

[C070/SQP191]

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Advanced Higher    Time: 2 hours 30 minutes  
Politics  
Specimen Question Paper

NATIONAL  
QUALIFICATIONS

90 Marks are available for this paper

Section A: Modern Political Ideas  
Section B: Political Research  
Section C: Challenge to the Nation State  
                  Or  
                  Revolution and Political Change

1. Read every question carefully.
2. Answer **ONE** question from Section A, **all** the questions in Section B and **ONE** question from Section C.
3. Write your answers in the answer book provided.

Indicate clearly in the left hand margin, the Section and question being answered. Do not write in the right hand margin.

**Section A—Modern Political Ideas**

**Answer ONE question from this section.**

*Marks*

- A1.** “The purpose of the State is always the same: to limit the individual, to tame him, to subordinate him, to subjugate him.”

Max Stirner, *The Ego and His Own*, 1845

Discuss with reference to **one** theory of the State and the work of at least **one** theorist. **(30)**

- A2.** Choose **one** of the following theories of the State.

- Pluralism
- Elitism
- Marxism

Explain your chosen theory and illustrate its application in at least **one** national context. **(30)**

- A3.** Referring to the work of at least **one** theorist, evaluate the legitimacy of government in **two** contrasting national contexts. **(30)**

- A4.** Explain and illustrate the concepts of consent and obligation. **(30)**

- A5.** Compare and contrast the main features of **two** models of democracy. **(30)**

- A6.** “The great majority of political thinkers from ancient Greece to the present day have been highly critical of the theory of democracy. A uniform commitment to democracy is a very recent phenomenon.”

D. Held, *Models of Democracy*, 1993

Discuss. **(30)**

## Section B—Political Research

Answer ALL the questions from this section.

Marks

- B7.** “Qualitative research methods have contributed to the study of mass political behaviour by seeking to understand political actors as conscious social beings who shape the world of politics, as well as being shaped by it.”
- (a) Describe **two** methods of qualitative research that fit the description above. 6
- (b) What are the major advantages and disadvantages of qualitative research? 8
- B8.** Study the Source below and answer the questions which follow.

### Political Attitudes in Great Britain for November 2000

#### THE TIMES

Research study conducted for *The Times* newspaper—published 30 November 2000.

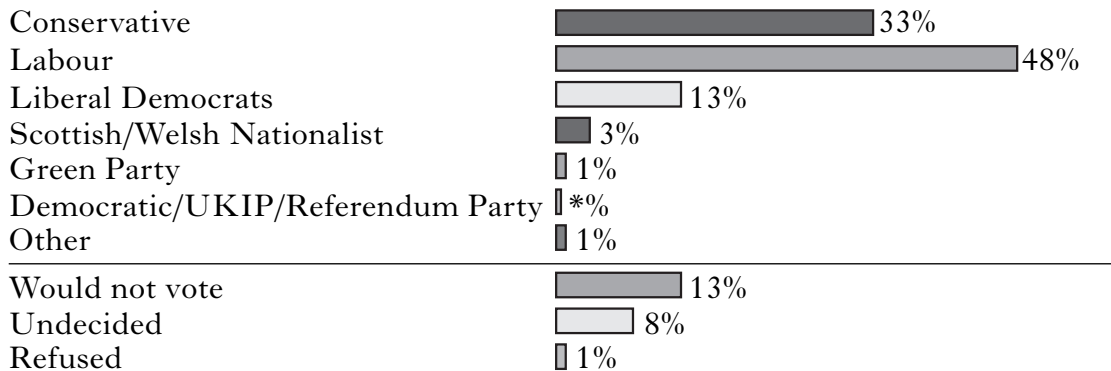
MORI interviewed a representative quota sample of 1,972 adults aged 18+ at 195 sampling points across Great Britain between 23–28 November 2000.

**Q1** How would you vote if there were a General Election tomorrow?

[If undecided or refused at Q1]

**Q2** Which party are you most inclined to support?

Base: 1,972



Voting Intention over the last 12 months & Long Term Trends

- Q3** Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way the Government is running the country?
- Q4** Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Mr Blair is doing his job as Prime Minister?
- Q5** Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Mr Hague is doing his job as leader of the Conservative Party?
- Q6** Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Mr Kennedy is doing his job as leader of the Liberal Democrats?

Base: 1,030

	<i>Satisfied</i>	<i>Dissatisfied</i>	<i>Don't know</i>	<i>Index</i>
	%	%	%	±
Government	35	53	12	-18
Blair	42	49	9	-7
Hague	26	52	22	-26
Kennedy	34	16	50	+18

