

International specialisation

Read online at pastopic.com/cambridge/economics-0455/notes/international-specialisation

Last checked 5 October 2026

Read first: Opportunity cost, Firms

© 2026 Pastopic. Free for personal study. Please share the link, not the file.

What you need to know

This topic has two syllabus outcomes:

1. **Specialisation at a national level**: what it means for a **country** to specialise, and why countries do it. In broad terms, a country specialises in the products it is best placed to make, because it has **better resources** for them (the right climate, land, minerals, skills or capital) and/or it can make them **more cheaply** than other countries.
2. **The advantages and disadvantages of specialisation at a national level**, for three groups: **consumers**, **firms** and **the economy** as a whole.

You do not need the words "absolute advantage" or "comparative advantage", though mark schemes reward them if you use them correctly. Free trade, tariffs, quotas and other trade barriers are the next topic (globalisation, free trade and protection); here you only need to know that free trade **encourages** specialisation and trade barriers **discourage** it. Specialisation by **workers** (division of labour) is in the workers topic: questions here are about **countries**.

Understand it

What national specialisation means

A country **specialises** when it concentrates its resources on producing a narrow range of goods and services, makes more of them than its own people need, **exports** the surplus and **imports** most of the other things it wants. Chile is known for copper, Saudi Arabia for oil, Bangladesh for clothing, Switzerland for banking and watches.

Specialisation and trade go together. A country can only afford to stop making something if it can buy it from abroad, and it only makes sense to make far more of one product than it needs if it can sell the rest abroad.

Why countries specialise: the basis

Countries differ in their **factors of production**:

- **Land and natural resources:** climate, soil, rainfall, minerals, oil, coastline. Coffee needs a warm climate at altitude; a country without oil cannot export oil.
- **Labour:** how many workers, and their skills and education.
- **Capital and technology:** machinery, factories, ports, research.
- **Enterprise:** firms and entrepreneurs with experience in an industry.

Because resources are spread unevenly, each country is better at making some things than others. When it has **superior resources** for a product, or **cheaper production methods** (lower wages, better technology, economies of scale), it can make that product at a **lower cost** than other countries. It then gains by specialising in that product and buying the rest from countries that make them more cheaply.

This only works when countries are **different** and can **move resources** into their best use. If two countries have the same climate and the same resources, there is little to gain from trading. If workers and capital cannot easily switch industries, a country struggles to specialise.

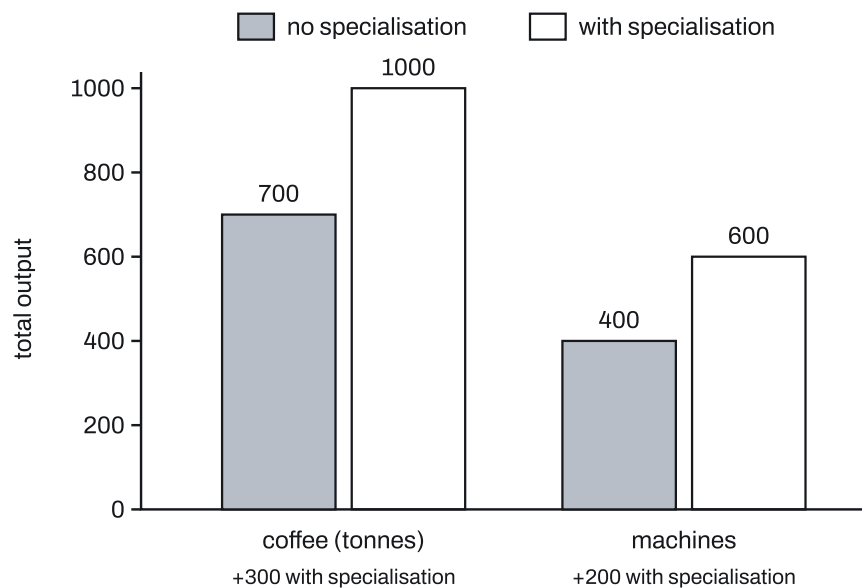
A worked illustration

Two countries, Ruvia and Tolmar, each have 100 workers. In one year:

Output of one worker	Coffee (tonnes)	Machines
Ruvia	10	2
Tolmar	4	6

Ruvia's land and climate suit coffee; Tolmar's skills and factories suit machines.

