

Examiners' Report
June 2013

GCE Government and Politics 6GP03 3D

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Introduction

Once more, a pleasing proportion of candidates had clearly been well-prepared for this examination. Subject knowledge was particularly strong and there was, for the most part, a pleasing focus on the wording of the questions with some excellent examples deployed in relevant questions.

It must be stressed again, mainly for newer centres, there were a few key differentiators between candidates' responses. The key to success in responding to the questions set is to recognize that four marks are being awarded for the longer essay responses.

Whilst Assessment Objective 1 (AO1) knowledge may help a candidate to achieve 12 of the available 45 marks, there are still 33 marks available for AO2, synopticity and AO3. A large proportion of candidates score well in AO1, because they provide detailed and developed knowledge and understanding, with relevant and accurate work but they do not attain the marks that are available elsewhere.

To perform at the highest level in AO2 requires candidates to provide analysis, evaluation and parallels or connections. This can be a challenge for candidates who rely primarily on production of learnt facts and knowledge. Synopticity, where candidates are expected to provide an awareness of competing viewpoints or perspectives, can be difficult for some.

The longer questions are designed for debate and discussion of alternative viewpoints. AO3 can also be an issue for some candidates. There is a need to bring all of the earlier AO elements into a structured and logical response, which provides balance and use of appropriate political vocabulary.

It is evident that most, if not all, teachers are aware of, and focussed on, the Further Guidance for Route D document, which can be found on the Edexcel website. This document provides additional content explanation and advice to support the initial specification document. It is also pleasing to note that teachers and candidates are making good use of recently developed resources.

It is certainly worth noting the relatively new Threshold Indicators, which have been added to Mark Schemes. They give an indication of the likely requirements of a Level 2 and Level 3 script.

Question 1

This was the most popular of the short questions and candidates tended to perform well with the provision of clear definitions and a range of reasons as to why sovereignty may now be considered to be an outdated concept. Some responses tended to discuss the concept of sovereignty more generally without an emphasis on these factors. Reasons why state sovereignty may now be considered an outdated concept ranged from globalisation, which has led to deeper levels of interdependence and interconnectedness, to the emergence of non-state actors such as transnational corporations and nongovernmental organisations. A few candidates mentioned the creation of international judicial bodies such as the ICC, the trend in favour of regional and global governance and the growth of humanitarian intervention which, arguably, all appear to have eroded the significance of state sovereignty.

It is worth noting the format of the stronger responses which tend to provide good definitions, a series of arguments and a summary with use of examples throughout.

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

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and then indicate your new question with a cross .

Chosen Question Number:

Question 1

Question 2

Question 3

Question 4

Question 5

~~① TICS~~

~~② EXAMPLE OF VIOLATIONS~~

~~③ POOLED IN REGIONAL BUDGETS + LESS CHARACTERISED BY STATES.~~

Sovereignty is defined by the ultimate, absolute power, and is historically thought to reside within the state. This has led to how global politics is currently approached, the billiard-ball model, where the external exercise of state sovereignty has an a knock-on effect on other states, as a result of respect to that sovereignty. However several factors have risen to challenge the concept. As a result of globalisation, transnational companies demonstrate power wielded by a non-state actor with no precedent. Such companies and conglomerates are so large in influence and capital, they exceed that of some LEDCs, such as Google, and which is a multi-billion business. Relative economic power to the advantage of TNCs means that the influence

You should start the answer to your second question choice on page 6

of these companies have the potential to compromise state sovereignty. For example, Shell's current occupation in Nigeria is so pivotal that Nigeria's economy is largely dependent on it, thus business regulation and economic restrictions as formed by the state must tailor to Shell else as a TNC, the possess capability to simply move business elsewhere. Thus, state sovereignty is subject to the influence of TNCs and cannot make decisions with disregard to them as without great threat to their economic interest.

International inst institutions such as the EU and NATO have also demonstrated violations against state sovereignty. With EU's pooled sovereignty policy, state power is effectively compromised and member-states adhere ultimately to the EU. Fishing quotas act to demonstrate this, a strict policy that governs the EU. Additionally humanitarian intervention is also performed at sacrifice of state sovereignty, for example NATO missions into Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1995, and on-going attempt to ensure stable government in Somalia.

State sovereignty has been compromised

You should start the answer to your second question choice on page 6

largely by contemporary global order, politically and economically. With technological advances and ~~a~~ ~~at~~ the disregard of state borders instant communication allows, cultural flows also bleed into states. However if state sovereignty is not abolished, and still acts as the foundation for the international stage, though compromised, it retains significance that shows no indication of fading.



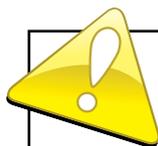
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Examiner Comments

Question 1

This first script has a number of strengths. There is a clear attempt at a definition in the introduction and a focus on the specific question throughout. There are a number of factors which are identified which include transnational corporations, international institutions and humanitarian intervention. It is pleasing to note the use of example in support of the developing argument. This is enough to lift the response into level 3.

14 marks



ResultsPlus

Examiner Tip

Try to ensure a focus on the specific wording of the question throughout the response.

A level 3 response with a number of positive attributes.

Indicate your first question choice on this page.
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Chosen Question Number:

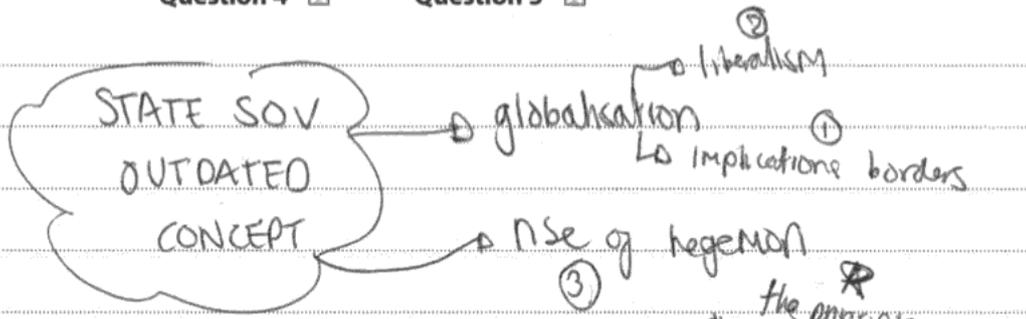
Question 1

Question 2

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The Peace of Westphalia of 1648 established the global system as one based on state sovereignty, yet by the latter half of the 20th century and the onset of the 21st century the concept has been increasingly cast into doubt. This is largely due to the rise of globalisation with borders no longer being definitive due to the rise of technology, NGO's and the threat of terrorism. Likewise, the concept has been considered as increasingly dated due to the growing trend of co-operation and the international system of global governance.

The most prominent challenge to the relevance of sovereignty is the rise of globalisation. This process of

You should start the answer to your second question choice on page 6

Increasing interdependence and interconnectedness has led to state borders becoming increasingly permeable. This means that this undermines a fundamental principle of state sovereignty which is absolute authority over a defined area. Due to the expansion of technology states can no longer control as easily what enters their borders and what citizens have access to. For example, the 2011 Arab Spring was facilitated by video footage on YouTube which inspired thousands across the Middle East to hold up their own uprisings in their own respective countries. The sheer fact that ~~states~~ the boundaries in which a state now controls has brought the nature of sovereignty into question and has led many to render it an outdated concept.