Satisfaction Ratings over the last 12 months & Long Term Trends

**Q7** What would you say is the most important issue facing Britain today?

**Q8** What do you see as other important issues facing Britain today?

Base: 1,030

	<b>Q7</b>	<b>Q7/Q8</b>
	%	%
National Health Service/Hospitals	20	46
Common Market/EU/Europe/Single European Currency	17	27
Education/schools	6	27
Petrol prices/fuel	6	17
Pollution/environment	6	14
Pensions/social security	2	14
Crime/law & order/violence/vandalism	4	13
Economy/economic situation	5	12
Unemployment/factory closure/lack of industry	4	10
Taxation	3	9
Transport/public transport	2	9
Race relations/immigration/immigrants	3	6
Housing	2	6
Defence/foreign affairs	1	6
Poverty/inequality	1	6
Drug abuse	1	5
Low pay/minimum wage/fair wages	1	4
Morality/individual behaviour	1	4
Inflation/prices	1	3
Beef/BSE/Mad Cow Disease	*	3
Countryside/rural life	*	2
GM/GM (Genetically Modified) foods	*	2
Local government/council tax	*	2
Privatisation	0	1
AIDS	*	1
Animal welfare	*	1
Pound/exchange rate/value of pound	*	1
Scottish/Welsh Assembly/Devolution Constitutional reform	*	1
Northern Ireland	0	*
Nuclear weapons/nuclear war/disarmament	*	*
Trade unions/strikes	*	*
Other	5	18
Don't know	8	0

An asterisk (\*) denotes a figure between zero and 0.5%.

Important Issues over the last 12 months & Long Term Trends

*Marks*

- (a) Why might it be inaccurate to predict the result of the next General Election in the UK based on the responses to Q1 and Q2 above? **4**
- (b) What factors might have been taken into account by MORI when deciding on the following:  
 195 sampling points across Great Britain  
 1,972 adults aged 18+. **6**
- (c) Evaluate the extent to which political parties might make use of the information provided in the MORI poll. **6**
- (30)**

**Section C—Challenge to the Nation State**

**OR Revolution and Political Change**

**Answer ONE question from this section.**

*Marks*

- C9.** Compare and contrast **two** theories of globalisation. **(30)**
- C10.** Evaluate at least **one** internal and **one** external challenge to a modern nation state. **(30)**
- C11.** Evaluate the contrasting role of ideology in at least **two** revolutions. **(30)**
- C12.** Compare and contrast **two** models which have been used to explain political instability and revolution. **(30)**

*[END OF SPECIMEN QUESTION PAPER]*

[C070/SQP191]

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Advanced Higher  
Politics  
Specimen Marking Instructions

NATIONAL  
QUALIFICATIONS

## Section A—Modern Political Ideas

The course specification requires six questions to be set for Modern Political Ideas, with candidates having to select one question to answer. There is considerable overlap between the concepts and issues which the candidates will have covered during this unit so it is likely that whatever question is chosen, reference will be made to the state, consent, obligation and democracy.

### General Comments

Questions A1 and A2 both look for an explanation of a theory of the state and although the questions are worded differently, mentioning a theorist in one and the application of the theory in at least one national context in the other, both questions should really lead to very similar answers with the emphasis a little different but the core material used almost the same. Question A1 in some ways is easier because of the quote which gives focus to the question and helps candidates structure an answer. Question A2 is very open and leaves the candidate to structure an answer—although clearly in answering A2 candidates at Advanced Higher will be astute enough to make use of the information in other questions, particularly A1 and perhaps A6 and its comment on democracy.

Questions A3 and A4 are aimed specifically at the concept of consent and obligation and their connection to other concepts like power, authority, political obedience and punishment. A3 focuses on consent in the main through the concept of legitimacy while A4 leaves it to the candidate to structure an answer around the concepts. Reference to theorists, particularly some of the founding fathers of philosophy, is expected, but the choice of theorists has been left to centres. It is critical that a comparative approach is taken by the candidate when asked to illustrate the application of a concept or to refer to at least one or two contrasting national contexts. Clearly the same concept, theory or model can be applied quite differently in other states. This gives candidates the opportunity to show their deeper understanding of the concept, theory or model.

Questions A5 and A6 are both about models of democracy. Question A6 uses a quote to help candidates structure their response whereas Question A5 seems to be a straightforward compare and contrast of the two models. It is likely both will need an historical approach and that A6 requires reference to more than one model of democracy. Once again the core of each answer will be similar.

It is important to remember that this is an Advanced Higher examination and therefore candidates are expected to be able to explain and analyse concepts, theories and models in some considerable depth. Some of the questions are very open—this is to allow candidates some degree of individuality in their approach and also to make use of their own research and reading. The candidates are likely to have passed each unit so we are not looking for them to cover all the performance criteria once again in their answers. We are sampling from the units and giving the candidates an opportunity to cross refer, integrate and make connections between different parts of the course.

## **Question A1 and A2**

Candidates should be credited with 2 marks for each developed point up to a total of 30 marks for each question. Given the specifics of each question it is suggested that for A1 approximately 4–5 marks are awarded for relevant theorist information or deducted if no such reference is made or it is considered inappropriate.

Similarly in A2 approximately 4–5 marks should be given for the correct application of the theory in one context up to a maximum of 8 marks if other contexts are used.

In Question A1 the candidate must make direct reference to the source quote and comment specifically about the influence of the theory on individuals living within the state. To what extent do they agree with the comments made—they should be clear on this for one theory of the state and should be credited for referring correctly to any other theory that might be different in its application.

## **General points—A1 and A2**

- Candidates should refer to the “state debate” ie what is meant by the state; what is the nature of state power; what should be done by the state and what should be left to private individuals and associations? What is the state and how can it be distinguished from government?

