

Examiners' Report
January 2013

GCE Government & Politics 6GP03 3D

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Introduction

It was evident, once again, that a good proportion of candidates had been well prepared for this examination. Subject knowledge was strong and there was, for the most part, a pleasing focus on the wording of the questions. The most popular short response question was the question on bipolarity whilst the most popular long response question was on the USA as hegemon. The least popular short response question was on EU enlargement whilst the least popular long response question was on globalisation and monoculture.

The advice from the last examination in the summer of 2012 remains valid. As usual, there were a few key differentiators between candidates' responses. The key to success in responding to the longer response questions set is to recognise that four different marks are being awarded for each answer. Whilst Assessment Objective 1 (A01) - knowledge - may help a candidate to achieve 12 of the available 45 marks, there are still 33 marks available for A02, synopticity and A03. A large proportion of candidates score well in A01 because they provide detailed and developed knowledge and understanding with relevant and accurate work but they can fail to attain the marks that are available elsewhere. The intellectual skills required to perform at the highest level in A02 revolve around the ability to provide analysis, evaluation and parallels or connections. This can be a challenge for those candidates who rely primarily on production of learnt fact and knowledge. Synopticity, where candidates are expected to provide an awareness of competing viewpoints or perspectives, can be a weak area for some. The longer questions are designed for debate and discussion of alternative viewpoints. A03 can also be an issue for some candidates. There is a need to bring all of the earlier A0 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 focused 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 pleasing to note that teachers and candidates are making good use of recently developed resources. It was also good to see the use of contemporary examples which suggests that candidates find this subject particularly interesting and that they and teachers are keeping up-to-date with developments across all areas of the specification.

Question 1

This was the most popular of the short response questions and acted as a great discriminator. As expected, the focus was on discussion of the Cold War period and the era of the superpowers. It was pleasing to note that stronger responses were able to introduce Realist and Liberal perspectives. These answers also made reference to proxy wars, the Cuban Missile Crisis and to Mutual Assured Destruction as well as drawing brief comparisons with other polar systems.

Chosen Question Number:

Question 1

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Bipolarity is the existence of an international system in which there are two centres of power, or 'poles.' These are predominant states who will each exercise absolute superiority in their ideological or geographical bloc in terms of military, economic and cultural power. The classic example of this is the Cold War, in which the USA and the USSR were the world's foremost powers; so much so that in 1944, Fox coined them superpowers. Each was economically supreme, dominated a military alliance (NATO and the Warsaw Pact) and maintained the nuclear capability to ensure Mutually Assured Destruction. This secured even equality between the two. The two key views regarding peace and order are realist and liberal.

Realists such as Morgenthau and Waltz believe that bipolarity leads to peace and security within the global system. Thomas Hobbes stated that the primary inclination for man is "power after power," later stating that the only limitation on power is power itself. In this neorealist

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

sense, bipolarity leads to equal distribution of power so that no actor can dominate. Furthermore, defensive realists such as ~~Mearsheimer~~ (2001) Mastanduno (1990) believe that states are primarily concerned with security; hence with another powerful actor existent, states would be unwilling to compromise security. Additionally offensive realists such as Mearsheimer (2001) believe that states are concerned with power acquisition. In a similar manner, with an equally powerful rival, they are less likely to achieve this through aggression. Finally, realists would cite predictability as another factor; there is less chance of miscalculation. This is evidenced in Sun Tzu's proverb of "better the devil you know."

Liberals on the other hand would cite bipolarity as a time of aggression and insecurity. Firstly, the very nature of two opposing ideological/military blocs goes against the nature of liberal cooperation and harmony. A liberal would thus see the October 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis as the closest the world has come to nuclear war, rather than an example of peaceful negotiation. Liberals such as Katz would see this as unnecessary brinkmanship. In addition, liberals might cite the numerous skirmishes and wars by proxy as examples of how bipolarity yields instability whilst the Cold War did not herald a highly superpower conflict, multiple bloody wars were

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

thought during this period, such as Hungary (1956), Afghanistan (1979) and Vietnam (1955-1975). In this sense, it is certainly not a guarantee of peace. Finally, bipolarity lacks the overall governance needed to ensure peace, as expressed by Locke and Hobbes in "social contract theory." There are no checks on the power of the poles.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

This is a pleasing answer which offers a clear definition and use of the most obvious example, the Cold War. A range of theorists are included as is a Realist and Liberal perspective.

This answer was awarded 15 marks.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Tip

Most questions require a short definition and benefit from an indication as to the respondent's line of thought.

Whilst weaker than the previous response this does still have a number of key strengths. The understanding of the key term and use of examples is good. The answer was awarded 14 marks.

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

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

Chosen Question Number:

Question 1 Question 2 Question 3
Question 4 Question 5

Bipolarity is a state in international relations whereby there are two opposing superpowers, or two poles, in the international system. The example for such a system is the Cold War, where the US and Russia each constituted a pole in the system.

Realists like Kissinger believe bipolarity leads to stability through achieving a balance of power. This means war is avoided because there is no intention to fight. As war would have been costly and may not have led to victory for either the USSR or US, neither initiated conflict, and actively tried to avoid it. This is because the states, with their allies NATO (US) and the Warsaw Pact (USSR) could not defeat each other. Due to the fear of ~~aggravating~~ provoking a war, both poles are encouraged to act peacefully. This is because military action could provoke a response from the other side, leading to war. Peace is safeguarded through the nuclear capabilities of each side. The principles of MAD created the prospect of ending humanity through nuclear war, so both sides were encouraged to seek peace. Thus, bipolarity can be a force for stability and peace, as the lack of coherent military action between the US and USSR illustrates.

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

However, it can be argued that bipolarity actually causes instability through the threat of an arms race. As was the case in the Cold War, both sides try to expand their militaries to gain advantage over the other. Thus, it is a zero sum game - one side's advantage is to the detriment of the other. This causes resentment and suspicion as neither side is willing to make concessions for fear of benefiting the other. This is aptly demonstrated by the Cuban Missile Crisis where there was almost war because the US did not want missiles placed in Cuba because it would be to her own disadvantage while benefiting the USSR. Indeed, McNamara later said "we looked out" of nuclear war. Furthermore, instability is created through proxy wars. This is where the two poles fight each other by funding ideological groups in other countries. 20m were killed in the third world as a result of such wars in the Cold War, suggesting that it was not a stable time at all.

In conclusion, although realists believe stability is the result of bipolarity because there is little incentive for war and each pole limits the actions of the other, the reality is different. In fact, mutual suspicion and resentment could easily result in conflict, whilst the prevalence of proxy wars undermines stability.



ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

Both views of the likelihood of stability in a bipolar period are presented with examples and use of pleasing terminology.

Question 2

This was the fourth most popular of the short response questions and it produced a range in the quality of response. Stronger responses tended to provide a clear definition with a good number of controversies explained in some depth. Examples were used to support the controversy relating to Western dominance and a clash with sovereignty. There were a small number of candidates who confused the term with World Government though more able candidates suggested that there was controversy relating to whether it could be a first step towards World Government. The Realist and Liberalist perspectives, relating to the term, were also raised.