A further consequence of globalisation and its impact on the relevance of sovereignty is the use of non-state actors such as NGOs and terrorist groups. For example, the 9/11 attacks in New York perpetrated by al-Qaeda demonstrated to the world a clear breach of international sovereignty. This shows that states no longer demonstrate absolute and limited authority particularly in today's modern age whereby non-state actors exert significant influence on individual states.

Similarly, it is often argued that state sovereignty is outdated due to the use of international co-operation.

You should start the answer to your second question choice on page 6

This is a liberal argument which sees that states work more efficiently when they co-operate on issues than they operated independently. This is particularly true of the 2007-2009 Global Financial Crisis whereby the G-20 was used as the main forum for formulating a response. This suggests that at present global issues such as terrorism, poverty and development require global solutions ~~that~~ which means that sovereignty has become an outdated concept.

Moreover, one could argue that sovereignty is an outdated concept for states lacking global standing. For example, the 2011 NATO intervention in Libya conducted by the UK, USA and France highlighted an outright breach of sovereignty in order to ~~++~~ resolve what they argued as severe ~~breaches~~ breaches of human rights. Thus, sovereignty has become an outdated concept for countries who are seen to be breaking international moral codes.

Therefore, in conclusion, sovereignty has become an increasingly outdated concept particularly over recent years, which is fundamentally due to the process of globalisation and its consequences such as the ~~decline of~~ permeability of state borders and use of non-state actors. Likewise, global politics has become increasingly shaped by the process of international co-operation meaning state sovereignty is no longer as relevant.



ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

Question 1

This is another pleasing response which identifies a series of factors. These factors include globalisation, international cooperation and the liberal argument, interventionism and NGOs. The definition is pleasing and continues to develop throughout the response.

14 marks



ResultsPlus Examiner Tip

Examples usually strengthen a response. The Arab Spring and NATO intervention in Libya are used here.

Question 2

This was the least popular of the responses for the short questions in Section A. It proved to be a challenge for many of the candidates who tackled it although there were a few responses where candidates had clearly prepared well and were comfortable discussing the G8 and the main criticisms that have been made of it. The G8 emerged with the inclusion of Russia in the G7 in 1997 and it has a key role in ensuring the overall coordination of the system of global economic governance. Criticism of the G8 tends to focus on a few central themes. The G8 has been considered unable or unwilling to deal effectively with poverty, inequality and climate change. The legitimacy of the G8 has been undermined by the emerging economies and has not dealt effectively with the global economic downturn. The emergence of the G20 has also served to undermine the G8.

G8 responses tended to be weaker on background/definition than the other shorter responses.

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Chosen Question Number:

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Russia - oil
- not much done

The G8 (Group of 8) consists of the world's 7 wealthiest industrial powers who work together on modern concepts and aim to tackle these contemporary issues such as poverty and climate change.

Firstly, the main criticism is that the group aims to help the rich for the rich. Inevitably, this means that these wealthy nations only work together on projects which will be considered beneficial for themselves. As little has been done on helping^{ease} these contemporary issues, it can be seen that the only thing that has occurred is that the wealthy nations have got richer and the poorer ones get poorer. Realists would agree and say that a state's own needs are above that of any other states and that a state's own wishes and needs reign supreme. However, a liberal would argue that even though much is not being done for the poorer countries, increased cooperation is beneficial for all.

Next, the G8 is criticised as it is no longer consisting of the world's richest nations - Brazil and China which have the world's 6th and 2nd largest economies are not in the G8. This means that countries which contribute largely to the global economy are

You should start the answer to your third question choice on page 9

not able to have a say and are unable to work cooperatively with other wealthy nations. Due to this, a realist may argue that this could result in conflict as both Brazil and China battle to be in the G8 and for their voices to be heard. This could hinder global stability and would see the G8 under further scrutiny from critics.

Furthermore, Russia's membership in the G8 has been criticised. As Russia has ~~lost~~ a ~~strong~~ fossil fuel economy where there is heavily reliance on other states, it sees Russia not being considered a wealthy member of the G8. This has caused in question whether the G8 is an outdated concept or not. Russia's controversial involvement could see realists arguing that it could result in conflict. As Hobbes stated "A war of all for all" which would mean that other nations compete for G8 membership to eradicate Russia, this could result in war.

Also, G8 has been criticised for not getting much work done. For example, although at the Summit in Gleneagles there was a commitment to get poverty reduced, little has been done since then and although liberals would praise there being minimum conflict and maximum cooperation, it could lead to increased tension and instability between nations which could result in conflict.



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Examiner Comments

Question 2

This response has a rather brief introduction/explanation on the G8 but does progress to tackle a few central issues. It is suggested that the G8 is seen to serve the interests of the member states rather than the global community. The issue of membership is raised with reference to Russian membership and the lack of representation for emerging economies such as China and Brazil. Inability to tackle the current global economic downturn is also referenced.

13 marks

Question 3

This was the second most popular response in the first section and there were some very strong responses which suggest that candidates were well prepared. Multipolarity refers to a state system in which there are three or more power centres and an argument to suggest that the current system is multipolar is likely to focus on a criteria which may include military, economic and structural power. Many candidates discussed the drift from unipolarity with the decline of the US and the rise of other states or, in the case of the EU, regional blocs.

Militarily there are a number of significant factors or poles which could include the United States, Russia, China and even nuclear powers such as the United Kingdom and France. There is a significant disparity in the military power of these states and the potential for true global reach which some candidates discussed.

Economic discussion often focused on the growth of the BRIC states, regional bodies such as the EU and the strength of the US economy.

Structural discussion had a focus on institutions such as the UN Security Council, G8, G20 and the International Financial Institutions such as the IMF and World Bank.

The standard format in most candidates responses was to provide a definition and then to tackle the demise of the US and rise of other states in order to suggest a move to multipolarity.

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Chosen Question Number:

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~~PLAN - current IP = multipolar - 3+ power centres
 1. Asymmetrical multipolarity = US but all regional - Supreme geo-strategically
 2. Economic - US Supreme + 70/100 + 2/4 glob but China + present challenge
 3. Military - US capability small → Russia 92-94 BUT can't improve nuclear armed
 4. Korea war challenge
 5. 1-10/1000000 BUT can't improve nuclear armed
 6. 9. Tiger 20;~~

A multipolar international system is one that contains three or more centres of power. This is the current state of world order because, whilst the US is a dominant, single-state entity and an economic and military superpower that is ~~the~~ unrivalled in these areas, ~~the~~ other regional superpowers exist and do pose some challenge to US authority and power.

The existence of ~~the~~ regional superpowers like China and Indonesia in the Far East and Israel in the Middle East prevent the world from becoming 'unipolar' in light of the visible dominance that the US enjoys globally geo-strategically. Whilst the US is not properly bound by any international authority as it is dominant in most global economic

You should start the answer to your second question choice on page 6

agreement bodies and is a member of the P5 on the UN Security Council, and other regional superpowers maintain the ability to overcome the US for any decisions in their geo-strategic area. For example, the US was unable to question the ethnic cleansing of Tibet that had occurred since the 1990s.

