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Examiners' Report

June 2011

GCE Government and Politics 6GP04 4D

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Introduction

The majority of students appeared to have been well prepared for this examination paper with particularly pleasing subject knowledge. The depth of knowledge of some students really was remarkable with some very strong definitions and theoretical awareness.

The key differentiator between scripts remained relevance to the specific question and a focus on the precise wording of the questions. As usual, weaker students relied on knowledge without analysis and a determination to fit pre-prepared answers into whichever question appeared in the examination. Thankfully, most students realise now the need to remain relevant, to provide a structured response with points made in a logical sequence with a clear and coherent line of argument and to ensure that synopticity is evident. Synopticity was evident in most responses with identification of alternative viewpoints and perspectives and an ability to explain the nature and extent of rivalry between conflicting views. The most popular questions were the short response on humanitarian intervention and the longer response on global terrorism. The least popular question was on the Copenhagen conference.

I would like to ensure that all teachers are aware of the 'Further guidance for Route D' document, prepared by the previous Principal Examiner, which can be found on the Edexcel website. This document provides additional content explanation and advice to support the initial specification document.

Question 1

This was quite a popular question but there were a few problems concerning definition of asymmetric wars. Definitions were usually rather brief with an explanation that parties to the war were unequal. Most candidates could identify at least a couple of reasons as to why these wars are difficult to win. Most debate took place around use of guerrilla tactics, civilian/combatant blur, the need to win hearts and minds and to maintain popular support for long campaigns back home. Examples were overwhelmingly drawn from Iraq and Afghanistan, but some candidates used alternative examples such as the Vietcong or Tamil Tigers. Only a small number of candidates attempted this question without a knowledge of what an asymmetric war was.

Chosen Question Number:

Question 1

Question 2

Question 3

Question 4

Question 5

Asymmetrical warfare is a 'new' war or even post modern war. Since the collapse of Communism there has been less inter state war and more intra state war. Asymmetrical war is where there is usually a big economically and militarily advanced side (such as NATO vs Taliban in Afghanistan) vs a less advanced and small group. It is hard for asymmetrical wars to be won for a variety of reasons. It is hard to distinguish between both military and civilian in terms of both military targets and military personal. They include very informal fighters. They are very hard to win, especially in the case of Iraq and Afghanistan because of new tactics, such as guerrilla and insurgency tactics with the use of suicide bombings and improvised explosive devices. It is not only a battle of military but of hearts and minds. This is very hard as asymmetrical wars have a higher civilian death rate to

Conventional warfare. In WW1, the Military to Civilian ration was 9:1, in asymmetrical war it is more 1:9. This causes sympathy and can be used as a recruitment drive by insurgents. In the case of Iraq and Afghanistan ~~it is~~ it is hard to win a war using conventional warfare and weaponry such as tanks. There has been an increase in post modern warfare with the use of drone attacks and cyberwarfare which has been used in Iraq and Afghanistan. Asymmetrical wars are also profoundly hard to withdraw from such as Vietnam. The US invaded Afghanistan in 2001 and is still there 10 years on. There have also been claims that this war is a form of neo-colonialism which has seen the term legitimisation. While fighting an asymmetrical war it is key for governments to keep public opinion at home good. The Iraq war had huge public disapproval with over 750,000 ~~protesters~~ people protesting in the streets of London for the Stop the War Coalition. ~~Then~~ This ultimately led to British Prime Minister, Tony Blair's downfall ~~as~~ as he did not have the public support for the war.



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Examiner Comments

This is a strong response which covers key areas of the question and which certainly achieves L3. The definition is brief, but adequate. The explanation as to why these wars are difficult to win ranges from guerrilla tactics through civilian/combatant blur to public opinion and the need to win hearts and minds.

Chosen Question Number:

Question 1

Question 2

Question 3

Question 4

Question 5

Before looking at why asymmetrical wars, such as those in Iraq and Afghanistan are so difficult to win, the definition of war and asymmetrical wars must be understood. The political thinker 'Bull' described war as ~~an~~ 'organised violence by political units against each other whereas Clausewitz described it as an 'act of force to compel opponents to fulfill your own will'. However in recent years the nature of wars has changed, wars are no longer fought by armies of the same size, in pre-approved areas and at definitive times, as seen in most wars up until the twentieth century. Wars are now 'asymmetrical', fought between opponents of unequal size and without equal economic and military capability. The changing sources of conflict have also changed, conflicts are often caused by conflicts of identity or over the threat of weapons, rather than territory. These make asymmetrical wars difficult to win as there are issues regarding where the wars are fought, the resistance from the civilian population and also ~~over~~ the threat from stateless, faceless enemies that are opposed.

One reason why asymmetrical wars such as Iraq and Afghanistan are so difficult to win is that

Iraq and Afghanistan are so difficult to win is that the areas within which the wars are being fought is so vast. For a state to win a war, they must have power in specific, important regions in the enemy country. In the past this was easier to achieve as ~~any battles~~ were the location of battles would be pre approved, ~~by the~~ therefore there was nothing unexpected. However, today, in Iraq and Afghanistan, the areas in which the coalition must conquer are vast and dispersed, making it hard to ~~gain~~ make progress.

