

Global politics
Higher level and standard level
Paper 1

Thursday 9 November 2017 (afternoon)

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]**.

Unit 2 Human rights

Practice of, and claims on, human rights

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

Source A

Cartoon: The Delhi Metro used cartoons to change attitudes on gender equality. The National Commission for Women and UN Women supported the campaign to create greater awareness about women's empowerment in India (2012).

Removed for copyright reasons

Source B

Adapted from “What gender inequality looks like in Latin America”, an article by Johanna Mendelson Forman, *The Huffington Post*, an American online news site (2014).

The wage gap between women and men in Latin America is alarming. This was the central message of a new report released this week by several United Nations agencies including the International Labor Organization. The report discusses gender inequalities that are a direct consequence of traditional views on the place and role that women should occupy in society – views based on prejudice, discrimination and disregard for the progress the region has made and its effects on societies. In Latin America and the Caribbean, women's experiences and prospects differ greatly based on their ethnicity (for example, indigenous or Afro-descendant), their age (young or elderly), where they live (urban or rural areas), their citizenship status (residents of their own country or migrants) and whether or not they have children. Globally, women in the workforce are still heavily concentrated in the low-income occupations.

Many women in the region cannot access higher education because of economic barriers. Regional organizations such as the Inter-American Program on the Promotion of Women's Human Rights and Gender Equity and Equality, have urged member states to ensure women have full and equal access to work and productive resources. The Brasilia Consensus of 2010 (a model of economic integration with emphasis on social inclusion) includes the recognition of women's unpaid domestic work and caregiving.

Source C Adapted from "Violence and women in Brazil: What happens indoors stays indoors" by Sandra Andrade, *The Independent*, a UK daily newspaper (2013).

Brazil has the seventh highest rate of violence against women in the world and within the past three decades, at least 92,000 women have been killed inside their homes. A law recently passed by President Dilma Rousseff recognises the violence experienced by both men and women in Brazil, especially those who've experienced sexual violence.

This is a definite breakthrough in terms to recognizing the violence faced by many Brazilian women, but it's an issue that, although common in our country, is largely ignored. The campaign against violence hasn't been easy. In Brazil people don't talk about this issue. What happens indoors stays indoors.

Women's rights can be a controversial issue in relation to Catholicism and pregnancy: I have been working alongside other women's rights campaigners to encourage churches in Brazil to stand up and fight this pandemic of violence against women. (The Anglican Service of Diakonia and Development (SADD) has been campaigning for the rights of all people since 2008.) By closing our eyes and letting it happen, we're legitimizing the violence.

In a society fuelled by machismo*, there is quite a lot of resistance from the police to take notice and respond to this challenge and this is an issue we continue to work hard to combat. If we can end the silence and denial, we will be victorious in the fight against violence against women.

Source D Adapted from "International Women's Day and gender equality in Brazil", *Americas Quarterly*, a journal dedicated to politics, business and culture in the Americas (2013).

Last month, leaders of Brazil's rural women's movement met with their country's first female president, Dilma Rousseff, in Brasilia to press for new national policies addressing domestic violence in Brazil.

In the 1980s, while women including Rousseff worked to overthrow a military dictatorship and lay the foundation for enduring democracy, young women in southern Brazil founded the Movement of Rural Women Workers (MMTR) while still in their teens. The MMTR activists took on the place most resistant to change – their own homes – by fighting for an equal voice and trying to persuade their husbands and sons to help with the housework. Many of them had been forced to quit school after fifth grade to help with the housework, and they refused to accept lives in which women didn't have the same legal rights as men.

Twenty-five years into this expanding struggle for women's rights, laws promoting women's equality are part of Brazil's constitution and the federal government pays social security to rural women. But the struggles these women began years ago are far from over. Many women's activists have learned that speaking out is not enough to change reality – the speaker bears a responsibility to carry the speech forward. In Brazil, as in the rest of the world, reforming gender roles remains as difficult as ever, even after years of struggle.