The introduction in the following answer develops a definition but it could have been a little clearer.

Chosen Question Number:

Question 1

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Global governance does exist in the form of international organisations (e.g. the IMF, the World Bank, the UN and the Nato). It is different from the world governmentⁱⁿ which the power of making laws & policies centrally lie in the supranational bodies. The world government does not exist in the present time. However, some argue that the UN is the closest form of the world government.

Global governance is criticised in many aspects, and it is the controversial issue. This is because, firstly, the global governance can be seen as the US' imperialism. The US wants to maintain its power & influence through these international organisations. For example, the US' contribution to the IMF, and the World Bank is around 16-18%, and this gives the US the voting rights which is able to block the loans given to poor nation states, if the US wants to exercise that right. The IMF, the World Bank, the Nato and the UNSC ~~is~~ are operated based on the "Washington Consensus". Therefore, the decision-making process of policies

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

in these institutions mostly based on the US' foreign policies. The invasion of Iraq in 2003 showed that the US did not care the other permanent nation states in the UNSC which threatened to veto the an illegal act of the US.

Secondly, the global governance is run for the benefits of the Western MNCs, by ignoring the need of the poor South. ^{ex} The strict condition; the Structural Adjustment Programme, is imposed to poor-South borrowers, ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~programme~~ ~~intends~~ ~~to~~ ~~make~~ ~~sure~~ ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~poor~~ ~~-~~ ~~south~~ ~~borrowers~~ ~~would~~ ~~make~~ ~~the~~ ~~repayments~~ ~~on~~ ~~time~~. However, Greece has twice missed the austerity targets, but no sanctions ~~were~~ ^{are} imposed by the IMF. The WTO has forced the poor-South to open up their domestic markets to unfair foreign ~~to~~ competition in order to allow ~~the~~ Western MNCs to have a full access to exploit the natural resources of the poor-South.

Thirdly, realists believe that global governance does not fit with their ideological model which ~~sees~~ emphasises the sovereignty of the nation-states. The erosion of national sovereignty is a sign of global dictatorship. Moreover, the left-wing critics (John Pilger, Noam Chomsky) states that global governance is another form of ~~the~~ US' hegemony.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Comments

This is a good response which covers a few areas of controversy with examples. It was awarded 15 marks.

Question 2

This response gives a good definition and has an introduction which gets to the point.

Global governance can be defined as a broad, dynamic and complex process of interactive decision making that involves formal & informal mechanisms as well as governmental and non-governmental bodies. Global governance has been seen as a controversial issue partly because of its lack of supranational authority. Because ~~it operates as~~ ^{one of its} key features is intergovernmentalism, states still retain their sovereignty and so are able to disagree with other states and can choose not to follow international law or norms. For example, the UN prepared an intervention in Syria in 2012, however, both the China and the Russia used their veto in order to block the resolution. Many agree, the lack of authority found in some institutions means atrocities such as human rights abuses in Syria are able to continue despite the majority of states.

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

agreeing on intervention,

Furthermore, global ~~governance~~ governance has often been accused as not being truly 'global', while many states ~~are~~ such as ~~the~~ Saudi Arabia, Russia and China join institutions such as the WTO, the integration of rules and norms are on different levels. For example, while Saudi Arabia may have joined the WTO, they have not even written human rights into their constitution and some argue this is unacceptable as global governance should ensure states are on the same level and not simply a member for benefits.

Another reason why global governance is controversial is because of the domination of countries in the global north such as the US. Many argue global governance is not reflective of other nations such as developing countries and so is dominated by the north and which some see as unfair. For example, the IMF and WTO can be used as an example as to ^{how} ~~why~~ global governance is controversial. In the IMF, an 85% majority is needed to ensure agreement is made and implemented. However

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

because the USA has an 17% share vote in the IMF, it can effectively cancel out agreements made by other states. Many argue, these institutions of global governance are a reflection of US ideas and the fact that both the IMF & World Bank are based in Washington gives rise to the criticism of global governance as not truly a reflection of the wider world.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Comments

This response has a number of pleasing arguments which are supported with examples to strengthen the response further, it was awarded 14 marks.

Question 3

This was the second most popular short response question but a number of candidates seemed to miss the central demand of the question which was to identify purposes of the United Nations. There were too many descriptions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly and arguments relating to the operation of the United Nations generally. There were a few explanations of United Nations operations which stumbled into relevance. Better responses tackled peace and security, human rights, forum for debate and diplomacy, economic and social agencies, international law etc with some excellent recent examples.

This script has a pleasing introduction which provides a brief background and introduces the key purpose of the United Nations.

Chosen Question Number:

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Question 5

The UN was set up in 1945, as successor of the failed League of Nations. The UN was established in order to maintain peace and security on the global stage, between global actors and within their states. The UN has many key purposes, and as a result of these, has been able to in some cases, successfully achieve their goals.

One of the key purposes of the UN, is to promote and maintain peace in countries that are chaotic or are in conflict with other nations. The UN does this through the use of UN peacekeepers, who are employed in many millions over the world, a current example being Libya^{in 2011}, whereby the UN were ~~are~~ trying to maintain peace between civilians and the state, and this was also the case in Kosovo in 2011. There are currently 100,000 peacekeepers in missions around the globe, and between 1948 and 2007, there were

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

61 missions, all with a aim to promote and maintain peace.

Another purpose of the UN, is to protect civilians in nation states with corrupted political systems, and ^{prevent} governments who abuse the Human rights of citizens from doing so. The UN have adopted the slogan 'R2P' (Responsibility to protect), in order to fulfil this purpose. In 2011, it provided protection for civilians in Libya against Gaddafi's regime, and in recent years has established ^{and called on} democratic elections in Mozambique and Bosnia, thus promoting ~~and~~ the political opinion and voice of citizens, and protecting them from harsh treatment, as a result of stating their opinion.

A further purpose of the UN, is to try and settle ~~pea~~ conflicts between conflicting countries, through negotiation. This is carried out by the General Secretary or ~~his~~. This happened when it was the case in 2004, when former UN Secretary general Kofi Annan urged Ethiopia and Eritrea, to settle their border disputes in a calm and collected fashion, which led to ~~an~~ ^{the} establishment of peace between both states.

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

Lastly, the UN through the General Assembly, aim to listen to the opinions of member states from across the globe, so that all states on the world stage can work together in order to sufficiently provide the best means in situations that require a united grouping in nations, in terms of agreements. For example, in recent years, the leaders of all member states of the UN have been able to discuss issues such as the environment and ways to prevent serious pollution on a large scale, in order to sustain the planet.

The UN's can be said to be an efficient and effective body, as it has secured peace on the world stage, with many arguing that it has potentially prevented WWII. However, many argue that the UN still has a long way to go, in terms of setting peace, as there are still many on going conflicts occurring, e.g. in Iraq.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Comments

There are a decent number of purposes identified and discussed with examples. The answer was awarded 15 marks.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Tip

Try to provide examples to support assertions made.