- **No specialisation:** each country puts 50 workers on each product. Ruvia makes $50 \times 10 = 500$ tonnes of coffee and $50 \times 2 = 100$ machines; Tolmar makes $50 \times 4 = 200$ tonnes and $50 \times 6 = 300$ machines. Together: **700 tonnes of coffee and 400 machines.**
- **With specialisation:** Ruvia puts all 100 workers on coffee (1000 tonnes) and Tolmar all 100 on machines (600 machines). Together: **1000 tonnes of coffee and 600 machines.**



The same 200 workers now make **300 more tonnes of coffee and 200 more machines**, because each country uses its resources where they are most productive. By trading, both countries can end up with more of both goods than they could make alone. That extra output is the root of every advantage below.

What encourages and what discourages specialisation

Encourages specialisation and trade	Discourages it
Large differences in resources between countries	Similar climates and resources
Being able to produce more cheaply than other countries	High costs compared with other producers
Resources that can be moved easily into the best use	Workers and capital that are hard to move between industries
Free trade: abolishing tariffs, quotas and customs duties	Tariffs, quotas and embargoes (bans) on imports
Low or falling transport costs	High transport costs
Stable exchange rates	Unstable exchange rates (export earnings become uncertain)

The same list explains **trade**: anything that makes trading harder, such as a country banning imports of a crop to stop a disease spreading, reduces trade and so reduces specialisation.

A **firm** can specialise too: a car maker that cuts the number of models it builds is **more** specialised; one that takes over an advertising agency or starts a credit card business is **less** specialised (it has diversified).

Advantages of national specialisation

For the economy:

- **Resources are used more efficiently:** each country makes what it is best at, so total output rises from the same resources (as in the illustration).
- **Economies of scale:** making large amounts of a few products for world markets lowers **average costs**, so firms become more competitive, and the country's output and **economic growth** rise.
- **More exports:** exports are part of total demand, so they raise output and **employment**, earn foreign currency and help the **current account** of the balance of payments.
- **Skills build up:** workers and firms get better at what they do; ideas and technology spread through trade.
- **More tax revenue** from higher incomes and profits, which can be spent on education, healthcare and infrastructure.

For firms:

- **Lower average costs** from economies of scale and from skilled workers who know the industry.
- **Larger markets:** they can sell to the whole world, raising revenue and profits.
- They can **import** cheaper or better raw materials and components, lowering costs.

For consumers:

- **Lower prices:** goods are made where they are cheapest, and **competition** between firms from different countries keeps prices down; the **cost of living** falls.
- **Better quality:** competition and expert producers raise quality.
- **More choice:** imports bring goods the country cannot make itself (bananas in a cold country, smartphones in a country without the technology).
- Higher **real incomes** and living standards.

Disadvantages of national specialisation

For the economy:

- **Over-dependence on other countries:** it relies on imports for everything else, including essentials such as food, medicines and fuel. If supplies are cut off (war, a blocked shipping route, a trading partner's recession), it suffers shortages and higher prices.
- **Risk if demand changes:** if world demand for its product falls (a recession abroad, new technology, a change in tastes), export revenue, output and jobs fall. Coal producers face this as the world moves to renewables.
- **Risk if supply elsewhere rises:** if other countries start producing more of the same product, its price falls and buyers switch to cheaper rivals. A copper-exporting country facing a big rise in copper supply from other countries would see **employment and economic growth both fall**.
- **Volatile prices and revenue:** the prices of primary products (oil, coffee, copper) swing a lot, so export earnings and tax revenue are unstable and hard to plan.
- **Natural disasters and weather:** a drought, flood or disease can destroy most of a country's output at once if it depends on one crop.

