

Mark Scheme (Results) January 2010

GCE

GCE Government & Politics (6GP04) Paper 4B Other Ideological Traditions

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January 2010

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General Marking Guidance

- All candidates must receive the same treatment. Examiners must mark the first candidate in exactly the same way as they mark the last.
- Mark schemes should be applied positively. Candidates must be rewarded for what they have shown they can do rather than penalised for omissions.
- Examiners should mark according to the mark scheme not according to their perception of where the grade boundaries may lie.
- There is no ceiling on achievement. All marks on the mark scheme should be used appropriately.
- All the marks on the mark scheme are designed to be awarded. Examiners should always award full marks if deserved, i.e. if the answer matches the mark scheme. Examiners should also be prepared to award zero marks if the candidate's response is not worthy of credit according to the mark scheme.
- Where some judgement is required, mark schemes will provide the principles by which marks will be awarded and exemplification may be limited.
- When examiners are in doubt regarding the application of the mark scheme to a candidate's response, the team leader must be consulted.
- Crossed out work should be marked UNLESS the candidate has replaced it with an alternative response.

No. 1	What is patriarchy, and why is this important in feminist analysis?
Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Patriarchy literally means rule by the father, and refers to the domination of the husband/father within the family in the subordination of his wife and children. However, the term is usually used in the general sense of 'rule by men', drawing attention to the totality of oppression and exploitation to which women are subjected. Patriarchy thus implies that the system of male power in society at large both reflects and stems from the domination of the father in the family. • Patriarchy is important in feminist analysis because it highlights the extent to which relations between women and men are structured by unequal gender power. Whereas conventional political theory treats gender relations as natural, feminist theorists, through the notion of patriarchy, view them as part of the political institution of male power. Radical feminists use patriarchy to draw attention to the systematic, institutionalised and pervasive character of male power, present in all social institutions and every society. Patriarchy thus expresses the belief that gender divisions are deeper and more politically significant than divisions based on nationality, social class, race and so on. 	
A01	Knowledge and understanding
Level 3 (4-5 marks)	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 2 (2-3 marks)	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 1 (0-1 marks)	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates

A02	Intellectual skills
Level 3 (5-7 marks)	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
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No. 2	How have ecologist revised conventional ethical thought?
Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ecologists have challenged conventional ethical thought on the grounds that it is anthropocentric, orientated around the pleasure, needs and interests of human beings. It is reflected, for example, in utilitarianism and the idea human rights. From this perspective the non-human world is only of value in that it satisfies human ends. • Ecologists have adopted a number of novel approaches to ethical thinking. For instance, they have tried to establish the idea that people have moral obligations towards future generations, as it is in the nature of environmental matters that many of the consequences of present actions will not be felt until decades or even centuries to come. Environmental ethics has also embraced the idea of 'biocentric equality', emphasising that all species, and not just the human species, have equal moral worth. Singer has thus extended utilitarianism to attach moral rights to all species that are capable of suffering, arguing that there is a cross-species moral imperative to avoid suffering. More radically, 'deep' ecologists argue that nature has value in its own right; that is, intrinsic value. This idea of value-in-nature can, for example, be seen in the 'land ethic', a belief that a thing is right when it tends to preserve the integrity, stability and beauty of nature, viewed as ethical community. 	
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No. 3	How and why have multiculturalists supported minority rights?
Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Minority rights are rights that belong to groups rather than individuals. They are sometimes seen as 'special' rights in that they are specific to the group in question and may therefore advantage certain groups over other groups. Minority rights may include the right to respect and recognition (possibly including the right for a group's core beliefs not to be insulted), 'polyethnic' rights (rights that enable a cultural group to express or maintain its cultural distinctiveness) and representation rights (possible through 'positive' discrimination or even self-government at some level or other). • The justification for minority rights stems, most basically, from their role in upholding cultural identity in a context of diversity and pluralism. Cultural distinctiveness is seen by multiculturalists as the basis for civic unity. This particularly applies in the case of the right to respect and recognition and in the legal exemptions that are upheld as part of polyethnic rights. Liberal or individual rights tend to homogenise society by eroding cultural distinctiveness. Representation rights and 'positive' discrimination are also upheld by the desire to compensate marginalised groups for past injustices or present disadvantages. Multiculturalists therefore use minority rights to advance the cause of social justice. 	
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No. 4	Explain the ideas of eco-socialism.
Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eco-socialism is based on the idea that capitalism is the enemy of the environment, while socialism is its friend. Eco-socialists therefore advance a critique of capitalism. Capitalism is characterised by the destruction of the natural environment, as both human labour and the natural world are exploited because they are treated simply as economic resources. Such tendencies spring from the existence of private property, which appears to legitimise human domination over nature, and it is encouraged by the profit motive and competition, both of which emphasise the importance of economic concerns over environmental ones. • Eco-socialists argue that socialism is naturally ecological. If wealth is owned in common it will be used in the interests of all rather than in the interests of the ruling class or a capitalist elite. This means that it will be used in the long-term interests of humanity, taking account of the ecological impact of economic activity. From the eco-socialist perspective, there is no tension between 'red' (socialist) and 'green' (environmental) priorities. 	
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No. 5	Distinguish between nationalism and racialism.
Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nationalism, broadly, is the belief that the nation is the central principle of political organisation. The nation is a collection of people bound together by shared values and traditions, common language, religion and history, and usually occupying the same geographical area. Nationalism is therefore based upon two core assumptions. First, humankind is naturally divided into discrete nations and, second, the nation is the most appropriate, and perhaps the only legitimate, unit of political rule. Classical political nationalism set out to bring the borders of the state into line with the boundaries of the nation, creating nation-states within which nationality and citizenship would coincide. Nationalism, in this sense, is associated with a principled belief in national self-determination. However, nationalism is a complex and highly diverse ideological phenomenon, encompassing a range of political manifestations as well as cultural and ethnic forms. • Racism, broadly, is the belief that political or social conclusions can be drawn from the idea that humankind is divided into biologically distinct 'races' whereas nations are cultural entities, races are genetic or biological entities. Strictly speaking, racial origin is irrelevant to national identity, at least for inclusive forms of nationalism. Racialist theories are based on two assumptions. First, there are fundamental genetic or species-type, differences amongst the peoples of the world and, second, these divisions are reflected in cultural, intellectual and moral differences. Politically, it either implies racial segregation (for instance, apartheid) or doctrines of racial superiority or inferiority. The idea of a racial hierarchy leads to the systematic subordination of peoples on the basis of their ethnic origin, sometimes also providing the justification for conquest and expansionism. 	
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No. 6	To what extent is there tension between multiculturalism and liberalism?
Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The relationship between multiculturalism and liberalism has been a matter of debate and controversy. Whereas liberal multiculturalists have sought to fuse multiculturalism and liberalism, pluralist multiculturalists have often been critical of liberalism. Multiculturalism has also exposed tensions within liberalism itself. • The cornerstone of liberal multiculturalism is a commitment to toleration and a desire to uphold freedom of choice in the moral sphere, especially in relation to matters that are central concern to particular cultural and religious traditions. This has contributed to the idea that liberalism is 'neutral' in relation to the moral, cultural and other choices that citizens make. Liberalism, in that sense, is 'difference-blind': it treats factors such as culture, ethnicity, race, religion and gender as irrelevant because all people should be evaluated as morally autonomous individuals. Liberal multiculturalists also attempt to reconcile cultural diversity with civic unity. This is evident in the distinction between 'private' and 'public' life, whereby the former is a realm in which people should be able to express their cultural, religious and language identities, whereas the latter should be characterised by at least a bedrock of shared civic allegiances. Liberal multiculturalists also believe that liberal democracy is the sole legitimate political system, partly because it is the only means of guaranteeing personal freedom and toleration, thus protecting cultural diversity. • However, the issue of multiculturalism has exposed divisions within liberalism itself. A liberal multiculturalist position is criticised by supporters of two other positions. Liberal pluralists, influenced by Berlin and the notion of ethical pluralism, have gone beyond the idea of toleration and tried to embrace 'deep' diversity. However, as 'deep' diversity no longer prioritises liberal values, it is best seen as a form of 'post-liberalism'. On the other hand, universalist liberals are often openly critical of multiculturalism. Universalist liberals believe that multiculturalism subordinates the rights and needs of the individual to those of the social group, allowing personal autonomy to succumb to the 'despotism of custom'. • Liberal multiculturalism has been viewed as a form of bogus multiculturalism by pluralists and others. This is because the liberal endorsement of cultural diversity 'absolutises' liberalism and fails to show proper respect for non-liberal values and traditions. Liberals can only be tolerant of beliefs and practices that are themselves liberal or tolerant, meaning that they can only endorse 'diversity within a liberal framework'. Similarly, they are reluctant for cultural groups to have 'public' recognition and refuse to accept that non-liberal political processes may be equally legitimate as liberal democracy. 	

