



International Baccalaureate®
Baccalauréat International
Bachillerato Internacional

Global politics

Higher level and standard level

Specimen papers 1 and 2

For first examinations in 2017

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Global politics
Higher level and standard level
Paper 1

Specimen paper

1 hour 15 minutes

Instructions to candidates

- Do not open this examination paper until instructed to do so.
- Answer all the questions.
- The maximum mark for this examination paper is **[25 marks]**.

Foundational unit: Power, sovereignty and international relations

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs)

Read all the sources carefully and answer all the questions that follow.

Source A Adapted from “Singapore rapped over protest ban”, BBC News, 2006.

The World Bank president has criticized Singapore for banning accredited activists from its annual general meeting in the country. Singapore authorities have blocked the 19 civil society representatives from attending the event amid claims that they pose a security risk.

The president told BBC World he hoped Singapore would reconsider its stance. On the agenda for next week’s World Bank annual general meeting are plans to tackle corruption and reform of the bank’s voting structure. The president said Singapore had made a “bad” decision when it blocked activists that had been invited to the event. “I hope Singapore’s authorities will change their minds and allow the people in that we have accredited as originally agreed,” he added.

He added that it was important for the organization to hold a “strong dialogue” with such groups. “We may not always agree with what they have to say, but it is very important to have that discussion.”

The comments followed Singapore’s refusal to lift a ban on public protests. Following the ban, pressure groups and non-governmental organizations decided they would demonstrate on Batam Island instead – an Indonesian island located close to Singapore by boat. But now Indonesian police have decided to ban international NGOs from protesting there as well, saying the demonstrations could become violent and act as a deterrent to tourists.

Source B Adapted from *Global Politics* by Andrew Heywood, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Although lacking the economic influence that transnational corporations (TNCs) can exert, advocacy NGOs have proved highly skilled at mobilizing “soft” power and popular pressure. In this respect they have a number of advantages. Leading NGOs have developed high public profiles, often linked to public protests and demonstrations that attract eager media attention. Their typically altruistic and humanitarian objectives enable them to mobilize public support and apply moral pressure in a way that conventional politicians and political parties struggle to rival. On a wide range of issues the views of NGOs are taken to be both authoritative and impartial, based on the use of specialists and academics.

Source C A table of information about six well-known NGOs.

Name of organization	Focus	Reach	Approximate 2011 expenditure (US\$)
Greenpeace	Environmental issues	Over 2.5 million members	\$163 721 000
CARE International	Poverty	Projects in 84 countries in 2011	\$706 325 000
Amnesty International	Human rights	Over 3 million members	\$61 882 458
Médecins Sans Frontières	Emergency medical assistance	Projects in over 60 countries in 2011	\$400 000 000
Red Cross/Red Crescent	Disaster relief	Approximately 97 million volunteers, members and staff worldwide	\$821 892 318
Habitat for Humanity	Housing/shelter	Built more than 500 000 houses since 1976	\$224 700 000

Source D Extract from “Strengthening Civil Society” from the Aga Khan Development Network website. The Aga Khan Development Network is a non-governmental organization which works to support development and address poverty in over 30 countries around the world.

It has become clear to many governments that successful states require more than the introduction of democratic elections and political parties. Civil society, particularly indigenous NGOs, must play a central role in promoting good governance and accountability. But to be effective, NGOs must be well-run and well-governed themselves. They must operate under a code of ethics and governance that stresses accountability so that resources are not wasted. They must also have a quantifiable impact on development challenges, as measured against well-recognized indicators, such as infant and maternal mortality, literacy and the reduction in the incidence of disease. Increasing community participation is also vital to progress.

1. According to Source B, what **three** advantages do NGOs have over other actors in global politics? [3]

2. With reference to Source C, suggest common features of large NGOs that can be deduced from the information in the table. [4]

3. Contrast the views of Source A and Source D regarding the relationship between NGOs and states. [8]

4. Using the sources and your own knowledge, evaluate the claim that NGOs are insignificant actors in global politics. [10]

Acknowledgments:

Source A: www.news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/business/5326692.stm [accessed 6 May 2015]

Source D: www.akdn.org/Content/914 [accessed 9 January 2012]

Markscheme

Specimen paper

Global politics

Higher level and standard level

Paper 1

Bulleted lists in this markscheme indicate likely points that candidates may include in their answer: they are not exhaustive, and examiners should credit other valid points not listed.