Another reason why the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan are so difficult to win is the resistance they face from the civilian population. With asymmetrical wars the civilian population becomes much more engaged in the conflict as fighting often takes place in the towns and city's. The Iraq and Afghanistan wars are difficult to win as, ~~they~~ even if the US or the coalition were able to implement a new form of government, as Afghanistan has a significant amount of tribal conflict, there would be continued resistance.

Lastly, another reason why asymmetrical wars such as Iraq and Afghanistan are so difficult to win is the ~~real~~ problem of terrorists. The Iraq and Afghanistan wars, when they first started, were part of the 'war on terror' as coined by the Bush

part of the 'war on terror' as coined by the Bush administration. However because terrorists organisations, such as Al Qaeda, are stateless and 'faceless' therefore are difficult to target. This makes the asymmetrical war such as Iraq and Afghanistan difficult to win as there are other weapons of warfare used that are difficult to target and defeat.



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Examiner Comments

A decent definition emerges from quite a wordy introduction. This is a knowledgeable student but there is a danger that they will take too long to get to the core of the question. Good points are made about the changed nature of warfare and blurring between civilian and combatant. This is a good response which achieves L3.

Question 2

This is a two part question which provides an immediate discriminator where candidates fail to tackle either part of the question. A few students moved immediately to tackling the second part of the question without providing an explanation of what humanitarian intervention is. Some students failed to recognise the reference to the 1990's and their responses tackled the general reasons for an increase in humanitarian intervention in recent years, some of which was relevant. The end of the Cold War and a move, possibly short term, to a consensus in the UN Security Council was identified by many students. The impact of globalisation and the CNN effect was mentioned by some students who also discussed the growing acceptance of universal human rights. The increase in civil wars and failed states was also mentioned by many, along with a growing debate and challenge where sovereignty is concerned.

Chosen Question Number:

Question 1

Question 2

Question 3

Question 4

Question 5

Humanitarian intervention is the forcible military intervention in another countries affairs for humanitarian rather than strategic goals. It is generally carried out by a geo state, group of states or regional body. This concept became popular in the 1990's and this period was known as the golden age of humanitarian intervention with international efforts in North Iraq 1991, Kosovo 1999 and most recently Libya 2011.

The first reason why this notion became popular in the 1990's was the growing belief that in a globalised world no one state can be an island. The regional instability which is synonymous with a humanitarian crisis now has an effect on all nations across the world. When crisis occurred in Northern Iraq and Kosovo it was in the interests of other states to prevent crisis spreading and further disrupting their economies. Upon authorising intervention in Kosovo Tony Blair said he felt the current view on sovereignty and the nation state was anachronistic and needed re-evaluating to fit the demands of a globalised world.

The second reason for the huge increase in missions was to do with the end of the cold war. Firstly with the USSR collapsing there were suddenly many more nations struggling for freedom. Areas such as the Balkans which had been under ^{the} Soviet umbrella suddenly collapsed into civil war. The second reason was Russia's withdrawal from significant international affairs. Now that America was the global hegemon, power politics did not dominate the Security Council who are seen as legal authority for intervention.

The third

The third reason for more humanitarian intervention is linked with the concentration of cases. Suddenly across the world there were many more civil wars which demanded attention and became of the new phase of warfare atrocities became more common. Slobodan Milosevic was responsible for Europe's worst war crimes since the Nazi regime whilst the butchering of 800 000 ethnic Rwandans made it clear that the international community could be idle no longer. The CNN effect is also responsible for making people more aware of what happens in foreign countries and televised reports from Kosovo were key in forcing NATO action.

To conclude humanitarian intervention became popular in the 1990s for a number of reasons. The concept of intervention was made possible with the collapse of the USSR and

made possible with the collapse of the USSR and
~~redemption~~ reconceptualisation of sovereignty. The globalised world made
it more important and the atrocities committed more frequently,
and more publicly made intervention a necessity.



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Examiner Comments

This is a pleasing response with much of value. There is an explanation of the term and then a move to discuss the central reasons behind the increase in humanitarian intervention in the 1990s. The candidate provides a focus on the consequences of the end of the Cold War which includes a better working relationship in the Security Council as well as an explanation of the situation in Rwanda and Yugoslavia. All of this helps to explain why this period is often considered to be a golden age in humanitarian intervention.

Question 3

A number of students failed to grasp what was demanded from them in this question and took this as an opportunity to discuss, very broadly, the North - South divide. The weakest responses failed to move from this debate. Stronger responses explained the traditional, Orthodox, measurement of development based on gross national product (GNP) and there was awareness of the World Bank conventional standard of 'a dollar a day'. Stronger candidates would consider why and how this traditional view is criticised. Key criticisms are that GNP per capita fails to indicate whether wealth disparity in a country is increasing or decreasing as it may simply reflect that the rich are getting richer. Economic measurement fails to take into account other measurements such as political freedom, access to education, gender equality or other elements that may be measured in the UN Human Development Index. The further criticism that economic measurement may support a western model of development with the associated perceived evils of the Washington Consensus.

