

Examiners' Report  
June 2015

GCE Government and Politics 6GP04 4B

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## Introduction

The overall standard of responses in Unit 4B was broadly in line with that in previous sessions. There were relatively few examples of candidates misunderstanding or misinterpreting questions although in some cases candidates did not make explicit their understanding of the key concepts within a question e.g. via a short definition. A small minority of candidates opted to only answer two questions from section A and this should be strongly discouraged.

An important discriminator, as in previous years, was the extent to which candidates focused on the *specific* question set. Those candidates who did not do this were unable to score as highly. Good advice to candidates preparing for exams is to spend time thinking about the question, identifying the key words or terms and, for essays in particular, planning their answer *before* answering the question.

## Question 1

This was one of the more popular questions in section A. Stronger responses tended to give a short definition and cover a range of grounds, including the liberal nationalist argument that a community of nations respecting each other's national sovereignty is more likely to lead to a stable and peaceful world order.

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Question 1

Question 2

Question 3

Question 4

Question 5

Nationalists from many different strands discuss that the importance of self determination is very ~~high~~ high. Self determination is the idea that people who ~~they~~ feel that they ~~are~~ are a nation of people have ~~the~~ the right to determine their own rules.

The idea of self determination in nationalism is linked into sovereignty and the rights one has to be free and not restricted by others. Nationalists believe that the citizens of a nation have the right to determine their own path if they desire and not to be influenced by others or controlled, the self determination issue was incredibly prominent in ~~the~~ ~~past~~ past colonisation as many countries ~~have~~ had been invaded by foreign nations and their people were not in control of what they were doing. ~~The~~ Nationalist parties made sure that countries often became independent and were able to determine their own paths. Conservative Nationalism is a strong believer in self determination as it strongly opposes supranational

organisations such as the EU, ~~the~~ a key issue that is often argued by prominent conservative nationalist UKIP leader Nigel Farage is that we as a nation no longer control ourselves. Not all Nationalists & who wish to follow self determination disagree with supranational organisations some nationalists believe that many nations working together will help self determination such as in the UK where a Union between the four nations meant that ~~we~~ the UK were able to control our interest by protecting against foreign threats which could jeopardise their self determination. Scottish MPs voting on <sup>English</sup> ~~British~~ laws is something nationalists disagree with because they are voting on something that has nothing to do with them and curbs the English rights.



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**Examiner Comments**

This response makes one main point but then loses focus on the question in the second half. A key exam skill for section A is to focus on the specific question and not to give additional irrelevant material or arguments. This response achieved a level two mark and would benefit from a short definition of national self-determination at the start, greater accuracy and a wider range of grounds.



**ResultsPlus**

**Examiner Tip**

Always make sure that what you write is relevant to the question. For instance, if a question is only asking you for one side of an argument then there is no need to provide balance.

## Question 2

This was one of the more popular questions in section A. Most candidates were able to identify at least one ground and stronger responses included not only environmental degradation, but also covered aspects of moving from a 'having' to 'being' perspective in order to promote greater contentment. A minority of responses became overly descriptive on aspects of the different strands within ecologism, without relating this to the question.

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You will be asked to indicate your second question choice on page 6.

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If you change your mind, put a line through the box

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Firstly, ecologists subscribe to Fromm's idea of 'from having to being.' In this sense, ecologists condemn a 'having' sense of mind as they believe that the desire to consume will always lead to dissatisfaction as anthropocentric humans will always demand more. ~~Instead~~ Ultimately, a 'having' attitude will lead to the destruction of the environment to satisfy human needs and ends. Instead, ecologists emphasise a 'sense of being' in which individuals can achieve self-actualisation. Such an idea was supported by Warwick Fox who described the process as a "transpersonal ecologism."

Secondly, ecologists have criticised materialism and consumerism on the grounds of holism. Holism is the idea

that the earth is a whole, with its components having an equal value and worth. This idea was developed by James Lovelock, who stressed the 'Gaia' hypothesis as he believed that the earth is alive and therefore must be named. Ecologists therefore reject materialism as it disrupts the biological whole and exploits and destructs its compartments. This idea is stressed by Peter Singer, who believed in the idea of 'speciesism' whereby all organisms are of equal worth. Singer's ideas helped to defend the case of animal welfarism, of which consumers were exploiting parts of animals for their own satisfaction.