Additionally, military power in the international system today is not monopolised. Whilst the US retains the largest military capacity, shown by 47% of all military spending by 2007 being by the US, and possessing the most accurate air and sea defences, shown in Bosnia and the Gulf Conflict, other powers possess somewhat equivalent military weapons. For example, the 'nuclear club' now includes 15 or more members, and ~~from~~ probably Iran. The proliferation of nuclear weapons vertically across the globe means that one actor cannot monopolise military power - it was, for example, the possession of military weapons that meant the US was unable to question Russia's actions over Chechnya in the mid-1990s.

Thirdly, economic power is similarly divided, albeit asymmetrically between world states. The US retains economic dominance currently, especially with 70 out of 100 top TNCs being in N. America, and by their lead in 2 of 4 strands of 'accelerated globalisation': technological and economic. However, the system is multipolar with regards to economic power.

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due to the existence of China and the EU ~~as~~ as economic superpowers. Whilst China was the steel tariffs dispute & with the US in the WTO during 2009, and is said to surpass the US economy by 2020, the EU is now a bigger free market than the US, with a higher population of 420 million against 325 million.

Overall, the world system ~~is not~~ ^{can} accurately be described as asymmetrically multipolar, with the US existing as a single state economic and military power but one that is restrained by the existence of a ~~reg~~ regional superpower.



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Examiner Comments

Question 3

This attempt provides a definition and discusses economic and military contenders to the US. There are a few questionable assertions made but marking is always positive and a number of points are made and developed with an attempt at examples as this response pushes ever upwards through level 2.

14 marks

Question 4

This was quite a popular question and produced a variety of responses in terms of strength. A few candidates discussed globalisation in general and did not focus on the cultural form. Cultural globalisation is a term used to describe the process whereby information, commodities and images that have been produced in one part of the world enter a global flow that flattens out cultural differences between nations, regions and individuals. There is also a view that it can lead to polarisation and diversity through a backlash which fuels ethnic, religious or national movements.

There is significant controversy as to whether it is a myth or reality with debate between hyperglobalisers, sceptics and transformationalists.

There is controversy over the implication of globalisation for state sovereignty and even the extent to which cultural globalisation is actually taking place.

Cultural globalisation may focus on the potential homogenisation which may be inevitable. Homogenisation may have a western bias which is clearly controversial.

Many of these themes were tackled by the stronger candidates.

There was a real division between those candidates who were able to provide a decent definition of cultural globalisation and those candidates who provided a looser definition of globalisation in general.

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Cultural Globalization is one facet of the ^{process of} increasing interdependence, interconnectedness and accessibility taking place in the world. It is the widening and deepening of cultural dependence and plurality, across borders, with an increasing traffic of cross-border transfer of ideas, beliefs, values, etc.

Cultural globalization is a controversial phenomenon because of its perceived effects on the world. Critics believe that cultural globalization is harmful due to four main reasons.

Firstly, is the idea of the 'brand culture' that is developing in the world. This emphasis on 'brands' and the

You should start the answer to Section B on page 13

emotional meaning attached to them is leading to a culture of consumerism, where, through advertisements, companies create fake needs among people leading them to ~~to~~ exercise excessive consumeristic actions. This leaves people in a constant state of unhappiness as there is always something more that they need to achieve ~~to~~ 'true' happiness.

Second is the 'McDonaldization' of the world whereby people all over the world are buying the same products, listening to the same music, eating the same food. Critics believe that this is especially undesirable because cultural globalization is leading to the Americanization of the world, where American culture is most dominant.

This leads to the third, ~~the~~ reason which is ~~the~~ cultural imperialism. This Americanization has led to the imposition of the

You should start the answer to Section B on page 13

American way of life, worldwide. This can be seen in the popularity of Hollywood, American band, etc all over the world.

This has lastly, led to the universal acceptance of American values and beliefs over cultural relativism, destroying indigenous cultural practices. Examples can be seen in the banning of Sutte and honour killings in India, simply because they contradict the Western ideals of right of life.

However, supporters of cultural globalization believe that it is not all bad. firstly, there has been a seeping in of Eastern values within the West. This is clearly demonstrated by the rising popularity of yoga, indian curry, etc in the West and the formation of multi-cultural societies. Furthermore, there has been a backlash to cultural imposition, ^{as well} eg. the Taliban, the Iranian revolution, etc.



ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

Question 4

This response provides a reasonable introduction and definition. The response continues to tackle a range of factors in answering the question. The candidate discusses 'brand culture' and consumerism which is an interesting point. They continue to discuss 'Americanization' and the destruction of indigenous culture. This response does enough to enter level 3.

13 Marks



ResultsPlus Examiner Tip

This candidate is careful not to stray from the central theme of the question and this leads to reward.

The strengths of this response are numerous. Clearly this candidate is well read and is able to reference a number of political commentators in the response. There is pleasing knowledge throughout. The introduction covers a fair amount of territory and the arguments raised are supported and convincing.

Indicate your third question choice on this page.

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Chosen Question Number:

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Question 5

Cultural globalisation is the ~~homogenisation~~ increasing ~~Western~~ similarity, reducing differences ~~through~~ ^{global} between cultures through brand culture and images which has led to the loss of diversification in global culture resulting in homogenisation. This is ~~well~~ explored through Benjamin Barber's thesis of a 'McWorld' where the globe is dominated by US TNCs and brands. Many criticise cultural globalisation as it is seen as a form of US hegemony/dominance, the lack of cultural diversity and the increase of materialism.

Rutten (2005) argues that fundamentalism is driven by a search for meaning in a world driven by materialism, ~~gender~~ ~~dr~~ ~~and~~ sexual permissiveness and moral relativism associated with neoliberal policies ~~advocated~~ ^{advocated} by the US. Benjamin Barber's 'McWorld' more than proves this with ~~consumer~~ ^{eating habits, tending} ~~to~~ 'convergence' and 'quality'; McDonalds ~~is~~ ^{has} 31,000 outlets worldwide and is expanding to Laure in Paris. ~~Large~~ Brands such as Nike and

You should start the answer to Section B on page 13

MTV has dominated the globe, making with As
Hemid Maulaa ~~has~~ criticised ~~being~~ '[cultural]
globalisation is just a nice word used by transnational
corporations to infect the entire world with the
cultural virus of consumerism'. The trend towards ^{money} ~~money~~
and superficial values is criticised heavily as ~~far~~ ~~and~~
explained by the advent of 'cultural globalisation'.

Furthermore, it is argued that cultural
globalisation is merely western imperialism. Fukuyama (1993)
argues that liberal democracy is now the dominant ideology
yet originated within western countries and is not
practiced by successfully economic states (such as) China.
Moreover, 80% of the electronic ~~and~~ information retrieval
systems are based in English. 60 more than 60 countries
in the world have English as the dominant / official
language. ~~to~~ The Universal Declaration of Human Rights
(1948) should also be noted that though signed by western
states, are dominantly not followed by but are used to
condemn states which disagree to follow these norms.
Through the domination of western ^{in particular, America} culture, ~~and~~ globalisation
is committed as being 'globalisation' and none of a
consolidation of US hegemony.



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Question 4

Reference to political commentators can be very useful if made relevant to the title with appropriate comment.