Foundational unit: Power, sovereignty and international relations

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs)

1. According to Source B, what **three** advantages do NGOs have over other actors in global politics? **[3]**

- highly skilled at mobilizing “soft” power and popular pressure
- high public profiles
- media attention
- altruistic and humanitarian objectives
- mobilize public support and apply moral pressure
- authoritative and impartial
- use of specialists and academics.

*Award **[1]** for each relevant point up to a maximum of **[3]**.
Other relevant points not listed can also be rewarded.*

2. With reference to Source C, suggest common features of large NGOs that can be deduced from the information in the table. **[4]**

Answers may include, but are not limited to:

- NGOs focus on what are arguably humanity’s greatest development challenges eg eradicating poverty and securing human rights;
- NGOs focus on issues that states and intergovernmental organizations have so far been unable to deal with effectively, eg environmental issues;
- on issues such as disaster relief, NGOs can often act more effectively than other actors, who are often slower and more bureaucratic;
- NGOs rely on citizen voluntarism and on an active membership, eg the Red Cross/Red Crescent movement has 97 million volunteers, members and staff worldwide;
- NGOs require financial resources for their work, with action-oriented work (eg Habitat for Humanity) typically requiring more resources than advocacy (eg Amnesty International);
- the nature of the work of large NGOs is international, eg CARE International had projects in 84 countries in 2011.

*Candidates are not expected to make four separate points in order to achieve full marks. For each valid point a maximum of **[2]** may be awarded, up to a total of **[4]**. To be awarded **[2]** a point must be well developed; for example, simply making the point that NGOs work with different kinds of problems would be awarded **[1]**, whereas developing this point into a comment such as “NGOs engage with some of humanity’s greatest development challenges, such as eradicating poverty and securing human rights” would be awarded **[2]**. Please note this is an example only, and there are other valid ways in which this point could be developed.*

3. Contrast the views of Source A and Source D regarding the relationship between NGOs and states.

[8]

Potential points of contrast:

- Source A refers to the Singaporean government banning NGO activists from the World Bank annual general meeting, whereas Source D emphasizes the need for cooperation between NGOs and governments;
- Source D refers to NGOs having “a central role in promoting good governance and accountability” whereas the Singaporean government is portrayed in Source A as perceiving them as a negative and destabilizing influence;
- Source D states that NGOs should “operate under a code of ethics and governance that stresses accountability” whereas Source A presents the view that the Singaporean government considers that they pose a security risk and “could become violent”;
- Source A says that avoiding violence and protecting tourism is more important for the Singaporean and Indonesian governments than the rights of NGOs to protest, whereas Source D says that “increasing community participation is also vital to progress” seeing NGOs as an integral part of society;
- Source A describes how Singapore is exerting state power over the NGOs, whereas Source D argues that NGOs are a key part of “successful states”;
- Source D is from an NGO whereas Source A is from the BBC (NGO advocating a point of view, BBC reporting news).

If the view of only one source is discussed award a maximum of [4]. If the views of the two sources are discussed separately with no linkage, award a maximum of [4]. For a response which focuses significantly on one source with only minimal reference to the other source, award a maximum of [5]. Award [2] per effective point of contrast, up to a maximum of [8]. For an [8] response expect a detailed running contrast but do not expect all of the above, and allow other valid points.

4. Using the sources and your own knowledge, evaluate the claim that NGOs are insignificant actors in global politics. [10]

Question 4 is assessed according to the markbands that follow, in conjunction with these marking notes. Source material may include, but is not limited to:

Source A

- importance of NGOs recognized by president of the World Bank, who emphasizes the need for “strong dialogue” with NGOs;
- Singapore has blocked and Indonesia has banned NGO protests, which could be seen as an attempt to marginalize them, or as the exercise of traditional state power over NGOs;
- the decision to prevent the protests could indicate that these states feel threatened by NGOs;
- NGOs receive media attention – this is a BBC news article.