* strong and forceful male behaviour

1. With specific reference to Source A, identify how expectations of women might impact on their human rights. [3]
 2. Using Source B and **one** example you have studied, explain the impact of gender inequality. [4]
 3. Compare the obstacles to women's equality as described in Source C **and** Source D. [8]
 4. "Women's rights are the same as human rights." Discuss this claim, using all the sources **and** your own knowledge. [10]
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Markscheme

November 2017

Global politics

Higher level and standard level

Paper 1

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Unit 2 Human rights

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.

Practice of, and claims on, human rights**1. With specific reference to Source A, identify how expectations of women might impact on their human rights.****[3]**

Answers may include:

- Source A depicts the unpaid labour of childcare and associates women with this role. The comment and the picture of the man resting reinforces the fact that this work is not viewed as difficult and is naturally a female activity
- Source A shows that the woman is in a rural setting and appears to be taking responsibility for the home and /or children *ie* looking after farm animals and gathering supplies. The comment reinforces the fact that this (house) work is not viewed as difficult and is not classed as equivalent to work. Stereotypes about domestic and paid labour are in evidence here
- Source A draws attention to the driver and their views and illustrates that they have a demeaning and limited view of a woman's contribution to work
- Source A is using the idea of gendered roles to show unequal treatment of women. It is arguably a simplification of society and may imply that all men are better off than women and that men do not have roles as stay at home fathers, for example
- Source A is a cartoon and is using humour to shed light on unequal treatment of women. This suggests that such views about gendered roles are commonly held in society and not yet addressed.

Award **[1]** for each relevant point up to a maximum of **[3]**.

2 Using Source B and one example you have studied, explain the impact of gender inequality.**[4]**

Answers may include, but are not limited to:

- Source B shows how different groups of women experience different challenges to equality (*ie* compounded by ethnic or socio-economic background)
- Source B shows how traditional views about gender roles (including unpaid domestic work) have created economic inequality and a pay gap. By extension women's social and economic opportunities are lessened
- Source B shows that women have had unequal access to education and training. By extension women's social and economic opportunities (including through literacy) are lessened and their participation in democratic processes is likely to be less than that of men
- Source B shows reports by large international organisations. They express alarm which suggests that the challenge is very significant and that their intervention is required to motivate people and governments to change.

Other relevant points not listed can also be rewarded. 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]**. For responses that do not make reference to both the source and to one example, award a maximum of **[3]**.

3. Compare the obstacles to women’s equality as described in Source C and Source D. [8]

Potential points of comparison:

Women hindered by lack of power (physical abuse and lack of schooling)

- Source C suggests that women experience more gender violence than men. They are also not subject to equal protection from violence
- Source D also makes reference to the obstacle of domestic violence and the need to tackle this form of inequality in order to progress
- Source D shows how women are undermined by limited access to education.

Late response to women’s equality by institutions

- Source C shows that Brazil has created important laws for women (in 2013). Previously, women were likely to have had little protection and lacked institutional / legislative support
- Source C also suggests that action is needed because state institutions such as the police and churches have perpetuated inequality for a long time
- Source D illustrates that rural women have not had equal rights to financial assistance until recently. This will provide a future challenge as younger generations only now begin to realise their potential.

The need for action by women

- Source C suggests that action is needed because state institutions such as the police and churches may be failing in their duty to protect women, especially from violence. This shows the complexity of the situation and emphasises the precarious status of many women
- Source C shows that progress on domestic and sexual violence has been slow because it is not talked about in public. This is a societal or community wide challenge to be met politically and publicly
- Source D discusses women’s organised and collective action for equality in Brazil. The call for protest suggests a need for urgent change but also a longstanding or entrenched problem
- Source D also makes reference to the need for women to have an equal voice. Women are not able to secure rights as they are not being heard.

Links between personal and public life

- Source C suggests that the gender / cultural issue of machismo might allow men to behave in more violent ways and often with impunity
- Source C also shows how violence often takes place in the home and remains a private issue
- Source D shows that women’s inequality begins in the home with unequal treatment and recognition over issues such as housework. By extension women’s social and economic opportunities are lessened.