Question 3

Unlike a number of other responses, this answer attempts to remain relevant throughout.

The United Nations was established in 1945 and is an IGO designed to bring some form of global governance in an anarchic world. It ~~has 193~~ ^{is} ~~now~~ ^{recognises} 193 sovereign nation states and its key function is to promote peace and security among those members.

The UN provides a forum for multilateral talks and cooperation between states. It is a liberal attempt to promote reason and morality across the globe with other UNOs. The Security Council is at the heart of the IGO and they discuss the real issues of the time and can also pass resolutions to try to tackle them. For example they passed a resolution to allow limited humanitarian intervention in Libya in the form of a 'no fly zone' in 2011.

Peacekeeping missions symbolise the UN's attempt at securing the peace and security. They have also developed the concept of 'intra peacekeeping' where they enforce a peace deal and help working relations among as well as peace building. To

You should start the answer to Section B on page 13

Peace building involves promoting democratic values in the country, they try to push liberal values into the country by holding elections and developing a constitution in the hope that the country will become more stable under such conditions. Peacekeeping missions of the UN have been pursued in the Democratic Republic of Congo, so name just one.

Furthermore the UN also aims to pursue international justice. It does this via the International Court of Justice which settles disputes between member states. It also developed the ICJ following the Rwandan Genocide into the ICC, which is able to bring individuals accused of war crimes and crimes against humanity into the sphere of the international community. The function of the UN is very important as it sends a message to dictators (such as the Libyan President) that they can not act with impunity.

The UN is needed as an IGO with global reach is necessary so that nation states can appeal to them for support when necessary but the UN also steps in to support innocent civilians when the leaders of the nation state are abusing their position. This occurs via humanitarian intervention which has recently been developed from the concept and also by enforcing Human Rights. It has recently evolved by ^{updating} the Commission to a Council and granting it more powers to judge its role.

You should start the answer to Section B on page 13

In conclusion, its primary purpose of bringing peace and security to an umbrella for its many functions. It is important in many respects and gives a sense of order in an anarchic world. It upholds its charter and even develops it in order to adapt its purpose to changing circumstances (e.g. P1 from (h?)). It provides the opportunity for Nation States to come together for discussion and collective action even when they may be ideologically opposed because their sovereign interests granted by the UN treat them all as equal on the international stage.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Comments

A focus on the demands of the question ensured that this response gained 14 marks.

Question 4

There have been questions relating to this specification area on previous examination papers and many candidates apply theory to numerous other questions. Consequently, there was a pleasing knowledge in most responses and a number of very strong responses were in evidence. This question was also a good discriminator.

Most candidates were comfortable in discussions of human nature and also the likelihood of war and conflict. A much smaller number of candidates were able to discuss a more general cooperation and likelihood of world government. Only a small number of candidates discussed disagreements relating to polar systems and the implications for stability of different polar systems according to each theory. It was particularly pleasing to note those candidates who were both able to provide examples, and use theorists, in their responses.

This response has a very pleasing introduction which suggests strongly that a confident and well informed response is about to follow. This candidate appears to know exactly what is required of them and they make clear the areas that they intend developing further in their introduction.

Question 1

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Realism and Liberalism are ~~portray~~ ^{often} portrayed as antithetical theories of international relations. The one emphasizing egoism, power and conflict, the other, the prospect of morality, peace and cooperation. Whilst the neo-neo debate has helped lessen these differences, the foundations of these theories have significant disparities concerning human nature, the structure of the international system, and the tendency towards war and peace.

Firstly, realists and liberals differ in their portrayals of human nature. From the realist view, as Machiavelli asserted, humans are 'malignant, iniquitous, violent and savage.' In this view all humans are self-seeking and primarily motivated by a quest for power, reflected in the principle of egoism. Thus individual egoism gives way to state egoism meaning international relations is characterized by basic non-rational ~~and~~ desires, fears, aversions and aspirations. To this ~~end,~~ ^{end,} humans and states alike exist in a 'state of nature' in which life is 'nasty, brutish and short' as Hobbes recognized. In contrast, whilst Liberals agree to an extent

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

that humans are motivated by a self-interest, they generally take a more favourable view of human nature. Thus humans are capable of rational thinking and personal self development, this giving way to the prospect of 'perpetual peace' as Kant theorised. Therefore, it is governments not humans that cause war and conflict, with human nature firmly grounded in a common sense of morality and justice.

Furthermore, realists and liberals disagree on the best distribution of power in order to ensure stability in peace in the international system. Realists argue that peace is only ever a temporary condition, created by the emergence of a 'balance of power.' In this view, bipolarity, in which there are two key power poles, creates the most stable conditions as states are preoccupied with consolidating their own relative gains within their respective spheres of influence. Such a system is evidenced in the so-called 'balance of terror' during the Cold War in which mutually Assured Destruction ensured conflict never came to fruition. Liberals on the other hand argue that the balance of power simply legitimizes and embeds power politics, therefore resulting in inherent instability. Instead, they believe that multipolarity in which there is a more even distribution of power is likely to bring peace as it promotes multilateralism and increased cooperation. In such a view, the current balance between the US and the BRIC nations is inherently stable as there is greater cooperation between states and

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

war is too costly to be made drinkable.

Finally, realists and liberals disagree on the impact of international organizations. Realists are sceptical about the effectiveness and authority of such bodies, arguing that inherent tendencies towards power seeking limit the scope for cooperation that would make IOs meaningful and successful bodies. They associate IOs with hegemony in that only such a superior power can tolerate the relative gains of other states whilst making its own absolute gains. In contrast liberals have an optimistic view of IOs, viewing them as ~~an~~ ^{examples} of the extent of global interdependence and believing states cooperate because it is in their interests to do so. Moreover, they dispute ideas associated with hegemony, arguing that the attempt to foster trust and rule governed behaviour through IOs pertains to all states alike.



ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

A full range of areas of disagreement are raised, explained and evaluated in what is a pleasing response. It was awarded 14 marks.



ResultsPlus Examiner Tip

This candidate has learnt a great deal of fact and theory, they write well and they remain relevant throughout. Do the same and you will be well rewarded.

Another good introduction which makes clear a number of areas which are to be discussed in the main body of the response.

Chosen Question Number:

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Liberalism, also known as idealism, is the ^{optimistic} theory of human nature, which states that humans are rational, moral and peace-seeking creatures. Whereas, realism, championed by theorists such as Machiavelli and Hobbes, state that humans are inherently irrational, self-interested and selfish creatures. The key disagreements between realism and liberalism are their views on human nature, the importance of the state and the nature of the international system itself.