Chosen Question Number:

Question 1

Question 2

Question 3

Question 4

Question 5

How and why have strictly economic conceptions of development of development been criticized?

Strictly economic conceptions of development is based on an orthodox theory of development whereby it is based on economic liberalism and it believes that for a country to successfully develop it needs to make political reform, abandon traditions and cultures and open its markets open to the global market and economy. This theory of development suggests that if the GDP of a country increases then it is successful.

One reason for why this has been criticized is because it suggests that the economic growth of a country is the most important factor and it dismisses traditions and cultures ~~completely~~ however the alternative theory of development, which opposes the orthodox theory emphasizes the new implementation of the UN's Human Development Index which also looks at education, social security and other non-material needs. The

Orthodox theory fails to do this
Another reason why the orthodox theory has been criticized is from the Marxist point of view that it only focuses on internal failures of development and dismisses external factors. To exemplify this Marxists use the idea of free trade and state that due to free trade ~~economic~~ the global north take advantage of the global south by buying raw materials for cheap prices such as fruit and coffee and the global south in turn ~~buy~~ import technical goods from the global north, creating an inequality. It is also a form of neo-colonialism and by opening ~~sans~~ into the global market system this is what is happening and ~~has been~~ is what is encouraged by the orthodox theory.

Lastly the orthodox theory believes development is successful if GDP rates are high, when countries such as Brazil and India opened their markets their GDP grew drastically but this is criticized because the GDP rate doesn't account for the whole country, this can be seen in Brazil and India where there are poverty issues based on local areas and the orthodox theory of development fails to recognize this.



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Examiner Comments

This response tackles the key element of the question immediately. There is an identification and explanation of Orthodox theory and the criticism that is apparent in Alternative theory. There are a number of good points and a reference to the value of alternative measurements which is sufficient to raise this response into L3.

Question 4

This was the least popular of the short questions but was tackled well by a significant number of candidates who were able to differentiate clearly between the views of reformists and radicals (shallow ecology Vs deep ecology) over tackling global environmental issues.

Most candidates identified that reformist thinking on environmental issues is evident in the views of the mainstream and by those known as 'light' greens or 'modernist' ecologists. Ideas are based on an acceptance of capitalism and belief that environmental issues can be adequately dealt with without significant constraints being applied to the capitalist market. Belief in the idea of sustainable development, which recognises that economic growth is good but merely requires that it be balanced against ecological considerations, was acknowledged by most, as was a recognition that environmental degradation can be tackled without a major increase in government intervention but through technological innovations and the responsiveness of capitalism to environmental concerns.

Candidates tended to recognise that the counter argument was based on more radical approaches to the environment. Global capitalism is often seen as the primary cause of environmental degradation in which case a major shift is needed away from free trade and neo-liberalism towards tighter regulation at both national and global levels. The ability of states to pursue the national interest, prioritising economic growth and national prosperity over wider global concerns, is seen as a major cause of environmental degradation. Radical thinkers therefore tend to call for the establishment of strong and often legal supranational environmental regulation. In addition, candidates made the point that, for radicals, materialism and consumerism are seen as major contributors to environmental problems. Radicals call for cultural change as well as political change.

Chosen Question Number:

Question 1

Question 2

Question 3

Question 4

Question 5

Reformists also known as ~~mod~~ modernists have the view that ~~capitalists~~ the modern features of capitalism can be reconciled with preventing or reducing environmental degradation. They recognise that in the long term environmental degradation can affect prosperity and economic growth. The reformist encourage ~~the~~ sustainable development which is a term coined in the Brundtland Report in 1987 'Sustainable development is ~~the~~ development that meets the needs of today without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs'. However, unlike radicals reformists advocate for 'weak sustainability' which is the idea that human capital can compensate for loss of natural capital.

capital can compensate for loss of natural capital.

Furthermore, this 'weak sustainability' approach suggests that, for example, building new roads and infrastructure compensates for loss of an environmental habitat. Under the reformist views environmental issues should be tackled in 3 main ways. Firstly, they can be tackled through 'eco-consumerism' which is where businesses and organisations are given incentives to reduce damage to the environment whilst still maintaining economic growth. • Examples include, imposing fuel duties or 'green taxes' where companies are charged for excessive emissions.

Secondly, reformists argue that through innovation environmental issues can be tackled. For example, investing 'green technologies' such as energy efficient energy sources such as wind power and solar power or advancing the use of 'clean' coal.

Thirdly, reformists argue that through multilateral governance and international cooperation environmental degradation can be tackled. This, for example, is in the form of international treaties and conventions which place restraint on state activity in order to get them to cut damage to the environment. One such example is the target set by the Kyoto Protocol which has as an aim for states to reduce their carbon emissions to 5.2% below 1990 levels.

However, radicals have a very different view on how to tackle environmental issues. The radicals generally believe that it is the modern, capitalist values of consumerism, materialism and pro-growth

Values of consumerism, materialism and pro-growth that ^{are} the root causes of environmental degradation and as such the two cannot be reconciled. Radicals propose the way to tackle environmental issues is through revolutionary social reconstruction, ~~the reestablishment of~~ within radical ecology there exist varying views. Eco-socialists propose only through the establishment of a socialist society with self-governing communities can the issue of the environment be improved.

