

# Mark Scheme (Results) January 2011

GCE

## GCE Government & Politics (6GP04) Paper 4D

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January 2011

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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.

<b>1</b>	<b>What is neo-colonialism, and how has it been used to explain global inequality?</b>
<b>Indicative content</b>	
<p>Neo-colonialism refers to a process through which the developed world controls developing states through a process of economic domination, as opposed to direct political control.</p> <p>Neo-colonialism has been used to explain global inequality in a number of ways. These include the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Neo-colonialism is seen to operate through structural inequalities in the global economy, through which ‘core’ countries have benefited from being able to use ‘peripheral’ countries as a source of raw materials and cheap labour, while advanced technology and capital remains concentrated in ‘core’ areas.</li> <li>• Neo-colonialism also operates through the activities of transnational corporations which take advantage of the poverty, corruption and absence of effective government in much of the developing world to expand profits that are exported to their ‘home’ country.</li> <li>• Neo-colonialism is also seen to operate through the free-market policies of institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF, particularly through the imposition of Structural Adjustment Programmes which force developing countries to open up their economies to world competition by liberalising areas such as trade, investment and regulatory practices.</li> </ul> <p>The intellectual skills that are relevant to this question are as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The ability to analyse and explain the impact of neo-colonialism on global inequality.</li> </ul>	

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> <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>

2

## Why has humanitarian intervention been criticised?

### Indicative content

Humanitarian intervention is military intervention that is carried out in pursuit of humanitarian rather than strategic objectives. Humanitarian intervention has been criticised for a number of reasons. These include the following:

- Any violation of state sovereignty weakens the established rules of world order.
- Aggression has almost always been legitimised by humanitarian justification, meaning that it is difficult to distinguish between the self-interest of intervening powers and wider moral concerns.
- Military intervention often leaves matters worse, not better, or draws intervening powers into complex and difficult long-term involvement.

The intellectual skills that relevant to this question are as follows:

- The ability to analyse and explain how and why humanitarian intervention has been criticised.

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<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>
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3

**What is the ‘tragedy of the commons’, and explain its implications for global environmental policy?**

**Indicative content**

The ‘tragedy of the commons’ is the idea that common land, before the introduction of enclosures, was often subject to over-grazing because each herder was able to keep as many cattle as possible on the commons. Sooner or later, this would lead to tragedy as the number of cattle came to exceed the ‘carrying capacity’ of the land. As Garrett Hardin put it, ‘Freedom in a commons brings ruin to all’.

The ‘tragedy of the commons’ has significant implications for global environmental policy as the environment is a ‘global commons’ and self-interested states behave in the same ways as self-interested herders. This idea therefore emphasises that if states are unconstrained they will inevitably despoil the environment because they place national interest before wider, long-term environmental considerations. The primary implication of this is that environmental issues require an increase in political controls and regulations, perhaps some form of world government, as the primary threat to the environment stems from the existence of sovereign states.

The intellectual skills that are relevant to this question are as follows:

- The ability to analyse and explain the implications of the ‘tragedy of the commons’ for global environmental policy.



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4

**What are the major reasons behind the proliferation of nuclear weapons?**

**Indicative content**

The main contemporary concerns about nuclear proliferation focus on 'horizontal' proliferation in terms of the acquisition of nuclear weapons by an increasing number of states. There are a number of reasons behind this form of nuclear proliferation, including the following:

- The possession of nuclear weapons is seen as the ultimate guarantee of non-intervention by more militarily powerful states. The USA thus intervened against Iraq but did not do so against North Korea. This has major implications for Iran's pursuit of nuclear weapons.
- The acquisition of nuclear weapons is seen to mark out a state as a great power, as indicated by the nuclear weapons possessed by the 'veto powers' of the UN Security Council.
- Regional tensions have been a powerful driver behind the acquisition of nuclear weapons. This applies both in the case of India and Pakistan and in the case of Israel and Iran.