Thirdly, the strands of ecology criticise consumerism <sup>through</sup> ~~the~~ different <sup>means</sup> ~~senses~~. Eco-socialists believe that consumerism is the byproduct of capitalism, and that capitalism comes hand in hand with environmental degradation.

Alternatively, deep ecologists believe that anthropocentrism and ecologism are irreconcilable and that consumerism and human nature are to blame for

the environmental crisis. Schumacher stressed the idea of a 'cowboy economy' ~~of~~ <sup>in</sup> which humans believed that their ~~resources~~ materialism was justifiable when in fact it led to 'violence, degradation and destruction.' This is further supported by the ~~the~~ emphasis of deep ecologists on zero growth, of which "any desire for growth is ultimately the growth of a cancer cell."



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**Examiner Comments**

Although there is not a definition at the start, this response covers a range of grounds, including addressing the issue that having more material goods does not necessarily make one happy. This is an important aspect of this particular question given that it is not asking about industrialism or economic growth in general. This response achieved a high level three mark.



### Question 3

This was by far the most popular question in section A. The vast majority of candidates were able to give a clear definition of patriarchy and went on to show why it is important in feminist analysis. Stronger responses focused on the question and usually covered two or more strands of feminism. A minority of answers became overly descriptive about different strands of feminism without relating this material to the question. A minority of candidates argued that socialist feminists believe that capitalism created patriarchy, which is a misconception.

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Patriarchy is the domination of men and the subordination of women in society, in its traditional form meaning 'rule by father'. Patriarchy is crucial in feminist analysis in explaining how women are kept subordinated to men, and how they can be liberated once patriarchy is destroyed.

Patriarchy, according to radicals, is a systematic, institutionalised and pervasive form of oppression which has many facets and thus cannot be understood in simple terms: psychological, sexual, political and so on. Therefore, a complete and all-round tackling of patriarchy in all its forms is the only way to liberate women from the bounds of domesticity that patriarchy has bound them to. Thus, radicals seek a complete revolution and transformation of society, as this is the only way for women to free themselves from patriarchy.

and achieve fulfilment as equal women. This links in to the core feminist belief in liberation, where patriarchal society has kept women oppressed and this must be overthrown for gender equality to be achieved.

According to Millet (radical feminist, 1970) "patriarchal government" is one that perpetuates "There is society that one female are controlled by the other half which are male." This patriarchal domination is replicated in its hierarchical nature through generation, having patriarchy to be precise "male dominates male, elder dominates younger." This again links to the radical emphasis on patriarchy in all its forms, with patriarchy within the family reflecting a micro-cosm of society at large. Thus, patriarchy is crucial to feminist analysis as it shows the root of female subordination, and shows how revolutionary is necessary to achieve a qualitatively different society based on gender equality, and even patriarchy.

Patriarchy is also a vital component of liberal feminist thought. To a liberal, they use the term in a limited sense to highlight the unequal distribution of rights and entitlements women face. This ties in to their notion of equality, where equality may only be achieved when women have equal access to the public realm. This is important to liberal feminist analysis as once

patriarchy has been identified as the cause of such formal and legal inequality, based largely on the fact that men have refused to consider the political and social hierarchy they enjoy, the path is clear for equality and the advancement of women in public life to be achieved.

Patriarchy is also important to socialist feminist analysis. They link patriarchy to capitalism, seeing them as linked systems of oppression. Capitalism and patriarchy mean men dominate over women, viewing them as a mere economic tool to preserve the capitalist system. As early as 1884, Engels said before private property, a matriarchy existed. Thus, the abolition of patriarchy and capitalism will free women economically and socially, enabling them to reach the equality that has been denied to them. Thus patriarchy is crucial to socialists when envisaging women's emancipation, even if capitalism is seen as worse.



**ResultsPlus**  
Examiner Comments

This response has a clear definition at the start and covers three strands of feminism. The emphasis given to radical feminism is appropriate given the importance of patriarchy for radical feminists. The candidate is accurate throughout and this response achieved full marks.

## Question 4

This was one of the least popular questions in section A. Candidates became distracted from the question in a number of cases and either provided evidence of multiculturalists not supporting cultural mixing, or became anecdotal with regard to migrants and immigration. Stronger responses gave a range of grounds, often including the opportunities for personal self-development and examples of increased vibrancy in society.