Do not expect all of the points above, and allow other valid points. Award [2] per effective point of contrast up to a maximum of [8].

If the view of only one source is discussed 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]. For responses that discuss the sources separately, rather than in a running contrast, award a maximum [6].

4. “Women’s rights are the same as human rights.” Discuss this claim, using all the sources and your own knowledge. [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

- The source is a cartoon used in a gender equality campaign. It illustrates an overburdened woman and also draws attention to a corresponding lack of recognition of her work. This justifies the quotation’s cry for specific attention
- The source shows how women’s lives are integrated into society through their responsibilities. The argument can be made that without women’s rights, other human rights – for example those of many dependents cannot be secured.

Source B

- The source raises the issue of a natural or societal, sexual division of labour. Their status arguably means that they require attention and support to experience equality. The quotation also hints that there may be two tiers of rights and that women need to be taken more seriously as holders of human rights and that human rights need to be understood as related to gender
- Source B shows that women’s rights are also connected to age and ethnicity (also known as intersectionality in law). The case could be made that other groups also need to be focused on (within human rights) and the status of women is complex. This also raises the issue of expanding claims for rights for other groups under the umbrella term of human rights
- Source B clearly shows that equality for women has not been attained in many areas and this justifies the quotation’s cry for specific recognition and attention on women’s rights. In this sense, women’s difference is key to attaining appropriate rights and human rights campaigns which do not refer to women may not secure enough support.

Source C

- Source C illustrates violence and discrimination towards women. The argument can be made that women are often violently attacked by men, and not afforded the same protection as men within society. This inequality justifies campaigns in their name and the specificity of pursuing “women’s rights” until progress is made. Their status arguably means that they require urgent and separate attention
- Source C makes reference to slow and difficult progress in this area suggesting that women’s rights appear to be less important than men’s rights and even religious organisations may have to further advance women’s rights. The quotation suggests that it is hypocritical to pursue human rights without attention to the situation of women. Human rights need to be understood as related to gender.

Source D

- Source D also illustrates that violence is an ongoing issue towards women despite significant advances in legislation. Women’s rights have had a limited impact on their lives and women are urged to protest and take action as well
- Source D notes that equality for women is a global challenge which helps make the case for advancing their cause.

Own knowledge could include, but is not limited to:

- Using their knowledge and all sources candidates may refer more broadly to the politics of gender including observations about power relations between men and women. A counter argument may be made that lobbying for women’s rights has not yet helped many women and possibly reinforced marginalisation of their status
- Using their own knowledge, candidates may argue that rights are a subjective idea and that human rights have failed many groups, not just women
- Using their own knowledge answers may draw attention to a range of identities such as children or indigenous people in order to make points about interests and activism. For example, candidates may make a comparison with children’s rights in that children are humans too but their roles and capabilities or status in society may mean that they need separate protection or greater attention rather than being subsumed under human rights
- Conversely the quotation might also be suggesting that we do not need to refer to women’s rights, only human rights and that the terms are interchangeable.

Do not expect all of the above, and reward other relevant points and/or examples not listed.

If only source material or only own knowledge is used, the response can only be awarded a maximum of **[6]**.

To achieve the maximum **[10]**, expect argument, synthesis of all four sources and own knowledge.

Students should synthesize and evaluate evidence from the sources and from their study of the prescribed content and key concepts of the course.

Markbands for question 4

The aim is to find the descriptor that conveys most accurately the level attained by the student, using the best-fit model. The mark awarded should be one that most fairly reflects the balance of achievement against the descriptor. It is not necessary for every single aspect of a level descriptor to be met for that mark to be awarded.

| 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 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

Friday 10 November 2017 (morning)

2 hour 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. Examine the claim that state sovereignty is challenged by non-governmental organizations (NGOs), intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) and other non-state actors (NSAs).
2. Evaluate the function and impact of **one** of the following in dealing with global challenges:
 - Political parties
 - Intergovernmental organizations (IGOs)
 - Multinational corporations (MNCs)
 - Informal forums.