## **Pluralism**

- Assumption that society is made up of many groups.
- A competitive process where a plurality of organised interests try to control or influence government policy.
- State is politically neutral, power is widely and evenly distributed.
- Comes from a liberal tradition—state acts as umpire in society.
- No single group or elite dominates but in reality political access and power are unevenly distributed.
- Pluralists concentrate on government therefore not the state—with the state being discussed and the courts, the civil service and military being seen as political actors in their own right rather than elements of a broader state machine.
- Candidates may refer back to Thomas Hobbes or John Locke or use Robert Dahl to illustrate the theory—credit appropriate theorists eg Dahl says the role of the state is either to respond to the needs of different groups involved in decision-making or to be used by elected leaders as an instrument to pursue specific policies and goals—example of individuals joining interest groups could be useful.
- Some theorists believe the role of the state is to respond to external pressures—reactive role—others believe the state should create the framework for society to operate effectively but be able to respond to societal pressures—proactive role.
- State action must be in response to the needs and demands of ordinary citizens—good examples in UK in terms of the economy, living standards and the development of the welfare state.
- Government bodies act within constraints of election and re-election. This means popular control, choice and participation for individuals—very different from quote in A1.

- Candidates may use USA at a national level as an example of a context. The USA constitution protects human rights—examples like the First Amendment affirming their right to petition the government where they have a grievance. Proliferation of interest groups and elections; the role of Congress and its relationship with interest groups—elitists would argue that access to political office, committees of Congress and so on is not equal but in fact is very limited—the new American President’s family connections or the Kennedys may be used to illustrate this.

### **Elitism**

- Criticism of pluralism led to the development of elite theory—financially privileged individuals and groups can have more impact on policy-making than those less wealthy and less influential.
- A minority of the population make the decisions within that society.
- Development of a political oligarchy allows small groups to control larger financial and industrial groups.
- The work of Michels, Mosca and/or Pareto—the classical elitists may be used to illustrate the theory of the state—credit appropriate theorists. Their main argument is that a permanent power elite lies behind the image of a liberal democracy.
- Different policy areas may generate different elites.
- Relationship between the elite and the rest of society is critical—how do they gain influence and power over the less organised majority in society? How do they recruit and gain their authority?
- Michels’ Iron Law of Oligarchy—the self perpetuating dominance by the few.
- Pareto’s distinction between a governing and non-governing elite is useful—main concern of the elite is acquisition of political power.
- Using USA or UK as a reference point gives many examples of elites.

### **Marxism**

- Although Karl Marx is an obvious source here candidates could use Engels, Lenin or other theorists.
- Marx did not provide a coherent, detailed analysis of the state and therefore his writings have been interpreted widely by many.
- State power is about the economic base and an individual’s relationship to the means of production—proletariat/bourgeoisie; worker/capitalist.
- The state regulates conflict and tries to maintain order and stability.
- State acts as an instrument of class rule—to protect and maintain the interests of the dominant economic/political class.
- The state is a set of political institutions which reflects the nature of class divisions in society.
- State is a product of historical class struggle—state is not neutral but plays a key role in representing and operating in the interests of the dominant class.

- Candidates could choose UK and illustrate the argument put forward by some that a single, cohesive ruling class exists—power is due to its ownership and control of capital—credit appropriate examples and explanations, particularly to materialism and the economic system as the basis of society. Superstructure and substructure and their relationship to policy and power.
- Candidates may use USSR or China or Cuba and show how Lenin extended Marx’s ideas.
- Notion of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the fact that there will be no need for a state when the lower phase of socialism moves on to the higher phase of communism.

### **Question A3**

- The term legitimacy broadly means rightfulness and therefore it confers an authoritative or binding character which transforms power into authority.
- The claim to legitimacy is sometimes more important than the fact of obedience—a willingness to comply, a way of giving consent which obligates individuals to acknowledge the authority of government.
- Why do people obey the state?—this tends to reflect a shift from the philosophy of why should they obey the state to the sociology of Max Weber in which he identifies in each case the basis on which legitimacy was established.
- Candidates can refer in depth to Weber’s three ideal types of authority; traditional, charismatic and legal-rational.
- Importance of concept of consent in terms of it being the main distinction between power and authority—Weber’s typologies allow candidates to refer to both consent and obligation and explore how these operate within particular states or historically.
- Consent through voting and elections can be compared to traditional charismatic examples of Weber.

### **Question A4**

- Consent and obligation are both core to democracy.
- Theories of social contract—particularly those of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke—may be used to illustrate the concept of consent particularly ie an agreement between individuals and a governing power in which personal liberties are freely surrendered in return for having a well organised government and/or society.
- Both Hobbes and Locke examined the grounds of political obligation—where an individual is obliged to obey and respect the state.
- By establishing a sovereign power individuals are safeguarded from the insecurity, disorder and brutality of the state of nature.
- Locke’s “Where there is no law there is no freedom”.
- State is an umpire or referee capable of protecting citizens/individuals—neutrality of state means it acts in the interests of all citizens—a common good.