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Pluralist Multiculturalists, liberal Multiculturalists, Cosmopolitan thinkers and Communitarians all, to some degree (depending particularly upon each individual thinker) support cultural mixing. Multiculturalism by its very definition suggests a support of cultural mixing on the basis that its theme is a society where a multitude of cultures co-exist.

The pluralist multiculturalist Bhikhu Parekh encourages cultural mixing on the grounds that multicultural harmony and civic unity is achieved through inter-cultural dialogue; which will eventually lead to the consolidation of a set of basic agreements upon every individual and every culture (in general terms) can agree upon. Similarly, the pluralist multiculturalist John Gray explains that there is no set of ethics or morals, or a conception of the good life, that is absolute, therefore cultural mixing can and should be encouraged. Pluralist Multiculturalists prefer a society that resembles a 'cultural mosaic' where cultures mix, yet retain their cultural distinctiveness. Liberal multiculturalists support cultural mixing on account of

their roots in liberalism. Liberals, such as John Stuart Mill, ~~support~~ encourage social discussion because good ideas will displace bad ideas; cultural mixing will encourage this discussion and therefore should lead to a more rational society. Likewise, liberal multiculturalists support cultural mixing in accordance with the liberal dedication to 'tolerance'. Voltaire supported, in Henry, cultural mixing, ~~explains~~ through his explanation of the existence of numerous religions in ~~the~~ England; he explains that if there were only one religion there would be "danger of despotism", if there were two "they would cut each other's throats", but there are three religions and therefore they live in perfect "harmony". Similarly, Voltaire proclaimed "I detest what you say, but I will defend to death your right to say it". According to the liberal commitment to tolerance, liberal multiculturalists should support cultural mixing. Indeed, the liberal (multiculturalist) John Rawls explains that cultural mixing can occur (and therefore the religions can be tolerated) as long as the cultures in question are tolerant, in accordance with liberal Henry, ~~and~~

Cosmopolitan thinkers such as Lawrence Anthony Appich encourage cultural mixing in order to create a 'pick-and-mix' multiculturalism. Cosmopolitan thinkers encourage a 'melting pot' society where cultures come together forming a global culture; individuals are global citizens that inhabit a cosmopolis.

Communitarians such as Amitai Etzioni and Michael Sandel support ~~against~~ cultural mixing on account of the individual's right to freedom of choice and self-expression. Cultural mixing is acceptable as long as the individuals that compose the culture agree and adhere to a prescribed set of values that the whole community has followed; Etzioni

explains that democracy and the Bill of Rights are two examples of these community values in America.



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**Examiner Comments**

This response makes a range of points and links these to different strands within multiculturalism. This response achieved a mid level three mark.

## Question 5

This was the least popular question in section A. A significant minority of candidates did not focus on the question and even went so far as discussing other types of nationalism altogether, or conflated cultural nationalism with racist theories of national identity. Stronger responses gave a short definition and covered a range of features, with illustration throughout.

Indicate your first question choice on this page.

You will be asked to indicate your second question choice on page 6.

Put a cross in the box  indicating the first question that you have chosen.

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Cultural nationalism has ethnocultural aspirations. It is defined by a desire to strengthen or defend cultural identity rather than having overt political demands. Its main feature is the regeneration of society as a distinct civilisation. Examples of cultural nationalism is the attempt to protect Welsh culture (e.g. language + tradition) which were weakened following the English conquest in the 1470s. Writers and poets campaigned for cultural renewal. Whereas political nationalism is rational, cultural nationalism tends to be mystical, in that it is based on a romantic belief in the nation as an organic and historical whole. It tends to draw on folk ancient

myths, legends and folk tales. Although ~~it~~ cultural nationalism usually has an anti-modernist character, it can also be seen as an agent of modernisation in ~~that~~ the sense that it provides a people with a means of recreating itself.

The goal of cultural nationalism is therefore to create an awareness and appreciation of collective memories and national traditions rather than to provide the basis for an over-political quest for statehood.