Human rights

3. To what extent has the Universal Declaration of Human Rights provided the basis for contemporary political movements for social change?
4. “Universal rights should take precedence over cultural relativism in the formation of human rights treaties and covenants.” Discuss this view.

Development

5. “Definitions of development that stress meeting basic needs should be replaced with definitions that focus on well-being.” Discuss this statement.
6. Discuss the view that harmful environmental factors represent the greatest threat to successful development.

Peace and conflict

7. Examine the claim that contrasting material interests are the main cause of conflicts.
 8. Discuss the view that non-violent methods are the only way to achieve lasting change in conflicts between the state and non-state actors.
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Markscheme

November 2017

Global politics

Higher level and standard level

Paper 2

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

Important points to note

- The content listed in the markscheme indicates possible areas candidates might cover in their answers. Candidates may take a different approach, which if appropriate, should be rewarded. Examiners should not expect all of the information listed and should allow other valid points.
- Students are expected to draw on political concepts that are relevant to the arguments they put forward. These will usually be, but are not always, taken from the concepts listed in the global politics guide – if they are valid and relevant to the answer, they can be rewarded.
- The paper expects conceptual understanding but extensive knowledge of political theory is **not** required unless the question specifies it.
- Explicit stand-alone definitions are not required: understanding of terms may sometimes be conveyed as effectively through the way they are woven into the response.
- Please do keep in mind the IB command term associated with each question and recognize what candidates are required to do in response.
- The candidates are heavily time-constrained so numerous examples are not expected.

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. |
| 11–15 | <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. |

Power, sovereignty and international relations

1. Examine the claim that state sovereignty is challenged by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and non-state actors such as intergovernmental organizations (IGOs).

Responses are likely to include an explanation of the concept of sovereignty – implying that the state or government has supreme authority. Candidates may discuss how the state is the sole author of laws within its territory (internal sovereignty). External sovereignty refers to the capacity of each state to act independently and autonomously on the world stage. Candidates may then briefly dwell upon their understanding of NGOs (organizations with membership, support and activities across borders) and non-state actors (Amnesty International) with some examples of how these have an impact on state sovereignty.

Arguments that state sovereignty is challenged by NGOs and non-state actors may include:

- NGOs such as Amnesty International have emerged as powerful players and influencers of policy with their legitimacy and expertise. These NGOs have an important role to play and scrutinise states which fall short of delivering on their responsibilities. For instance, in 2013 efforts from Amnesty International saw some progress with regards to the detention facility at Guantanamo Bay when President Obama appointed staff to lead the effort to close the detention facility, Congress rolled back some restrictions on transferring detainees to other countries, and 11 detainees were transferred
- NGOs work together to influence state sovereignty and policy making. For example, multinational corporation Johnson Controls joined other firms to work for energy efficiency in 2012. The Clinton Climate Initiative and Rocky Mountain Institute also collaborated on the project. The groups estimated the project will cut energy costs by 38%, saving US\$4.4m annually and reducing carbon emissions by 105,000 metric tons over 15 years
- NGOs have a significant role to play in shaping public opinion, reviewing compliance and policy changes which in turn has an impact on the direction of decisions taken by sovereign states
- non-state actors such as international and regional organizations challenge the Westphalian notion of sovereignty. States cede a certain amount of sovereignty to IGOs such as the UN and choose to follow certain norms and rules laid out by these global governance institutions
- non-state actors challenge state sovereignty. Terrorist groups directly attack infrastructure and people whose welfare is a responsibility of the state.

Arguments that state sovereignty is not challenged by NGOs and non-state actors may include:

- the capacity of NGOs to interfere in a state's internal affairs or functioning is very limited due to their limited powers, lack of military resources and at times lack of proper funding
- NGOs need state support to make an impact and contribution
- Non-state actors such as terrorist groups do not necessarily have the same kind of resources as a state
- the sovereign state remains the primary unit in global politics. Non-state actors such as terrorist groups do not have the kind of power, legitimacy and resources states possess.