Source B

- NGOs have “high public profiles”, are skilled at mobilizing “soft” power, and often have popular and appealing humanitarian objectives;
- NGOs are often regarded as “authoritative and impartial”;
- NGOs lack the economic power and influence of TNCs.

Source C

- many NGOs have very large memberships, eg Amnesty International has a membership of 3 million and Greenpeace has 2.5 million members;
- many NGOs have very large budgets, eg the Red Cross / Red Crescent has an annual budget of US\$821 892 318;
- NGOs have a global reach.

Source D

- NGOs are highlighted as “particularly” important elements of civil society;
- NGOs can model good governance and accountability in developing states;
- although this source (taken from the website of an NGO) advocates “a central role”, it doesn’t say that this is actually currently the case;
- the emphasis on the need for NGOs to be ethical, “well-run” and more efficient could be seen to imply that this is currently not the case.

Own knowledge may include, but is not limited to:

Arguments for the claim that NGOs are insignificant actors:

- other actors have far more power; for example, states have more military power and TNCs have more economic power;
- NGOs may have to undertake controversial or even illegal activities to attempt to gain media attention;
- some NGOs have to work with states or other organizations and therefore have to compromise their ideals and values.

Arguments against the claim that NGOs are insignificant actors:

- NGOs can act as a moral compass and promote a sense of civic responsibility;
- NGOs are important because they can empower people who are otherwise disempowered;
- NGOs can build networks across state borders and are therefore better placed to draw attention to and act on cross-border issues;
- some large NGOs have more income and more membership than some small states.

The bullet points indicate possible areas candidates might cover in their answers. They are not compulsory points. Examiners should not expect all of the points and should be responsive to any other valid points/arguments. Candidates should synthesize and evaluate evidence from the sources and from their study of the prescribed content and key concepts of the course. If only source material or only own knowledge is used the response can only be awarded a maximum of [6]

Markbands for question 4

Marks	Level descriptor
0	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The work does not reach a standard described by the descriptors below.
1–2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is a very limited understanding of the demands of the question. • There is little relevant knowledge. • The response is mostly descriptive and may contain unsupported generalizations.
3–4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is a limited understanding of the demands of the question, or the question is only partially addressed. • Some knowledge is demonstrated, but this is not always relevant or accurate, and may not be used appropriately or effectively. • Counterclaims, or different views on the question, are not identified.
5–6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The response shows an understanding of the demands of the question. • Knowledge is mostly accurate and relevant, and there is some limited synthesis of own knowledge and source material. • Counterclaims, or different views on the question, are implicitly identified but are not explored.
7–8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The response is focused and shows a good understanding of the demands of the question. • Relevant and accurate knowledge is demonstrated, there is a synthesis of own knowledge and source material, and appropriate examples are used. • Counterclaims, or different views on the question, are explored.
9–10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The response is clearly focused and shows a high degree of understanding of the demands of the question. • Relevant and accurate knowledge is demonstrated, there is effective synthesis of own knowledge and source material, with appropriate examples integrated. • Counterclaims, or different views on the question, are explored and evaluated

Global politics
Higher level
Paper 2

Specimen paper

2 hours 45 minutes

Instructions to candidates

- Do not open this examination paper until instructed to do so.
- Answer three questions, each from a different unit of study. Each question is worth **[25 marks]**.
- The maximum mark for this examination paper is **[75 marks]**.

Answer **three** questions, each from a different unit of study.

Each question is worth **[25 marks]**.

Power, sovereignty and international relations

1. To what extent is state sovereignty an outdated concept in the 21st century?
2. “Global politics is characterized more by cooperation than by conflict.” Discuss.

Human rights

3. “A national or regional approach to human rights enforcement is more effective than a global approach.” Discuss.
4. “The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) seeks to impose a Western view of human rights on non-Western societies.” To what extent do you agree with this criticism?

Development

5. Evaluate the claim that development is impossible to measure.
6. Discuss the view that the biggest obstacles to development in today’s world are political.