First Firstly, liberals believe that human nature is defined by an inherently moral, ethical and ~~irrational~~ characteristics. This is due to the fact that liberals believe in absolute gain and the ability for humans to interact rationally with one another, in order to all benefit from a certain

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

opportunity. For example, globalisation and the rise of international and transnational organisations are seen as evidence by liberals, such as Fukuyama, that state recognize that collective dilemma are best tackled collectively, through 'complex interdependence'. Whereas, realists argue that

humans are irrational, self-interested and selfish, because of their wishes to ~~re-
acquire~~ acquire relative gains. For example, This is due to the fact that state are more interested in helping themselves, if others do not benefit, then helping themselves and everyone else. For example, the rise of transnational organizations can be interpreted as Americanization, because the UN and WTO promote democracy and capitalism, which all benefit America.

In addition, liberals argue that the role of the state in providing stability and security has been diminished, because of the rise of international, intergovernmental and supranational bodies. For example, the European Union is an intergovernmental body that imposes on the UK's sovereignty ~~as a ~~territor~~ dome~~ in judicial policies,

due to its ability to shape UK laws, ~~without UK consent~~ which the UK must follow, therefore suggesting the state is no longer important in maintaining security, because it is unable to keep its borders from foreign influences. Conversely, realists argue that the role of the state has always been important and will always be important, due to the fact that the state is the only body that has legitimate territorial rule. This is due to the Peace of Westphalia Treaty and the fact

that the state is democratically legitimate to enforce its borders, as stated by realists such as Bobbit.

Furthermore, liberals believe that the nature of the international system is based on co-operation and peace, due to the fact that liberals such as Wylie believe in the 'web of complex interdependence', which suggests that the international system is peaceful, because states are prone to working with each other, instead of against each other. Whereas, realists argue that the international system is prone to violence and conflict, because of the 'billiard ball model' that states that states are always colliding with each other. (Total for Question = 15 marks)



ResultsPlus
Examiner Comments

This is a confident and well directed response which clearly covers the requirements of the question and is deserving of 15 marks.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Tip

Remain relevant and focused on the question, as this candidate is.

Question 5

This was the least popular of the short response questions and it provided a wide range in the quality of response. The weaker responses tended to drift away from a focus on the specific question and some became simply anti EU responses centred on the weakening of UK sovereignty and immigration, although discussion of immigration was of course a relevant area to explore. Weaker responses appeared not to understand the relevance of the 2004 date in the title. Stronger responses explained the events of 2004 and 2007 and then the associated problems. The most common areas for discussion were the economic differences and immigration. A few candidates were able to discuss decision making difficulties and the wider 'widening versus deepening' debate.

There was pleasing contemporary knowledge from many candidates which was sometimes applied relevantly.

The introduction makes clear that the candidate knows which direction this response should be going in.

Chosen Question Number:

Question 1

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Enlargement of the EU in 2004 and 2007 in some ways is the crowning triumph of the EU in that it underpins and to some extent completes the ^{politico-}economic transformation of central and Eastern Europe. These enlargements saw the total number of member states rise to 27, and notably included former soviet satellite states such as Poland and Hungary, marking a triumph for Europe-wide liberal democracy. However, such enlargement has been problematic in terms of decision making, economic disparities and the course of European integration as a whole.

Firstly, EU enlargement has been problematic in that it shifted the division between unity and diversity within the EU firms in favour of diversity. If decision-making had previously been made by a small number of relatively powerful states - France, Germany and to some extent the UK, then the prospect of effective decision making and coherent thinking within the EU may have been lost forever. As such, attempts to streamline the organisation by

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

the creation of a EU constitution in 2004 failed, only to be replaced by the weaker substitute of the 2009 Lisbon Treaty. The proposed expansion of QMV underlines the recognised difficulties in decision making, with plans for QMV to be based on consensus between 55% of states accounting for 65% of the EU population. Recent tension over the 2014 budget is further evidence of the increased difficulty of reaching unanimity amongst a much wider range of states.

Further economic disparities between the EU-15 and EU-10 ^{were particularly} problematic in that they created tensions amongst the former Member States. Increasingly, the need to develop the economies of the new member states placed financial strains upon the more prosperous original members, who, between 2004-7, released 40.8 billion euros for the ~~the~~ development of new Member states. Moreover, this was significantly linked to the free movement of people, a necessary condition to cope with growth disparities, as it threatened important national, political and cultural values. Thus it was seen that states such as Belgium imposed restrictions on immigration from the 8 former Soviet states, whilst in Britain, significant anti-Eastern European sentiment developed as shown in the rise of nationalist parties such as Europe UKIP.

Finally, the EU enlargement was problematic as it ~~was not~~ ^{provoked} difficulties concerning the expansion of EU's

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

the single currency in light of the eurozone crisis. Whilst ~~initially~~ ^{in 2004 this was} ~~unproblematic~~, the sprawling deficits following the 2007-09 crisis, in countries such as Greece democratic deficit. ~~Central~~ ^{Central} bodies including the EU Commission continue to lack accountability to the EU citizens and this problem has been exacerbated by 2004 expansion as accountability must now include a wider and more diverse range of political loyalties and opinions. As such, ~~the~~ ^{Herman} Van Rompuy, president of the ~~commission~~ ^{Council}, and Barroso, president of the commission, have been criticized for their distance from the people. Thus EU citizenship has become less obtainable, and ~~the~~ EU federalism is threatened as new member states must assimilate themselves to a European identity.

Moreover, the single currency is threatened by a larger number of states as regulation is laxer in that it is more difficult to monitor the various banks across the expanded eurozone. This has been shown in plans to implement a ~~EU~~ bank monitor led by the ECB to ~~survey~~ ^{conduct} survey the 200 most powerful banks in the Eurozone. Tax regulation formerly allowed smaller states, rather than becoming more competitive, to act as a shelter to Greece and others, to use low interest rates to fuel asset bubbles without reforming their economies and this prospect is worsened by more disparate economies of Eastern Europe.

(Total for Question = 15 marks)



ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

In this response a range of factors are identified and discussed with supporting knowledge in evidence. This is a very strong short response which was awarded 15 marks.

This is another of the stronger responses.

Indicate your third question choice on this page.

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

Chosen Question Number:

Question 1

Question 2

Question 3

Question 4

Question 5

The EU has had ~~2~~ ^{two} enlargements since 2004. The first in 2004 added 10 new member, and in 2007 two new ~~been~~ member. These ~~to~~ new members since 2004 have been mostly eastern European states. This has caused some problem for the EU.

The new member states have reduced the average wealth of the EU, this has had some knock on effects. Because the new members are less wealthy they can't contribute as much money to the budget. This has led to disagreement over the budget and how it's divided. In 2012 the UK refused to pay the budget because it was too large. There has also been disagreement over how CAP and Regional aid is distributed. The ~~new~~ new members have meant that the original members like France and Germany received

You should start the answer to Section B on page 13

less CAP afterwards, this caused some disagreement. The new enlargement has also caused immigration problems as immigration from eastern Europe to ~~west~~ western Europe has again caused arguments within the EU.

The enlargement has caused problems for further integration, as it is harder to ~~deeper~~ widen and deepen. ~~Thus~~ These problems over integration have led to variable geometry or 'two speed Europe' where different states integrate at different rates. This could lead to a fracturing of the union.