Responses should contain references to specific examples. They could cite cases of states which have had to make changes to their policies due to pressure from non-state actors and non-governmental organizations. Candidates could then conclude by responding on how far they think the sovereignty of states is eroded by these NGOs and non-state actors. Candidates are expected to discuss the impact of both NGOs and non-state actors on state sovereignty and those who can do both should be awarded marks accordingly. Responses should include the candidate's evaluation of the validity of the claim put forward in the question.

2. Evaluate the function and impact of one of the following in dealing with global challenges:

- **Political parties**
- **Intergovernmental organizations (IGOs)**
- **Multinational corporations (MNCs)**
- **Informal forums.**

Responses should demonstrate a clear understanding of what candidates define and identify as global challenges – climate change, non-state actors such as crime and terrorist groups, poverty, sustainable development, gender disparities, hunger and diseases, food and water security. In a globalized world these challenges cannot be tackled by states in isolation. Candidates could then move on to choose any one of the four options – political parties (Democratic and Republican in US, Communist Party of China, Peoples' Action Party in Singapore among others), IGOs (such as WTO, IMF, EU and ASEAN among others), MNCs (Unilever, Ikea, Tata, Nike among others) or informal forums (G20, G7, G8, WEF among others) and delve further into what their understanding of each of them involves and includes:

Political parties:

- Political parties are important actors in a democratic society. Citizens have options on policies, which in turn can become legislation which could be directly or indirectly linked to steps in dealing with global challenges. For example, candidates could cite cases of political parties such as the Democratic Party of the US which has clearly outlined certain issues of global concern such as managing terrorism, non-proliferation of weapons and climate leadership
- Political parties provide democratic societies with leaders who will pursue interests and collaborate with other leaders at international fora to manage global challenges
- Political parties help to address global challenges such as lack of gender empowerment and participation in decision making by involving more women in their organization
- Political parties can make use of their access to and contacts with international organizations, NGOs and groups abroad/across borders and use this linkage to address global challenges
- Parties in power can implement social, political and economic reforms which directly and indirectly help manage global challenges.

Intergovernmental organizations (IGOs):

- IGOs such as the EU and ASEAN can become powerful platforms to formulate, coordinate and implement policies to address global challenges such as migration and poverty. Candidates could give examples of IGOs such as ASEAN and the EU policies to combat terrorism and organized crime through sharing best practices, intelligence, cutting off funding etc
- Member states of these groups can help and assist each other using their own expertise to face cross border challenges such as the role of ASEAN in dealing with the outbreak of SARS in 2003.

Multinational corporations (MNCs):

- MNCs can contribute towards tackling several global challenges through corporate social responsibility schemes
- MNCs employing local population in relatively poorer areas can help provide employment to people and help to alleviate poverty
- MNCs have economic resources, technology, an international presence, and the ability to use markets to try to solve global challenges
- Some candidates could argue that MNCs primarily aim at making profits and do not try to deal with global challenges.

Informal forums:

- Informal forums such as G20 have taken steps to manage global challenges by strengthening financial systems, promoting economic growth and employment, enhancing food security and promoting green growth
- Groups such as the G8 countries encompassing powerful states can implement policies and agendas in formal world institutions to manage global problems. For example, the World Economic Forum meeting of business leaders at Davos in 2014 had many global challenges such as overcoming famine and economic inequality on its agenda
- Some candidates could argue that many of these informal forums are not able to contribute much to solving global issues considering that they do not have a staff, headquarters or rules and powers.

Responses should contain references to specific examples. Any other valid and relevant examples should be evaluated positively.

Human rights

3. To what extent has the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) provided the basis for contemporary political movements for social change?

Responses should include examples of contemporary political movements and how they can be related to the UDHR. Components of the UDHR should be used to illustrate the examples in answering the question.