Peace and conflict

7. Examine the view that peace can be defined as the absence of physical violence.
 8. Evaluate the claim that humanitarian intervention is a justifiable intrusion into the sovereignty of a state.
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Global politics
Standard level
Paper 2

Specimen paper

1 hour 45 minutes

Instructions to candidates

- Do not open this examination paper until instructed to do so.
- Answer two questions, each from a different unit of study. Each question is worth **[25 marks]**.
- The maximum mark for this examination paper is **[50 marks]**.

Answer **two** questions, each from a different unit of study.

Each question is worth **[25 marks]**.

Power, sovereignty and international relations

1. To what extent is state sovereignty an outdated concept in the 21st century?
2. “Global politics is characterized more by cooperation than by conflict.” Discuss.

Human rights

3. “A national or regional approach to human rights enforcement is more effective than a global approach.” Discuss.
4. “The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) seeks to impose a Western view of human rights on non-Western societies.” To what extent do you agree with this criticism?

Development

5. Evaluate the claim that development is impossible to measure.
6. Discuss the view that the biggest obstacles to development in today’s world are political.

Peace and conflict

7. Examine the view that peace can be defined as the absence of physical violence.
 8. Evaluate the claim that humanitarian intervention is a justifiable intrusion into the sovereignty of a state.
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Markscheme

Specimen paper

Global politics

Higher level and standard level

Paper 2

The paper is marked using the generic markbands below, and the paper specific markscheme that follows. The markscheme for this paper is the same for HL and SL.

Markbands for paper two

Marks	Level descriptor
0	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The work does not reach a standard described by the descriptors below.
1–5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The response reveals limited understanding of the demands of the question. • The response is poorly structured, or where there is a recognizable essay structure there is minimal focus on the task. • There is little relevant knowledge, and examples are either lacking or not relevant. • The response is mostly descriptive.
6–10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The response indicates some understanding of the demands of the question. • There is some evidence of an attempt to structure the response. • Some relevant knowledge is present, and some examples are mentioned but they are not developed or their relevance to arguments is not clear. • The response demonstrates limited understanding of the key concepts of the course. • There is limited justification of main points. • Counterclaims, or different views on the question, are not considered.
11–5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The demands of the question are understood and mostly addressed but the implications are not considered. • There is a clear attempt to structure the response. • The response is mostly based on relevant and accurate knowledge of global politics, and relevant examples are given and support arguments. • The response demonstrates some understanding of the key concepts of the course. • Many of the main points are justified and arguments are largely coherent. • Some counterclaims, or different views on the question, are considered.
16–20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The demands of the questions are understood and addressed, and most implications are considered. • The response is well-structured. • The response demonstrates relevant and accurate knowledge and understanding of global politics, and relevant examples are used in a way that strengthens arguments. • The response demonstrates a good grasp of the key concepts of the course. • All or nearly all of the main points are justified and arguments are coherent. • Counterclaims, or different views on the question, are explored.
21–25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A very well structured and balanced response that addresses the demands and implications of the question. • Comprehensive knowledge and in-depth understanding of global politics is applied in the response consistently and effectively, with examples integrated. • The response demonstrates a very good grasp of the key concepts of the course. • All of the main points are justified. Arguments are clear, coherent and compelling. • Counterclaims, or different views on the question, are explored and evaluated.

The content listed indicates possible areas candidates might cover in their answers. They are not compulsory points. Candidates may take a different approach, which if appropriate, should be rewarded. Examiners should not expect all of the points listed and should allow other valid points.

Power, sovereignty and international relations

1. To what extent is state sovereignty an outdated concept in the 21st century?

Answers should include an understanding of the concept of sovereignty; for example, they may include reference to sovereignty as characterising a state's independence, its control over territory and its ability to govern itself. Answers may also include an explanation of the distinction between internal and external sovereignty.

*Arguments that state sovereignty **is** an outdated concept may include reference to:*

- the erosion of sovereignty by globalization;
- the growth / increased influence of international organizations and other non-state actors;
- pressures on state sovereignty from the international community, as in the case of humanitarian intervention or human rights abuses.

*Arguments that state sovereignty **is not** an outdated concept may include reference to:*

- the continued ability of states to legislate in their own national interest;
- the strengthening of states' national security due to the growing threat of terrorism;
- the ability of states to isolate themselves from the international community to varying degrees (eg North Korea, Russia);
- the link between sovereignty and the economic strength and power of the state.