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No. 7	'Nationalism looks to the past, not to the future.' Discuss.
Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nationalism has a complex political character. It has both progressive and reactionary characteristics, but these are emphasised to different degrees by different forms of nationalism. • It can be said that all forms of nationalism look to the past, rather than the future. This is because nations themselves are grounded in history, based on traditions, customs and established identities. In that sense, nationalism seeks to establish continuity with the past. However, such traditionalist and reactionary tendencies are most evident in conservative nationalism and in chauvinist or expansionist nationalism. Conservative nationalism is essentially nostalgic and backward-looking, providing a defence for traditional institutions and a traditional way of life. It often reflects on a past age of national glory or triumph. Similarly, it is often used to resist change, particularly to defend a sense of national identity that is felt to be threatened or in danger of being lost. This is evident in concerns about immigration and growing cultural diversity, as well as in trends towards supranationalism, as in the tendency of European integration to weaken British national identity. Expansionist nationalism is often overtly reactionary in drawing on myths of a past 'golden age' which exemplifies national glory or superiority. This is evident in fascist nationalism and the glorification of, for instance, Imperial Rome or the First or Second Reich. • However, other forms of nationalism look to the future rather than the past. Liberal nationalism, for instance, has often been associated with the quest for sovereign independence, involving either or both the overthrow of foreign domination and oppression and the establishment of self-government through constitutionalism and democracy. More widely, liberal nationalists have looked to the future in the sense that they have sought to forge a world of independent nation-states, thereby reordering international politics as well as domestic politics. Anti-colonial nationalism has a similarly progressive character in that it was typically characterised by quest for political independence and social development. Political independence involved the overthrow of colonial rule, while social development was often understood in terms of the collectivisation of wealth and the establishment of a rationally-based planning system. Other forms of nationalism can also be said to look to the future. For example, expansionist nationalism may draw inspiration from historical myths but it also has aspirations for the future, not least in terms of the creation of empires and even world domination. In some cases, the past and the future are brought together in myths about the cyclical regeneration of a particular nation. 	

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No. 8	To what extent is feminism compatible with other political ideologies?
Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feminism appears to be compatible with other political ideologies, notably liberalism and socialism, ideologies that have both shown sympathy for the idea of gender equality. Liberalism is compatible with feminism in that the principle of individualism implies that individuals are entitled to equal treatment regardless of their sex. If individuals are to be judged, it should be on rational grounds, on the content of their character, their talents or their personal worth. This leads to a belief in equal rights and to the rejection of any form of discrimination against women. Liberalism thus inspired the movement for female suffrage and it has also been associated with campaigns to break down the remaining legal and social pressures that restrict women gaining an education, pursuing careers and being politically active. 'First-wave' feminism had an essentially liberal character. • Feminism is compatible with socialism to the extent that patriarchy can only be understood in the light of social and economic factors. Socialist feminists have therefore viewed patriarchy and capitalism as interlocking systems of oppression and exploitation, for example seeing the 'bourgeois family' as a way of reconciling male workers to their role as 'wage slaves' whilst ensuring that women constitute a 'reserve army of labour'. For Engels, the subordinate role of women originated with the institution of private property, encouraging men to ensure that their property was only inherited by their biological sons. In this view, female emancipation can only be achieved through radical social change, perhaps a social revolution. • Radical feminists, on the other hand, reject the idea that feminism is compatible with other political ideologies. This is because they take gender to be the deepest social cleavage and the most politically significant, something that no other ideology has accepted or can accept. For radical feminists, patriarchal oppression can only be overthrown by a sexual revolution in which the structures of family, personal and domestic life are overthrown and replaced. Liberalism and socialism are both inadequate in this light. Amongst liberalism's weaknesses are that it preaches individualism rather than sisterhood, it is reformist rather than revolutionary, and that it is usually concerned to uphold the public-private divide rather than to overthrow it. Socialism is also an inadequate vehicle for feminism. This is because, for example, it has often been more concerned about the 'class war' than the 'sex war' and that its emphasis on the importance of the labour movement has tended to blur and conceal gender divisions. 	

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