

Mark Scheme (Results) Summer 2010

GCE

GCE Government & Politics (6GP04) Paper 4B

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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	On what grounds do multiculturalists defend diversity?
Indicative content (<i>this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points</i>)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multiculturalists hold that cultural diversity is compatible with political cohesion. Multiculturalism is therefore characterised by a refusal to link diversity conflict or instability. All forms of multiculturalism are based on the assumption that diversity and unity can be blended with one another; they are not opposing forces. Indeed, diversity underpins political stability because people are only able to participate fully in their society on the basis of cultural recognition and belonging. • Diversity can be seen to be beneficial to both the individual and to society. From the point of view of the individual, diversity ensures toleration and allows individuals to adopt whatever beliefs and cultural practices they may choose. Diversity benefits society because it generates vigour and vibrancy, based on the existence of a variety of lifestyles, cultural practices, traditions and beliefs. Diversity therefore promotes cultural exchange between groups that live side by side with one another, thus fostering cultural understanding and a willingness to respect 'difference'. Diversity, in this sense, is the antidote to social polarisation and prejudice. 	
LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
<p><i>Level 3</i> (11-15 marks)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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.
<p><i>Level 2</i> (6-10 marks)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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.
<p><i>Level 1</i> (0-5 marks)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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 feminists been critical of the 'public/private' divide?
Indicative content (<i>this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points</i>)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Feminists are concerned about the public/private divide because of its role in upholding sexual inequality. Patriarchy operates through a sexual division of labour, through which women have traditionally been excluded from the 'public' sphere of work, art and politics, and been confined to an essentially 'private' sphere centred on family and domestic responsibilities. Feminists have therefore sought to challenge the divide between 'public man' and 'private woman'. However, feminists have not always agreed about what it means to break down the public/private divide. Radical feminists have been its keenest opponents, arguing that the 'personal is the political'. They have sought to fundamentally reconstruct family, domestic and personal life, in the belief that this would make patriarchal oppression in the public sphere unsustainable. For liberal feminists, these issues are of less central concern. 	
LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
<p><i>Level 3</i> (11-15 marks)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 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.
<p><i>Level 2</i> (6-10 marks)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 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.
<p><i>Level 1</i> (0-5 marks)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 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	Distinguish between anthropocentrism and ecocentrism.
Indicative content (<i>this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points</i>)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anthropocentrism is the belief that human needs and interests are of overriding moral and philosophical importance. All conventional political ideologies are based on anthropocentrism, as reflected in an emphasis on human rights, humanity, social order, the interests of a nation/race, and so on. Such views imply, albeit in different ways, that the non-human world is only of value insofar as it satisfies human ends. Some ecological thinking is nevertheless based on anthropocentric assumptions, as in the case of so-called 'shallow' ecology. • Ecocentrism is a theoretical orientation that gives priority to the maintenance of ecological balance rather than the achievement of human ends. In this view, humans are merely part of nature, contributing to its wellbeing, and have no greater, or separate value. Ecocentrism implies a belief in value-in-nature, which 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. Ecocentrism is most clearly embraced by so-called 'deep' ecologist, although eco-feminists also favour ecocentrism. 	
LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
<p><i>Level 3</i> (11-15 marks)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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.
<p><i>Level 2</i> (6-10 marks)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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.
<p><i>Level 1</i> (0-5 marks)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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	On what grounds have nationalists defended the nation-state?
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Indicative content (*this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points*)

- The nation-state is a form of political organisation and a political ideal. As a political organisation it is characterised by the overlapping bonds of citizenship and nationality, meaning that the borders of the state coincide with the boundaries of the nation. Every nation should therefore have a state, and one state should embrace the entire nation. As a political ideal, the nation-state embodies the principle of national self-determination.
- Nationalists believe that the nation-state has two main advantages. In the first place, it offers the prospect of both cultural cohesion and political unity, making the nation-state a uniquely stable political entity. Nationalists thus tend to view the nation-state as the only viable unit of political rule. The virtues of stability and unity are particularly stressed by conservative nationalists who are particularly concerned about the promise of social cohesion and political order that is embodied in the sentiment of national patriotism. Second, the nation-state extends political freedom. It does this because national statehood ensures self-government and democratic rule. Nation-states are therefore independent entities, in which citizens can decide their own destiny regardless of external factors and interference from beyond their borders. Nationalists have tended to argue that the nation is the highest level at which meaningful democracy can operate, suggesting that supranationalism must always be a threat to democracy and self-government.