13 marks

Question 5

There were a number of pleasing responses to this question even though it was not the most popular.

Regionalism is the theory or practice of coordinating social, economic or political activities within a geographical region comprising a number of states. Regional integration and cooperation take place for a number of reasons which include military, economic, political and cultural. There is a view that the most significant cause of integration and regionalism is as a response to globalisation with regional trade blocs developing in order to strengthen members' position in the global market. This response may be brought about by both protectionist and competitive impulses. Other candidates had a focus on regionalism as a desire for greater security or for greater political influence. It was pleasing to note those candidates who were able to use a range of regional bodies in their responses.

More able candidates were able to benefit from a wide range of regional institutions which helped them to provide examples to the assertions made.

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If you change your mind, put a line through the box
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Chosen Question Number:

explain the main factors that
foster regional integration
+ co-op.

Question 1

Question 2

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Question 5

Regional integration is where states form a geographical bloc which can be either economic, political or for security.

One ~~reason~~ factor that fosters regional integration and co-operation is for economic benefit. States can create a common market which can include free trade ^{and no tariffs} so therefore

States can save money but still gain from the global market by exporting. The E.U. and ASEAN are examples of economic regionalism

and this can create benefits for the states that are part of them because they can help to boost their economies by giving them stable

exporters and cheap imports. Therefore this economic benefit can lead to more integration and co-operation regionally due to the

necessity to be able to be a strong state economically and compete in the globalised world.

You should start the answer to Section B on page 13

A second factor that can foster regional integration and co-operation is for political gains. Political blocs can change the image and prestige internationally of a state, for example the E.U. changed the world perspective on Germany after WW2. Furthermore political regionalism is a join of political ideas and can be a means by which to push for certain political ideas, such as liberal democracy, in the world. Therefore political gains can foster regional integration and co-operation because it can help to unite and strengthen a common goal for the regional states, such as African Union wanting to put African states ~~in~~ on the global stage.

A third factor that can foster regional integration is for security benefits. Regional blocs for security such as NATO create collective security by using the idea that if one state is attacked then all states in NATO are considered under attack. Therefore security blocs create collective security and this can foster regional integration and co-operation because in the modern world with rogue

You should start the answer to Section B on page 13

States with nuclear weaponry power states feel unsafe so therefore regionalism for security can have huge benefits.



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Question 5

This is a well constructed response which pushes through to a level 3. The introduction is pleasing and sets out the key areas of discussion to follow. There are a range of regional bodies discussed in a logical and developed way.

12 marks



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Examiner Tip

Learn from the structure of this response. An introduction with focus leads to a carefully constructed response covering a range of points all set out in a clear fashion.

Indicate your third question choice on this page.

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Chosen Question Number:

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Explain main factors that foster regional integration and coop.

→ regional integration = coordination of policy/affairs of countries in a region, reducing national allegiances.

① Globalisation Acceleration → 80/90s

↳ steer it; integrated, interdependent.

② Post cold war - ~~1990s~~

↳ promote regional stability; security int. → Germany²²

③ Economic crises; eco integration (Eurocr.)

↳ reduce barriers, free trade areas etc

↳ NAFTA, EU, ASEAN Free Trade Area.

Regional integration is the coordination of policy and affairs of countries in a region, creating a common ideology and reducing national allegiances. This process reduces state sovereignty, an underpinning factor of the international system since 1648 due to the Treaty of Westphalia, however the reasons behind the process are for the interests of the states involved.

You should start the answer to Section B on page 13

The most important factor behind the fostering of regional integration is globalisation. Since the 1980's to 1990's, there has been an ever-thickening web of interconnectedness among regions and the international system. However, in regions this has provided knowledge of each other cultures due to increase in communication and technology, as well as increasing trade and services between states. Regional integration means that processes can be established for this to happen easier, for example, ASEAN Free Trade Area or AFTA, or even the EU all promote free trade between countries in the organisations of goods or services; thus improving the entire global economy.

The Cold War is another factor behind regional integration. This bipolar period of high tensions demonstrated the need for collective security, and security regionalism established this. Cooperation with respects to ~~conflict~~ conflict and protection is seen through the EU; ~~with~~ or even the AU, which focuses more on non-economical integration. Not only this but regional integration and cooperation leads the unlikelihood of war; it becomes unfeasible and unrealistic, for reasons like the ECSC agreed on ~~the~~ to protect themselves from Germany, such as the interdependence on each

You should start the answer to Section B on page 13

other for trade, ^{or even} having a same currency, such as the Euro.

Furthermore, economic crises are an important factor behind the fostering of regional integration and cooperation. When the economy is in a downturn, like the Credit Crunch of 2008 or Asia's recession of the 1990s, regional integration means that it is easier and possible for other countries to help failing economies out of difficult situations. For example in 2010 Germany bailed out Greece from a near economic disaster, and ASEAN of South-East Asian Nations worked together through the recession, with China, Japan, Indonesia, and others all now prospering with exceptional economies, especially the 'Asian Tigers'.



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Examiner Comments

Question 5

The plan at the start of this response suggests that this is likely to be a logical and thoughtful candidate. The range of examples and focus on the demands of the question confirms this and ensures a level 3.

12 marks

Question 6

Candidates seemed to enjoy the opportunity to discuss this particular question and there were some excellent responses with very pleasing knowledge and analysis.

Anarchical and chaotic reflects the traditional view of global politics and the idea that the state remains the highest authority in a society where there is a lack of global governance. The consequence of this anarchy is that states rely on self help and that war and conflict are inevitable. Candidates were, on the whole, happy discussing this realist perspective. Examples used to illustrate this included that much of the world is embroiled in military-strategic conflict.

Counter argument tended to focus on the development of numerous factors which included globalisation, complex interdependence, the community of states reacting to global issues and problems such as the environment and nuclear proliferation. Regionalism, the spread of international organizations, emergence of numerous global judicial bodies and human rights interventionism are amongst a number of additional factors which were explored.

Realists consider that the state is the pre-eminent actor on the world stage. Because ~~the~~ states have differing values, political systems and beliefs, world instability is inevitable.

Realism has developed over the years into off-shoots such as offensive and defensive realism. Offensive realists see states achieve their own security through use of power, often goals achieved by military ends. By contrast, defensive realists see stability achieved by ~~it~~ as the underpinning key feature of state ~~survival~~ survival. Indeed, the mutually assured destruction seen in the cold war between USA and the ^{Soviet Union} ~~Russia~~ proves that defensive realism accurately explains world order. In any event, ^{b.o.p} ~~the~~ realists consider interaction between states as antagonistic thereby leaving the global system in a state of anarchy. In this respect, ~~the~~ relationships between states as always in a state of flux thereby making the world an anarchistic place.

New-realism, another branch of realism, considers ~~whether~~ the extent to which there is a growth of multipolarity in the world.

due to the growth of emerging states such as China, India and Russia. Neo-realism believes that the current world order is bound to end in disputes and military ~~warfare~~ ^{warfare}. Neo-realists believe the fluid nature of power changing ^{amongst states} is dangerous. Indeed, many purport that old hegemonies (such as the US) are being overtaken by new ones (China). It is believed ^{by realists} that the growth of China will undoubtedly lead to chaos and instability. The fact that China is a Confucian and authoritarian state as opposed to the US being a democracy, global state will lead to anarchy. Furthermore, Russia's growth will de-stabilise world order as their political views are ^{very} markedly different from the US. In this regard, the contemporary model of multipolarity will lead to greater instability.