Another radical approach is 'economarchism' which is the idea that domination over people leads to domination over nature and so for the sake of the environment all authority must be decentralised and abandoned. In this way it will remove the idea of nations competing for their own self-interest for economic growth.

In conclusion, reformists and radicals differ greatly is what they believe about the nature of capitalism with reformist believing it can be reconciled with care for the environment and that both can compliment each other and with radicals believing capitalism is the root of all environmental problems and must be destroyed.



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Examiner Comments

This is an excellent argument which clearly differentiates between reformist and radical views on the environment. The candidate moves quickly into explaining the two views and then to making the differences apparent. There is a high level of subject knowledge, a clear and concise argument and a brief but snappy conclusion. An excellent L3 response.

Question 5

This was the most popular of the short response questions and there was a real variety in the quality of the responses produced. Stronger candidates were able to provide an excellent definition of human rights and of the term universal- Human rights are rights to which people are entitled by virtue of being human. Human rights are universal in the sense that they supposedly belong to all humans rather than to members of any particular country, religion, race, gender or other group. A range of criticisms were produced, including the Realist view that the doctrine of universal human rights should not guide state policy because states should prioritise the well-being of their own citizens over others, their primary concern being to pursue the national interest. The doctrine of human rights has been criticised as being culturally biased, reflecting an essentially western liberal model of human nature that emphasises rights and entitlements over obligations and social belonging. Post-colonialism portrays universal human rights as a form of cultural imperialism. Such views have been advanced most clearly by Muslim thinkers who believe that human well-being is divinely ordained, and by some Asian politicians who champion the notion of 'Asian values'. Feminist criticism of universal human rights was also explained by a smaller number of candidates.

Chosen Question Number:

Question 1

Question 2

Question 3

Question 4

Question 5

Human rights are the basic entitlements that a person is permitted to through virtue of being human. They are a modern and secular version of 'natural rights' that are believed to be God-given. They are regarded as universal in that they belong to everyone regardless of their gender, ethnicity, nationality etc. They are fundamental in that although they can be violated or denied, a human's entitlement to them cannot be removed. They are also absolute in that they are the basic grounds for living a truly human life. There are three types of rights; civil and political rights (first generation) e.g. right to life and liberty, socio-economic rights (second generation) e.g. right to work and healthcare and thirdly solidarity rights (third generation) e.g. right to self-determination.

Universal human rights are criticised by the post-colonial theorists.

Universal human rights are criticised by the post-colonial criticism which suggests that on a political and philosophical level; human rights are not universal. Philosophically, how can the human rights in one area be suitable to those in another area?

With different societies come different cultures, beliefs, lifestyles and traditions and it is argued that the one size fits all human rights cannot be suitable for all parts of the world as it does not account for the differences that are present in each location.

Politically, human rights are seen as a form of western cultural imperialism and therefore cannot be universal as how do the West know that their version of human rights is superior? The superiority of western rights may not be the belief in parts of Asia.

Two non-western criticisms of universal human rights have arose with firstly the Asian values; which stresses the importance of the family over the individual. It states the belief in the family, respect for authority and promotion of social harmony all as methods of sustaining social cohesion, as stated in the Bangkok declaration of 1993. Asian values rights highlight the differences in opinion in society in that they prioritise areas such as the community and family over the individual and duties.

Secondly the Islamic critique as proposed in the Cairo declaration of human rights (1990) states the belief in human rights arising from religion. The importance of religion is shown in that they take the word of God and Shariah law, basing their life on this, rather than that expressed in the Western world. The importance of religion is stated and is followed as shown by Saudi Arabia's abstaining from the UN declaration of human rights.

Saudi Arabia's abstaining from the UN declaration of human rights.

There are also western criticisms, firstly the communist, the post-modernist and the feminist, the latter suggesting that human rights cannot be universal as they are based on a male-dominated (patriarchal) society.

The realist also oppose human rights as not universal as it contradicts the state sovereignty concept in that the implementation of them hinders the stability of states.



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Examiner Comments

This is an outstanding response. The candidate provides a definition of human rights and of the term 'universal' and then makes clear a wider knowledge of human rights. The rest of the response is a knowledgeable and detailed, considering the time constraints, study of the main criticisms of universal human rights with a series of criticisms. This was well worth maximum marks at L3.

Question 6

This was the least popular of the long 45 mark responses. This may be a reflection on the popularity of the alternatives or a concern from some candidates about a perceived depth of required knowledge of the Copenhagen conference needed to tackle this question. Stronger candidates were able to provide a depth of knowledge of Copenhagen but also develop a wider argument about this process of tackling climate change. A significant number of candidates struggled to do either and may have been better tackling one of the other questions. Candidates highlighted successes such as that the Copenhagen Accord, through which the USA, China and other major developing countries committed themselves to cutting greenhouse gas emissions marked a significant advance over Kyoto, which imposed no obligations on developing countries to curb the growth of their emissions. Similarly, the USA's support for the Copenhagen Accord was an advance in the sense that the USA remained outside the Kyoto Protocol. Many argued that Copenhagen was a 'meaningful agreement' in that it was a step on the road to more concerted action on the issue of climate change. It should be judged in terms of preparing the ground for subsequent action, not in terms of its own specific achievements. This was an area that stronger candidates developed.