The intellectual skills that are relevant to this question are as follows:

- The ability to analyse and explain the main driving forces behind the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

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<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>
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5

**Explain why there has been growing interest in strategies to adapt to, rather than reduce, climate change.**

**Indicative content**

Mitigation strategies attempt to limit global warming by reducing the emission of greenhouse gases. Examples of mitigation strategies include the following:

- Fuel switching from coal to gas.
- The wider use of nuclear power.
- The greater use of renewable heat and power.

Adaptation strategies involve learning to live with climate change. These include the following:

- The relocation of settlements, especially on coastal zones.
- Improved sea walls and storm surge barriers.
- Adjustment of planting dates and crop varieties.

The intellectual skills that are relevant to this question are as follows:

- The ability to analyse and explain key differences between mitigation and adaptation strategies.

	<b>DESCRIPTORS</b>
<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>
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6

**‘The IMF and the World Bank have failed the world’s poor.’  
Discuss.**

**Indicative content**

The IMF and the World Bank are the leading international bodies responsible for promoting development and poverty reduction. However, their performance in these respects has been a matter of considerable controversy. Opponents of these bodies have advanced a number of criticisms, including the following:

- The commitment of these bodies to economic liberalism has been reflected in the use of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). These, it is alleged, inflict more harm than good on developing countries and increase their dependency on powerful Northern economies.
- Pressure to accept SAPs undermines state sovereignty.
- A primary emphasis on economic reform means that little attention is given to human rights or to environmental considerations.

On the other hand, the work of bodies such as the IMF and the World Bank has been seen as beneficial to the world’s poor for a number of reasons. These include the following:

- The market-based approach adopted by the institutions of global economic governance has proved itself to be highly effective in promoting growth and prosperity, as demonstrated by the routes to prosperity adopted by developed societies.
- Since the late 1980s, the IMF and the World Bank have taken the issue of poverty reduction more seriously. This has modified their approach to SAPs which are now more flexible, seek to promote country ownership and are better adapted to particular needs and circumstances.
- SAPs have clearly worked in a number of cases; for example, in South Korea.
- No country is obliged to accept IMF and/or World Bank aid, suggesting that countries do so only when they calculate that, on balance, such loans bring benefit. After all, the IMF and the World Bank are the principal source of funds for developing states.

The intellectual skills that are relevant to this question are as follows:

- The ability to analyse and explain the strategies adopted by bodies such as the IMF and the World Bank to promote poverty reduction.
- The ability to evaluate the impact of poverty reduction strategies.

Synopticity in this question refers to the following:

- The ability to recognise that there is debate about the relationship between bodies such as the World Bank and the IMF and poverty, between their supporters and their critics.

A01

**Knowledge and understanding**

<b>Level 3</b> <b>(9-12 marks)</b>	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<b>Level 2</b> <b>(5-8 marks)</b>	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<b>Level 1</b> <b>(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</b> <b>(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</b> <b>(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</b> <b>(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</b> <b>(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</b> <b>(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><i>Level 3</i></b> <b>(7-9 marks)</b>	Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
<b><i>Level 2</i></b> <b>(4-6 marks)</b>	Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary
<b><i>Level 1</i></b> <b>(0-3 marks)</b>	Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary



7

## To what extent are human rights effectively protected in the modern world?

### Indicative content

Human rights refer to rights to which people are entitled by virtue of being human. These rights are supposedly universal, fundamental and absolute. Protection for human rights in the modern world is provided in a variety of ways. These include the following.

- There is a growing body of human rights international law. This stems from the 1948 UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, subsequently expanded into a so-called ‘International Bill of Human Rights’, the European Convention on Human Rights and so on. Major international human rights documents have enhanced an awareness of human rights worldwide and exert moral pressure on states to improve protection for human rights.
- NGOs such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch have campaigned successfully to expose abuses of human rights and encourage states to improve their protections for human rights. Notable improvements have been made, for example, in protections for workers’ rights in factories owned by western transnational corporation.

International courts have been increasingly active in the area of human rights, being willing to prosecute political leaders and other figures for violations of human rights, crimes against humanity and genocide. The European Court of Human Rights has been particularly active in addressing such issues within Europe.