Arguments that the UDHR has provided the basis for contemporary political movements for social change may include:

- the leaders of contemporary social movements have referred to the UDHR in their justifications for action
- the UDHR has served as a basis for the recruiting of grass roots membership into movements for social change
- the development of the UDHR was commissioned by the UN as the basis for motivating change across a range of issues
- contemporary treaties and covenants are based on goals and objectives set by the UDHR (i.e., The Beijing Declaration, the Kyoto Agreement, etc)
- the UDHR has provided the basis for humanitarian intervention approved by the UN.

Arguments that the UDHR has not provided the basis for contemporary political movements for social change may include:

- some might argue that contemporary social movements have developed independently of the UDHR, and that most grass-root members of contemporary social movements have never heard of the UDHR
- the UDHR is dated and does not fully relate to the demands of contemporary movements, (ie climate change)
- the problem of cultural relativism is still an issue in many non-western countries whose social movements may not recognize or agree with the UDHR
- many contemporary social movements (eg Arab Spring, Occupy) have emerged as spontaneous mass movements for social change that have not referred to the UDHR in their development.

Responses should contain references to specific examples. Candidates could choose one argument or another, and these choices should be rewarded if they are clearly argued. But both can be justified by referring to various movements for social change around the globe.

Responses should include the candidate's evaluative conclusion on the extent to which the UDHR has provided the basis for contemporary political movements for social change.

4. **“Universal rights should take precedence over cultural relativism in the formation of human rights treaties and covenants.” Discuss this view.**

Responses should define cultural relativism, universal rights and human rights treaties and covenants. Examples of treaties and covenants should be provided in the answer, along with the reasons for why the assertion provided by the question does or does not hold.

Arguments that support the view that universal rights should take precedence over cultural relativism in the formation of human rights treaties and covenants may include:

- recent treaties and covenants have urged the acceptance of, for example, women’s rights, pollution standards, recognition of climate change and a condemnation of genital mutilation despite arguments for the recognition of cultural relativism
- cultural relativism is no longer recognized as a mechanism that can guarantee freedom from harm to life and limb. This is recognized in treaties and covenants (eg the Beijing Declaration for the Rights of Women)
- globalization has made universal rights the standard approach for meetings of human rights activists and UN Organizations (such as UNESCO, the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, and the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, which specifically targets genital mutilation) and major agreements such as the Beijing Declaration and the Kyoto Protocol on greenhouse gas emission reductions
- cultural relativism has often been used as an excuse for the discrimination against women and ethnic groups.

Arguments that oppose the view that universal rights should take precedence over cultural relativism in the formation of human rights treaties and covenants may include:

- many countries and groups still argue that the UNDR is a western document that discriminates against the culture and practices of Asian and African societies, citing the need to recognize cultural relativism
- the treaties and conventions that argue for universal rights are not enforceable and are therefore not followed or agreed to by many parts of the world, who insist on their own cultural knowledge and practices
- in many Middle Eastern countries women want and demand circumcision to be eligible for employment opportunities and marriage
- human rights treaties and covenants are often not signed by the major industrialized countries and members of the UN Security Council, including the United States, Russia, India, China and Israel, citing the need to recognize differences in human rights standards among nations.

Globalization has created greater diversity as local cultures incorporate beliefs from the outside, creating more needs for the recognition of cultural diversity and relativism. Responses should contain references to specific examples. Responses should include the candidate’s evaluation of the validity of the view put forward in the question.

Development

5. **“Definitions of development that stress meeting basic needs should be replaced with definitions that focus on well-being.” Discuss this statement.**

Responses should demonstrate some understanding of the two approaches. Candidates should define the basic needs approach which is linked to the measurement of absolute poverty in developing countries, or the absolute minimum resources necessary for long-term physical well-being and the amount of income needed to satisfy these needs. The approach originated at the International Labor Organisation’s World Employment Conference in 1976, and candidates should be aware that basic needs include food, water, shelter and clothing and more recently sanitation, education and healthcare. Candidates should be able to mention indicators of basic needs such as the Human Development Index (HDI), and to note that it is consumption-orientated. The shortcomings of this approach lie in the use of averages and aggregates which say little about individual experiences.