By extreme contrast, liberals contradict this negative view of world order. Liberals believe that new world order and multipolarity will lead to a safer and prosperous world. Liberals believe that the current world order is now driven by economic competition rather than just military power (which realists perceive their power upon). Liberals think that the effects of globalisation & economic success will lead to an increase in multilateralism.

Liberals believe that ^{military} conflict will only arise for specific reasons. Accordingly, states are often co-operative, and a contemporary multi-pole world further enhances an equilibrium of power.

Yet one can easily criticize this approach for being utopian and idealistic. There is clearly a gross inequality between states' power and resources. As such, Superpowers and Great Powers such as the USA, and their soft ^{third} power, are smaller states to get their own way. In this respect, power amongst states can never be equal.

Despite however liberals ^{would} continue by suggesting that globalisation has ^{probably} led to a increase of democratisation and respect for human rights. The success of the ECtHR is evidence that globalisation can ^{bring} the contemporary world for the good. ~~It has~~ ^{led to} also ^{had 3 positive effects on contemporary world order:} ~~Secondly,~~ ^{led to} a increase in international institutions power. The UN and E.U. have greatly increased stability amongst states. New regionalism since 1980s has led to states co-operating in regional blocs. So in this way, contemporary security is being defined by harmony and co-operation. Thirdly,

globalisation has led to free trade and free movement of capital. This has enabled poorer states to develop (such as India and Brazil) and has in turn led to greater world order. In this respect, the economy has become the driving force of stability and security, whereas economic interconnectivity has made military intervention unpalatable. ~~the~~ p10 →

Despite the above valid reasons why contemporary society, inherently shaped by globalisation, has become safer and freer and open competition, globalisation has led to the ^{rise of non-} ~~rise of non-~~ state actors.

Non-state actors such as terrorist groups (Al-Qaeda) have undeniably affected world order. Contemporary society is now governed by fear and apprehension. 9/11 illustrated that even the global dominant hyperpower is not safe from chaos. Whilst realists may struggle to define how non-state actors have affected instability, realists would agree that terrorism is yet another aspect of chaos in the global political system. This in turn has led to the USA embroiled upon the 'war on terror' leading to further clashes between states such as USA and Iran.

While I could agree with liberals that the economy has displaced military competition, I cannot aspire to the view that world order can ever be stable. While liberals accept disputes will arise, they fail to consider how globalisation will affect lead to military action away from states. Globalisation is essentially a form of American imperialism. This has in turn fostered resentment across the world, and particularly in the South. World order will always be characterised by instability. In this respect, ~~stable~~ ~~the states are~~ ~~still~~

My conclusion is essentially that contemporary world order is still in anarchy. While I would not agree with realists that the state is the only main actor on the world stage, I could ^{suggest} agree that world order is defined by instability, which has only developed into a new phenomenon, premised upon the ^{effects} ~~structure~~ of globalisation.

② Yet by contrast, the spread of democracy by itself means less social stability and security. USA's imposition of the democratic principle in Iraq led to the outbreak of the war and greater chaos. USA's pursuit of oil as an economic resource also led to the deaths of Iraq people dying. In this respect, economic factors are a driving force behind chaos.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Comments

Question 6

This response has a focus on the theoretical side with a pleasing study of realism and liberalism. There are pleasing examples and analysis throughout and there is a clear discussion of both sides of the debate.

AO1 11

AO2 10

AO3 8

Syn 10

Put a cross in the box indicating the 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 6

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Question 8

Plan

It does

↳ Realist world view

↳ Waltz, Machiavelli, Malthusian

↳ Iraq War

↳ Terrorism

↳ Drone strikes

↳ End of History (Fukuyama)

NK/Iran

↳ Clash of Civilisations (Huntington)

It doesn't

↳ Cold war

↳ Increase in soft power

↳ Liberal world view

↳ Increase in globalisation

↳ Zones of peace → conflict

↳ Ottawa Treaty

↳ Nuclear non proliferation.

Whilst it could be argued that states are no longer motivated by self interest and that a liberal world view has taken over through an increase in globalisation and soft power, there is still evidence to suggest that anarchy end

Chaos is a prominent part of today's society through terrorism and states acting out of a violent motivation for self interest.

The idea that world order tends towards anarchy and Chaos is a realist world view.

In the 1600's, Thomas Hobbes in his book *Leviathan*, developed the machiavelli view that humans have a marked tendency for 'strife and violence' by stating a state of nature would result in a "warre of every man against every man".

Realists thus have a profoundly pessimistic view of what motivates states, and thus neo-Realists such as Kenneth Waltz have stated that in an international system, states are selfishly motivated and seek self maximisation through an accumulation of power.

However, whether this world view still exists in contemporary politics is debatable, and it is even more questionable that an accumulation of power through a realist world view would lead to 'anarchy and chaos'.

The most obvious example of an accumulation of power leading to dangerous instability was during the cold war. Indeed Robert McNamara believed that the world got

so close to nuclear war that "it was luck that saved us. We lucked out."

The USA also demonstrated a realist world view when it acted after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. The unmandated attack on Iraq however was by no means anarchic or chaotic as it was an organised and structured invasion by the world's most powerful military.

It could be argued then, that in today's world, not only is the liberal world view more powerful than that of realists, but it also provides such structure that it would be impossible for actions of states to result in anarchy and chaos.

Liberals are far more optimistic about what motivates states and suggest that states are defined just as much by co-operation as they are by conflict. The increase in cultural, political and economic globalisation means that the actions of states are increasingly intertwined, and states are increasingly interdependent on each other. Economic globalisation through the removal of trade barriers has even gone so far that

For many states acting in a selfish manner that results in anarchy and chaos actually would be self-harming due to the interconnectedness in today's society.

International organisations such as the UN are also succeeding in making the world less anarchic and chaotic by reducing zones of conflict and establishing zones of peace. A notable example of this was the establishment of UN resolution 688 in 1990, which established safe havens and 'no-fly-zones' in Kurdish Iraq, thus preventing Saddam Hussein from carrying out ethnic cleansing against the Kurds.

On top of this, 159 countries have now signed up to the Ottawa Treaty, resulting in the almost complete eradication of land mines.

Furthermore, the world's greatest powers such as the USA and China, are noticing the increasing importance of cultural soft power. America in particular, after the failure of hard power in Afghanistan and Iraq and their apparent lack of empathy, are now trying to win the moral highground and the hearts and

munds of citizens in Afghanistan and Iraq. Time magazine reported that 60% of Malaysians and Indonesians have a more favourable view of China due to its lack of military influence.

Most countries too have now signed up to both the Nuclear non-proliferation treaty and the nuclear test ban treaty. Therefore, rather than the contemporary international system tending towards anarchy and chaos, it could indeed be argued that the world is becoming a safer place.

However, one must not overexaggerate the extent to which the world is now a safer and more liberal place. Countries are still acting in a selfish manner and it could be suggested that the rise of China, through its destabilising territorial claims or its over-reaction to the dispute over the Senkaku islands is becoming increasingly a threat to global security.