The tendency for nationalism to be expressed through ~~regenero~~ cultural regeneration can be seen in nineteenth century Germany, in the revival of German folk traditions and the rediscovery of German myths and legends. For example the Brothers Grimm collected and published German folk tales, while the composer Richard Wagner based many of his operas on

ancient myths.

There is disagreement over the implications of viewing the nation as a cultural, rather than a political



community. On the one hand, it seems to be tolerant and consistent with progressive political demands, in which it differs from ethnocultural nationalism.

Ethnicity refers to loyalty to a distinctive population, cultural group or territorial area. It is a complex term, which has racial and cultural overtones. Members of ethnic groups are often seen to have descended from common ancestors, suggesting that ethnic groups are extended kinship groups, united by blood. As it is impossible to join an ethnic group (except intermarriage) these groups have an exclusive character and links to racialism.

A distinction is drawn between open, inclusive political nationalism and closed, exclusive cultural nationalism.



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**Examiner Comments**

This response covers a range of features with relevant examples for illustration. There is a little loss of focus towards the end, although the more general point about exclusivity is pertinent. This response achieved a mid level three mark.

## Question 6

This was a popular essay question. Most candidates were able to identify the different strands within ecologism, in particular the divide between deep and shallow ecology. Stronger responses showed conceptual understanding of the different approaches, as opposed to describing the different strands, and had some balance in the overall argument in response to the question.

Put a cross in the box  indicating the question that you have chosen.  
If you change your mind, put a line through the box   
and then indicate your new question with a cross .

Chosen Question Number:

Question 6

Question 7

Question 8

Ecologism is an ideology which emphasises humans interconnectedness to nature as a whole. Since we are part of nature, rather than having external domination over it, human lifestyles must account for their impact upon ~~our~~ the natural world. However, there are a number of ~~sub~~ branches within ecological thinking.

All ecologists see human beings as the root cause of the environmental crisis. This refers to the degradation and destruction of our planet ~~and~~ its resources, and disruption to physical processes.

The core theme of ecologism is ecology, which recognises that ecosystems are self-maintained, through a process of homeostasis, and are biologically diverse and harmonious\*. The world ecosystem, called the 'ecosphere' or 'biosphere' naturally operates in this same way, however human activity and industrialisation are impacting its ability to self-maintain. ~~Some~~ Some ecologists would commit to James Lovelock's 'Gaia hypothesis': the planet is a self-regulating whole, characterised by balance: seen by the atmospheric circulation ~~from~~

between the tropical and polar air, and the greenhouse effect, to ensure conditions on life are suited best for life. Lovelock hypothesises that if human activity continues in it's way, of burning fossil fuels, depleting resources and harming wildlife, Gaia will fightback, or be destroyed forever.

All ecologists criticise Newtonian-Cartesian physics for committing the 'sin of reductionism' - attempting to break the world down into parts. Capra rejects scientism, the belief that scientific method can explain all, and ecologists support holism. This is the belief that the whole is greater than the sum of it's parts; the world can only be understood by studying it as a whole. However ecologists disagree over approaches to holism: some recognise the importance of the 'new physics', that quantum theory recognises the interconnected, interdependent whole of nature, while others accept beliefs from eastern religions of the 'oneness' of life, and primitive religions idea of recognising ~~no difference between~~ no difference in the importance of living and non living life.

~~Sustainability is important to all ecologists.~~

Furthermore, ecologists, like Fromm, criticise the modern commitment to materialism and consumerism, what Fromm called an attitude of 'having'. Fromm believed this undermined our psychological and emotional wellbeing and provided the context for mans environmental destruction. Instead, ecologists harbour an attitude of 'being': self-realisation achieved through a closeness to nature.

However, ecologists may agree about the holistic importance of the ecosphere, and reject an attitude of 'haining', but they are divided in their beliefs of what caused the environmental crisis, and how best to solve it.

Modernist ecologists seek to combine the principles of ecology with a commitment to capitalist modernity (self-exacting individualism, economic growth and market principles). <sup>It is an</sup> ~~anthropocentric approach, focusing on the needs of human beings that whilst capitalism and man-industrialisation~~

Social ecology ~~aims to combine~~ is also anthropocentric, ~~whereas~~ and combines ecology with other political ideologies. Eco-socialists, like Bahro, see capitalism as the root cause of the environmental crisis, eco-feminists blame patriarchy, whereas eco-anarchists blame the state and forms of authority.