Answers should contain references to specific examples. For instance, candidates could refer to instances of multinational companies (MNCs) undermining state sovereignty (eg tax avoidance) or to cases where external military coalitions have intervened in a country's conflict (eg Libya). These could be counteracted with examples of the strengthening of border controls (eg by the United States) or of nations who are seen as reluctant to engage with outside influences (eg North Korea).

Answers should include an evaluation of the extent to which state sovereignty is an outdated concept in the 21st century.

2. “Global politics is characterized more by cooperation than by conflict.” Discuss.

Answers should include an understanding of the concept of cooperation; for example, with reference to global governance, cooperation at a regional level, the implementation (or not) of international law, or to the liberal view that emphasises cooperation as a driving force of global politics. Answers should also include an understanding of the concept of conflict; for example they may include reference to the distinction between violent and non-violent conflict, or to the realist view that national interests prevail in global politics even if they lead to conflict.

Arguments that global politics is characterized more by cooperation may include reference to:

- the United Nations (UN) and intergovernmental organizations (IGOs);
- global governance;
- international law and treaties;
- economic cooperation;
- informal cooperation;
- the decline of inter-state conflict;
- joint operations to provide humanitarian aid.

Arguments that global politics is characterized more by conflict may include reference to:

- tensions, controversies and challenges surrounding efforts at cooperation;
- states’ resistance to intervention;
- intractable conflicts between and within states;
- the rise of terrorism.

Answers should contain references to specific examples. There may be reference to specific examples of cooperation, such as cooperation through the UN framework or NATO, or bilateral cooperation (eg China in Africa); or to specific examples of conflict, such as events in the Middle East or Eastern Europe, or conflict over European integration.

Answers should include an evaluation of whether contemporary global politics is characterized more by cooperation than by conflict.

Human rights

3. “A national or regional approach to human rights enforcement is more effective than a global approach.” Discuss.

Answers should demonstrate an understanding of the concept of human rights; for example, reference to the widely held concept of human rights as universal, inalienable, equal, and indivisible rights to which people are entitled purely by being human. Answers should also include an understanding of the difference between national, regional and global aspects of rights; global as referring to events and trends which have far-reaching and long-term impacts across the globe, cutting across national identities and interests; regional, referring to events and trends limited to a particular geographic region such as Sub-Saharan Africa or East Asia; and national, as within a particular country.

Arguments in favour of a national or regional approach may include reference to:

- the ability of smaller units to act more swiftly;
- smaller-scale operations being potentially less bureaucratic;
- greater knowledge of the situation by local actors;
- a sense of shared regional identity aiding co-operation;
- an avoidance of the imposition of universalism.

Arguments that a global approach is more effective may include reference to:

- the greater power and weight, prestige and influence of such an approach;
- the ability of broad coalitions to access greater means/ resources;
- a global approach as potentially avoiding cultural relativism/ providing an objective view.

Answers should contain references to specific examples. These can include examples of global actors / activities, such as the Human Rights Council or The Hague Courts, or specific reference to regional examples such as the African Charter.

Answers should include an evaluation of whether a national or regional approach to human rights enforcement is more effective than a global approach.

4. “The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) seeks to impose a Western view of human rights on non-Western societies.” To what extent do you agree with this criticism?

Answers should demonstrate an understanding of the concept of human rights; for example, reference to human rights as being widely regarded as universal, inalienable, equal, and indivisible rights that people are entitled to purely by being human. Answers should also include an understanding of The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) adopted by the UN in 1948; marking the beginning of formal discussion of human rights around the world.

*Arguments that the UDHR **does** present and impose a Western perspective may include reference to:*

- the geo-political climate in which it was written (the 1948 post-WW2 context; a heightened sense of human sacrifice; the influence of Judeo-Christian values; a limited understanding or appreciation of non-Western value systems, *etc*);
- the people who refer to the UDHR in the global public space and the contexts in which they refer to it, *ie* typically, Western leaders referring to it to justify Western perspectives or actions;
- the role of human rights NGOs, and their primarily Western bases;
- the individual-centred notion of human rights of the UDHR versus more collective notions;
- the differences between the UDHR and non-Western perceptions of human rights.