- Hobbes and Locke disagreed on some points eg Hobbes saw the choice between absolutism and anarchy while Locke was more liberal with the state limited to the defence of natural individual rights ie “life, liberty and property” whereas individuals are obligated to behave responsibly towards one another. Locke also saw the need for the individual to have protection from the state through constitutional and representative government.
- Concepts of consent and obligation can be illustrated by using a number of different political contexts. Many states have free elections with widespread participation—consent.
- Some countries do not have free elections but the consent of the people is clear and obvious—Weber’s 3 types could be used here with Germany and Hitler or Emirates in the Middle East as examples.
- Credit appropriate examples where the concepts are illustrated through theorists and/or political contexts. Credit more highly examples which contrast different applications of the concepts.

### Questions A5 and A6

- Candidates are likely to use an historical approach and refer to at least two of the following models of democracy—direct democracy, representative democracy, liberal democracy and people’s democracy.

**Direct democracy**—people or citizens make the decisions and are expected to participate fully in the political process—sometimes considered as “pure” democracy. Removes the need for legitimacy as the people make the law themselves.

- It heightens the control of citizens.
- It creates a better informed and more politically knowledgeable group of citizens.
- Public can express a view and interest without having to rely on self-serving politicians.
- Ensures rule is legitimate—decisions will be accepted since the people made them.

**Representative democracy**—a limited and indirect form of democracy. Popular participation in government is infrequent and brief—eg through voting in elections. Public do not exercise power themselves, they select who will rule on their behalf. Should therefore be a link between government and governed—the electoral mandate.

- It is more practicable than direct democracy given the numbers involved now—still possible to have direct democracy in small communities.
- Ordinary citizens do not have to be involved in decision making—division of labour created in politics.
- Allows government to be in the hands of those with expert knowledge, experience and perhaps better education.
- Maintains stability—distances ordinary citizens from politics and encourages compromise.

## **Liberal democracy**

- Builds on representative democracy allowing for a more pluralistic approach with a focus on political equality rather than government by a political elite.
- Consent realised through the ballot box.
- Co-exists with capitalist economic order.
- Attractive because of the blend of elite rule and popular participation—professional politicians under pressure from the public who first put them in power.
- Central to this model is the concept of civil liberties eg freedom of speech and freedom of assembly.

## **People's democracy**

- Sometimes called totalitarian democracy, derived from the Soviet model post 1945.
- One party communist states.
- Offers a clear contrast for candidates between people's democracy and the more familiar liberal democracies.
- Marxists tend to discuss liberal democracies as either bourgeois or capitalist and foster the idea of an ideal democracy with a goal of social equality through common ownership of wealth.
- Candidates can explore Russia in particular and Lenin's "vanguard of the working class" notion—weakness though was the failure to build into it any mechanisms for checking the power of the Communist Party and/or its leaders and for ensuring it remained sensitive and accountable to the proletariat class.

More generally candidates will probably refer to the difficulty of defining democracy—using Greek definitions, Lincoln's quote or even Bernard Crick (1993) "democracy is perhaps the most promiscuous word in the world of public affairs"—a term that can mean anything to anyone may mean nothing at all. Andrew Heywood's "Politics" (1997) provides a useful breakdown under three headings:

**Who are the people?** Candidates may use Greek city states to show bias towards some and against others—direct democracy there did not include all but excluded women, slaves and foreigners and those males under 20. Looking at the franchise in the UK during the 1800s provides similar criticism of democracy and makes sense of the quote in A6 eg no women voters, usually a property qualification to vote and so on.

**To what extent should people rule?** Different forms of democracy above can be explored to show how participation varies from voting, referenda, mass meetings and so on. Voting does not necessarily lead to "democracy". Government for the people can be discredited by using totalitarian democracies like Hitler's Germany or Mussolini's Italy as examples.

**How far should popular rule extend?** What issues should the people decide and what should be left to individual citizens—public versus private realms of government. Locke is useful here so too is a comparison with Hobbes and the alternative views of radical democrats.

These headings allow candidates to structure an analysis of the different models of democracy for A5 and/or show how democracy was not always a positive term and how it could be criticised historically for A6.

## Section B—Political Research

**B7 (a)** Award 1 mark for each developed point up to 3 marks for each of the two methods of qualitative research chosen. Credit candidates as appropriate. The following are indicative of qualitative methods used in political research.

### **Participant Observation**

- One of the most common methods for qualitative data collection—also one of the most demanding.
- Researcher has to become a participant in the political system or context being observed.
- It often requires weeks, months or years of intensive work because the researcher needs to become accepted as a natural part of the culture/context to assure that the observations are of the natural phenomenon.
- Researcher writes extensive field notes which form the basis of “raw data” that are analysed, and the interpretation of the material forms the basis of a research report.

### **Direct Observation**

- Distinguished from participant observation because a direct observer doesn't try to become a participant in the context—but does strive to be as unobtrusive as possible so as not to bias the observations.
- It is also more detached—the researcher is watching rather than taking part, so technology can be useful eg videotaping.
- It is a more focussed approach than participant observation because the researcher can observe certain sampled situations or people rather than try to become immersed in the entire context.
- It can take less time than participant observation.

### **In-depth Interviewing**

- The candidate may distinguish between types of interviewing eg structured, unstructured or semi-structured and should be credited for appropriate comments.
- In-depth interviewing is based on an interview guide, open-ended rather than closed questions and informal probing to facilitate a discussion of issues in a semi-structured or unstructured manner.
- The interview guide is used as a checklist of topics to be covered although the order can change as required.
- Open-ended questions allow the interviewee to talk at length on a topic.
- Such lengthy interviews are usually conducted with only a small sample of informants.
- The transcriptions constitute the data that are analysed and interpreted.