Candidates should also define the more recent well-being approach, which owes much to Amartya Sen who emphasizes the need to listen to what people themselves are saying they need, even though it might not yet be possible to realize it. Candidates should be able to mention well-being indicators such as The Happy Planet Index, or the OECD well-being indices. Examples of projects aiming to understand poverty from the perspective of the poor themselves should be rewarded.

Arguments that support the view that basic needs definitions should be replaced with well-being definitions may include:

- basic needs indicators make use of averages, medians and aggregates which say little about individual experiences
- well-being indicators are based on listening to what people say rather than measurement of needs determined by academic and international organizations
- understanding poverty from the perspective of the poor is surely better as a means of identifying future pathways to development than measuring levels of consumption.

Arguments against the view that basic needs definitions should be replaced with well-being definitions may include:

- well-being indicators are subjective, based on what people say rather than empirically observed data
- composite indicators such as HDI are quite sophisticated and allow for comparisons between countries and over time
- basic needs such as food, shelter, fresh water and clothing are surely universal needs whereas wellbeing is a state of mind
- basic needs indicators reflect what has been achieved whereas wellbeing indicators reflect aspirations which may not be achieved.

The command term “Discuss” is defined as “Offer a considered and balanced review that includes a range of arguments, factors or hypotheses. Opinions or conclusions should be presented clearly and supported by appropriate evidence.” It allows candidates to draw a number of different conclusions, all of which can be valid if argued convincingly and with examples. The two approaches may be seen as complementary, or, alternatively, the candidate may agree or disagree with the quotation in varying degrees. A chronological argumentation can be taken and candidates may argue that one approach has grown out of the other. They may also argue that the basic needs approach is a precondition for the well-being approach.

6. Discuss the view that harmful environmental factors represent the greatest threat to successful development.

Responses may begin with a definition of successful development which points towards enhanced living standards and well-being as a corollary of economic growth, perhaps including measures of health, education, and longevity. Harmful environmental factors may be approached in different ways including for example population, natural resources, presence or lack of stability or conflict, and, perhaps most likely, sustainability and climate change.

Arguments that support the view that harmful environmental factors represent the greatest threat to successful development may include:

- climate change as a result of harmful environmental activities may prove the ultimate barrier to development. A current example is the disappearance of island communities due to rising sea levels eg Maldives/Tuvalu and threat to low lying cities and river deltas eg Nigeria
- climatic hazards such as hurricanes and drought render some countries fragile, eg drought led to famine in the Horn of Africa in 2011–12 leading to a refugee crisis and the diversion of resources away from development
- large scale, energy intensive industrialisation leads to environmental degradation which threatens further development eg parts of India
- sustainability can be compromised if poor countries exploit non-renewable resources at a rate which does not allow them to refresh, eg forests, fish.

Arguments against the view that harmful environmental factors represent the greatest threat to successful development may include:

- rapid population growth may prove a greater threat to successful development than harmful environmental factors through uncontrolled migration, and vicious circles of poverty
- a range of economic factors can be considered as prerequisites for successful development, eg factors of production such as natural resources and capital, and without them development is impossible, meaning that harmful environmental factors are of lesser significance
- a range of non-economic factors can also be considered as essential to successful development, such as property rights, absence of corruption and an educated workforce
- wars, conflict and political instability may prove a greater threat to successful development than harmful environmental factors, such as in Syria and Iraq.

The command term “Discuss” is defined as “Offer a considered and balanced review that includes a range of arguments, factors or hypotheses. Opinions or conclusions should be presented clearly and supported by appropriate evidence.” Candidates can support the view and/or oppose it, in which case an alternative threat or threats to successful development should be identified. In either case, arguments should be supported with examples.

Peace and conflict

7. Examine the claim that contrasting material interests are the main cause of conflicts.

Responses should include clear descriptions of the causes of conflict in the examples used.