*Arguments that the UDHR **does not** present and impose a Western perspective may include reference to:*

- the idea of rights as being universal, so the context is irrelevant;
- the development and evolution of more recent global human rights legislation that is more sensitive to cultural diversity;
- the influence of non-Western figures on the implementation of the human rights embodied in the UDHR in non-Western contexts;
- the similarities between the UDHR and non-Western perceptions of human rights.

Answers should contain references to specific examples. These may include, for instance, the influence of Western and non-Western human rights advocates (*eg* Eleanor Roosevelt, Martin Luther King, Mikhail Gorbachev, Nelson Mandela, Aung San Suu Kyi, Malala Yousafzai) and examples of similar and dissimilar human rights declarations (*eg* the Bangkok Declaration of 1993, the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam of 1990, the Maputo Protocol of 2005).

Answers should include an evaluation of whether or not the UDHR presents a Western perspective on human rights and seeks to impose those values on non-Western societies.

Development

5. Evaluate the claim that development is impossible to measure.

Answers should demonstrate an understanding of the concept of development; for example reference to the fact that development is not the same as economic growth, that it reflects the living standards and well-being of an entire population over time, and that it incorporates ideas such as access to basic goods and services, including education and healthcare as well as environmental concerns.

Arguments that development is impossible to measure may include reference to:

- the non-quantifiable nature of a concept as complex as development: people value different kinds of lives, and in different cultures different things are considered important;
- the difficulty of whether absolute or relative measures should be focused upon;
- the difficulty of whether development should be focused on current or on future generations;
- the difficulty of acquiring reliable data: some countries may not have reliable enough administrations at all levels to gather data;
- the manipulation of data for political means;
- data conflicts, time lags and the difficulty of drawing conclusions from a great variety of human motivations.

*Arguments that development is **not** impossible to measure may include reference to:*

- a consensus on the fundamental ingredients of a society that enables people to achieve well-being, as illustrated by the similarities in philosophical traditions in different cultures; by the universal elements incorporated in international human rights laws and treaties, and by the emergence of global measurements;
- a better awareness of what are legitimate demands for development, enabled by the globalization of communication;
- a greater focus on previously “hidden” groups, such as children, women or bonded labour;
- improvements in the collection of and access to data, and an enhanced ability to report and analyse data.

Answers should contain references to specific examples. For instance, candidates could discuss the strengths and weaknesses of specific measurements, such as the Human Development Index, the Happy Planet Index or corruption indices. Similarly, they might consider specific situations where development is clearly contested (eg Nepalese bonded labour in Qatar, or conditions at garment factories such as the one that collapsed in Savar, Bangladesh) and cases where there are conflicting arguments for and against development (eg an increase in traffic and industrial activity resulting in poor air quality in major Chinese cities).

Answers should include an evaluation of the claim that development is impossible to measure.

6. Discuss the view that the biggest obstacles to development in today's world are political.

Answers should demonstrate an understanding of the concept of development; for example that development is not the same as economic growth, that it reflects the living standards and well-being of an entire population, including access to basic goods and services such as education and healthcare, as well as environmental concerns. Answers should also demonstrate an understanding of what is meant by, specifically, "political" obstacles to development, i.e. obstacles having to do with the distribution and operation of power. Answers may discuss whether development is understood in relativistic or universalistic terms, i.e. whether development is understood in the same way or not in different parts of the world and by different communities and individuals.

Arguments in favour of the biggest obstacles to development being political may include reference to:

- countries and regions which do well on development measures tend to have stable, accountable and transparent political regimes, whereas those that do poorly tend to have suffered from conflict, lack of accountability or lack of transparency over time;
- many of the conditions that significantly influence development and people's well-being are determined by political processes, such as labour laws, taxation decisions and environmental regulations;
- state sovereignty and the grip of ruling elites on power result in situations where development can be severely compromised, such as in situations of war or famine, or where people are harmed by forces outside of their own control, such as through exposure to the negatives of global production: there are limits to how individuals or communities inside or outside a country can influence the situation;
- if "political" is understood broadly to mean any action through which power is exercised, then obstacles that may initially seem to stem from, for instance, economic or environmental considerations, on closer inspection can turn out to be more related to political factors.

