

Mark Scheme (Results)

Summer 2012

GCE Government & Politics Ideological Traditions 6GP04 4B

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No. 1 On what grounds have liberals criticised multiculturalism

Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)

Liberals, particularly universalist liberals, have criticised multiculturalism on a number of grounds. These include the following.

- Liberals have traditionally argued that factors such as culture, ethnicity, religion and so
 on are, at best, of secondary importance as far as an individual's identity is concerned,
 which puts it at odds with the multiculturalist idea that cultural difference should be
 publicly recognised, even celebrated.
- Liberals have also insisted that individual rights should take precedence over so-called minority rights or group rights, even, sometimes, arguing that rights and entitlements are only meaningful if they apply to individuals.
- Even liberals who have some sympathy for multiculturalism have attacked forms of multiculturalism are grounded in ethical pluralism, as these portray as legitimate ideas and practices that violate a fundamental liberal commitment to freedom and personal autonomy (examples including forced marriage, female circumcision and bans on apostasy).

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

- Accurate, if possibly implicit, knowledge of multiculturalism
- Limited knowledge of at least one liberal criticism of multiculturalism

- Clear, and probably explicit, understanding of multiculturalism
- Clear explanation of at least two liberal criticisms of multiculturalism

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
Level 3 (11-15 marks)	 Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. Good or better ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
<i>Level 2</i> (6-10 marks)	 Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. Sound ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.

Level 1

(0-5 marks)

- Limited knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.
- Poor ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.
- Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.

No. 2 How and why have ecologists challenged conventional moral thinking?

Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)

Ecologists have challenged conventional moral thinking on the grounds that it is based on anthropocentric assumptions. As these define 'good' and 'bad' strictly in terms of human needs, interests or rights, the non-human world, consisting of other species, plants and trees, the land and so on, has value only in instrumental terms, that is, as a means of furthering human ends, regardless of their ecological consequences.

Ecologists have therefore either tried to modify ethical anthropocentrism or to replace it with a system of environmental ethics. This has taken a variety of forms, including the following:

- In some circumstances, ecologists have tried to extend moral obligations towards future generations, developing a kind of cross-generational justice that supports the idea of sustainability.
- In other cases, ecologists have applied moral standards developed in relation to human beings to other species and organisms. This has applied most obviously in relation to animal rights, but it can also be extended further in the idea of biocentric equality, which holds that all organisms and entities in the ecosphere are of equal moral worth.
- Most radically, deep ecologists have argued that nature has value in its own right, in
 which case nature is portrayed as an ethical community, within which human beings are
 nothing more than 'plain citizens' who have no more rights than any other member of the
 community.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

- Some awareness of why ecologists have challenged conventional moral thinking
- Limited knowledge of at least one way in which ecologists have extended, or gone beyond, conventional moral thinking

- Clear understanding of why ecologists have challenged conventional moral thinking
- Clear explanation of at least two ways in which ecologists have extended, or gone beyond, conventional moral thinking

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
Level 3	 Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.
(11-15 marks)	 Good or better ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.

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Level 2 (6-10 marks)	 Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. Sound ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 1 (0-5 marks)	 Limited knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. Poor ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.

No. 3 Why have liberals argued that nationalism promotes peace and international order?

Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)

Liberals have argued that nationalism promotes peace and international order in a number of ways, including the following:

- For liberals, the primary threat to peace and international order comes from multinational, autocratic empires. This is because they have traditionally been militaristic and expansionist, having been formed through conquest and routinely use military force to further their internal and external ends. After WWI, liberals such as Woodrow Wilson thus sought to re-draw the map of Europe on the basis of the principle of national selfdetermination.
- Liberal nationalists believed that nation-state are naturally peaceful political formations. This has been explained in a number of ways, including the following:
 - o nation-states enjoy sovereign independence and so are unwilling to threaten the sovereign independence of other nations
 - expansion and conquest would undermine the political and cultural cohesion that makes nation-states so successful
 - o democratic nation-states share a common culture and so are unwilling to fight one another, and are also accountable to the people who will have to fight, kill and die in the event of war.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