Important to notice here is the absence of the term ‘violent’, which means the question concerns virtually every conflict, between individuals, between groups or between states. It also concerns conflicts that have not yet become violent, but where relations are clearly problematic as between China and several East-Asian states with regards to the South China Sea. The way in which the relationships between the USA and the rest of the world develop could become central to this question. Answers can draw on any example of conflict, if it is used to effectively answer the question.

Arguments that support the claim may include:

- conflicts around identity or territory are often ultimately concerned with contrasting material interests
- conflicts usually do not start unless there is material interest involved
- examples of international conflicts could be: China in the East-China Sea, USA involvement in Iraq, which arguably is still about oil. An example of an interstate conflict is Boko-Haram in Nigeria where it has been said that its success is for a large part due to the deplorable economic circumstances in Northern Nigeria
- government’s material interests come into conflict with the interests of non-state actors, such as the demonstrations against the oil pipeline in Dakota (2017), USA, and the rejection of a liquefied gas plant at the mouth of the Skeena river by a group of First Nation People in Canada (2016)
- environmental well-being could be a material interest, as in both cases above, the rivers involved are likely to be polluted which will create material difficulties for the inhabitants of the region. Continuing conflicts in the Nigerian delta between international oil companies and local inhabitants are another example.

Arguments against the claim may include:

- there are always multiple causes to a conflict
- other factors, such as values, ideology, identity or security can play a more significant role
- many inter-state conflicts are started because of grievances, not greed, against the state
- some candidates may explain the question with reference to the PIN model (Position, Interests, Needs), which claims it is necessary to understand **all** of the interests behind actors’ positions before a conflict can be solved. This will often show that material interests do not always come first, but rather the aforementioned values, security, identity or ideology
- examples of (inter)national conflicts could be: Russia–Ukraine, India–Pakistan, Israel–Palestine, Turkey and the Kurds (identity/security more than material interests)
- many of the examples could be turned both ways, and this should be rewarded as long as the arguments are well substantiated.

Responses should contain references to specific examples and should include the candidate’s conclusion on whether or not contrasting material interests are the main cause of conflicts.

8. Discuss the view that non-violent protest is the only way to achieve lasting change in conflicts between the state and non-state actors.

Responses should include a definition or examples of non-violent methods, to highlight the differences between non-violent and violent conflicts.

Candidates are given the opportunity to explore their understanding of the use of non-violent methods when people engage in conflicts.

Arguments in favour of the view may include:

- the state has easy access to military resources and will therefore almost always be stronger. (Gandhi in British India, Egypt)
- responding to non-violence with violence often strengthens the cause of the non-state actors, because the state is viewed as over-reacting (Martin Luther King in the USA; Egypt and the Arab Spring)
- non-violent action allows a focus on the issue itself rather than on the violence occurring
- it may be easier for people to get involved in non-violent protest such as a peaceful demonstration than in violent action such as the use of explosives (Examples from the Arab Spring can be used, but also Gandhi)
- violent methods used to protest may alienate the population from the protestors unlike non-violent methods used.

Arguments against the view may include:

- if non-violent methods used to protest are too weak, it can easily be crushed by the state (Turkey, later protests in Egypt)
- sometimes, violence sends a much stronger message to the state that the issue is serious (self-immolation in Tunisia which started off the Arab Spring)
- states may ignore non-violent methods used to protest, but are more likely to have to respond to violence
- violence may bring the population to side with the non-state actors, out of fear
- violence may make the world aware of the conflict (Rohingya in Myanmar)
- movements may begin as non-violent but often end up being violent (Syria).

Responses are likely to refer to classic historical examples concerning Gandhi/British India, Martin Luther King Jr/USA, Mandela/South Africa, but contemporary examples should be rewarded. Candidates can refer to examples of a more local nature where non-violent protest may or may not have been effective in producing lasting change.

Responses should include the candidate's conclusion to what extent they support the view that non-violent protest is the only way to achieve lasting change in conflicts between the state and non-state actors. It is possible and highly likely that candidates will only agree to some extent.