The difficulty over further integration has also led to dispute over the future direction of the EU, whether to deepen or to widen.

With countries like France and Germany pushing for further integration, but other states like the UK and many of the new members not wanting to integrate further.

The increased size has also made decision making weaker, as due to the veto there is often political deadlock due to ~~s~~ many ~~of~~ states now having veto power. Also

there are greater divides within the EU over big issues, such as the Iraq ~~war~~ war when two ~~clear~~ clear groups within the EU were ~~formed~~ formed, 'Old Europe'

You should start the answer to Section B on page 13

and 'New Europe'.

There have also been further disputes within the EU over the number of commissioners there are, how many MEP's each state has and how many votes in QMV each state has.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

A wide range of factors is identified from budgetary issues through decision making, CAP and Regional Aid distribution to immigration and the general problems of variable geometry in a multi speed EU. The answer was awarded 15 marks.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Tip

Remain relevant and keep relating the response back to the question asked.

Question 6

This was the second most popular of the longer response questions. For many candidates it was probably a poor selection. There were very few attempts at a definition of 'global actor' or an explanation of global significance/influence or initial criteria for consideration. Those candidates who did supply definitions, tended also to set a criterion for assessing whether the EU is a major global actor and then debated the extent to which the EU meets this criterion. The majority of candidates were able to debate the significance of the economic strength of the EU and inevitably came to the conclusion that the sheer size of the EU in economic, trade and financial terms makes it a key economic global actor. WTO membership and the single currency were used to support this view. Counter arguments focused on economic disharmony, partly related to the events of 2004 and 2007. Stronger candidates also discussed the structural power of the EU with reference to membership of bodies such as the WTO, G7 and G20. They discussed diplomatic influence, soft power and the issue of global climate change in which the EU has played a central role. The appointments of Herman von Rompuy and Cathy Ashton were used to support this view.

Counter arguments tended to focus on the desire of member states to retain control of their own foreign and defence policies. The lack of a significant military arm with ability to project power within Europe and beyond was also cited, with specific examples such as the EU's weakness in the 1990s in relation to atrocities in former-Yugoslavia, and political divisions such as those over the Iraq war. The lack of nuclear weapons and lack of a Security Council role were raised by many candidates.

This response has a slow start but does raise the key argument at the close of the introductory paragraph.

Chosen Question Number:

Question 6 Question 7 Question 8

The European Union, or E.U., has risen recently ~~and~~ as an organisation of European states, as part of a global trend of regionalism. The E.U. has actually been a unique phenomenon in terms of regional organisations, as it combines intergovernmental (Council of Ministers, European Council) and supranational (Parliament, the Commission and the European Court of Justice (ECJ)) bodies, suggesting deeper ~~organisation~~ ~~than~~ integration than usual. However, it continues to be suggested that the E.U. "lacks global significance and influence".

The first argument for this is the fact that despite high levels of integration, the EU is in itself divided. National vetoes are preserved in the European Council, and for important issues (such as foreign policy) in the Council of Ministers. David Cameron ~~has~~ has used this

in the past. The EU is ~~not~~ additionally divided on accounts of differing values - the common law, monarchy and *de facto* state religion of the UK is opposed to the Roman law and Liberal Republics of the rest of Europe. This has been exacerbated by the entry of Eastern European former-Soviet countries in the 2004 expansion. Furthermore, a ~~strong~~ strong desire to retain national sovereignty has meant a common security and foreign policy will be difficult to implement.

However, countries of the EU do have many shared values, such as the fact that the EU was formed from specific historical factors (i.e. ~~the~~ WWII).

Additionally, supranational elements of the EU, such as the Commission (which introduces legislation and reprimands dissenting members), mean the EU is a significant actor in its own right. According to neo-functionalists, integration is

driven by the regional organisations themselves through 'positive spillover', and although integration has recently slowed down, the E.U. can act independently from its members. Thus,

we can see from this that the E.U., possibly with an 'ever closer union' (Treaty of Rome, 1957), does have the potential to have influence across the world - 'fortress regionalism' described by Realists examines the E.U.'s tariffs, meaning it does have a degree of influence in its own right.

However, in terms of the actual power it has, this can be contested. The U.S.A. remains to be the global power, and it certainly has a great deal of structural power in the Bretton Woods organisations and the U.N. These aforesaid organisations are also driven by states. Except for the IMF, they abide by rules of 'one country, one vote'.

The permanent five veto members of the U.N. Security Council (three of which are E.U. members) are the dominant structural powers. Thus, in a manner of speaking, the E.U. still has a long way to go in terms of ~~the~~ actual influence.

However, on account of its status as one of the most complexly integrated regional organisations, the E.U. is

~~one~~ the only non-state to have a seat in the UN. General

Assembly - the so-called 'Parliament of ~~the~~ Nations', and membership of the W.T.O.

This gives it significant structural power.

Additionally, it has economic influence - the Euro is the world's second currency, the E.U. is a huge trade bloc, and the E.U.'s combined G.D.P. is \$17 tn.

~~This~~ This means that the E.U. has also some significance in terms of sheer capability.

Also, the E.U. has a great deal of diplomatic/relational power. As well as being on the UN. General Assembly, it is involved with talks with Iran concerning nuclear proliferation (the U.S.A. must even deal with Iran through the E.U.), and is involved in peace missions in Africa, which gives the E.U. significant soft power. Thus, the E.U. has some significance and influence ~~globally~~ globally, with its large economic power, structural power, and soft power, despite its distinct lack of a unified military force (as shown in Kosovo in 1999).

However, we must finally examine the significance of the E.U. as an idea. The deeply integrated E.U. is unique among regional organisations, due to its parliament and supra-

national nature. However, its integration does seem to be slowing down, due in part to nationalist backlashes. The 2007-09 economic crisis ^{and its repercussions} has also exposed divisions within the E.U. due to Germany's bailout of Greece. The E.U.'s deep integration and evolution is due to specific historical factors, and seems to have slowed down (the Constitution was rejected in 2005). This shows that the E.U. does not have the capacity to influence regional organisations, and is not part of a growing trend in regionalism - indeed, there is conflict between North and South America in the OAS.

However, the E.U.'s uniqueness can be seen as significant, as it is the ~~only~~ only regional organisation ~~that~~ that is as deeply integrated as it is, and its ideas seem to have some currency. The African Union ~~is~~ has ambitions to create an 'all-African Parliament', emulating the E.U. Constructivists see the value in ideas, and the European ideal could gain popularity among regional organisations, especially as some parts of the world have

become increasingly anti-American and anti-globalisation (such as the Middle East; the E.U. has resisted globalisation through tariffs). Therefore, the E.U. could be the future for world peace, as it promotes co-operation.