## **Case Study**

- An intensive study of a particular political figure or context or situation.
- Case studies involve a combination of the above methods eg unstructured/structured interviewing, direct observation—there is no single way to conduct a case study, so if chosen it will use points mentioned under the other methods.

**B7 (b)** Award 2 marks for each developed point up to a total of 4 marks for advantages and a total of 4 marks for disadvantages.

### **Advantages of qualitative research**

- Qualitative methods allow a deeper and therefore more valid picture to emerge of the political relationships being studied.
- By focussing on political actors and their interactions it allows political scientists to study the dynamic and fluid nature of political contexts—as opposed to the more static pictures which emerge from quantitative methods.
- It allows researchers to comment more fully on why particular political views are held or decisions were made or policies developed.
- Qualitative studies have made a significant contribution to political science eg participant observation and intensive interviewing have proved to be the most appropriate techniques in the study of such issues as people’s motives and subjective interpretations of their actions, whether they are relatively powerful or powerless in the political sphere.

### **Disadvantages of qualitative research**

- All qualitative research methods are subjective and open to bias. The data produced therefore cannot be taken too seriously according to some commentators.
- Such methods are unreliable. A second or subsequent researcher repeating the research using the same techniques may not achieve the same results.
- All data collected by such methods are not included in the final reports, only some examples are selected and packaged and so could reflect the views of the researcher.

**B8 (a)** Award 1 mark for each developed point up to a total of 4 marks. Credit appropriate references.

- The date of the next General Election is not known when the poll is taken and the gap between the two dates may be significant. During such a gap many local, national and international events may occur which will affect/alter party attitudes and actions leading to a possible change in voters’ intentions.
- Voter turnout at General Elections is not easy to predict and may vary across the country—depending on weather, local holidays/events and many other factors.
- The poll shows a large percentage, 13%, who would not vote, another 8% who are undecided and 1% who refused to name a party. These figures give a large margin for error in predicting any General Election.

- Some people may be influenced by these polling figures or others nearer to the election, eg some “don’t knows” may be persuaded to vote for a particular party because it looks like being the underdog or because it looks like winning, others may see a large lead for Labour and decide that their vote, usually for Labour, is not needed or, if they usually vote Conservative, they may decide it’s a lost cause and therefore not vote or switch to another party—the number of scenarios is endless.

**B8 (b)** Award 1 mark up to a total of 3 marks for both the sampling points and the number of adults.

**Factors when deciding on the 195 sampling points across Great Britain**

- Ensure that regional differences and spread are accounted for in the choice of sampling points.
- Ensure that both rural and urban areas are included in the sampling points.
- Ensure that the mix of both safe and marginal seats is included. Some key marginal seats act as a barometer for party support in General Elections while at the same time sampling of particular safe seats may give clues to shifting opinion and voting intentions.

**Factors when deciding on the 1,972 adults aged over 18 in the sample may include**

- Different age groups need to be represented eg new young first time voters.
- Despite dealignment theories MORI would still try to include representatives from different social class backgrounds.
- An equal spread of male and female adults.
- Representatives from different ethnic minorities.
- A mixture of party loyalists and floating or uncommitted voters.

**B8 (c)** Award 1 to 2 marks for each developed point up to a total of 6 marks.

- Each political party can judge the effectiveness of its leader and/or Ministers, spokesperson etc in getting over the party’s message.
- The detailed results about the most important issues (questions 7 and 8) help political parties prepare materials for advertising, broadcasts, manifestoes. They give the “spin doctors” critical information in preparing press releases and MPs/Ministers for interviews on radio, TV and so on.
- It provides an up to date review of trends in support and perhaps key information for planning recruitment strategies.
- Each party will know how much they have spent on targeting issues and campaigns, opinion polls like MORI, will help them judge whether such campaigns have been effective or need to be changed/boosted or whatever.
- Voters perception of success or failure of specific policies or approaches can be judged with each poll and may inform future decisions of both the governing party and the opposition parties.

## Section C—Challenge to the Nation State

### OR Revolution and Political Change

#### Question C9

Candidates are being asked to compare and contrast **two** theories of globalisation. It is important they cross refer between the two theories rather than write two separate short essays. Credit relevant responses awarding 2 marks for each developed point up to a total of 15 marks for each theory. Given the work of the unit candidates should be able to refer to the work of at least **one** theorist for **each** theory. Award no more than 3–4 marks for correct references to a relevant theorist(s); similarly deduct up to 3–4 marks where no reference is made to a relevant theorist. Candidates should choose **two** theories from:

- Political realism
- Liberal pluralism
- Dependency theory

Points may include the following but credit relevant responses.

**Political realism**—This theory reflects its self-proclaimed basis of historical “reality” which privileges the role of the State as a central player—the emphasis is on power politics and the pursuit of national interests.