- **Resources run out:** a country specialising in a **non-renewable** resource (oil, minerals) can exhaust it; overfarming can exhaust land. Extracting oil more slowly can protect **future living standards**.
- **External costs:** pollution and environmental damage from heavy concentration on mining or manufacturing.
- **Opportunity cost:** resources put into one industry cannot be used for others.

For workers:

- **Structural unemployment:** if world demand shifts away from the product, or domestic firms become uncompetitive against imports, whole industries shrink and their workers lose their jobs. Their skills are narrow, so finding a new job is hard.

For firms:

- **Competition from foreign firms:** domestic firms making goods that other countries make more cheaply may lose sales and close.
- Dependence on **imported** raw materials and components, whose supply or price may change.

For consumers:

- If supplies from abroad are disrupted, or foreign producers raise their prices, consumers face **shortages and higher prices**, which hurt the poor most when the product is a basic necessity such as food.

Changing specialisation

What a country specialises in changes over time, because:

- **Its resources change:** new resources are discovered (oil), old ones run out, or the skills of the workforce improve through education.
- **Technology changes:** new methods make different products cheaper to make.
- **Costs change:** rising wages (for example, a higher minimum wage) make labour-intensive products less competitive; cheaper capital makes capital-intensive ones more so.
- **Demand changes:** world tastes shift (from coal to renewables, from natural to synthetic rubber).
- **Competition changes:** other countries become cheaper producers and win the market.

Many countries move from **primary products** (crops, minerals) to **manufactured goods** and services. Manufactured goods have **higher value added** and higher prices, use more productive and skilled labour, depend less on the weather, and give more stable revenue, higher incomes and more tax for development.

Key facts and formulas

There is no formula list for 0455. "Learn it" means you must remember it.

Formula or fact	Status
Basis for national specialisation: superior resources (resource allocation) and/or cheaper production methods	Learn it
Gain from specialisation = total output with specialisation – total output without, from the same resources	Learn it
Net exports of a product = output – domestic consumption (positive: net exporter; negative: net importer)	Learn it
Free trade, low transport costs and different resources encourage specialisation; tariffs, quotas, embargoes and high transport costs discourage it	Learn it
Advantages: efficiency, economies of scale (lower average costs), exports and growth, lower prices, better quality, more choice	Learn it
Disadvantages: dependence on other countries, risk from changes in demand or supply, volatile prices, natural disasters, resources running out, structural unemployment	Learn it

How to do it

We have tagged 34 questions on this topic (2021–2026): 24 multiple choice on Paper 1 and 10 structured questions on Paper 2, counting only the parts about this topic. Three structured questions have parts of two types, so the counts add up to 37.

Question type	Questions
Identify what encourages or is the basis for specialisation and trade	10
Identify an advantage of specialisation	8
Identify a disadvantage or risk of specialisation	7
Discuss whether specialising benefits an economy or consumers	7
Explain or analyse why a country specialises in, or changes, what it produces	3
Analyse the benefits of trade and of moving to higher-value specialisation	2

Written answers: plan **point** → **developed chain of reasoning** → **for Discuss, the other side with new reasons** → **a judgement**. Identify (2 marks) needs two short items; Explain (4 marks) needs **two** points, each identified (1) and explained (1); Analyse (6 marks) needs about **three** developed chains; Discuss needs at least two developed points on each side and a judgement.

1. Identify what encourages or is the basis for specialisation and trade (10 questions)

Paper 1, 1 mark each.

1. **The basis** is **superior resource allocation** (a country has better resources for the product) or the **ability to produce more cheaply** than other countries. Diseconomies of scale, higher costs and "producing a wide variety of goods" are the opposite.
2. **What encourages it:** **free trade**, the **abolition of tariffs and customs duties**, **falling transport costs**, and **large differences** in resources between countries.
3. **What discourages it:** tariffs, quotas, embargoes, high transport costs, unstable exchange rates, foreign exchange shortages, **similar** climates or resources, inefficient production.
4. **Both words in a pair must fit.** "More specialisation **and** falling transport costs" is certain to raise trade; a pair with one helpful and one harmful item (conservation **and** unstable exchange rates; exploitation of resources **and** more quotas) is not.