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
<i>Level 3</i> (11-15 marks)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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.
<i>Level 1</i> (0-5 marks)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • Poor ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. <p>Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.</p>

No. 5	Explain the difference between androgyny and essentialism within feminism.
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Indicative content (*this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points*)

- Androgyny means the possessions of both male and female characteristics. It is used to imply that human beings are sexless 'persons' in the sense that sex is irrelevant to their social or political status. Feminists who believe in androgyny hold that women and men have the same basic nature as human beings. Such a view accepts that sexual differences are biological facts of life but insists that they have no social, political or economic significance. From this perspective, gender divisions are politically or socially constructed, often through stereotypes that encourage women to be 'feminine' and men to be 'masculine'. As these identities are constructed, they can be reconstructed and even demolished, enabling people to achieve a genderless 'personhood'.
- Essentialism, on the other hand, is the belief that biological factors are crucial in determining psychological and behavioural traits. From an essentialist perspective, gender differences seem to be rooted in the deeper and unchangeable sexual identities of women and men. 'Personhood' is therefore a myth because women and men are fundamentally different; men are biologically inclined to be oppressive and controlling, while women are thought to be naturally caring and sympathetic. So-called difference feminists therefore argue that men, not patriarchy, is 'the problem' and often subscribe to a 'pro-woman' position in which women withdraw from fundamentally corrupt male society.

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
<i>Level 3</i> (11-15 marks)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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.
<i>Level 1</i> (0-5 marks)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • Poor ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. <p>Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.</p>

No. 6	'Nationalism is a recipe for peace and international order.' Discuss.
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Indicative content (*this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points*)

- The relationship between nationalism and peace and international order has been the subject of considerable debate. This has largely turned on the very different characters of the contrasting liberal traditions.
- The strongest basis for viewing nationalism as a recipe for peace and international order is found in liberal nationalism. Following Woodrow Wilson, liberal nationalists have tended to argue that war and conflict stem from the existence of multinational empires that are inclined towards militarism and expansionism. On the other hand, the achievement of national self-determination is a means of establishing peaceful and stable international order, realising the principle of balance or natural harmony that liberals believe applies to the world. Democratic nation-states respect the sovereignty of their neighbours and have no incentive to wage war or subjugate others, for fear of endangering their own internal cohesion. For a liberal, nationalism does not divide nations from one another; rather, it is a force that fosters mutual respect for natural rights and national identities. This has also inclined liberals to believe that a world of independent nation-states can and should be regulated by international bodies, helping to establish an international law. Nationalism is therefore compatible with cosmopolitanism.
- However, very different tendencies are evident in expansionist nationalism. Nationalism has an expansionist character when it is based on Chauvin beliefs which suggest that one nation is somehow greater or superior to other nations. This can be seen in the case of imperialism, pan-nationalism and forms of fascist nationalism. National chauvinism breeds a feeling of intense, even hysterical nationalist enthusiasm, often generated by militarism and war in drawing a sharp distinction between 'them' and 'us'. Chauvinism has commonly been reflected in racialist ideologies, which divide the world into an 'in group' and an 'out group' in which the 'out group' becomes the scapegoat for all the misfortunes and frustrations suffered by the 'in group'. This form of nationalism was, arguably, responsible for the two world wars of the 20th century, and, some believe, that nationalism is the principal cause of war generally. Some argue that these tendencies are confined to chauvinist nationalism but can be found in all forms of nationalism, reflecting the fact that, in essence, nationalism highlights differences between and amongst the peoples of the world rather than what unites them.

A01	Knowledge and understanding
<i>Level 3</i> (9-12 marks)	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<i>Level 2</i> (5-8 marks)	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<i>Level 1</i>	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes,

(0-4 marks)	political concepts, theories or debates
A02	Intellectual skills
<i>Level 3</i> (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
<i>Level 2</i> (5-8 marks)	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
<i>Level 1</i> (0-4 marks)	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
A02	Synoptic skills
<i>Level 3</i> (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
<i>Level 2</i> (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
<i>Level 1</i> (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
A03	Communication and coherence
<i>Level 3</i> (7-9 marks)	Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
<i>Level 2</i> (4-6 marks)	Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary
<i>Level 1</i> (0-3 marks)	Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary

No. 7	'Multiculturalism breeds tension and social conflict.' Discuss.
Indicative content (<i>this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points</i>)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multiculturalism is often criticised for breeding tension and social conflict. However, critics of multiculturalism have argued this case in different ways depending on the political tradition from which they come. On the other hand, multiculturalists strongly reject this view arguing that multiculturalism is in fact a way of relieving tension and reducing social conflict. • Multiculturalism has been accused of breeding tension and social conflict, in particular by conservative nationalists, socialists and feminists. The conservative nationalist critique of multiculturalism is based on the belief that shared values and a common culture are a necessary precondition for a stable and successful society. Conservatives therefore favour nationalism over multiculturalism. In this view, multiculturalism is inherently flawed: multicultural societies are inevitably fractured and conflict-ridden societies, in which hostility, suspicion and even violence are familiar facts of life. Such ideas have often been used to oppose immigration. The socialist critique of multiculturalism draws attention to how cultural difference narrows people's obligations towards fellow citizens. The feminist critique of multiculturalism draws attention to its capacity to deepen gender conflict. This happens when minority rights and the politics of recognition serve to preserve and legitimise patriarchal and traditional beliefs that systematically disadvantage women. • However, multiculturalists firmly reject these images. They argue that multiculturalism is the only viable approach to cultural diversity because the politics of recognition lead to social harmony and civic unity. On the other hand, the denial of minority rights and a refusal to acknowledge diversity are more likely to breed tension and social conflict since they violate a genuine sense of cultural belonging and deny people the right to follow a distinctive culture and way of life. Multiculturalism, in all its forms, aims to blend diversity with unity. They refuse to see distinctive cultures as opposing forces. Multiculturalists accept that people can have multiple identities and multiple loyalties: for instance, to their 'country of origin' and their 'country of settlement'. Liberal multiculturalists place a particular emphasis on containing diversity within a framework of civic unity, even seeing the public sphere as a realm of integration. This, then, ensures that tension and social conflict is contained by the principle of universal citizenship. Although pluralist multiculturalists go further in embracing 'deep' diversity, they also see the politics of recognition as a way of encouraging people to live together harmoniously. 	
AO1	Knowledge and understanding
<i>Level 3</i> (9-12 marks)	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<i>Level 2</i> (5-8 marks)	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates

<i>Level 1</i> (0-4 marks)	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
A02	Intellectual skills
<i>Level 3</i> (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
<i>Level 2</i> (5-8 marks)	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
<i>Level 1</i> (0-4 marks)	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations, and identify parallels, connections, similarities and differences
A02	Synoptic skills
<i>Level 3</i> (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
<i>Level 2</i> (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
<i>Level 1</i> (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
A03	Communication and coherence
<i>Level 3</i> (7-9 marks)	Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
<i>Level 2</i> (4-6 marks)	Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary
<i>Level 1</i> (0-3 marks)	Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary

No. 8	To what extent is ecologism a single doctrine?
Indicative content (<i>this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points</i>)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ecologism can be viewed as a single doctrine in that all forms of ecologism accept the central principle of ecology, recognising that species, including the human species, should be studied in their habitat or environment. As such, ecologism is united in emphasising the vital relationship between humankind and nature, accepting that humankind will only survive and thrive if it respects the ecological principles of harmony and equilibrium. • However, ecologism is a highly diverse ideology that both applies the principle of ecology in quite different ways and cuts across a range of other ideological traditions. A major distinction within ecologism is between 'shallow' and 'deep' ecology. Shallow ecology is a green ideological perspective that harnesses the lessons of ecology to human needs and ends, and is associated with values such as sustainability and conservation. Most ecological traditions are shallow in the sense that they continue to accept anthropocentrism; that is, a human-centred approach to theorising. By contrast, 'deep' ecologists completely reject any lingering belief that the human species is in some way superior to, or more important than, other species, or indeed nature itself. It is based on the more challenging idea that the purpose of human life is to sustain nature, and not the other way around. 'Deep' ecologists thus embrace an ecocentric approach to theorising in which humankind is merely a part of an indivisible whole that is nature. This implies a paradigm shift in ideological thinking, as represented by, for I stance, Gaia philosophy, eastern mysticism and the so-called 'new physics'. 'Deep' ecologists largely turn their backs on materialism and industrial society, emphasising instead the idea of self-actualisation achieved through 'being' and 'having'. • Diversity is also found within ecologism through its cross-cutting nature. Ecologists have drawn on a variety of established political traditions. Eco-fascists and eco-authoritarians have emphasised the need for environmental concerns to be linked to the imposition of strong government. In Nazism this gave rise to an ideology of 'blood and soil'. Ecologism has fused with 'soft' right ideas through the development of eco-conservatism, which particularly draws from a nostalgic attachment to a rural way of life threatened by the growth of towns and cities, or 'green capitalism'. Eco-socialism by contrast, portrays capitalism as the principal cause of environmental degradation, stemming from the tendency of private property, profit and competition to place short-term economic benefit ahead of ecological concerns. Eco-anarchism links environmental degradation to the fact that human societies are not based on ecological principles, making people generally more self-seeking, competitive and insensitive to nature. Eco-feminism highlights the extent to which environmental crisis is a product of patriarchy. Male domination therefore leads to the subjugation of both women and nature. Ecological destruction and gender inequality are therefore part of the same process in which 'cultured' men rule over 'natural' women. 	
AO1	Knowledge and understanding
<i>Level 3</i> (9-12 marks)	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<i>Level 2</i> (5-8 marks)	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates

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