In conclusion, despite problems of division and influence, the E.U. has significance through its structural, economic and soft power.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

There are a wide collection of arguments on both sides of the debate which helps to lift the mark total for this response to 40. On one side of the argument can be found a reference to the continued veto in the Council of Ministers, integration issues with expansion, sovereignty issues, perceived relative lack of structural power and negative responses to the 2007 global economic downturn. In response to this is a reference to supranationalism spreading in decision making, economic power and the Euro, and diplomatic or soft power. There are a few signs that this candidate may have been hoping for a question linked to regionalism but this answer is still strong enough to reach above the line of a Level 3 response.

Question 7

This was easily the most popular long response question. Most candidates were well prepared to provide at least a Level 2 response although there were few definitions or explanations of the term hegemon - leading or paramount power. Better responses made a judgement across a range of criteria including military, economic and cultural. These stronger responses also tended to provide a brief historic background to cover the term 'remain'. Military power was covered well by the majority including military spending and technology and global reach. There were a few excellent responses which provided counter arguments discussing hard power failings in Afghanistan etc and soft power weakening due to factors such as Guantanamo Bay and extraordinary rendition. Where covered, structural power focused on the central role played by the US in most major international organisations, whether political or economic. This was countered by failure to resolve economic crisis, Iranian and N Korean nuclear weapons, Russia in Georgia etc with structural power. Economic discussion inevitably involved the rise of the BRIC states, particularly China and the global financial crisis was used to imply that the economic model of the US had failed. It was pleasing to note so many candidates using current data and examples in support of arguments alongside reference to political commentators.

This is a well balanced response which covers economic, military, cultural, soft power and other indicators.

Question 6 ✕ Question 7 ✕ Question 8 ✕

In 1991, Peregrine Worsthorne described the USA as a "hyperpower," with reference to its complete dominance of world affairs with the removal of the USSR as a viable superpower. A hegemon is a state that exerts influence or control over a particular sphere; in 2009, Nye identified these as ~~political, military and~~ "economic, military and cultural." If Worsthorne's assertion is still true, the USA will be a global hegemon in these three aspects indeed this is often seen with its military power, economic primacy and extensive cultural influence. On the other hand, many would indicate that its military power has largely become superfluous, its economy now dwindles, and its culture has become anathema.

In terms of military power, the USA remains uncontestably the world's most eminent force. German (1960) stated that military power is the most common

indication of a state's capability, and in this sense the USA is highly capable. It currently maintains 40% of global expenditure of military resources; enough to outrank the next twenty countries combined. In this sense, it far

eclipses any other state, giving it a near total domination. It is often relied on for UN directives, as seen with the 1991 Gulf War where it kept to its liberatory objectives effectively, or in its swift enforcement of a no-fly zone over Libya in 2011. Robert Kagan (2011) asserts that the USA is the greatest military power in history, and the only one with the ability to wage multiple wars successively and continuously. Indeed, Morgenthau (1960) states that a nation is always preparing for or recovering from war; whilst this has great effect upon war, such as the domination of the USSR by Afghanistan in 1979, the USA consistently maintains its military capability, despite excessive Trans. Militarism. At least, the USA is certainly a hegemon.

In addition, the USA is by many accounts an economic giant. Not only does its economy remain the world's largest, but the dollar is the most used currency in existence. The dollar accounts for 80% of reserve currency transactions, and is best esteemed by Friedman as the "reason for America's economic might." Whilst many see the emergence of China as a threat to this, it does not detract from the fact that the USA has staggering levels of economic output. Its \$13 trillion economy is still the largest in existence, and Wall Street. The ideological and

strategical hub of the global economy. Indeed, this also shows how central the USA is to global economic governance; within the IMF for example, its 22% vote gives it an effective veto on economic affairs. This domination is similarly seen with the World Bank whose president is always American, or even in the global tendency for neoliberalism as enshrined by the Washington Consensus. The USA still arguably contends as a world economic hegemon, with dominance in a number of areas:

Finally, the USA still wields a large cultural power. In January 2011, President Obama stated that "anyone who says we're in decline does not know what they're talking about." This indicates the common perception of America as a global actor. In addition, American brands and companies permeate the global market like no others. For example, McDonald's has 30,000 outlets in 119 countries (including Iraq) and is often identified as the symbol of American cultural permeation. Also, Marxists such as Oake (1966) recognise the global culture as a "commodity fetishism," that emanates from the USA, the progenitor of consumer capitalism. In 2008, Baylis and Smith stated "there is an overriding global culture, even if it emanates from Hollywood." Wherever it is in terms of academic aspiration, where

American universities constitute 18 of the top 20 institutions (ARWU), or in terms of films where 8 of the top ten highest grossing are American, the USA reinforces a definite cultural hegemony.

On the other hand, it could be argued that US military power is certainly not what it once was. Whilst its spending is huge, many would see this as wasted money, as it is superfluous. Doyle (1986) claimed that in a world of democracies (65% of all states), military power is obsolete. Instead, Nye (2004) asserts that soft power is more important. Furthermore, in 2001, George W. Bush called for a need for a "sharpened sword;" yet with over 30,000 casualties suffered in Iraq alone, it could be said that American military power is ineffective. This is embellished in its failure to bring stability to Afghanistan, or indeed its failure to protect itself in September 2001. The 'War on terror' has been just as ~~vague~~^{vague} as the name suggests, and is hamstrung by a failure to adapt to 'new warfare,' with focus on peacebuilding (Boutros-Ghali, Agenda for Peace 1994). The USA's military capacity may be unparalleled, but it is also ineffective.

Furthermore, the USA is certainly less hegemonic in economic terms. Nye (2004) stated

that "power in the 21st century will be decided by economic growth." In this sense, the USA is certainly inferior to China; since 1990, China's economy has grown by 650%, compared to the USA's at just 56%. Furthermore, the 2008 financial crisis led not only to a worldwide recession emanating from America, but also a global stigmatisation against its hegemony. Strange (1980) claimed that it promoted "casino capitalism," a sentiment now echoed globally. This is reflected in the 2009 creation of the intergovernmental FSB to supersede the USA-led IMF on financial security. Finally, with the resurgence of BRIC economies, by 2050 the USA is predicted to be just the 4th largest global economy. Hence its economy hegemony is coming to an end.

Finally, the USA's cultural significance is also debatable. In 2011, Chris Patton satirised the 'McDonalds' globalisation, as "gross and decadent." This is indicative of a worldwide resurgence of anti-American sentiment, described by Stiglitz (2002) as the "Americanisation of the world." Particularly in the Middle East, the norms and customs of the USA are seen as anathema, and at the very least have been decried. This certainly inhibits Nye (2004)'s idea of a "cultural hegemon for the 21st century." Especially after the "casino capitalism" of 2008, the

USA's consumerist tendencies have been criticised hugely. Marxist in particular call this "commodity fetishism" a "basic influence" (Oake 1960). In this sense, the USA is not as culturally agreeable as it once was.

To conclude, it is apparent that the USA is no longer an unparalleled hegemon, nor is it a "hyperpower." Yet whilst all of its capacities have been questioned, it is evidently still of great significance. Militarily, it is undoubtedly a hegemon. Economically, until at least 2025 it will be the world's largest economy. ~~And~~ Culturally, whether desirable or not, its culture is more prevalent than any other nation. In all of Lye's criteria, therefore, the USA remains a hegemon. What is desirable however, is how soon this will cease to be true; this will certainly not be a matter of decades.



ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

The response is well balanced with two convincing opinions. Political commentators/theorists are used effectively and there are very useful examples scattered throughout.

The answer was awarded 45 marks.



ResultsPlus Examiner Tip

It is always pleasing to note a response laden with examples and backed up with quotes/theories from commentators.

A further strong response which begins well with a pleasing introduction.

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

A global hegemon is a state within the international system that possesses military, economic ~~and~~ and structural power which is far superior than any other nation in the global system. Gramsci states that the leadership of the hegemon is based on ideological domination of the international system. However, since the end of the cold war there has been considerable debate concerning the distribution of global power, with ~~multipolar or bipolar~~ multipolarity and bipolarity, also being possible explanations. States such as Brazil, India, ~~and~~ China and Russia could all be said to challenge this idea of ~~Russian~~ American hegemony with growing military and economic resources. For instance, the IMF predicted the Russian economy would ~~be~~ grow by 168% between 2007-2013 while China's structural influence within the world is, also growing.

Firstly, it is clear that the USA is a global hegemon because of its economic resilience to any possible challenge from ~~China~~ India or China, especially. Despite the Chinese economy growing at over double the rate of the USA*, its American economy remains far superior, accountable for 40% of global spending on research and development which is an unassailable lead over the Chinese economy. In spite of this, even if China's economy did exceed the USA's economy this does not necessarily

make it the automatic global hegemon. Global power relies not just on power as capability, but also the less tangible features of power, e.g. - structural power. So, once the USA's economy exceeded Britain's economy in the 1890's due to its substantially large internal markets, many would say it did not become the global hegemon until after WWII when it did possess unchallengeable political power. In terms of its superior economy, it remains dominant over China because the Chinese economy continues to rely heavily on a cheap supply of labour. It has not made that jump to a more technologised economy, as the USA has - maintaining its global hegemon status.

Secondly, the structural influence that the USA is able to exert is heavily disproportionate to ~~any~~, making China's growth in power ~~of~~ over the IMF, WTO and world bank completely insignificant. In order to be a global hegemon, the state must possess hard and soft power resources. The USA has shown this by accounting for 46% of military expenditure in 2006, possessing approximately 700 military bases across the globe. It is narrow, of course, to say that there are not other powerful states with powerful military resources, as Russia do. However, ~~not~~ much of its equipment dates back to the cold war period. As a result, the USA is the dominant military force in the world; initiating invasions of Iraq in 2003 and Afghanistan. The USA has promoted its hegemonic status by developing neo-conservative and unilateral policies. Hard power, therefore, continues to be necessary in the 'new world order' in which the USA recently deployed a

Further 30,000 troops to Afghanistan. The USA's Structural power was also seen to be unchallenged following its Capitalist reconstruction of the post-cold war world through the institutions of global economic governance. Through the Bretton Woods System, it ensured the economic community remained open and competitive.

As well as this, the USA's population is expected to grow ~~to~~ to 439 million by 2050. Though vastly inferior to China and India's population, both have rapidly ageing populations. China's one child policy, therefore, nukes future economic growth a difficult prospect as it may not have the resources to do so. Can also provide better opportunity for its population, contrasting greatly with the levels of poverty in China and India.

However, the rapid economic growth of the BRIC countries could be said to make the international system a multipolar world. While China's economy has reached ~~of~~ annual growth rates of between 8-10% for the last 30 years, India has also increased its GDP massively which, in 2011, was valued at \$1847.98 billion. Furthermore, the World Economic Forum in 2009 said that Brazil ~~to~~ was the country of 'upward evolution in competitiveness'. The emergence of other economies indicates that other States can exert considerable power over the international system. For instance, in 2010 China became the world's largest exporter, making many states heavily reliant on it, USA included. China are the USA's biggest creditors, indicating that America is heavily dependent on China.

The structural ~~influence~~ and hard power influences that emerging powers are beginning to exert suggest that it is now not only the USA which can dominate the institutions of global governance. China, for instance, is now a significant actor within the World Bank and the UN, for example. It has shown its ability to make vital relationships based on 'soft' power rather than coercion and threats. Significant trade links have been established between China and Africa based on China's anti-colonial history; contrasting greatly with the USA and the Western world. It would seem, therefore, that a considerable amount of resentment has built up towards the USA because of its unilateralist approach ~~to the~~ after the cold war. Additionally, Russia is beginning to develop aggressive tendencies once again. It ~~has~~^{is} the only state to possess the nuclear stock piles that could destroy the USA, possessing 79 cruise missiles capable of carrying hundreds of bombs. This further supports the view that a hegemonic world is abolished.

As well as this, the significant population growths of India and China have given them what would seem an ~~inexhaustible~~ inexhaustible supply of cheap labour. This makes it the heart of the industrialised economy and, in China's case, has provided it with considerable means to increase the size of its economy. The Chinese economy ~~has~~ is 90 times larger than it was in 1970. No other state can claim to economic growth ~~of~~ on this scale, therefore some might say that the distribution of global power has now given rise to a bipolar system; dominated by the USA and

China. In spite of this, Russia's landmass of 7 million² kilometres has facilitated it with the ability to become a gas and oil super-power, controlling the flow of gas and oil in eastern Europe. It is evident that the USA ~~was~~ continued to be threatened by Russia, even after the cold war, due to its frantic efforts to incorporate it into the institutions of global economic governance because, ~~many~~ the realist would say that, these ~~institutions~~ institutions are an instrument of domination for powerful states.

Overall, it is clear that there has been considerable growth of other nations which are beginning to exercise its newfound autonomy in several ways. This may be the reason that the USA has tended towards multilateralism because it is aware that it must facilitate peace within a growth of emerging powers. In spite of this, there is little evidence to suggest that this growth would ever seriously challenge the USA. For instance, its military resources remain the main point of call for the UN and its economy remains significantly larger than China's, per capita. As a result, USA possesses the most sophisticated economy plus a disproportionate amount of structural power, with its membership in the P-5, arguably being the 'most equal state', and its ability to promote further ~~for~~ EU integration to East Europe in its mission to control the post-communist sphere of influence, making it a global hegemon.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Comments

Criteria for assessment are made clear and synoptic skills are evident. The answer was awarded 45 marks.

Question 8

Although definitions of globalisation were of a strong standard, it was noticeable that a sizeable percentage of candidates struggled to explain the term monoculture.

Stronger responses explained a single, homogeneous culture without diversity or dissension. They were also able to use a more sophisticated argument to suggest that cultural imperialism was based on a global homogenisation that weakens indigenous cultures and values.

Weaker responses were simply and solely critical of US culture and influence but there is development to be made over and above a reference to McDonalds and Coca Cola. McDonalds was seemingly a compulsory element of global influence though one or two candidates did note the culinary influences of China and India.