Arguments against the biggest obstacles to development being political may include reference to:

- in a globalized economy, powerful economic actors such as multinational corporations (MNCs) and financial actors, have a great deal of influence on political processes and hence on development outcomes;
- development is a complex process, where the interplay between a myriad of factors such as resource endowment, climate and history, over time influence development paths;
- a factor that is perceived as an obstacle to development in one place may be a desirable characteristic of society in another: how a country or a region develops and wishes to develop is heavily influenced by social factors such as values and traditions, as evidenced by the different pathways towards development witnessed in different parts of the world.

Answers should contain references to specific examples. For instance, candidates could discuss how the political obstacles to development in Venezuela differ from those in Germany or China, and whether non-political obstacles also influence development outcomes in these respective societies.

Answers should include an evaluation of whether the biggest obstacles to development in today's world are political.

Peace and conflict

7. Examine the view that peace can be defined as the absence of physical violence.

Answers should demonstrate an understanding of the concept of peace; for example the distinction between negative and positive peace, or between conceptions of peace in different political traditions and religions. Answers should also include an understanding of the concept of violence; for example, the distinction between physical and structural violence. This is a highly conceptual question so candidates are likely to spend much of their time discussing various perspectives on these concepts.

*Arguments that peace **can** be equated with absence of physical violence may include reference to:*

- traditional understandings of peace equate peace with the opposite of war, which, to achieve its objectives, involves physical violence;
- stopping physical violence is often the first objective of restoring peace in a situation of conflict, so the absence of physical violence may be perceived as the first (necessary) step towards peace;
- from the perspective of those having lived in a situation of conflict, the absence of physical violence, and the threat of physical violence, can be perceived as a major achievement and “feel like” peace.

*Arguments that peace **cannot** be equated with absence of physical violence may include reference to:*

- the need to address the root causes of conflict: in a situation of conflict, where peace is considered established when physical violence has stopped, the conflict may still escalate again because its root causes have not been addressed; in this sense an absence of physical violence is a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition of peace;
- the need to set up processes and devote time for reconciliation and forgiveness, which are necessary for creating sustainable peace after a conflict;
- positive peace as being more than simply the absence of violence, as it can be narrowly conceived of; it also requires work to improve those structures of society that disadvantage people’s lives, or even curtail them, and which prevent people from achieving their basic needs.

Answers should contain references to specific examples, such as the evolution of post-conflict societies in areas like the former Yugoslavia, or Sierra Leone or Liberia, or to societies that are struggling with issues of structural violence, such as South Africa with racial relations or European countries with migrant integration.

Answers should include an evaluation of the degree to which peace can be equated with the absence of violence.

8. Evaluate the claim that humanitarian intervention is a justifiable intrusion into the sovereignty of a state.

Answers should demonstrate an understanding of aspects of humanitarian intervention; for example, the provision of troops for the protection of people facing extreme danger or human rights violations. They should also demonstrate an understanding of the concept of sovereignty; for example, sovereignty as characterizing a state's independence, its control over territory and its ability to govern itself. Answers are likely to refer to humanitarian intervention as being a liberal concept, and refer to criticism of this by realists.

Arguments that humanitarian intervention is a justifiable intrusion may include reference to:

- the doctrine of responsibility to protect (RtP);
- the motivation to save lives;
- the need to address human rights violations;
- limitations in the aims of humanitarian intervention;
- the fact that it is often not an unilateral action, but legitimized by a collective security organisation.

*Arguments that humanitarian intervention is **not** a justifiable intrusion may include reference to:*

- that it weakens the institution of sovereignty;
- that it can be used as an excuse, or as a mask, for the pursuing of national interests by intervening states;
- that its results can be uncertain and can result in possibly greater instability or even loss of life;
- the assumption of moral superiority by the intervening nations.

The answer may make reference to specific examples, such as to NATO's intervention in Kosovo in 1999; to military intervention in Libya in 2011; or to non-intervention, eg in Darfur or Syria, and to the effects of these actions or non-actions.

Answers should include an evaluation of whether humanitarian intervention is a justifiable intrusion into the affairs and sovereignty of the state.