Candidates balanced perceived success by countering with claims that the conference did not result in a legally binding agreement or any clear commitment to reach one in future. The Copenhagen Accord does not set even non-legal targets for states to cut greenhouse gas emissions, and there is no global target for emissions reduction by 2015. In addition, candidates made the point that the Accord is vague as to how the \$100 billion fund for supporting developing countries in reducing emissions will be achieved. Copenhagen gives mixed signs for success in tackling climate change and both reformists and radicals would argue that the Copenhagen conference strengthens their own view. Stronger candidates made this apparent in their responses.

Chosen Question Number:

Question 6

Question 7

Question 8

The 2009 Copenhagen conference is another major chance of tackling global environmental issues after the London conference at Rio in 1992 and the Kyoto Protocol in 1997. There were high expectations on it from people all over the world and the result ~~was~~ was controversial.

First of all, the conference ~~is~~ was thought to be a success as it showed that the majority of the world ~~recognised~~ recognised the ~~problem~~ importance of the problem of climate change. Over 160 representatives of over 160 countries and over 100 of them are ~~representatives~~ represented by head of state or chief of government. It showed that ~~the~~ both developing

chief of government. It showed that ~~the~~ both developing and developed countries ~~are~~ ^{were} willing ~~to~~ and going to tackle the issue but not remaining doubtful towards the facts of climate change.

Secondly, US, China, South Africa, India, Brazil ~~have~~ signed an accord ~~in~~ which others have ^{and} 'taken a note'. It would be a significant step for the major polluters ^{such as} China and US to make ~~some~~ commitments towards the environmental ~~problems~~. ~~The~~ developed countries are willing ~~to~~ to overlook their own situations and submit ~~a~~ reports of further options while China and India also stated that they would try to take more account of ~~the~~ the problem while overseeing their economic development.

Thirdly, developed countries are going to provide \$20bn ^{between} to the developing world for investment on green ^{and} technology ^{and} adapting to the change. ~~\$~~ \$100bn are also being promised to the developing countries before 2020. It would ~~be~~ vital for the cooperation of 2 sides to solve this global and ~~so~~ collective problem.

However, there were opposing ~~so~~ views which said the conference ~~is~~ ^{was} a failure. It is due to the lack of legal binding targets of reduce green house gases, ~~into~~ including CO₂, methane and nitrous oxide, ~~by~~ ⁱⁿ the accord. Moreover, countries ~~are~~ were concerning ~~their~~ their self-interest and demonstrating political ~~so~~ power in the conference. China and USA

political power in the conference. China and USA would be the case. The developing and developed countries still ~~have~~ ^{had} huge disagreement over how to tackle the problem. The developing world ~~are~~ ^{were} reluctant to any limits on pollution as they asked for 'room for development', while the developed economies ~~are~~ were not willing to take the responsibility to reduce their industrial activities. The ~~was~~ result of the conference ~~is~~ ^{was} only an ambiguous agreement to not increase the ~~was~~ world temperature by 2°C.

~~Without~~ Without clear measures of reducing pollutions, ~~and~~ other environmental ~~measures~~ problems like deforestation and overfishing, the globe can hardly find a way out towards climate change.

In fact, ~~is~~ the ~~environmental~~ ~~issues~~ problem of climate change is said to be 'Tragedy of common'. As there is no claim ^{of sovereignty} on ~~resources~~ ~~resources~~ like air, sea water and ~~forests~~ ^{forests}, countries are ~~going~~ ~~to~~ ~~abuse~~ ^{abusing} the uses and extraction of ~~resources~~ which stops other and the future generation from extracting them. It is a 'free-rider' problem in economic sense. That ~~is~~ ^{is} why sustainable development ~~is~~ being ~~raise~~ ^{raise} as an important issue and hence, there ~~are~~ ^{are} high expectations towards the global operations of all countries in the world to tackle the problem.

In conclusion, there are ~~both~~ ^{both} ~~successes~~ ^{successes} and failures in the 2009 Copenhagen conference.

and failures in the 2009 Copenhagen conference. ~~The~~ As the problem of climate change becomes more significant under global warming and increase in ~~natural~~ weather conditions such as hurricanes and ~~tsunami~~, ^{extreme} various governments and ~~states~~ would have to give up their self-interest ^{both} ~~in~~ ^{to} political and economic terms. Thus, we should ^{1/2} ~~we~~ look forward to another opportunity like 2009 ~~Copenhagen~~ Copenhagen conference for tackling the global environmental issues.



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Examiner Comments

This is an example of a script which managed to make L3 for this question. There are weaknesses but the script is strong in a number of regards. The introduction is reasonable and sets Copenhagen in a historical perspective. There is detailed knowledge of the Copenhagen meeting, of the Accord and of controversial elements of the agreement such as the \$100 billion fund. Further development of the wider debate over climate change would have strengthened this response further.