• Limited knowledge of at least one way in which liberals believe that nationalism promotes peace and international order

A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:

 Clear explanation of at least two ways in which liberals believe that nationalism promotes peace and international order

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
Level 3 (11-15 marks)	 Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. Good or better ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
<i>Level 2</i> (6-10 marks)	 Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. Sound ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments

	 and explanations. Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 1 (0-5 marks)	 Limited knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. Poor ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.

No. 4 Explain the key features of socialist feminism

Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)

The key features of socialist feminism include the following:

- Patriarchy can only be understood in the light of social and economic factors. This implies
 that the system of male domination and female oppression is linked to the workings of
 the capitalist system. For Marxists, such as Engels, patriarchy arose as a result of the
 institution of private property and the need men felt to ensure that their property would
 be passed on only to their sons, something that would be ensured by the institution of
 monogamous marriage.
- Most socialist feminists argue that the sexual division of labour, through which women are confined to a domestic sphere of housework and motherhood, serves the interests of capitalism, by, for example:
 - o turning women to constitute a 'reserve army of labour',
 - o relieving men of the burden of housework and child-rearing, so allowing them to concentrate their time and energy on paid employment
 - o giving male workers a powerful incentive to find and keep a job because they have wives and children to support
- Socialist feminists also link female emancipation to radical social change, whether this is brought about through the abolition of capitalism or by the redistribution of wealth and other resources.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

Limited knowledge of at least one key feature of socialist feminism

A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:

Clear explanation of at least two key features of socialist feminism

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
Level 3 (11-15 marks)	 Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. Good or better ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 2 (6-10 marks)	 Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. Sound ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.

	Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 1 (0-5 marks)	 Limited knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. Poor ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.

No. 5 Why and how have ecologists criticised materialism and consumerism?

Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)

Materialism and consumerism both emphasise the importance of satisfying material needs, usually implying a direct link between people's pleasure or happiness and their level of material consumption. Higher levels of material consumption therefore generate higher levels of human satisfaction.

Ecologists, particularly eco-anarchists and deep ecologists, have criticised materialism and consumerism on a number of grounds, including the following:

- Ecologists argue that materialism constitutes the cultural basis for environmental degradation, encouraging people to place short-term economic interests ahead of longer-term ecological concerns. Materialism and consumerism thus lead to an obsession with economic growth and so contribute to a wide range of environmental problems.
- They also question whether happiness is actually promoted by increased material consumption, often favouring a 'postmaterial' model of human wellbeing constructed more around the idea of 'being' rather than 'having'. This allows people to be 'outwardly poor but inwardly rich'.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

- Awareness, if possibly implicit, of the nature of materialism and consumerism
- Limited knowledge of at least one way in which ecologists have criticised materialism and consumerism

- Clear, and probably explicit, understanding of the nature of materialism and consumerism
- Clear explanation of at least two ways in which ecologists have criticised materialism and consumerism

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
Level 3 (11-15 marks)	 Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. Good or better ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 2 (6-10 marks)	 Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. Sound ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.

	Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 1 (0-5 marks)	 Limited knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. Poor ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.

No. 6

To what extent is nationalism a single doctrine?

Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)

Nationalism can be viewed as a single doctrine but only in a relatively limited sense. The core theme that all forms of nationalism reflect is the belief that the nation is the sole legitimate unit of political rule. The nation is therefore the key to political organisation. However, nationalism is characterised by ambiguity and contradictions. It has been shaped by very different historical contexts, contrasting cultural inheritances and it has been used to advance a wide variety of political causes and aspirations. Above all, nationalism is a cross-cutting ideology that draws on a range of other ideological traditions.