Variations you will meet:

- **Two conditions in a grid** (resource allocations similar or different; reallocating resources easy or difficult): countries are most likely to specialise and trade when their resources are **different** and they can reallocate resources **easily**.
- **What would *reduce* trade in a product:** a trade barrier such as an **embargo** (a ban) on imports. A tax on producers in the **importing** country, or a subsidy to producers in the **exporting** country, would make imports more attractive, not less.
- **Firm-level specialisation:** a firm that **narrows** its range (a vehicle maker building fewer models) becomes more specialised; one that takes over an unrelated business or adds a new service diversifies.

2. Identify an advantage of specialisation (8 questions)

Paper 1, 1 mark each. First decide **who** the question asks about.

- **The economy:** resources are used **more efficiently**; **more exports**; economic growth because specialisation **lowers average costs** of production (economies of scale).
- **Firms:** **lower average costs due to economies of scale**.
- **Consumers:** **lower prices** because of competition between firms, **better quality**, more choice, a lower **cost of living**.
- **Traps:** options that are really disadvantages ("increases dependency", "longer supply chains", "decreased profits", "high transport costs"), or that overclaim ("**guarantees** a trade surplus"), are wrong. An option must benefit the group named: "multinationals increase their profits" is not a benefit for consumers, and "increased productivity" is not one either, because consumers do not produce.
- **Specialisation in manufacturing:** the likely result is **lower prices for consumers**, not more varied work, less efficiency or less dependence on trade.

3. Identify a disadvantage or risk of specialisation (7 questions)

Mostly Paper 1, 1 mark each.

- **Dependence:** reliance on trade with other countries **for other goods**.

- **For workers:** they could become **structurally unemployed** if world demand changes, or if domestic firms are **uncompetitive** against imports.
- **A rise in world supply** of the product a country specialises in lowers its price and the country's sales, so **employment and economic growth both fall**.
- **Volatile prices:** export revenue becomes unstable.
- **Non-renewable resources:** a country with one finite export may slow extraction to **maintain future living standards**.

Watch for **reversals**: "What is **not** an acceptable reason for producing a wide range of goods instead of specialising?" The acceptable reasons are the risks of specialising (finite resources, volatile prices, dependence on others). The wrong one is "a wide range of goods **increases** the benefits of free trade": **less** specialisation **reduces** the gains from trade.

Structured form (Paper 2, 2 marks): "Identify two disadvantages of a country specialising": two short items, such as "a fall in world demand" and "bad weather damaging the crop". Write about the **country**, not about workers doing repetitive tasks.

4. Discuss whether specialising benefits an economy or consumers (7 questions)

Paper 2: 6 marks in Section A (the source question; up to 4 marks a side) or 8 marks in Section B (marked by levels; both sides developed and a judgement for 6–8).

1. **Read the key words.** Is it about **countries** (not workers or firms)? About the **economy**, or about **consumers**? Answer that group only.
2. **Why it might:** two developed chains, such as rising world demand → more exports → output and jobs → growth; economies of scale → lower average costs → more competitive → profits and tax revenue; lower prices and more choice for consumers.
3. **Why it might not:** two chains with **new** reasons: competition from other producers; weather and natural disasters; unstable prices and demand; resources running out; pollution; opportunity cost; dependence on imports and on trading partners; profits sent abroad by foreign firms.
4. **Judge:** say what the answer depends on, such as whether world demand will keep growing, how large a share of output the product is, and whether the country uses the revenue to diversify.