Question 7

This was a popular question with a large number of pleasing responses. Many candidates seemed well prepared for this type of question. Definitions tended to be strong - Globalisation in its economic form refers to the construction of an interlocking global economy and the declining capacity of states to function as independent economic entities. The impact of globalisation on poverty and global inequality has been controversial and many candidates seemed to enjoy making this clear. Sadly, a few students produced very one sided criticisms of globalisation rather than considering ways in which globalisation may have reduced poverty.

Ways in which globalisation has been seen to increase poverty included the structural inequalities and injustices, notably ones in which 'core' developed states exploit dependent 'peripheral' states that are essentially used to produce primary goods. It was argued that globalisation therefore widens the gap between the North and the South, with sub-Saharan Africa being particularly disadvantaged. The majority of students suggested that globalisation amounts to a form of neo-colonialism. Candidates also identified the argument that globalisation has promoted widening within-country inequality, both in developed societies and in developing ones.

The counter arguments focussed on ways in which poverty has been reduced. These included that globalisation stimulates all economies, including those of developing countries because it brings increased entrepreneurialism, inward investment, improved technology and access to foreign markets. Developments in the global South suggest that many societies have benefited from an engagement with globalisation, notably examples include the Asian 'tiger' economies and the dramatic economic emergence of China and India. In such cases, increased growth and prosperity has been closely associated with taking advantage of export opportunities and inward investments that have been provided by globalisation. On the other hand, countries like North Korea, that have remained outside the global economy have suffered from widespread poverty and low growth.

Chosen Question Number:

Question 6

Question 7

Question 8

Globalisation is the process by which the world is becoming more connected and ~~more~~ related than ever before, where state boundaries are no longer as significant. This increase in opportunities ~~to~~ was meant to open up new possibilities for the poor in the world especially those in absolute poverty. However poverty is still a major issue that needs to be addressed as it is argued that it has been made worse by globalisation, and the global institutions of the IMF and World Bank, unfair terms of trade, cultural ~~imperialism~~ imperialism and obscene multilateral cooperation. Others argued that globalisation is not the cause of poverty and that

argued that globalisation is not the cause of poverty and that practices like those the Southern BRICs shows how it can be done ~~in~~ in the globalised world and that the factors such as corruption, and natural disasters have caused poverty.

Firstly, much of the criticism of globalisation in ~~helping~~ ~~causing~~ global poverty is, then at the global institutions of the IMF and World Bank who were designed to stop poverty. But as Joseph Stiglitz in "Globalisation as its discontents" has argued, the ~~belief~~ ~~in~~ near religious belief of pioneering the Washington consensus through structural adjustment programmes made poverty worse. The requirement to cut deficits led to more people being pushed in poverty and this was combined with a desire to always pay back debt resulting in Sub-Saharan Africa paying on average \$23 on debt repayments each day and \$11 on health during the 90's which did little to help the world's poor.

Moreover this was made worse by the double standards of the west and their unfair terms of trade. This meant export markets that were in the developing world had to open up to free trade, with this competing with western goods that were subsidised and with protectionism and subsidies such as the EU's Common Agricultural Programme (CAP). Countries like Ghana who had self-sustaining rice fields were now flooded with cheap US imports resulting in people being put of their jobs and an increase in poverty. However the world bank and IMF have realised some of their misgivings and have made steps to improve this and focus on real poverty reduction. But ~~there~~ there is a lot to be done to reverse the poverty they have exacerbated.

For many, globalisation, has thus been according to the neo-Marxist view and a situation of colonisation in a new form that of neo-colonialism. Globalisation has allowed the previous rich and many

neo-colonialism. Globalisation has allowed the poorer rich and many imperial nations to dominate the poorer ones economically and politically and also culturally. The neo-colonial tentacles of repression have also led to a cultural imperialism where much of the poor south desire western goods rather than domestic goods (McDonalds etc) thus further pushing people into poverty while making the already rich even richer.

As a result, they see Multinationals as an extension of this also. These repatriating multinationals have used globalisation to allow them to travel to many more countries, pay low wages under the new international division of labour, damage the environment and take the wealth out of these countries. The low wages of companies such as Nike have been highlighted by pressure groups and the use of child labour by Primark has also seen this. However, many argue child labour allows these children to meet their basic needs and be fed but it robs their potential educational potential as the wages are below the poverty line such as the \$1 a day given to Indian children in a textile factory.

However, there are others who have argued that there is hope and the potential can and has been used to reduce poverty. They begin by pointing to the southern BRICs and in particular China whose burgeoning growth rates due to the ability to trade ^{effectively} in the globalised world has lifted millions out of poverty. Indeed, China has contributed to 75% of the decrease in poverty in the previous decades. India, home to a vast amount of the world poor is also doing this, though cultural issues have meant lifting the poorest in society harder. Moreover this has also been the case in many

higher. Moreover this has also been the case in many of the Asian tigers such as Taiwan, Singapore and South Korea who have used increased globalisation to lift people out of poverty. Therefore it is possible.