Similarly, the actions of states such as North Korea and Iran to try and acquire nuclear weapons is also a worry due to the risk of chaos and anarchy that will arise

if these weapons came on to their possession.

Samuel Huntington also suggests that due to so many conflicting ideas in contemporary politics, and so many radical and opposing religions, that there could be a 'clash of civilisations', which 'Francis Fukuyama' believes would lead to the "end of history", a viewpoint indicative of chaos and anarchy.

Despite this though, I believe it is clear that through the increasing soft power, the increase in regionalism and the relative successes of organisations such as the UN, that the world is becoming a safer place and the liberal ideology is dominant. Whilst there is a threat of states acting out of realist self-interest, I do not believe that, in the contemporary world, this leads towards chaos and anarchy.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

Question 6

The plan makes clear the direction that this response will take and that we can expect a thoughtful and balanced response. Discussion of realism and liberalism are forthcoming and there is interesting debate relating to central themes such as nuclear proliferation. This helps to ensure a strong response emerges.

A01 11

A02 10

A03 8

Syn 10

Question 7

There were some very pleasing responses to this question which suggest that candidates were well prepared and comfortable tackling a discussion of the Bretton Woods system and the degree to which it has provided stability for the world economy through the institutions it created. Candidates used a number of approaches to tackle this response and it was pleasing to note the success that they enjoyed.

The key International Financial Institutions created at Bretton Woods were the International Monetary Fund (IMF), International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). There was a great deal of debate on the stability and order that these institutions may or may not have provided and a wide range of examples were used. Many candidates explained that Bretton Woods Institutions were created to avoid the economic instability of the interwar period with an attempt at ensuring stable exchange rates, free trade and a safety net for states with economic difficulties.

Those who support the work of the IMF, World Bank and World Trade Organisation would argue that the world would be in a far weaker position without the guidance, economic support and intervention of these institutions which continue to provide a degree of effective economic global governance.

Candidates were also ready to argue that these institutions have been found wanting on numerous occasions such as the global financial crisis which started to show its effects in the 2007 global recession. It could be argued that the philosophy on which the Bretton Woods Institutions were founded and have operated has also been found wanting and that Western dominance of the institutions led to the creation of bodies which served the interests of the West rather than ensuring stability and order for all.

There were a number of approaches taken to this question as the following scripts show.

Put a cross in the box indicating the 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 6

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Question 8

The Bretton-Woods system was initiated in 1944, with its two infant organisations, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) being put in place in order to rectify the faltering international economic system after the devastation of the second World War. These two organisations work in conjunction to provide a stable economic system in the highly globalised modern world, and aim to ~~maintain~~ pursue the capitalist policies of laissez faire and free trade in order to ensure economic congruity between all the various states of the world as well as a more stream-lined global economy. However, recent criticisms have come to light which seem to suggest that the ~~these~~ organisations of the now-obsolete Bretton-Woods system cater exclusively to a Western-based audience, and thus cause ~~so~~ wide trade imbalances in global economy which make the overall effect of global poverty all the more staggering.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) was created in 1947 in order to ensure fixed exchange rates after ~~the~~ WW2 in order to counter the increasingly unstable financial situation. Its post-war duties included the fixing of exchange rates via ~~the~~ ~~weighted system~~ pegging the exchange rates to the US dollar and also using a system of gold-standard exchange rates. The IMF also provided ~~short~~ loans to states experiencing short-term balance of

payments deficit in order for them to regulate their balance of trade. Though the IMF did allow for some leverage in floating exchange rates, allowing the ~~exchange rate~~ ^{value} of currencies to shift up to 1 percent to the US currency, it kept exchange rates more or less fixed in the post-war period in order to ensure that global trade remained streamlined. However, during the 1960s and after the collapse of the Bretton-Woods system of 1977, the IMF underwent a serious policy change from merely regulating exchange rates to offering loans to ~~po~~ developing and post-Soviet countries in order to build up their crumbling economies. Thus, transition countries such as ex-Soviet states found themselves being heavily funded by the IMF; however, these loans had certain attached 'conditionalities' which manifested themselves in the requirement for recipient states to enforce 'structural adjustment programmes' (SAPs), which aimed basically at reducing welfare spending in order to focus on debt repayments, an opening of trade barriers in order to increase foreign competition, and a focus on export-based growth. ~~Thus, the IMF~~ The SAPs were in effect detrimental to most areas where they were enforced, leading to rising poverty and unemployment levels where ~~more~~ welfare payments stopped pouring in, as well as ~~very~~ intense foreign competition from multinationals and transnational corporations (TNCs) which these poor economies could not challenge. This led to ethnic disparities in many of the regions where they were implemented, especially Russia and Africa. The IMF ~~has~~ has also been heavily criticised on a number of other factors, including its 'one size fits all'

policy, which catered more to a Western economic system rather than the ~~economies~~ of infant economies of the poorer East. Thus, the IMF has made the economic situation in these countries more tense than they were previously; the IMF has also been criticised for failing to prevent the global financial crisis of 2007-09, even though its mission statement sets a goal for it to do so. In addition, the pro-US nature of the IMF cannot be ignored; its voting procedures have been aligned in accordance with priority given in line with the size of the country's economy, with the fact that this gives the US a clear advantage out in the open. In addition, voting majority needs to be 85% in order to pass a resolution, which again favours the US's position in the IMF. Nor can the fact that IMF headquarters being situated in Washington, DC or the deputy head of the IMF always being an American be ignored. In fact, the US-centric policies of the IMF can be plainly seen in the fact that the IMF funded corrupt pro-US regimes even though these regularly violated human rights.

The World Bank (WB) is a sister organisation of the IMF, situated in the same building as the IMF headquarters. However, its role and policy differ slightly from the IMF; its main purpose after the Second World War was to organise the economic recovery of post-war Europe, providing low-interest loans in order to fund development projects in these areas, especially areas of in energy, telecommunications and transport. However, with the advent of ^{AW. Clausen} Robert ~~Macnamara~~ being elected as the head of the World Bank in ¹⁹⁸⁰ ~~1968~~, with ~~her~~ Anne Krueger

being appointed the ~~head~~ chief economic advisor some years later, a similar policy style to ~~IMF-esque~~ the SAPs pursued by the IMF began to take place. In particular, the WB provided low-interest loans in order to create a dependency on export-led growth, particularly of items which were more labour than capital intensive, and cash crops. This created a worldwide rift in trade levels during the 1990s, with the West exporting high-price, capital-intensive manufactured goods, and the East exporting low-price, labour-intensive goods. The result was a flow of capital from the East to the West, and a dependency by Eastern economies to rely on trade for economic survival. Thus, the shift in global funds from the East to the West was a consequence of SAPs. In addition, food prices in poor economies grew as a result of subsidies being lifted and decreasing employment levels meant investment was at an all-time low. Thus, third parties such as women and children suffered as a result. The energy crisis of 1979, which could not be prevented by either the IMF or the WB, made matters all the more. In addition, the funding of large developmental projects such as hydropower dams had significant environmental costs which led to hundreds of indigenous people having to relocate once these projects were undergone. The arrival of MNCs and TNCs also meant that investment ~~from these countries~~ did not stay in the country but instead flew outwards. Thus, countries in sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and Asia saw their economies begin to decline as a result.