Ready-made points for the cases that have been asked about:

Case	Why it might benefit	Why it might not
Putting more resources into one export crop or mineral (coffee, coal, diamonds)	World demand rising; inelastic demand so revenue rises; economies of scale; more exports and current account; jobs; tax revenue; market power if already a big producer	Rival producers more competitive; weather and disasters; land or reserves exhausted; opportunity cost (other products); low pay; demand may fall (coal to renewables) and leave spare capacity; external costs; profits sent abroad by multinationals

Case	Why it might benefit	Why it might not
Importing most of its food	Lacks land or climate for farming; frees resources for manufacturing and services with higher value added and wages; avoids weather risk	Dependent on other countries for an essential; supply can be disrupted; foreign producers may raise prices; higher food prices increase poverty; farming may be a strategic industry
Specialisation in general harming an economy	Over-dependence (food imports, shortages); resources exhausted; structural unemployment if demand shifts	Efficiency rises as countries focus on what they do best; economies of scale; growth and exports
Specialisation benefiting consumers	Lower prices from competition and low costs; better quality; more choice through imports; higher real incomes	Shortages and price rises if supply from abroad is disrupted; less choice of local products; foreign firms may gain market power and raise prices
A slowdown in a big trading partner	(Harm) fewer exports, so lower output and jobs; less foreign investment	(No harm) the country can find new markets; a small share of exports; cheaper imports

In a **source question**, use the source's facts (its growing world demand, natural disasters, its rank as a producer) and add your own reasons too.

5. Explain or analyse why a country specialises in, or changes, what it produces (3 questions)

Paper 2, 4–5 marks.

- **"Explain two reasons why a country may change its specialisation"** (4 marks): two of: a change in the **quantity or quality of resources** (a discovery, new technology); a change in **costs** (higher wages, cheaper capital); a change in **demand** (tastes, revenue); a change in **competition** (other countries become cheaper). Each identified (1) and explained (1).
- **"Analyse why country X buys most of a product from country Y"**: Y has the right resources or climate, produces more cheaply or at higher quality, or can supply when X cannot (a different season); then link to lower prices or reliable supply for X. Use the reasons the source gives.
- **"Analyse whether large producers are likely to be net exporters"** (data in a table of output and consumption): a country exports when its **output is greater than its consumption**. Compare output with consumption for **each** country: say which are net exporters, name the **exceptions** that consume more than they produce (net importers), and say why (a huge population or heavy industry using it all). Large output alone does not make a country an exporter.

6. Analyse the benefits of trade and of moving to higher-value specialisation (2 questions)

Paper 2, 6 marks: each linked step earns a mark.

- **Benefits of exporting and importing:** specialise in what the country is best at (1) → efficiency rises (1); exports raise demand for domestic output (1) → economic growth and jobs (1); larger markets (1) → economies of scale and lower average costs (1); imports give consumers more choice (1) at lower prices (1) → higher living standards (1); imports bring competition (1) → better quality (1); raw materials the country cannot produce (1) → lower costs of production (1); ideas and technology spread (1) → productivity rises (1).
- **Manufacturing instead of primary products:** higher prices and **value added** (1) → higher revenue and profits (1); more productive, skilled jobs (1) → higher incomes and less poverty (1); less dependent on the weather (1) → more stable revenue, easier to plan (1); more tax revenue (1) → more spending on education, healthcare and infrastructure (1).

Worked examples

Example 1

(a) Identify **two** reasons why a country may specialise in producing a particular product. [2]

(b) Explain **two** advantages for consumers of international specialisation. [4]

(a) It has better resources for that product, such as a suitable climate or mineral deposits (1). It can produce the product more cheaply than other countries (1).

(b) Goods are produced in the countries that can make them most cheaply, and firms from many countries compete to sell them (1), so prices fall and consumers' incomes buy more, lowering the cost of living (1).

Consumers can buy imports of products their own country cannot make, such as tropical fruit in a cold country (1), so they have more choice and can buy products that better meet their wants, raising living standards (1).

Example 2

The table shows each country's main export, its share of the country's total exports, and the country's total exports in one year.