- Candidates may refer to the origin of the theory with Thucydides’ account of the Peloponnesian War and Sun Tzu’s “The Art of War” around 430BC. Oldest theory of international politics.
- It contrasts with idealism because of its disregard for moral considerations.
- Other theorists to be mentioned may include Machiavelli, Hobbes, and Morgenthau with the latter being the most influential. He defines politics as the struggle for power and argues that moral considerations cannot always govern policy.
- Morgenthau argues (like Machiavelli and Hobbes) that human nature and societies are imperfect and so conflict is inevitable. Political decision-makers should follow policies and define national interest in terms of maximising power. They should avoid policies that overstep the limits of their power.
- Power is ultimately reducible to coercion—very influential in USA. Balance of power critical.
- Realists imply that not only is international politics based on power politics but also that diplomats should follow the dictates of power or they will invite disaster.
- Realists are pessimists about human nature who will quote Hobbes and “Leviathan”—man will try to overcome all men until he is the greatest power.
- International order is not a classic Hobbes “state of nature” because power, wealth and resources are not equally distributed among states. Major international states have been accorded superpower status and this imposes a measure of order on the international system—reflecting “spheres of influence”. They would argue that peace was maintained through the East-West bi-polarity—“proxy” wars like Vietnam, Korea, Afghanistan, Ethiopia allowed the superpowers to support different sides and press home their ideological preferences. Such conflicts may have been destabilising on the countries where the conflict occurred but they benefited the superpowers sometimes.

- Candidates may refer to Kenneth Waltz and neo-realism—this sub-theory attempts to adjust classical political realism with the realities of modern international relations—sometimes called “structural realists” because they believe that the structure of the international system may affect policy.
- Some neo-realists argue that increasing economic interdependence has led to economic strength being the primary power in determining a state’s success or failure in pursuing the national interest.
- Criticisms include—in divorcing politics from morality the realist perspective legitimises military escalation and therefore rather than maintaining peace has kept the world on the verge of nuclear catastrophe. Feminist theorists who contend power-seeking behaviour and an obsession with national security and the military, reflects the dominance worldwide of male politicians whose priorities are aggressive and competitive.

**Liberal Pluralism**—emerged in USA 1960/70s

- Sometimes referred to as “idealist” model.
- Theorists reject the notion that international relations should or must be played accordingly to the dictates of power politics.
- Differ from political realists in several ways:
  - they do not believe that acquiring, preserving and applying power is what international relations is about—people can act altruistically
  - the way institutions are structured causes nation states to behave as they do
  - do not always follow the pessimistic view of human nature
  - believe international wars/conflict are not inevitable—states are not selfishly motivated only by the politics of power
  - they argue that foreign policy should be formulated according to more ethical/moral standards—need international laws and cooperative frameworks
  - global politics is not just about power but is also about economic, social and ecological issues
- Idealism has its roots in the writings of eighteenth-century philosopher Immanuel Kant who saw in the universal adherence to the rule of law the possibility of global peace. Jean Jacques Rousseau’s work is also useful here.
- Contemporary idealism stems from Woodrow Wilson post World War One, Jimmy Carter and even President Gorbachev in the USSR.
- Liberals argue that pursuing values such as freedom and human rights are important and that a new system of order is needed because the current order is based on states that define, promote and defend their own interests.
- Criticisms through Marx—liberals are naïve in obscuring the role of economic power. Marxists do not believe that international free trade and a reliance on market mechanisms for resource allocation are conducive to global prosperity—they believe such notions increase economic inequality. Even more this inequality is structured by the needs of international capital—it is not random.
- Dependency theory provides other criticisms about ties between capitalist states and their former colonies which led to dependence not interdependence between North and South.

## Dependency Theory

- This theory suggests that the global economy is deliberately disadvantageous to the developing world.
- Dependency theorists argue for the need for change between the developing and the developed nations.
- Ronald Chilcote and Joel Edelstein argue that dependency is the total conditioning of a developed country's economy to that of a dominant economy like the USA. In their 1986 work they highlighted the problems of Latin America eg profit repatriation through interest on loans, patents and royalties.
- Dependency theorists point to capital outflows from developing to developed world—amount of aid granted is deplorable eg 1989 West gave £30 billion in aid but there was £93 billion in debt repayment to the West in the same year.
- Interdependence may be more accurate as the loans needed by developing states (eg in the 1970s) allowed Western banks to reduce their deposits swelled by petrodollars—interest was massive and countries like Mexico and Brazil (owed about \$100 billion each in the 1980s) could not afford to pay it—so new loans were needed to pay the interest.
- Some liberal theorists argue that the debt crisis will ensure the triumph of the liberal theory of development.
- Colonialism was replaced by economic colonialism but the burden of debt has caused countries to turn to the IMF and World Bank for loans to pay the interest—in return these countries have to agree to liberalise their economies.

## Question C10

Candidates should be awarded 2 marks for each developed point up to a total of 15 marks for each challenge covered within their answer. Ensure that one internal and one external challenge are covered. Do not award marks for more than one internal or external challenge. The following points are indicative of possible responses.

- Candidates should be credited for referring to the concept of globalisation and explaining the linkages between the political, economic and social aspects of globalisation.
- The main issue is whether globalisation is making the state less important or not.
- Decision makers in states are sometimes unable to solve pressing domestic problems particularly in economic matters and increasingly with environmental issues.
- Globalisation is the emergence of a complex web of interconnectedness that means our lives are increasingly shaped by events that occur and decisions that are made, at a great distance from us (External challenges).