Moreover, multinationals also have their advantages as this new global breed is welcomed by nations as they bring jobs and investments. Though the wages are often lower by western standards, they often lift many out of absolute poverty and are higher than local standards.

So far, we have only really looked at absolute poverty that occurs mainly in much of the developing nations. But relative poverty which is poverty defined by its relation to the average in that country is also going up due to globalisation. In cities, with relative poverty is a more prevalent issue for example in streets of Mumbai, you will see a rich banker walk past a slum kid, both being so close to each other. Moreover the global crisis of credit crunch in 2008 from 2008 onwards has led to an increase in relative poverty in much of the North and has undoubtedly exacerbated due to the interconnectedness of the new globalized world.

Finally, it is also important to mention that poverty has also been caused by other factors not linked directly to globalisation, such as corrupt officials and taking their countries wealth, natural disasters such as AIDS in Africa and natural disasters such as the Haitian earthquake. All making poverty worse.

In conclusion, globalisation has had an ~~negative impact~~ ~~on~~ ~~poverty~~ but to say it ~~is~~ ~~solely~~ ~~responsible~~ ~~has~~

~~input on party~~ but to say it ~~is a~~ ~~likely~~ ~~response~~ has increased it ~~due~~ ~~could~~ ~~be~~ ~~too~~ ~~far~~ ~~gone~~ ~~negative~~ ~~input~~ on of party but ~~that~~ this does not have to be the case as there are signs where it is helping such as China and India. Moreover there have been other factors involved. Globalisation has made many mistakes but there is hope.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

This response has a pleasing introduction which is wide-ranging and which opens up plenty of opportunity for debate and discussion as the response continues. There is a good balance and awareness of competing viewpoints. Arguments range from the positive elements of globalisation with new job opportunities in multinational companies to examples of success such as the Asian Tigers and BRIC states. A counter argument is built around the idea of western dominance through neo-colonialism and the Washington Consensus. Double standards of CAP and cheap wages/child labour help to build the case. The conclusion doesn't seem to provide the balanced summary that the main body of the essay suggested but this is still a L3 response.

Question 8

This was the most popular question amongst the longer 45 mark responses. There was variety in the quality of what candidates were able to produce. One sided arguments made up the bulk of weaker responses alongside responses built on very little knowledge but often plenty of opinion. Definitions were few and far between but there were a number of very well considered and thoughtful responses.

Terrorism refers to the use of terror for furthering political ends; it seeks to create a climate of fear, apprehension and uncertainty. Global terrorism is terrorism that has a global reach, particularly as demonstrated by the 9/11 attacks on the USA. The significance of global terrorism as a threat to order and security has been the subject of considerable debate. Candidates identified a number of arguments to support the view that global terrorism is a major threat to order and security. It was argued that the 9/11 attacks demonstrated how the world's most powerful state, can be vulnerable to terror attack when it is, arguably, no longer vulnerable to conventional attacks by rival states. There is the additional fear that terrorist networks may be able to acquire and use weapons of mass destruction, and perhaps even nuclear weapons. Candidates argued that global terrorism requires few resources and that increased global flows of people, ideas and information also make global terrorism particularly difficult to contain or prevent. The 'war on terror' provides a battle against a transnational ideology that has spread to various parts of the Middle East, North Africa and central Asia.

The counter argument was based on the fact that although 3,000 people died in the 9/11 attacks, this is very small by comparison with the scale of death that has occurred as a result of conventional warfare and that terrorism, by its nature, consists of a series of sporadic attacks on a variety of targets, and is very different from the concerted, sustained and systematic destruction that is wreaked by mass warfare conducted between states. A few candidates argued that terrorism, in itself, cannot overthrow a government, unlike revolution and inter-state war and that terrorism 'works' only when there is a military over-reaction to it. A range of arguments and counter arguments was expected from L3 candidates.

Question 6 ✕

Question 7 ✕

Question 8 ✕

Terrorism is a political term often used within society to show a radicalised movement or individual which believes that the beliefs of that person are fundamental, over-ride all other concepts and must be followed. Terrorism itself can often lead to violence in the form of acts such as suicide bombings by terrorist organisations including Al Qaeda. Therefore, the term terrorism is often linked to the idea of using violent or radical means to further your own cause. There are suggestions that terrorism is a major threat to global security through such

a major threat to global security through such things as the increase ~~in~~ in world wide attacks - such as 9/11 in America and 7/7 in London. On the other hand, there are suggestions that global terrorism is not a major threat to order and security due to reasons such as ~~warfare~~ the death toll from terrorism is considerably smaller than major warfare meanwhile ~~the~~ terrorist groups are often small and disorganised cells. Therefore, the extent to which global terrorism is a major threat to order and security can be debated.

There are many suggestions that global terrorism is a major threat to order and security. Firstly, the number of terrorist attacks has steeply risen and the strength of these attacks has also risen with it. Recent attacks in the west include the deaths of three thousand people on September 11th whilst there were also casualties in Britain during the London bombings and Spain during the Madrid bombings. This increase in attacks to supposedly peaceful and democratic societies is an obvious threat to order and security.