Deep ecology totally rejects anthropocentrism in favour of ecocentrism, the idea that entire ecosystems have intrinsic value.

Both social ecologists and modernist ecologists have extended moral considerations. Since the environmental crisis will affect future generations, we must act futuristically to protect them too.

This could be supported by the conservative-Burkean view that ~~the state~~ society must consider 'the dead, the living, and the yet-to-be-born'. These ecologists have also extended moral consideration to other species. Peter Singer, a preference utilitarian, says that since animals, like humans can express preferences, mainly the desire to avoid

can express preferences, mainly the desire to avoid pain, to ignore their preferences and only consider human ones is to commit 'speciesism'. To ~~say~~ Singer, this is as unfair and unjust as racism and sexism.

Deep ecologists, however, have extended moral considerations even further. First coined by Norwegian Philosopher Arne Naess, deep ecology believes that nature has 'intrinsic value'; ~~it does~~ rather than the 'instrumental value' placed upon it by humans. Anthropocentrism implies that the only worth of nature is what it is given by humans, as argued by William Baxter. Deep ecology says that human beings must respect that they are 'plain members' of nature as a whole. In 'sand county almanac', ~~the~~ Aldo Leopold outlined his 'land ethic': "a thing is good when it tends to promote the integrity, stability and beauty of the biotic community. It is wrong when it tends otherwise". Humans must reject the liberal idea of individualism,

and accept that human individuals are not the 'telos' (goal) of life. Paul Taylor's biocentric approach says that all things have their own goal, and humans have no special status over them.

All ecologists are committed to sustainability, unlike conventional ideologies like liberalism, Conservatism and socialism, which seem to think that resources are unlimited. Like a spaceship, the earth is a 'closed system' - once its resources run out, it will inevitably reach entropy (a tendency

towards decay). Schumacher says 'humans have' made the mistake of treating the earth's resources as 'income', which can be replenished, rather than 'natural capital', which once used is gone forever. Unlike James Lovelock, Schumacher did not support the development of nuclear energy.

However ecologists are divided over how best to achieve sustainability.

Modernist ecologists apply ~~Shallow~~ 'weak sustainability'. They believe that capitalism can be used to help maintain nature, in the form of tax incentives to reduced pollution and heavier tax for those who continue to pollute. This thinking was behind the 1997 Kyoto Protocol. They believe that the market will respond to environmentally conscious consumers, and develop green technologies and environmentally friendly products. Capitalism is not anti-ecology, as without resources, it could not operate. In contrast, eco-socialists see capitalism as the root cause of the problem, as it encourages resource exploitation ~~for the~~ to drive consumption and generate wealth for the bourgeoisie ~~and~~ owners. 'Red priority' eco-socialists say the environmental crisis can only be solved by the overthrowing of the bourgeoisie. However this view is criticised as under the Soviet Union, environmental quality actually deteriorated, ~~as~~ as seen by the shrinking of the Aral Sea under Soviet control. Similarly, ~~eco~~ orthodox-marxists in the socialist feminism tradition are criticised, because

socialist feminism tradition are criticised, because the revolution and set up of the USSR did not majorly change the role of women.

Deep ecologists reject both these approaches. According to Naess, we need a total paradigm shift to solve the ecological crises. This involves recognizing our place within nature. Naess agreed we need a total change in all political, social and economic structures. <sup>They call for zero economic growth.</sup> Murray Bookchin believes that humans must control their population and live in small self-sufficient communities, alongside nature. However, this view is often criticised as impractical. Bookchin, an eco-anarchist, said deep ecology was fundamentally counterproductive as it ignored the need for a social revolution in attaining an 'inner' revolution. By succumbing to eastern mysticism, deep ecologists commit to 'Californian ecotopianism', which Bookchin mocked and called 'Eco-la-la'.

Overall, although ecologists may agree on the need to sustain resources and nature, and take a holistic approach, the vast range of ecological traditions, from anthropocentric to biocentric, suggest that ecologism is not a united ideology, rather a range of doctrines. Different traditions have different ideas about the cause of or the environmental crisis, apply ecologist core themes in different ways, and have different solutions for how to achieve varying views of a new social future, and so ecologism is better understood as an 'umbrella' term for this range of ideas.