Geographical distance and territorial boundaries are becoming less significant—but others argue these points make people more aware of their nationality and gives rise to instability in many nation states (Internal challenges).

- Nationalism is resurgent eg the wars among the various ethnic nationalities in what constituted much of the former Yugoslavia. Candidates should comment on what nationalism is and what its main features are in terms of culture, history, language etc.
- Although Germany has reunified in recent years other parts of western Europe have seen a rise in nationalism and separatism eg Wales, Scotland; Basques and Catalans in Spain; Flemish and Walloons in Belgium.
- Some theorists argue nationalism (or min-nationalism) promotes democracy and encourages self-determination; discourages imperialism or spreading colonialism thereby strengthening a states' resolve to resist outside occupation. Nationalism may facilitate modernisation, allow for economic development and diversity and ensure that the strong do not suppress cultural uniqueness.
- Nationalism can bring problems which pose a threat to nations—it affects how we relate to others. It can lead to insularity and feelings of superiority which are particularly destructive when a dominant ethnic group treats other groups in the same country badly—recent wars in central Europe and the current crisis in the Middle East are good examples of this.
- Most nation states are not ethnically unified—this lack of fit between nationalities and nation states is a significant source of domestic tension and conflict. The former USSR had only about one half of the population as ethnic Russians—there were at least 14 other major nationalities and dozens of smaller ethnic groups. This multi-nationalism leads to internal challenges to the nation state as they each may wish to establish an independent political entity.
- Other problems of nationalism—growing number of independent countries many of which have a marginal ability to survive on their own. They may not have sufficient capacity to defend or economically support themselves—Slovenia and Slovakia have asked for membership of NATO for defensive purposes and the EU for economic and political purposes.

- Some theorists argue that if the distinct ethnic nationality groups were given some domestic autonomy and guarantees of human and political rights then this would be much wiser than pursuing complete self-determination.

**External threats**—credit appropriate and detailed references to any of the following issues.

- The **need for regional and/or global security** to protect nation-states from external instability eg the United Nations and NATO. Creating norms against violence through UN Charter and other pacts. Providing a peaceful alternative with the UN as a “safety-valve” and other mechanisms for diplomatic intervention or the use of UN military—successes and failures of UN may be explored.

**OR**

- Dependence on **global economic and financial organisations**—increased economic interdependency, the growing importance of trans-national issues and the increasingly apparent inadequacy of nation-states in dealing with world problems.
- Should some form of world government promote cooperation among states rather than trying to replace the state-centred system? Should they perform limited functional activities to build trust and cooperation for the future?

**OR**

- **Social integration**—review the developments of world standards for human rights and how they may threaten nation-states eg UN charter and European Declaration on Human Rights. Plenty of scope for candidates here to look at human rights and how they affect particular nation-states eg UK and EU, some Asian or African countries, the former Soviet/eastern Bloc countries.

**OR**

- **Technical integration**—allows candidates to explore a nation-state’s dependence on world communication networks and leading edge technical developments—all increase a state’s vulnerability. The fields of telecommunications and the multi-media are critical—the problems and threats posed are numerous.

**OR**

- Ecological interdependence—particularly the threats posed by pollution and global warming. These are not solvable within state boundaries—they pose threats and require global solutions which may mean giving up some parts of sovereignty.

**OR**

Any other relevant external threat.

## Question C11

Award 2 marks for each developed point up to a total of 15 marks for each of **two** contrasting revolutions covered. Where useful and relevant reference is made to other revolutions credit appropriately. Candidates should refer to theorists and link them to particular ideologies—credit appropriately.

- Candidates should define ideology—a coherent set of ideas that provides the basis for organised political action, whether this is intended to preserve, modify or overthrow the existing system of power.
- The common threads in all ideologies include the fact that they offer an account of the existing order, they provide a model of a desired future for the “good society” and they outline how political change can and should be brought about.
- Ideologies relate to both an understanding of how and why society operates as it does and a commitment to change it.
- Term ideology traced back to French philosopher Destutt de Tracy in early 1800s—“the science of ideas”.
- The relationship between ideology and revolution may be explored—the difficulty of defining a revolution and the links with ideology are critical—distinction between different types of political change, whether evolutionary or revolutionary, bloodless or bloody etc.
- Candidates may choose to use strain theory and interest theory to distinguish between the origins of ideologies. Strain theory shows ideology to be a symptom and remedy while in interest theory ideology is a mask and a weapon.
- Strain theory—people attempt to flee from what is giving rise to their anxiety—ideologies arise in response to social dislocation and a society that is malfunctioning. The rise of fascism in Germany between 1918 and 1939 is often attributed to Germans looking for a solution to mass unemployment and economic difficulties. Candidates may explore this or a similar example or choose Islamic fundamentalism and Iran’s revolution (1979).
- Interest theory—function of ideology is to rationalise interests—it provides a gloss to self-interest showing why the interests of a particular social group deserve special treatment from the government. Ideology is distorted and selective out of deliberation and necessity. Marxists would claim that capitalism uses values such as freedom and property rights to rationalise the continued exploration of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie. Candidates may use communism and the Russian Revolutions of 1917 and/or the Cuban Revolution of 1959 to illustrate the role of ideology.
- Candidates may refer to Francis Fukuyama’s “End of History” (1989) essay where he argues that liberal democracy had triumphed over all its rivals—based on the demise of Marxism-Leninism as an ideology of world importance.
- Since candidates are being asked to evaluate the role of ideology it is important that they provide some criticisms as well as description of interest and strain theory.