Although both the WB and the IMF's policies had considerable implications for the global economy, most of which were

detrimental to the health of Eastern economies, both organisations have attempted to recalculate and rectify some of their policies in order to achieve a more stable global economy. Though the IMF has not done more than simply revise its mission policy in order to establish itself as more of a global spectator monitoring the global economy, the WB has responded to significant criticism. In doing this, it has firstly realised the effects of its developmental projects on the economy ~~as well~~ and opted for a more sustainable methods to be used in the future. It has also recognised the need for 'partnerships'; in essence, allowing more local control over policies in the area, and has noted the dire need for the local economy as well as indigenous firmholders to be a part of the decision-making process. It has also realised that a link between non-corrupt governments and economic governance is necessary, and thus has opted to support ^{democratic} regimes which are accountable to the people, believing the state to be a vital component in maintaining economic prosperity. It has also increased its capital by \$86 billion, its first increase in 20 years, and allocated a seat to sub-Saharan Africa in its Board of Directors. In order to defeat claims that it is West-centric, the WB has also increased the voting rights of developing nations to 47 percent, with the aim of increasing it to 50 percent over time.

In conclusion, the components of the Bretton-Woods system are still a pivotal form of global economic governance and maintaining economic stability, even though the past has seen significant hurdles. Though they have not been as successful as one would hope, if they continue to respond ~~and react~~ to criticism

and revise their policies, they may face a better chance of ~~completing~~ stabilising the global economy.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

Question 7

This first candidate provides an outstanding response. Knowledge of the Bretton Woods process and institutions is excellent. The introduction is well balanced and analysis remains strong throughout. Pleasing levels of synopticity are complemented by excellent communication skills and a wide range of examples to ensure a very strong level 3 response.

AO1 11

AO2 9

AO3 9

Syn 



ResultsPlus

Examiner Tip

There is much to learn from this script. The strong introduction and constant focus on the specific question set are particular features.

Put a cross in the box indicating the 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 6

Question 7

Question 8

The 'Bretton Woods' system was introduced in 1944 as part of the framework of global economic governance. However, ~~it~~ in the 1980s, this idea collapsed and was replaced by the 'Washington Consensus' with the rise of globalisation across the world. By assessing whether the Bretton Woods system continues to provide stability, one should assess the workings of the IMF and World Bank first and foremost.

The International Monetary Fund was set up to help bring financial support to struggling economies, namely in the developing world. Those countries that received the IMF's economic support were forced to implement Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), this included measures such as de-valuing national currency and adopted as 'privatise, de-regulate and liberalise' regime. However, these measures had negative consequences and did not

provide stability for world economy. Many economies collapsed in the 1990s, such as Mexico in 1994-1995, South-East Asia in 1997-1998 and Russia in '98-'99 and finally Mexico in 2002, which had destabilising effects on the populations and countries as a whole. The IMF approach was that a 'rising tide floats all boats' but it didn't take into consideration boats that had holes in, which would be unable to withstand such strict incentives. In addition, the IMF's loan policy was unfair as the ~~more~~ ^{more} money ~~you~~ you put in, the more notes you earn, which clearly is disadvantageous to small, struggling economies causing much instability. Many also argue that the success of the 'Asian Tigers' was due to the state's support and was not the workings of the IMF. The IMF also had a policy of 'turning nature into dollars', disrupting habitats around the world to profit from the resources gained through such measures like 'de-forestation'. This caused great instability. Moreover, unemployment saw a dramatic rise as public enterprises were privatised and inflation increased dramatically, causing yet more instability. The IMF failed to recognise that 'one size does not fit all,' in

their strict policies, as each country should have been recognised on an individual ~~the~~ level. In light of this instability, the IMF did recognise the need to dilute and soften the 'Washington Consensus'.

However, the Global Financial Crisis hit in 2008, leaving the IMF's economy in tatters, as it had adopted the 'neo-liberal dream', which resulted in the global economic demise.

Its economy was in tatters immediately afterwards. However, ^{with help from the} 'the' BRIC economies (namely China and Russia), its economy doubled and it had adopted the Global Fiscal Stimulus, enabling it to offer packages to crisis hit countries, such as the Ukraine and Pakistan. This allowed such economies to get back on their feet and regain some form of economic stability.

The IMF also helped to improve Global stability after the Eurocrisis. It offered \$103 billion dollars to Ireland, Portugal and Greece, in an attempt to allow them to improve their national stability.

However, this lending scheme was heavily criticised and caused great dissent as

people don't explicitly expressed how it was unfair to prioritise the needs of developed countries and that the IMF would never freely distribute such money to developing countries. Some also expressed how it would cause instability focusing lending on one region, especially if 1 or more countries were to default. Such economic support allowed Italy to regain its economic strength and thus, stability. However, unfortunately Greece required a second bail out by the IMF.

The IMF's voting system is yet another area of much controversy as the amount of support the BRIC economies have given does not equate to the number of votes they have gained. If this is to become more fair countries such as, Netherlands and Belgium, who are overrepresented in terms of votes should agree to cede this but this looks unlikely. Nevertheless, EU still accounts for 31% of votes and the USA for 18%, meaning they still have a great role in the decision making process. David Cameron in his speech attempted to placate critics who have argued the money we have given to the IMF has been futile, by saying that we have not lost out in any

way through dealings with the IMF. The appointment of the IMF's leader was also centre of controversy as it was agreed EU would vote in IMF's President and USA would do the same for the World Bank's. Many believed the EU should have chosen somebody from outside of Europe, to demonstrate the shift from East to West. However, this wasn't the case as France's Ms Christine Lagarde was chosen.

The World Bank was introduced also in Bretton Woods agreement, designed as a sister institution for the IMF. It was also designed to bring support and stability to developing world economies and the reforms it has made since Global Financial Crisis in 2008 have been more radical and successful in improving stability than the IMF's reforms. It weakened the idea of 'Washington Consensus' and no longer imposed the same strict conditions with SAPs on the borrowing countries. It also ~~recognised~~ adopted a more ethical dimension, urging that no measures uprooted indigenous people unfairly.

and destroyed habitats unduly, in an attempt to improve stability. Further, its aim was to provide ^{primary} education worldwide, in an attempt to create skilled workers, which are highly essential in this high-tech globalised world.

Importantly, unlike the IMF it recognised that 'one size does not fit all' treating each country's economy as separate from the rest. The IMF's president also commented on how 'women are the next big emerging market', highlighting a clear shift towards reform, development and change. Further it has adopted measures focused on improving climate change around the world, although it has still endorsed the setting up factories world wide, in an attempt to increase jobs.

However the World Bank has also been heavily criticised for failing to bring stability to the world economy. It has been accused of corruption, with officials' allegedly receiving 10-15% kick backs on many of its projects. Similarly, it has been accused of focusing too strongly on

~~The expense~~ of Middle Income Countries at the expense of poorer ones. Figures explained show 46% of loans were given to Middle Income countries and only 7% to those with no credit rating. Such measures will not improve stability as a staggering 1.4 billion people live in poverty worldwide.