Additionally, the use of techniques has become increasingly violent with the emergence of ~~the~~ a 'new' terrorism being far more radical and murderous than 'traditional' terrorism. This is ~~clearly~~ clearly seen with the rise in suicide bombers willing to die for their beliefs and increasingly desperate to cause mass death and destruction.

The 'war on terror' has also proved ineffective in states such as ~~the~~ Afghanistan as

ineffective in states such as Afghanistan as despite the asymmetrical warfare of the powerful USA and its allies against small groups such as the ~~Fatt~~ Taliban the war has not been over. The adoption of ~~these terrorist groups~~ tactics such as guerrilla warfare has made it increasingly hard for international organisations to infiltrate terrorist groups. Additionally, the 'war on terror' has significantly damaged the 'soft power' of states involved such as the USA and could have even left the global community open to more attacks in future as stories of prisoner abuse and camps such as Guantanamo Bay, have gathered sympathy for terrorist organisations from communities - especially in the East. This could cause a threat to order and security as more donate money, supplies and themselves to the cause.

The spread of globalisation has also enabled terrorism to have a new threat to global order and security. As the globe is increasingly interconnected it is easier for terrorist cells to exchange information, raised donations and travel across the globe to carry out their attacks. An example of this can be seen with allegations of British teenagers being indoctrinated by groups such as ^{as} Al-Qaeda over the internet. This poses a new threat to global order and security as states cannot control the exchange of support and information in between terrorist cells. Therefore, as terrorism is more of a threat than ever before as there are more groups willing to carry out increasingly murderous attacks and aided by such things as sympathy from the 'war on terror' and money

sympathy from the 'war on terror' and more through globalisation, it could be suggested that global terrorism is a major threat to order and security.

On the other hand, critics have suggested that the war on terror is not a threat to order and security. This can be seen with the fact that ~~many~~ many terrorist groups are poorly organised, small cells which rely on luck and the support of the minority in order to survive. Within the international community itself, terrorism is severely damaged by the fact that terrorists have the support of the minority, not the majority.

Secondly, some critics have suggested that the 'war on terror' and terrorism generally is over-played by states. It has been suggested by some that citizens unite behind governments if faced by a threat. Since the end of the Cold War and the collapse of Communism, Capitalist states have looked to find a threat to unite citizens - this threat has arguably been found in terrorism. Other critics of states have suggested that the USA has manipulated the threat of terrorism to get support for itself and American ideologies - therefore such movements as the 'war on terror' amount to little ~~than the~~ other than the USA looking to ~~see~~ support its own case as global hegemon.

Within warfare itself, comparing major warfare to that of terrorism, the tactics and weapons used by large states are clearly much more organised and effective than those used by

more organised and effective than those used by terrorist organisations, with an example of this being the increased use of ~~non~~ robotically controlled drones by the USA. Additionally, the death toll within warfare is significantly greater than in terrorist attacks. Hundreds of thousands die in large wars which ~~is~~ makes the highest death toll from a terrorist attack of 3,600 three thousand deaths during September 11th seem rather small and insignificant in comparison.

Politically, to date there have been no terrorist attacks which have brought down governments. Therefore, the state is stronger than the terrorist. Additionally, publicly at least, all states the majority of states are against terrorism and work to prevent it. Therefore, the fact that terrorist groups are small, weak and disorganised in comparison to most states, the argument that ~~large~~ warfare leads to more death and destruction than terrorist attacks and several other key factors, it is ~~not~~ clear to see that global terrorism is not a major threat to order and security.

Overall, to conclude, there are arguments both in favour and against the suggestion that terrorism is a major threat to global order and security. There are suggestions in favour of this ~~the~~ threat including that terrorism is more widespread in its support and quality and increasingly supportive of large attacks killing many people and causing massive disruption. There are also arguments against terrorism being a threat.

also arguments against terrorism being a threat, such as the fact that most terrorist groups are small and organized cells who operate underground without the support of the majority. Additionally, states such as Britain and the USA are massively stronger than any terrorist group such as Al-Qaeda. Therefore, I believe that the threat to global order and security from terrorism is a substantial one and a threat that should certainly be monitored carefully, however it is not the only threat to world order and security and it ~~is~~ plays a relative small, backward role in the ~~rest of~~ minds and lives of the majority, with attacks often being small and small incidents ~~are~~ played up by the press. However, the fact that global terrorism is larger than ever before and is spreading ensures that it is a major threat, therefore it cannot be denied that global terrorism is a major threat to order and security.



ResultsPlus

Examiner Comments

This was a clear L3 response. The introduction sets out both sides of the debate, provides background knowledge and makes clear where the rest of the response will go. A series of arguments are illustrated with pleasing examples. Both sides of the debate are covered well and there are excellent points made, including the argument that the US' perceived over-reaction to terrorist attack has proved counterproductive and destabilising (Guantanamo Bay). Whilst many responses took the view that there was a significant threat to order and stability without counter argument, this response makes good points about the fact that terrorism doesn't tend to overthrow government and that perhaps it is overplayed by the west for the interests of western governments. This is a well balanced and thoughtful response.

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