Country	Main export	Share of total exports (%)	Total exports (\$bn)
V	copper	72	40
W	cars	18	250
X	cocoa	55	12
Y	oil	85	30

Analyse which of these countries is most at risk from a fall in the world price of its main export. [4]

The more of a country's exports come from one product, the more it is hurt when that product's price falls (1). Y is most at risk: 85% of its exports are oil, worth \$25.5bn, so if the oil price fell by 20% with the same amount sold, its export revenue would fall by \$5.1bn, which is 17% of its total exports (1). W is least at risk: cars are only 18% of its exports, so the same 20% fall would cut its total exports by only 3.6% (1). Y's lower export earnings would mean lower incomes, jobs lost in the oil industry and less tax revenue for its government (1), and as oil is non-renewable and its price is volatile, Y depends on a risky product (1). (Any 4.)

Example 3

Analyse how specialisation at a national level can lead to economic growth. [6]

When a country specialises in the products it is best at making (1), its resources are used more efficiently, so the same resources produce more output (1). Producing on a large scale for world markets gives firms economies of scale (1), lowering average costs of production (1), so the country's products become cheaper and more competitive abroad (1). Exports rise, and as exports are part of total demand (1), firms increase output and employ more workers (1), so real GDP rises: economic growth (1). (Any 6.)

Example 4

Discuss whether or not a country should specialise in producing cocoa. [8]

Specialisation means a country concentrating its resources on a narrow range of products and trading for the rest.

Why it should. If the country's climate and soil suit cocoa, it can grow it more cheaply than other countries, so its resources are used efficiently and output is higher than if it tried to grow everything. With world demand for chocolate rising, more cocoa can be exported, which adds to total demand, creates jobs on farms and in transport, and improves the current account (developed point for).

Large-scale production lets farms and processors gain economies of scale, lowering average costs and raising profits, so the government collects more tax revenue to spend on schools, healthcare and roads, raising living standards (developed point for).

Why it should not. Cocoa is a crop, so a drought, flood or plant disease can destroy much of the harvest at once; with most of its exports in one product, the country's export earnings, incomes and tax revenue would fall sharply, and farm workers could become unemployed (developed point against).

The world price of cocoa swings widely, and if other countries expand their cocoa output the price will fall, so revenue is unpredictable and hard to plan with. Relying on one export also makes the country dependent on other countries for most of the goods it needs, and the resources used for cocoa have an opportunity cost, such as manufacturing that would add more value (developed point against).

Judgement. Specialising in cocoa is likely to benefit the country if it is a low-cost producer and world demand keeps growing, but it should not depend on cocoa alone: using the export revenue to develop processing (making chocolate, which adds more value) and other industries reduces the risk from bad harvests and falling

prices. It depends on how large a share of output cocoa would become. Both sides are developed and the judgement says what it depends on: Level 3 (6–8 marks).

Common mistakes

- **Writing about workers or firms instead of countries.** The June 2021 and June 2022 reports note answers about individuals, firms or the division of labour (bored workers on a production line) when the question asked about **national** specialisation. Write about a country specialising in products and trading.
- **Answering for the wrong group.** In June 2021, some answers to a question about benefits to **consumers** wrote about benefits to the country. Underline the key words (countries, consumers, economy) before you start.
- **One-sided discussions.** June 2023 found many answers about expanding an industry gave plenty of benefits but few reasons why it might not help, or listed factors without developing them. Give two developed points on each side.
- **Copying data without analysing it.** In June 2023, answers about whether large producers were net exporters quoted figures without comparing output with consumption, or ignored the table. Say what the figures **show**: output above consumption means exports; name the exceptions.
- **Thinking specialisation means producing many things.** It means concentrating on a few. Less specialisation (a wider range of goods) **reduces** the gains from trade; in March 2025 most candidates missed this reversal.
- **Overlooking how imports cause unemployment.** In June 2021 only a third of candidates saw that specialisation can make some domestic firms uncompetitive, so demand switches to imports and workers become structurally unemployed.
- **Writing very short answers to Discuss questions.** The June 2022 report notes that a Section B part (d) needs more depth than a 4-mark part (b).