Emphasis tended to be on USA dominance rather than a developing shared culture and on western values and the western economic model. Cultural globalisation is also seen to support economic globalisation which allowed discussion of the dominant US/Western economic model.

There was much discussion of shared TV, sport, commodities, food, celebrities, growth of huge media corporations all fuelled by the technological information and communications revolution.

Stronger responses tended to raise, even partially, the counter argument.

Alternative views focused on the cultural backlash with religious fundamentalism, a clash of civilizations, alternative non-western models and a wider response to perceived US dominance and Coca-Colonization.

Stronger responses raised the view that the monoculture isn't a western dominated one but, instead, a cross fertilised culture with elements of several local cultures taking their place on the global level- Gangnam style!

This is an excellent response which the examiner enjoyed reading. It is well written, focused and to the point.

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

Yes

No

- Homogenization/Universalization
 - Americanization
 - Liberal ideals
- 'Glocalization'/Indiginization
 - Cross-fertilization/creolization
 - Backlash, islam

Globalisation describes the broad and complex process by which states become increasingly inter-dependent. This is fostered through a growing and interlocked economic web in which capital flows and transnational production gave way to the emergence of a transnational elite in political globalisation, and the 'flattering out' of cultures is cultural globalisation. Nevertheless, the extent to which this 'flattering out' is a reality is questionable. Whilst many have cited ideas of homogenization and Americanization as evidence of a global monoculture, at the same time, globalisation has resulted in cross-flows of culture, and in many ways ~~are~~ more unique and diverse cultures rather than a monoculture.

Firstly, critics would argue that a significant part of the globalisation as homogenization thesis is based on ideas of universalisation. In this view, ~~imag~~^{objects}, images, ideas and experiences are shared to all inhabited parts

of the world, primarily from one centre in the world. The rise of TNCs has thus encouraged the emergence of global goods such as Starbucks coffee and Barbie Dolls, in which these companies possess such power as to infiltrate all corners of the world. Moreover, the increased flow of information as facilitated by radio, film, television and of course, the Internet have provoked the creation of global celebrities such as David Beckham and Britney Spears; icons that are globally recognizable. In addition, English is well on its way to becoming the global lingua franca. 33% of all mail, cables and telexes are in English, 40% of all radio programmes are broadcast in English, whilst 50% of all internet traffic is conducted in English. Thus it can be seen that globalization has produced a monoculture in that people around the world are able to participate in common experiences.

On the other hand, it is argued that globalisation is by no means a top-down, one-sided process. Instead, globalisation has made all ^{cultures} ~~states~~ more varied and diverse, even the most powerful political and economic states.

This is reflected in the idea of ^{hybridization} ~~globalization~~ of ~~redization~~ (the process by which ^{cross-fertilization} ~~different cultures~~ ^{takes place} when different cultures interact). In this view, whilst the developing world has received Coca Cola and Nike, in return the developed world has gained new types of food (curries, spaghetti), therapeutic practices (such as Yoga

and Buddhist meditation), sports (judo and karate) and religions. Therefore, rather than producing a monoculture, globalisation has created a polyculture, in which all states ~~are~~ are characterized by a range of different influences.

Nevertheless, critics argue that globalization conceals a much deeper process of westernization and in particular Americanization. ^{Global} Cultural sameness reflects the imposition of a dominant social, economic and political model on all parts of the world, and this is commonly viewed as being from the US. Thus cultural flows have been underpinned by a western 'culture industry' based in New York, Hollywood, Milan and London. As a result, ~~the strength~~ ^{the strength} of western culture, which has been long established through European colonialism, overwhelms more vulnerable cultures. Thus, for example, Palestinian youths have been seen wearing Chicago Red Bulls sweatshirts. As such, globalisation has created a monoculture in the mould of western and more significantly, American values. This has also been seen in the rise of ^{the seemingly unstoppable rise of US-style consumer capitalism.} McDonaldisation.

However, others would argue that the globalization as homogenization thesis is significantly undermined by the extent to which ~~western~~ outsider influences adapt to local circumstance or strengthen local influences. Thus, ~~the~~ western consumer goods and images are absorbed into more traditional cultural practices in developing countries. This has been seen through the Bollywood Film industry, Kpop

and the Al Jazeera news network. This ~~has~~ so-called indiginization, has been, since 2004, been referred to as 'glocalization' in which outside influences adapt to ~~co~~-local conditions across the globe.

~~On~~ In contrast, globalisation is seen to impose a monoculture through the rise of liberal ideals in a range of areas. Economically this is reflected in the dispersal of free trade and global capital markets - strengthened by bodies such as ~~the~~ the IMF, who, through SAPs, impose ideals of privatization as was seen in the privatization of water companies in Bolivia. Politically, the spread of liberal democracy, associated with multi-party elections and universal suffrage appears to be the global political norm as evidenced by the EU democratic zone. In terms of culture, liberal ideals have manifested themselves in the rise of individualism, an emphasis on technocratic realism and the doctrine of human rights emerging as a global political creed. Thus the UN's responsibility to protect recognizes the importance of humanitarian intervention over state sovereignty.

However, globalisation has also provoked backlash in some parts of the world. Where the imposition of alien and threatening ideas and values have been seen as hostile to traditional customs, polarisation rather than homogenization has occurred. This is reflected in ~~the clash of, Jihad~~ Huntington's ~~clash~~ clash of ~~McDonalds~~ the symbiotic links between Jihad and McDonalds. Moreover, Huntington's clash of civilizations reflects such a view

This argues that increasing, western expansion will be met by the rise of other actors, states and non-states alike. Therefore a clash between the US and China, and between liberalism and Islamic fundamentalism will emerge.

Therefore, it is incorrect to say that globalisation is producing a global monoculture. Certainly, images and experiences are increasingly shared and world wide phenomena like 'Gangnam style' have been facilitated by increased flows of information. However, the thesis of homogenization fails to recognise the considerable cross-flows that occur throughout the world, particularly in an increasing multipolar order. With the spread of Chinese Confucius Institutes, the Rio Olympics and Indian Bollywood, it is naive to assume that America is, or will at least remain, an all-pervading force in globalisation. Even in economic terms, the fall of the dollar and the Bretton Woods institutions will allow emerging powers to spread their cultures and thus produce rather a polyculture than a monoculture.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

The standard argument about US/Western dominance is in evidence with Britney, Beckham and Barbie all making an appearance. The counter argument is equally strong and this is another candidate who considered a strong example of this to be Gangnam style! This answer was awarded 45 marks.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Tip

It is for candidates to decide whether to use a plan or not. Some are almost as long as essays whilst others are very brief. This brief plan suggests that we can look forward to a balanced and informed response.

Paper Summary

This was a well-balanced paper with the opportunity for candidates to access the full range of marks in each question. Based on their performance on this paper, candidates should:

- be encouraged to use appropriate political terminology
- refer to the question whilst writing their answers to ensure they are keeping their response relevant throughout
- use examples to back up their opinions.

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