# **Mark Scheme (Results)**

Summer 2018

Pearson Edexcel GCE Politics (6GP03) Paper  
3B

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## General Marking Guidance

- 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.

<p><b>No. 1</b></p>	<p>How and why have some anarchists supported collectivism?</p>
<p><b>Indicative content (<i>this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points</i>)</b></p>	
<p>Collectivism is the belief that collective human endeavour is of greater practical and moral value than individual self-striving. Collectivist anarchism provides the basis for a belief in a stateless society because it stresses the human capacity for social solidarity, or what Kropotkin termed 'mutual aid'. Human beings are, at heart, sociable, gregarious and co-operative creatures, the relationship between and amongst them being one of sympathy, affection and harmony.</p> <p>The anarchist belief in social solidarity justifies support for co-operative behaviour. Anarchists have supported collectivism in several different ways:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Anarcho-communism: this strand of anarchism views all forms of private property as 'theft' and argues for a system of common ownership. This strand is linked to Kropotkin's theory of mutual aid.</li> <li>• Anarcho-syndicalism: a strand of anarchism based around revolutionary trade unionism that would lead to the overthrow of capitalism through a general strike.</li> <li>• Mutualism: a system of fair and equitable exchange in which individuals or groups bargain with each other, trading goods and services without exploitation or profiteering, e.g. mutual credit banks in France and Switzerland, or the watch-makers of Switzerland who worked on the basis of mutual co-operation.</li> </ul> <p>A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features: Limited understanding of how or why anarchists have supported collectivism.</p> <p>A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features: A clear and accurate understanding of how and why anarchists have supported collectivism.</p>	
<p><b>LEVELS</b></p>	<p><b>DESCRIPTORS</b></p>
<p><b>Level 3</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> </ul>

<b>(11-15 marks)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Good or better ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>
<b>Level 2 (6-10 marks)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>• Sound ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>
<b>Level 1 (0-5 marks)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Limited knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>• Poor ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>

<b>No. 2</b>	Explain why socialists hold a positive view of human nature.
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**Indicative content (*this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points*)**

Socialists have a positive view of human nature in a variety of senses:

- They believe that human beings are social animals, cooperative and gregarious. This suggests that social relationships tend to be characterised by harmony, mutual respect and peaceful interaction.
- They believe that human nature is 'plastic', moulded by the experiences and circumstances of social life, they therefore believe that human beings have a high capacity for personal and social development.
- They believe that human beings are reason-guided creatures, capable, apart from anything else, of reshaping their lives and society for the better.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:  
Limited understanding of why socialists hold a positive view of human nature.

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

A clear and accurate understanding of why socialists hold a positive view of human nature.	
LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
<b>Level 3</b> <b>(11-15 marks)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>• Good or better ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>
<b>Level 2</b> <b>(6-10 marks)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>• Sound ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>
<b>Level 1</b> <b>(0-5 marks)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Limited knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>• Poor ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>

<b>No. 3</b>	How and why are liberals committed to constitutionalism?
<b>Indicative content (<i>this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points</i>)</b>	
<p>Constitutionalism refers to the theory or practice of limited government brought about through either or both the existence of a constitution or a network of institutional checks and balances.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Liberals defend constitutionalism primarily because they fear that, as power tends to corrupt, all systems of rule have the potential to become tyrannies against the individual.</li> <li>• This fear is grounded in the assumption that human beings are essentially self – seeking, and so will use power for their own benefit and, probably at the expense of others.</li> </ul>	

- Constitutionalism prevents the development of absolute power because it gives rise to a system of checks and balances.

Liberals have supported constitutionalism through their commitment to:

- The separation of powers;
- A codified constitution with a Bill of Rights;
- Federalism or devolution;
- Bicameralism.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:  
Limited understanding of how or why liberals are committed to constitutionalism.

A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:  
A clear and accurate understanding of how and why liberals are committed to constitutionalism.

<b>LEVELS</b>	<b>DESCRIPTORS</b>
<p><b>Level 3</b> <b>(11-15 marks)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>• Good or better ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Level 2</b> <b>(6-10 marks)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>• Sound ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Level 1</b> <b>(0-5 marks)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Limited knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>• Poor ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>

<b>No. 4</b>	Distinguish between traditional conservative and neoliberal views of society.
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**Indicative content (*this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points*)**

- Traditional conservatives have an organic view of society. Its structures and institutions have been shaped by profound forces beyond human control. Its delicate fabric must be respected and preserved by those who live within it.
- Attempts to reform or abolish society’s institutions are unlikely to end well. This leads to a belief in conserving these institutions that have stood the test of time and a suspicion of radical reforming agendas or of social changes.
- They are also more likely to support social hierarchies and paternalism.
- Neo-liberals have a more mechanical view of society, based on their belief in rational, self-interested individuals who make up society. Individuals should be given social and economic autonomy in order to benefit the whole of society. This implies that individuals are more important than society and that individual rights and freedoms should take priority over duties and social obligations.
- They believe that society can be reformed and constructed by rational individuals for their own purposes and this leads to a belief in progress.
- They are supporters of meritocracy (rather than hierarchies) and more comfortable with radical reform agendas based on increasing individuals’ freedoms.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:  
Limited understanding of the traditional conservative and/or neo-liberal view of society

A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:  
A clear and accurate understanding which distinguishes between traditional conservative and neo-liberal views of society.



LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
<p><b>Level 3</b> <b>(11-15 marks)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>• Good or better ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>



<p><b>Level 2</b></p> <p><b>(6-10 marks)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>• Sound ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Level 1</b></p> <p><b>(0-5 marks)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Limited knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>• Poor ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>

<b>No. 5</b>	Explain the main ideas of anarcho-capitalism.
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**Indicative content (*this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points*)**

Anarcho-capitalists belong to the individualist strand of anarchism. They reject the state, along with other anarchists, but are in favour of a society based on individualism and free market ideals, going well beyond the ideas of free-market liberals (and rejecting collectivist anarchist views). This can be seen as taking liberal individualism to its extreme.

Anarcho-capitalists believe that the market can satisfy all human wants. For instance, Rothbard argued that private courts and private 'protection associations' can provide domestic order. Consumers would be provided with a choice by the free market and only those that were efficient and responsive to consumer needs would survive.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:  
Limited understanding of the main ideas of anarcho-capitalism.

A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:  
A clear and accurate understanding of the main ideas of anarcho-capitalism

<b>LEVELS</b>	<b>DESCRIPTORS</b>
<b>Level 3</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> </ul>

<b>(11-15 marks)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Good or better ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>
<b>Level 2 (6-10 marks)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>• Sound ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>
<b>Level 1 (0-5 marks)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Limited knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>• Poor ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>

<b>No. 6</b>	To what extent is liberalism defined by its commitment to individualism?
<b>Indicative content (<i>this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points</i>)</b>	
<p>Classical liberals have a commitment to egoistical individualism. They view society in atomistic terms and view humans as rational, self-interested individuals who are self-reliant and self-sufficient. This is reflected in a belief in negative freedom, understood as the absence of external constraints on the individual. Such thinking implies that, as a necessary evil, the state should have a minimal role in society, acting only as a 'night-watchman'. This is reflected in a belief in economic liberalism, particularly illustrated by a belief in the free market, individual responsibility and only safety-net welfare provision, if that.</p> <p>Modern liberalism has moved a long way from these core beliefs. They have revised their idea of individualism (moving away from self-help and self-reliance) and freedom (shifting from positive freedom to negative freedom). This results in a developmental individualism and one based on altruism. Modern liberals have also revised their view of</p>	

the state, accepting both social and economic intervention in order to allow the conditions for individuals to flourish. They have therefore argued for more extensive welfare provision (a 'hand-up rather than a hand-out') and government intervention to regulate demand in the economy in order to regulate the capitalist economic cycle.

Although these views on individualism appear significantly different, modern liberals have emphasised the extent to which they have applied classical liberal ideas to changed economic and social circumstances. Although they favour an enabling state, this is in order to allow individuals to flourish. Their ultimate preference remains for individuals to make their own moral choices and for the economy to be fundamentally structured by the market rather than by the state. In this way both classical and modern liberals are committed to individualism.

Another area of agreement is that both classical and modern liberals have a shared commitment to methodological individualism and ethical individualism.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:  
 Limited understanding of the arguments that liberalism is or is not defined by its commitment to individualism

A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:  
 A clear and accurate understanding of the arguments for and against liberalism being defined by its commitment to individualism.

<b>A01</b>	<b>Knowledge and understanding</b>
<b>Level 3 (9-12 marks)</b>	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<b>Level 2 (5-8 marks)</b>	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<b>Level 1 (0-4 marks)</b>	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<b>A02</b>	<b>Intellectual skills</b>
<b>Level 3 (9-12 marks)</b>	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<b>Level 2</b>	

<b>(5-8 marks)</b>	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<b>Level 1 (0-4 marks)</b>	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<b>A02</b>	<b>Synoptic skills</b>
<b>Level 3 (9-12 marks)</b>	Good or better ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and clear insight into how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
<b>Level 2 (5-8 marks)</b>	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
<b>A03</b>	<b>Communication and coherence</b>
<b>Level 3 (7-9 marks)</b>	Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
<b>Level 2 (4-6 marks)</b>	Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary
<b>Level 1 (0-3 marks)</b>	Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary

<b>No. 7</b>	'Conservatives are pragmatic rather than ideological.' Discuss.
<b>Indicative content (<i>this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points</i>)</b>	
Pragmatism is the belief that behaviour should be shaped in accordance with practical circumstances and goals rather than principles, beliefs or ideological objectives.	

Traditional conservatives have favoured pragmatism over principle. The basis for this is the belief that human beings are intellectually limited. The world is simply too complicated for human reason to fully grasp, hence the belief that the political world is 'boundless and bottomless'. Traditional conservatives therefore favour empiricism and are suspicious of abstract theories and systems of thought that claim to understand what is simply incomprehensible. They prefer to ground their ideas in tradition, a commitment to private property, experience and history. They adopt a cautious, moderate and above all pragmatic approach to the world, and avoid, if at all possible, doctrinaire or dogmatic beliefs. Pragmatism ensures that 'the cure is not worse than the disease'.