To conclude, both the IMF and the World Bank (which lends ^{US} \$170 billion worldwide) have helped to bring stability to the world economy. However, the 2008 Financial Crisis struck as so many countries were crippled. Within the EU, it's estimated that 20 million people are unemployed, highlighting the devastating impact on the crisis, worldwide.



ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

Question 7

This is a very different response to the previous one on Bretton Woods. The candidate has a focus on the institutions themselves. This is a particularly detailed study of the IMF and World Bank and of the central issues relating to both. There are some very useful examples throughout which help to create a strong response.

A01 11

A02 10

A03 8

Syn 10

Question 8

Many candidates explained that the European Union has served as the most advanced example worldwide of the process of regional integration but there are other examples of blocs which have existed for some time, such as ASEAN.

Some more able candidates argued that there is no distinct model for regionalism given that there is a wide collection of regional bodies which range from regional economic blocs such as NAFTA and ASEAN to regional political blocs such as the African Union. The types of regional organisation range from loose and non-binding agreements amongst states to complex institutional arrangements, as found in the EU.

There is a view that the transformation of the European Coal and Steel Community (Treaty 1951) to European Economic Community (Treaty 1957) to European Union (Treaty 1993), charts an inevitable movement from loose economic arrangement to more formal political agreement and that this is the course that other regional bodies will follow. Perhaps the European Union has been the regional body more able to respond to the onset of the process of globalisation and other regional bodies will inevitably follow the same course.

It is possible to compare some of the features of the EU such as acceptance of pooled sovereignty, elements of supranationalism, single currency and establishment of the ECJ with developments in other regional bodies such as the African Union, NAFTA and ASEAN.

This question was a real challenge for a number of candidates who tackled it but who did not deal with the central demand of the question.

Put a cross in the box indicating the 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 6

Question 7

Question 8

~~The Essay~~

- Intro

- Regionalism ✓
- EU exceptionalism

Conclude

Argue

- ASEAN - 3 pillars.
 - ~~Free trade~~ ~~superficial~~ ~~rules~~
 - democratic values.
 - ~~less~~ ~~not~~ ~~western~~ ~~values~~.
- AU → ~~democratic~~
- NAFTA →
 - customs union
 - full monetary union.

Regionalism can take three forms; economic - the co-operation amongst states in the same region for better economic opportunities - security - states co-operating to protect themselves from an enemy - and political - states in the same region co-operating to improve their political standing on the world stage. The EU has embraced all 3 of these types of regionalism, whilst other regional entities have the world over, either separately, or they haven't gone as far, or both. This proposes the argument that the EU model is exceptional.

The closest ~~example~~ example there is of 'another' EU is the Association of South East Asian States, Nations, or 'ASEAN'. Where it is similar, with the EU is that, in language similar to that of the EU, ASEAN has three 'pillars', the ASEAN Economic Community, the ASEAN political-security community and the ASEAN Social Socio-

Cultural Community In comparison, ~~the EU has~~ the first two pillars. The EU has the EU Economic Policy and the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). This shows that the EU structure is able to be exported as another organisation in an entirely different part of the world, ~~with~~ ^{despite} clear disparities in development between the two. Liberals argue that international organisation is always in the best interests of states, as peace can be achieved through international agreements. ~~as~~ Furthermore, this is achieved as states are more inclined to pursue absolute rather than relative gain.

However, where the EU and ASEAN differ is that the EU has gone much further in both respects; firstly, the EU has embraced full monetary union through the introduction of the Euro in 1999 and the establishment of the ECB as a result of the TEU in 1992, whereas ASEAN are tentatively a customs union, where economic unions are agreed but not legislated. For second, the EU has immense structural power due to the presence of great powers such as the UK, France and Germany. This has meant that the CFSP has had some success internationally such as intervention in the Balkan states in the 90s; ~~by~~ ⁱⁿ contrast, the ASEAN does not include China, Japan or South Korea, so therefore does not have a strong say in international affairs.

NAFTA - North American Free Trade Agreement - This another example of regionalism, in the form of a customs union. ~~It is an example~~ made up of

the USA, Canada and Mexico, it has a common external tariff on all goods coming into the area, whilst also allowing the free movement of capital and labour between states. This is in comparison with the EU, which allows the free movement of capital and also labour, whilst also having a common external tariff on goods entering the area. ~~This shows~~ Both examples show that economic regionalism is a highly advantageous and also the preferred method of regionalism the world over.

However, where NAFTA and the EU differ is their structure; NAFTA is strictly intergovernmental. This means that the member states agree on policies through discussion and outcomes are not ratified in the form of treaties. In contrast, the EU is both intergovernmental and supranational when it comes to economic regionalism. It is intergovernmental in the sense that the European Council decides on the strategy the EU takes in economic areas, whilst it is supranational in the sense that the Eurozone is governed by the European Central Bank as a supranational body, rather than through intergovernmental agreements.

The African Union is another example of where regionalism has occurred in the globe. The main aim of the African Union is to promote democratic values and to help aid development and eradicate poverty in its member states. This is very similar to the EU, whilst the EU itself doesn't have a problem with poverty as

Africa in ~~the~~ Europe itself, Europe does recognise its 'cosmopolitan sensibilities' as liberal and social contractarian would say, as it also works in Africa to drive development and reduce poverty. For example, the EU collectively is the world's biggest donor of foreign aid, as ~~was~~ many members contribute to the OECD target of 0.7% of GNP per year to aid.

However, where they differ is the circumstances of why they were set up. The AU was set up in 1966 in order to help states gain independence and help in post-colonial development. The EU was set up in 1957 as the ECSC as a customs union, as a way to rebuild a broken post-WWII Europe ~~then~~ whilst also maintaining peace between France and Germany, whilst also acting as a capitalist buffer from the ~~the~~ Communist Soviet Union.

In conclusion, the extent to which the EU is an exportable model for regionalism elsewhere is contestable, but essentially it would be very difficult to replicate. Very few states are willing to pool sovereignty to the extent to which EU states have, especially in economic affairs. Second, it is a unique example of where supranationalism and intergovernmentalism work alongside each other, which again would be difficult to replicate. Finally, the circumstances in which it was set up are highly irregular, and one unlikely to be seen again in an age of relative peace and stability.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

Question 8

Several candidates appeared happy to discuss the European Union (EU) but less able to discuss other regional bodies which is central to this question. Stronger responses were able to discuss a range of other regional bodies. This candidate is able to do so and benefits from doing so.

AO1 11

AO2 10

AO3 7

Syn 10



ResultsPlus

Examiner Tip

Plans can range from a few lines, which surely provides a useful focus for the response, to several pages of detailed notes which often seems to reduce the time significantly for the actual response.

Paper Summary

Based on their performance on this paper, candidates are offered the following advice:

- Ensure a focus on the exact wording of the questions.
- Try to provide a clear structure to responses.
- Try to provide definitions and/or an early indication of where the response will be directed.
- Provide examples where possible and try to make them relevant and contemporary.
- Ensure that, with the longer responses, all assessment objectives are covered.
- Make use of the Further Guidance for Route D document
- Make use of the Threshold Indicators used in the Mark Schemes.

Grade Boundaries

Grade boundaries for this, and all other papers, can be found on the website on this link:

<http://www.edexcel.com/iwantto/Pages/grade-boundaries.aspx>

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