Key differences within nationalism include the distinction between political nationalism and cultural nationalism, sometimes seen as the distinction between civic nationalism and ethnocultural nationalism. Nevertheless, political nationalism encompasses a wide range of hybrid ideological forms:

- Liberal nationalism is a principled for of nationalism, based on the idea that nations have an equal right to freedom and self-determination. Its ultimate goal is the construction of a world of nation-states. Liberal nationalism nevertheless has a cosmopolitan dimension, in that it is compatible with universalist ideas such as human rights and accepts the need for nation-states to operate within a framework of international order supervised by supranational bodies such as the UN and the EU.
- Conservative nationalism, by contrast, is concerned primarily with the promise of social
 cohesion and political order embodied in the sentiment of national patriotism. Above all,
 conservatives see the nation as an organic entity emerging out of a basic desire of humans to
 gravitate towards those who have the same views and habits as themselves. This form of
 nationalism tends to be insular and inward looking, sceptical about immigration, cultural
 diversity and the trend towards supranationalism.
- Expansionist nationalism tends to be aggressive and militaristic, based on the idea of chauvinism, reflected in the supposedly special or superior qualities of a particular nation.
 Nationalism in this sense often overlaps with racialism and it is easily transformed into a project of imperial expansion, particularly through an association with fascism.
- Anti-colonial nationalism, which sprang up in the developed world in the post-1945 period, tended to fuse nationalism with revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, creating the doctrine of 'national liberation'. This form of nationalism promised not merely sovereign independence but also social emancipation, as the overthrow of colonial rule would coincide with the overthrow of capitalism.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

- Awareness of core or common themes within nationalism
- Limited knowledge of ideological or theoretical differences within nationalism

- Clear understanding of core or common themes within nationalism
- Clear explanation of ideological and theoretical differences within nationalism, and some ability to evaluate their significance

AO1	Knowledge and understanding
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, th`eories or debates
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
AO2	Intellectual skills
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
AO2	Synoptic skills
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and clear insight into how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Sound ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and a reliable awareness of how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Limited ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and a little awareness of how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
AO3	Communication and coherence
Level 3 (7-9 marks)	Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary

Level 2 (4-6 marks)	Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 1 (0-3 marks)	Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary

No. 7

'Radical feminism fundamentally opposes liberal feminism.' Discuss.

Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)

Although radical feminism developed very largely as a reaction against liberal feminism, the two traditions have certain things in common. For instance:

- In common with all forms of feminism, both traditions are characterised by a belief that women are disadvantaged by virtue of their sex and that this disadvantage can and should be overthrown.
- Similarly, liberal feminists and most radical feminists subscribe to equality feminism, in that they believe in androgyny, implying that, at a fundamental level, women and men are both sexless persons. They are therefore committed to liberating women, albeit in different ways, from gender oppression, rather than to celebrate deeper, and perhaps biological differences between women and men.

Radical feminism, nevertheless, has been concerned to rectify the alleged failings of liberal feminism. A variety of substantial differences between the two traditions can therefore be identified. These include the following:

- Radical feminists believe that gender is the deepest and most politically significant of social divisions, being reflected in a patriarchal system that is institutionalised and pervasive, whereas liberal feminists are primarily concerned with gender inequality in terms of rights, entitlements and opportunities.
- Radical feminists believe that 'the personal is the political', in the sense that family and domestic life is the source of patriarchal oppression that operates across society at large. Meaning that they call for the radical, even revolutionary, transformation of the private realm. By contrast, liberal feminists accept a broadly conventional view of politics, based on the public/private divide, and are concerned that, above all, to transform the public realm in order to give women and men equal access.
- Radical feminists emphasise consciousness raising as a way of liberating women from their 'inner' oppression, whereas liberal feminists place their faith in a more conventional process of political activism and legal reform.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

- Awareness of at least one way in which radical feminists agree with liberal feminists
- Limited knowledge of why and how radical feminists oppose liberal feminism

- Clear understanding of ways in which radical feminists agree with liberal feminism
- Clear explanation of why and how radical feminists oppose liberal feminism

A01	Knowledge and understanding
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
AO2	Intellectual skills
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
AO2	Synoptic skills
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and clear insight into how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Sound ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and a reliable awareness of how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Limited ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and a little awareness of how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions

AO3	Communication and coherence
Level 3 (7-9 marks)	Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 2 (4-6 marks)	Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 1 (0-3 marks)	Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary

No. 8

'Multiculturalism promotes cultural mixing rather then cultural separateness.' Discuss.

Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)

There are deep divisions within multiculturalism over the issues of cultural mixing and cultural separation. Some forms of multiculturalism clearly emphasise the benefits of cultural mixing. For example:

- Liberal multiculturalists acknowledge that one of the benefits of cultural diversity is that it promotes vigour and dynamism, as well as a more tolerant and enlightened social ethic. In the liberal view, as different cultural groups learn about each other not only are they more likely to respect and tolerate each other's beliefs and practices but also they gain greater insight into their own beliefs and practices. In this sense, cultural diversity promotes a free market of ideas that advances understanding and wisdom.
- Cosmopolitan multiculturalism takes these ideas further in that it positively endorses hybridity
 and cultural mixing. Cultural recognition is therefore seen as the first stage in a process that
 encourages people to recognise their common humanity, in that parallels and similarities
 amongst cultural groups outweigh their differences. This may even lead to a kind of 'mix-andmatch' multiculturalism, in which people are positively encouraged to enrich their own lives
 and seek personal development by drawing on the beliefs and practices of a variety of cultural
 groups and not merely a single group.

However, pluralist multiculturalism is generally critical of cultural mixing and highlights the benefits of cultural separation. In this view, cultural mixing has drawbacks, including the following:

Cultural mixing weakens cultural embeddedness, in that what people gain from their cultural identity is a clear sense of historical and social belonging. Cultural mixing and any 'mix-and-match' form of multiculturalism merely weakens this embeddedness, giving people a shallow or inauthentic sense of identity.

Cultural mixing may also allow the beliefs and practices of the dominant, usually western, cultural groups to prevail over, and subvert, those of cultural groups which enjoy fewer economic and political advantages. Cultural mixing is therefore asymmetrical process, always in danger of descending into cultural imperialism. Cultural separation therefore promises to protect minority ethnic groups from 'westernisation'.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

- Limited knowledge of how and why multiculturalism promotes cultural mixing
- Some awareness of the benefits of cultural separatism, from a multiculturalist perspective

- Clear explanation of how and why multiculturalism promotes cultural mixing
- Clear understanding of the benefits of cultural separatism, from a multiculturalist perspective

A01	Knowledge and understanding	
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates	
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates	
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates	
AO2	Intellectual skills	
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations	
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations	
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations	
AO2	Synoptic skills	
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and clear insight into how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions	
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Sound ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and a reliable awareness of how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions	
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Limited ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and a little awareness of how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions	

AO3	Communication and coherence
Level 3 (7-9 marks)	Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 2 (4-6 marks)	Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 1 (0-3 marks)	Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary

SUMMARY A2 MARKING GRIDS

These grids should be used in conjunction with the fuller Level descriptors.

PART A - SHORT QUESTIONS (15 marks)

Level 3	Excellent	15
	Very good	13-14
	Good	11-12
Level 2	Sound	10
	Basic	8-9
	Limited	6-7
Level 1	Weak	4-5
	Poor	2-3
	Very poor	0-1

PART B - ESSAY QUESTIONS (45 marks)

AO1 / AO2 / Synopticity		
Level 3 (Good to excellent)	9-12	
Level 2 (Limited to sound)	5-8	
Level 1 (Very poor to weak)	0-4	

A03	
Level 3 (good to excellent)	7-9
Level 2 (Limited to sound)	4-6
Level 1 (Very poor to weak)	0-3

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