However, protection for human rights has been limited due to a number of factors. These include the following:

- It is difficult to protect human rights in a world of states, in which sovereignty enables states still to treat their populations regardless of concerns about human rights or civil liberties.
- Human rights abuses in countries such as China, Burma, North Korea and Russia have been very difficult to rectify as these states have not been susceptible to pressure from the international community. In the case of economically significant countries, such as China and Russia, diplomatic pressure to improve human rights records has been weakened by a fear of damaging economic relations.
- Human rights law is, in the main, ‘soft’ law that exerts only moral pressure on states to conform and lacks enforceability.
- Modern developments such as the ‘war on terror’ and the imposition in the USA, the UK and elsewhere of anti-terrorism laws and policies has, allegedly, led to a catalogue of human rights and civil liberties abuses. In part, this has reduced the ability of western states to exert pressure on other states to improve their human rights records.

The intellectual skills that are relevant to this question are as follows:

- The ability to analyse and explain how human rights are protected in the modern world.
- The ability to evaluate the effectiveness of different forms of human rights protection.

Synopticity in this question refers to the following:

- The ability to recognise that there are competing viewpoints on the effectiveness of human rights protection between those who believe that they are adequately protected and those who believe that human rights are still widely abused.

<b>AO1</b>	<b>Knowledge and understanding</b>
<b>Level 3</b> (9-12 marks)	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<b>Level 2</b> (5-8 marks)	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<b>Level 1</b> (0-4 marks)	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<b>AO2</b>	<b>Intellectual skills</b>
<b>Level 3</b> (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<b>Level 2</b> (5-8 marks)	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<b>Level 1</b> (0-4 marks)	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations

<b>A02</b>	<b>Synoptic skills</b>
<b>Level 3</b> <b>(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
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<b>A03</b>	<b>Communication and coherence</b>
<b>Level 3</b> <b>(7-9 marks)</b>	Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
<b>Level 2</b> <b>(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

8

**‘The idea of a “clash of civilisations” has been greatly exaggerated.’ Discuss.**

**Indicative content**

The idea of a ‘clash of civilisations’ suggests that twenty-first century global order will be characterised by growing tension and conflict between rival cultures or civilisations, as opposed to the political, ideological or economic conflict of old. Supporters of the ‘clash of civilisations’ thesis have advanced a number of arguments. These include the following:

- There is undoubted evidence of the growing impact of culture and religion in world politics. This is evident in the rise of forms of ethnic nationalism and religious fundamentalism, particularly political Islam.
- Cultural conflict has in many ways been increasing, especially in the form of tension between Islam and the West. The advent of global terrorism and the ‘war on terror’ have both been seen as evidence of a ‘clash of civilisations’. Conflict between Islam and the West is very different from the politico-ideological conflict during the Cold War period between the USA and the Soviet Union.
- Growing rivalry between the USA and China can be seen as an example of civilizational tension, the rise of China being part of an ‘Asian affirmation’ which is based on distinctive values drawn, in part, from Confucianism as opposed to those of the liberal-democratic West.

However, the idea of a ‘clash of civilisations’ has been criticised for a number of reasons. These include the following:

- Civilisations are not homogeneous and unified entities. Rather they are complex and fragmented. Civilisations are simply not global actors; states, with their distinctive national interests, remain the key actors in global politics.
- There is significant evidence of cultural harmony and peaceful coexistence between different civilisations. Cultural difference by no means necessarily leads to conflict.
- Most wars and international conflicts take place between states from the same, not different, civilisations.
- Events such as the ‘war on terror’ and growing tensions between the USA and China, are better understood in terms of great power politics and the pursuit of national interests than they are in terms of a supposed ‘clash of civilisations’.

The intellectual skills that are relevant to this question are as follows:

- The ability to analyse and explain the idea of a ‘clash of civilisations’.
- The ability to evaluate the relevance of the ‘clash of civilisations’ to modern global politics.

Synopticity in this question refers to the following:

- The ability to recognise significant debates about the relevance of the ‘clash of civilisations’ thesis between its proponents and its opponents.

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

<b>A02</b>	<b>Synoptic skills</b>
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