\* Just as multiculturalists see cultural diversity as the foundation for political stability, biodiversity is the foundation for a harmonious and stable ecosystem.



**ResultsPlus**

**Examiner Comments**

This is a well balanced and wide ranging response which analyses some of the conceptual differences within ecogism, as well as identifying common areas of agreement. It achieved a high level three mark.



## Question 7

This was the most popular essay question and was generally answered well. Most candidates were able to show differences between liberal and radical feminist principles as well as identifying views that they have in common. Stronger responses were more analytical in their approach and less descriptive, and sustained a focus on the question. A small number of candidates conflated radical feminism with difference feminism which undermined their arguments.

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If you change your mind, put a line through the box   
and then indicate your new question with a cross .

Chosen Question Number:

Question 6       Question 7       Question 8

personal is the political  
Up hold pub/priv divide.  
gender decisions should be overthrown  
womens liberation  
Difference/essentialist  
Consciousness raising vs reform

Radical feminism is often thought to have been a reaction to liberal feminism. However ~~as~~ liberal and 'first wave' feminism are the foundation ~~beliefs~~ can be seen as the foundations of radical feminism. Therefore radical feminism doesn't fundamentally oppose the principles of liberal feminism, rather it tries to make up for what they deem to be the 'failings' of liberal feminism.

Liberal and radical feminists both believe in the principle of patriarchy, and that it creates gender decisions within society. Radical and liberal feminists are united in the belief that these gender decisions should be overthrown, and replaced <sup>with androgyny.</sup> For example radical and liberal feminists would both

agree that the severe lack of female MP's is an important societal problem that needs to be addressed. Radical and liberal feminists both also believe in women's liberation - for women to no longer be subordinate oppressed beings - however the ~~root~~ means of achieving women's liberation is where radical and liberal feminists separate.

Liberal feminists believe that women's liberation can be achieved through legal reform and political activism; this is rooted in the liberal belief in parliamentary politics and reform. 'First wave' feminism ~~drawed~~<sup>drew</sup> inspiration from liberalism during the women's suffrage movement during the early 19th century, whereby women successfully campaigned for suffrage through ~~protesting and potresting~~ and political activism. The suffrage movement showcased the liberal feminist belief that women's liberation can be achieved through political activism and legal reform. Radical feminists ~~criticis~~ criticize this view, believing that political 'first wave' liberal tactics can't and didn't lead to the liberation of women. Radical feminists therefore endorse consciousness raising, that first you must make women entirely aware of their subordinate position in order for them to fight against it and become liberated. The housewife liberation movement during the 1960's and 1970's is an example of consciousness raising. Women were encouraged to explore themselves, and strive

to reach their full potential (That being a housewife and mother wasn't their sole purpose in life). Consciousness raising amongst women was the only way for men to start viewing women as equal, as patriarchy and subordination stems from the <sup>private</sup> public sphere. Therefore radical feminists fundamentally oppose the liberal feminist view ~~of the means~~ regarding the means of achieving female liberation.

Radical feminists also fundamentally oppose the liberal feminist view regarding the public private divide. Liberal feminists do believe that the public sphere shouldn't be dominated entirely by men, nor should the private sphere be dominated entirely by women. However liberal feminists also believe that the on-goings of the private sphere should remain personal and be a matter of individual choice. Liberal feminists believe that intertearing within the private sphere poses a

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threat to individual freedom. This stems from the liberal belief that the government shouldn't ~~not~~ interfere with the 'care of mens souls'. However ~~the~~ radical feminists believe that 'the personal is the political', meaning that they do not characterize politics ~~as~~ as voting, political parties, governments etc.

Rather they believe that the distribution of domestic tasks such as cooking and cleaning, and the power ratio within male and female relationships are hugely political. Radical feminists believe that the state shouldn't interfere with the private sphere as this is where the foundations of patriarchy lie. Therefore when regarding their stance on the public private divide, radical feminism does fundamentally ~~oppose~~ <sup>oppose</sup> the principles of liberal feminism.

Difference or essentialist feminist feminists, a sub section of radical feminists, fundamentally oppose the principles of liberal feminism.