This emphasis on pragmatism can be illustrated by the development of the One Nation tradition. As deepening social inequality contains the seeds of revolution, conservatives came to recognise that piecemeal social reform was the best protection against the danger of popular insurrection. A pragmatic concern to alleviate poverty was therefore in the interests of the rich and prosperous.

The rise of the liberal New Right challenges this emphasis on pragmatism. The liberal New Right adopts a principled belief in economic liberty and the free market, adopting a mechanistic view of society based on individualism. They have a commitment to economic liberalism and a rationally-based approach to politics. This significantly altered the conservative approach to change, with New Right conservatives being much more inclined to endorse radical reform on the basis of an ideological blueprint provided by free-market economists. This was evident in the conservatives 'rolling back the state'.

However, some explain this new right, anti-statist turn in conservative politics partly in terms of pragmatism, seeing it as partly motivated by the failure of economic and social interventions in the 1970s to deliver sustained economic growth.

It can also be argued that, in effect, traditional conservatives are committed to a set of ideological principles with regard to their views of society, tradition, authority and the need for a strong state.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:  
Limited understanding of the arguments that conservatives are pragmatic or ideological.

A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:  
A clear and accurate understanding of the arguments that conservatives are pragmatic or ideological, with some consideration of both sides of the argument.

<b>AO1</b>	<b>Knowledge and understanding</b>
<b>Level 3 (9-12 marks)</b>	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<b>Level 2 (5-8 marks)</b>	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates

<b>Level 1 (0-4 marks)</b>	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<b>A02</b>	<b>Intellectual skills</b>
<b>Level 3 (9-12 marks)</b>	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<b>Level 2 (5-8 marks)</b>	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<b>Level 1 (0-4 marks)</b>	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<b>A02</b>	<b>Synoptic skills</b>
<b>Level 3 (9-12 marks)</b>	Good or better ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and clear insight into how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
<b>Level 2 (5-8 marks)</b>	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
<b>Level 1 (0-4 marks)</b>	Limited 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
<b>A03</b>	<b>Communication and coherence</b>
<b>Level 3 (7-9 marks)</b>	Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
<b>Level 2 (4-6 marks)</b>	Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary
<b>Level 1</b>	

<b>(0-3 marks)</b>	Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary
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**No. 8**

To what extent is socialism divided by its approach to 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 free market forces.

Socialism has, from one perspective, been very clearly defined by its opposition to capitalism. This applies in the case of fundamentalist socialism, especially in its Marxist or communist forms, but also in its evolutionary traditions and with democratic socialism. The inequalities and oppression caused by free market capitalism made it a system of class oppression, in which capitalist owners exploited workers by extracting 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 clearly opposed to capitalism in favour of the establishment of common or collective ownership.

As capitalism has developed, with additional regulation, rising incomes for workers and developed welfare states, alternative socialist theories have come to terms with capitalism, arguing for reform of the capitalist system, not its abolition. For social democrats or revisionist socialists, capitalism is perhaps the only available means of generating wealth. Rather than being opposed to capitalism they oppose unregulated capitalism because it distributes wealth in a manner that cannot be reconciled with a 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 disappearance.

Neo-revisionists have taken these ideas a step further by embracing capitalism more fully and rejecting nationalisation in favour of greater regulation of, for example, monopolies.

The majority of socialists today do not define their beliefs in terms of the need to eradicate capitalism, but by the need to regulate it and address the wilder excesses of free market systems. It can be argued that Neo-revisionism's support for free markets builds on (rather than replaces) the Thatcherite neo-liberal reforms.

Other valid responses to this question will also be accepted.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:  
Limited understanding of the arguments that socialism is or is not divided by its approach to capitalism

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



A clear and accurate understanding of the arguments that socialism is or is not divided by its approach to capitalism, with some consideration of both sides of the argument.

<b>A01</b>	<b>Knowledge and understanding</b>
<b>Level 3 (9-12 marks)</b>	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<b>Level 2 (5-8 marks)</b>	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<b>Level 1 (0-4 marks)</b>	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<b>A02</b>	<b>Intellectual skills</b>
<b>Level 3 (9-12 marks)</b>	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<b>Level 2 (5-8 marks)</b>	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<b>Level 1 (0-4 marks)</b>	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<b>A02</b>	<b>Synoptic skills</b>
<b>Level 3 (9-12 marks)</b>	Good or better ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and clear insight into how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
<b>Level 2 (5-8 marks)</b>	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
<b>Level 1 (0-4 marks)</b>	Limited 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

<b>A03</b>	<b>Communication and coherence</b>
<b>Level 3 (7-9 marks)</b>	Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
<b>Level 2 (4-6 marks)</b>	Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary
<b>Level 1 (0-3 marks)</b>	Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary

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