Credit appropriate criticisms; deduct marks or ensure that candidates do not score more than 18/30 where no criticisms are detailed and answers are purely descriptive not evaluative.

## Question C12

Candidates should choose two of four models—Marxist, Functionalism, Social Psychology and/or Comparative History (referred to in Unit descriptor)—credit appropriate reference though to other models. Award two marks for each developed point up to 15 marks for each model chosen. Credit reference to appropriate theorists and actual revolutions used to illustrate the answer. Ensure that purely descriptive answers which do not compare and contrast in detail score at best around 15–18 marks out of 30.

### Marxism

- Inevitability of revolution as a consequence of class conflict—ruling class (bourgeoisie) versus exploited class (proletariat).
- Proletariat once they achieve sufficient unity and class consciousness will overthrow bourgeoisie.
- They will destroy the system that exploited them.
- Candidates using Russia or China or Cuba should show how Lenin or Mao or Castro adapted Marxism to suit the particular economic circumstances in Russia or China or Cuba.
- Marx’s concept of historical materialism may be explored.
- The State will slowly “wither away and die” (Lenin) or will disappear out of lack of necessity.
- Marx argues that the potential for revolution depended on the level of capitalist development in a state and that a proletarian revolution could only occur in states with advanced levels of industrialisation—this can clearly be criticised as every state which has undergone a “Marxist” revolution did so without first experiencing an industrial revolution. These states were mainly agrarian eg Russia, China, Cuba—their industrial base was small compared to Britain which Marx believed **was** ripe for revolution.
- Russia, China and Cuba attempted to industrialise after revolution with varying degrees of success.
- Lenin viewed the peasantry in Russia very differently from Mao and Marx.
- Marxism has clearly been transformed over the years by other theorists like Lenin, Mao, Castro and Tito.

### Functionalism

- Main preoccupation is not conflict but equilibrium. Functionalists argue that the task of government is to find an equilibrium between the political system and its environment.
- Rulers need to respond to new demands placed upon them. Revolution is a response to the failure of a government to act effectively.
- Revolutionary change is more likely to occur when the government is unable to cope with the pace and the number of pressures which tip the balance to one side.
- Existing social structures fail to perform their essential functions.
- Main theorist is Chalmers Johnson (1966) “Revolutionary Change”— when political order is no longer broadly accepted within society. Government loses legitimacy and power deflation occurs.

- Pressures can be internal and/or external—a combination of both is most destructive (eg in China at the end of the nineteenth century).
- Political elites may resort to force to maintain their position—this leads to a further loss of legitimacy.
- Reforms are frequently “too little, too late” or they treat the symptoms **not** the illness—revolutions in France (1789), Russia (1917) and China (1949) are good examples.
- Big contrast between Johnson and Marx in terms of what constitutes a revolution.

### **Social Psychology**

- This tries to identify what motivates people to get involved in revolutionary activity.
- This model tries to explain revolutions without reference to Marx.
- It focuses on the individual conditions of political instability not on why rebellions become revolutions on occasion.
- The model is based on Alexander de Tocqueville’s work relating to the revolution in France (1789).
- Ted Gurr (1980) “Why Men Rebel”, argued that relative deprivation was the key to collective violence in politics. The difference between “value capability” and “value expectations” is critical to an individual ie difference between what they are getting and what they think they’re entitled to.
- Once relative deprivation is widespread and felt by many, political instability is more likely to develop and spread.
- Candidates may refer also to Davies “Toward a Theory of Revolution” (1962)—he says political instability is more likely when rising expectations are followed by a decline in the ability of the state to meet demands—the J-curve theory of revolutions. Some theorists argue that this was the cause of the revolutions in France, Russia and China.
- The actual conditions are not as important as the perceived conditions.
- Theory criticised as being insufficient in explaining political change—it leaves too many unanswered questions eg whose discontent matters? Why does discontent sometimes lead to an uprising but sometimes not? How is discontent channelled into organised opposition?

### **The Comparative History Model**

- Based on the work of Theda Skocpol, “States and Social Revolutions: A comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China” (1978).
- Causes of revolutions cannot be found in the motives of the participants—what really matters is the “structural conditions”—the relationships between groups in a nation-state and/or between nation-states eg a state which is weak internationally and performing poorly on the domestic front. This leads to a breakdown of the old state, change led by a new tightly organised group.
- She places the emphasis on the international dimension with France, Russia and China but also points to each state collapsing due to some military defeat which inspires opponents of the state to build a new order of power. The real revolution begins at this stage.

- This approach explains how discontent is mobilised into revolutionary activity but does not say a lot about how discontent arose in the first place.

Candidates may use different revolutions like France (1789), Russia (1917), China (1949) and Iran (1979) to illustrate their analysis of how their two models explain revolution. Credit appropriate responses and examples.

*[END OF SPECIMEN MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]*