This is because they ~~believe~~<sup>believe</sup> there is an essential biological difference between men and women, and that gender is completely determined by sex. Difference feminists therefore believe that the liberal feminist principle of gender equality is simply encouraging women to be 'like men', and the concept of an androgynous society is simply unrealistic and unachievable.

To conclude it is unfair to say that radical feminism fundamentally opposes the principles of liberal feminism, as broadly speaking they are united in their want for gender equality. However the means to which ~~the~~ liberal feminists believe it can be achieved is ~~not~~ where radical feminism fundamentally opposes the principles of liberal feminism.



### ResultsPlus Examiner Comments

This is a well argued and wide ranging answer. The candidate identifies a number of features common to both strands of feminism and sustains an argument throughout the essay, that radical feminism is a development from liberal feminism which seeks to address its perceived limitations. This response was awarded full marks.

## Question 8

This was the least popular essay question on the paper. Most candidates identified common features between liberalism and multiculturalism and went on to consider some ways in which multiculturalism goes beyond liberalism. A few responses were overly descriptive, rather than focusing on the question, which limited the mark achieved by these candidates.

Put a cross in the box  indicating the question that you have chosen.

If you change your mind, put a line through the box

and then indicate your new question with a cross .

Chosen Question Number:

Question 6

Question 7

Question 8

Liberalism is one of the most important ideologies in informing political discourse surrounding multiculturalism. Multiculturalism ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> a cross-cutting ideology~~s~~ which believes that the peaceful coexistence of multiple cultural/ethnic groupings is not only achievable but deeply desirable. They champion the idea that diversity promotes unity. In many ways multiculturalism is merely an extension of liberalism's core doctrines, but this essay shall also examine the tensions that liberalism ~~has~~ finds with more 'extreme' versions of multiculturalism.

First of all, we must establish the ways in which multiculturalism as a doctrine advances key tenets of liberalism. First of all, the aim of multiculturalism is to award individuals and groups with as much self-sovereignty and liberty as is available in the public sphere. Liberalism, an ideology ~~founded~~ <sup>founded</sup> in that came to fruition in the enlightenment era is

based nearly wholly on the idea of human capabilities, and most importantly their right to self govern. (This is most evident in classical liberalism's endorsement of negative liberty, or freedom from external constraint.) As J. Mill wrote, over his 'mind, ~~but~~ and body the individual is sovereign' — multiculturalism seeks to advance this sovereignty by ensuring certain groups rights that promote their ability to freely choose how they compose themselves. For example, Kymlickas advance of polyethnic rights allows groups to continue with practices unique to them — such as Sikhs being allowed to not wear helmets on motorbikes, so they can continue to wear turbans. Equally self-government rights prescribed to indigenous groups whose territories (and way of life) ~~was~~ is often hijacked by alien governments, allows them to retain sovereignty in the form of federalism. Liberalism is deeply concerned with returning autonomy and sovereignty to individuals — which ~~liberalism~~ multiculturalism is also devoted to.

Related to their belief in the rational of the individual, Liberalism endorses the

idea of toleration. This dictates that in the private sphere, no individual can ~~be~~ ~~to~~ interfere with someone else's behaviour (provided it is self-regarding and compares with J.S. Mill's harm principle) as this is nothing more than an infringement on the sovereignty of another individual. Multiculturalism, too, is founded on the principles of toleration, and that a ~~to~~ society tolerant of each ~~other~~ communities practices is derivable.

Finally, Liberalism is certainly compatible with multiculturalism as regards the principle of pluralism as an outcome of diversity. Multiculturalism promotes ~~the~~ diversity - the idea that different cultural groups can coexist harmoniously, and even that these relationships are harmonious. A multicultural society is deeply pluralistic in pattern <sup>multiculturalism embodies</sup> ~~with~~ special 'representation rights' awarded to minority groups (such as affirmative action or racial quotas) to ensure that all groups in society are equally represented at each stage of any decision making process - which is the embodiment of pluralism. Liberalism is also founded on the idea that pluralism enables progress in a society. This is because, humans are



rational capable beings and through dialectic any conflict that arises is easily resolved, ~~through~~ contributing nonetheless to human progress. It is in this way that progress is achieved: through conflict eventual 'universal truths' shall be legitimately uncovered. Multiculturalism endorses diversity, ~~which~~<sup>adding</sup> vigour and vibrancy to a community. Where a liberal would see that the pluralist nature of ideas leads to progress.