How to get the marks

- **Identify** (2 marks): two short items, one mark each; only the first ones you write are read. Don't spend time explaining.
- **Explain** (4 marks): two points, each identified (1) and developed (1) with a "so" or "because".
- **Analyse** (6 marks): chains of linked steps; each correct link is a mark and a repeated idea scores once. Analyse does not need the other side.
- **Analyse data** (4–5 marks): state the general pattern, support it with named countries' figures **interpreted** (a difference or a comparison), give the reason, then the exception and why.
- **Discuss** (6 marks, Section A): up to 4 marks a side; turning a point round to argue the other side earns nothing unless it gives a **new** reason. **Discuss** (8 marks, Section B): both sides developed, then a judgement saying what the answer depends on, for Level 3.
- **Absolute and comparative advantage** are rewarded but never required: plain reasons (better resources, lower costs) earn full marks.

- **Use the source** when the question says so: name its country, product and facts.
- **Multiple choice**: decide who the question is about (consumers, firms, economy, workers), whether it wants an advantage or a disadvantage, and watch for **not**; check both halves of a paired option.

Quick check

1. Country X and country Y each have 200 workers. A worker in X can make 6 tonnes of wheat or 3 bicycles; a worker in Y can make 2 tonnes of wheat or 5 bicycles. Find their total output if each puts half its workers on each good, and if X makes only wheat and Y only bicycles. What is the gain from specialisation?
2. A country produces 45 million tonnes of a mineral and its firms use 28 million tonnes. Calculate how much it can export and what percentage of its output that is (to 1 decimal place).
3. Which would most encourage two countries to specialise and trade with each other? A both have the same climate; B high tariffs on each other's goods; C large differences in their natural resources; D rising transport costs between them.
4. Explain **two** disadvantages for a country's workers of the country specialising in a few products. **[4]**
5. Explain **two** ways in which a fall in world demand for a country's main export could affect its government. **[4]**

Answers

1. No specialisation: X makes $100 \times 6 = 600$ tonnes of wheat and $100 \times 3 = 300$ bicycles; Y makes $100 \times 2 = 200$ tonnes and $100 \times 5 = 500$ bicycles. Total **800 tonnes of wheat and 800 bicycles**. With specialisation: X makes $200 \times 6 = 1200$ tonnes of wheat and Y makes $200 \times 5 = 1000$ bicycles. The gain is **400 tonnes of wheat and 200 bicycles** from the same 400 workers.
2. Exports: $45 - 28 = 17$, so it can export **17 million tonnes**. That is $17 \div 45 \times 100 = 37.8\%$ of its output (37.8%).
3. **C**. Specialisation and trade are worth most when countries' resources differ; A, B and D all reduce the gains or make trade harder.
4. If world demand for the country's main product falls (1), firms cut output and workers lose their jobs; their skills are specific to that industry, so they become structurally unemployed and find it hard to get other work (1). Domestic firms in industries where other countries produce more cheaply may be uncompetitive against imports (1), so demand switches to imports, those firms close and their workers lose their jobs and incomes (1).
5. Firms in the export industry sell less, so their profits and their workers' incomes fall (1), so the government collects less tax revenue from profits, incomes and spending, leaving less to spend on schools, healthcare and roads (1). Workers in the export industry lose their jobs (1), so the government must spend more on unemployment benefits, and with lower tax revenue its budget deficit may grow (1).

Past questions to try

- **0455/12/F/M/24 Q27**: the resource and reallocation conditions for specialising.
- **0455/12/O/N/21 Q27**: a disadvantage of specialisation for workers.
- **0455/21/O/N/23 Q4**: parts (b) and (c), changing specialisation and moving into manufacturing.
- **0455/23/M/J/22 Q1**: part (g), whether national specialisation harms an economy.