While ~~para~~ Liberalism has been highly influential and informative to multiculturalist discourse, it would be unwise to fail to recognise the ways in which multiculturalism and liberal doctrine are incompatible - how multiculturalism 'goes beyond' the limits of liberal thinking to to speak. ~~The~~

The first, and most important way in which it does this surrounds the idea of morality and tolerance. Pluralist multiculturalists - those who subscribe to a 'live and let live philosophy' - subscribed to Isaiah Berlin's idea that there is not one sole way to lead a 'good life' but rather many competing, and equally legitimate ways. Bikhu Parekh takes this even further and claims that liberalism

-and the western values to which it & subscribes - has for too long had an illegitimate monopoly of morality pluralist multiculturalism have been strongly influenced by the works of thinkers such as Edward Said. Said posited that Liberalism manipulates universalism (and how that there are inherent world truths) in order to oppress other minority cultures, by claiming that their practices are immoral: when really this is Liberalism's way of asserting moral authority over other cultures (such as the banning of FGM) and only serves to uphold cultural imperialism. While Liberalism may claim to be tolerant, pluralist hasten to add that Liberalism is only tolerant of other perceived 'liberal' behaviour which itself is deeply intolerant.

Linked to this, Multiculturalism also rejects ~~multiculturalism~~ Liberalism's idea of Universalism as all humans being merely individuals with some sort of universal 'inner core identity.' Multiculturalism dismisses the idea of the 'abstract individual' (upon which most of Liberal thought is founded) as ridiculous and instead subscribes to communitarianism. This is an idea - deeply linked to identity politics -

that our entire identity is formed primarily as a result of conditions in to which we are exposed - most typically our cultural group. This notion was deep for Liberalism - who are wary of any ideology which diminishes individual's autonomy to members of a group or collective (reflected most evidently in their rejection of Socialism's endorsement of collectivism), which they feel limits the individual's sovereignty. So while multiculturalism believes we are culturally embedded creatures - who should celebrate and recognize our identity as belonging to a larger group - Liberalism would wholeheartedly reject this.

Following this, for multiculturalism to recognize and subscribe to the belief (as well as celebrate) that we are culturally embedded creatures, means that our ~~culture may often need to be~~ cultural background must be taken into account when ascribing certain rights, known as polyethnic rights. These grant ~~various~~ groups cultural groups certain exemption from traditional rules - such as Muslim schoolgirls being exempt from dress codes.

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This can be problematic for liberals who fundamentally are difference blind, and believe that all groups should be treated equally under the law; which is Jonsen's. Liberalism for example would have found the justification for the recent ruling not to charge an Indian man for hitting his child with a belt - that 'cultural circumstances must be taken into context' as deeply troubling and even threatening.

Liberalism has clearly been highly influential in - and possibly the most important force behind - informing multiculturalism as an ideology. Liberalism connects - tolerance, pluralism and returning sovereignty to the individual - underpin multiculturalist force. Yet, to a large extent multiculturalism has taken liberal ideas and men advanced them to the point where the ideologies are no longer compatible - namely in multiculturalism belief in communitarianism (and defining someone by the group to which they belong), ascribing certain groups exemptory rights, and also critiquing universalism. Yet, while multiculturalism does in this way go beyond

Liberalism, it is important not to forget how deeprooted it equally is in liberal ideas.



**ResultsPlus**

**Examiner Comments**

This is a well argued and well structured response. The analysis is strong on both the links between liberalism and multiculturalism and the ways in which multiculturalism goes beyond liberalism. The candidate considers some key features of liberalism such as the focus on the individual and individual rights and the limits to tolerance to show incompatibilities with multiculturalist ideas. This response was awarded full marks.

## **Paper Summary**

Based on the performance on this paper, the candidates should:

- Make sure they answer all the questions required;
- Time themselves carefully on each question so as to avoid having to rush any answers;
- Ensure that answers remain focused on the specific question that has been asked;
- Avoid lengthy introductions when answering section A questions;
- Provide balance where required, but only where required;
- Provide short definitions of key concepts as appropriate.

## **Grade Boundaries**

Grade boundaries for this, and all other papers, can be found on the website on this link:

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