

# Mark Scheme (Results) January 2011

GCE

GCE Government & Politics (6GP04) Paper 4B

Edexcel is one of the leading examining and awarding bodies in the UK and throughout the world. We provide a wide range of qualifications including academic, vocational, occupational and specific programmes for employers.

Through a network of UK and overseas offices, Edexcel's centres receive the support they need to help them deliver their education and training programmes to learners.

For further information, please call our GCE line on 0844 576 0025, our GCSE team on 0844 576 0027, or visit our website at [www.edexcel.com](http://www.edexcel.com).

If you have any subject specific questions about the content of this Mark Scheme that require the help of a subject specialist, you may find our **Ask The Expert** email service helpful.

Ask The Expert can be accessed online at the following link:

<http://www.edexcel.com/Aboutus/contact-us/>

January 2011

Publications Code UA026417

All the material in this publication is copyright

© Edexcel Ltd 2011

## 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.

1

## Why have some multiculturalists criticised liberalism?

### Indicative content

Pluralist multiculturalists have been critical of liberalism as a basis for ensuring cultural diversity. Their arguments have included the following:

- Liberals tend to ‘absolutise’ liberalism, in the sense that they have only been prepared to endorse cultural beliefs and practices that are compatible with liberal commitment to individual freedom and personal autonomy.
- Liberals tend to believe in universal values that are applicable to all societies and cultures, which some multiculturalists have seen as a form of cultural imperialism.
- Liberals have sometimes been reluctant to accept that distinctive cultures and religions should be publicly recognised, as they believe that such issues properly belong in the private sphere rather than the public sphere.
- Liberals regard liberal democracy as the only legitimate political system, dismissing rival political forms as oppressive or tyrannical.

The intellectual skills that are relevant to this question are as follows:

- The ability to analyse and explain multiculturalists’ criticisms of liberalism.

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
<p><b>Level 3</b> <b>(11-15 marks)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>• Good or better ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Level 2</b> <b>(6-10 marks)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>• Sound ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Level 1</b> <b>(0-5 marks)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Limited knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>• Poor ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>

2	How and why have feminists emphasised the difference between sex and gender?
<b>Indicative content</b>	
<p>Feminists had usually emphasised key differences between sex and gender. In their view, sex refers to biological differences between females and males, differences that are natural and therefore unalterable. Gender, on the other hand, refers to the different roles that society ascribes to men and women, usually imposed through contrasting stereotypes of ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity’. Sex is therefore ‘given’ while gender is ‘constructed’.</p> <p>This distinction has been important in feminist theory because it emphasises that a woman’s physical, biological and anatomical make-up do not determine her social position and political status. A post-patriarchal society is therefore possible because gender roles and stereotypes can be challenged and overthrown.</p> <p>The intellectual skills that are relevant to this question are as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The ability to analyse and explain differences between sex and gender and how this distinction is used in feminist theory.</li> </ul>	

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
<p><b>Level 3</b> <b>(11-15 marks)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>• Good or better ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Level 2</b> <b>(6-10 marks)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>• Sound ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Level 1</b> <b>(0-5 marks)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Limited knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>• Poor ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>

3	<b>Distinguish between the nation and the state, and explain why the two are often confused.</b>
---	--

**Indicative content**

Nations are cultural entities, groups of people who share the same language, religion, traditions and so on. However, as no nation is culturally homogeneous, nations are ultimately defined subjectively by their members through the existence of patriotism or national consciousness. States, by contrast, are political entities. They are political associations that establish supreme jurisdiction within defined territorial borders. As such, their populations may consist of a single nation, a part of a nation, or a number of nations.

Confusion between the two terms occurs for a number of reasons, including the following:

- Political nationalism is characterised by the aspiration of a nation to establish sovereign statehood, meaning that national identity is closely linked to the aspiration for self-government.
- The major achievement of nationalism has been to bring the boundaries of the nation increasingly into line with the borders of the state through the construction of so-called nation-states. This tends to blur the distinction between nationality and citizenship.

The intellectual skills that are relevant to this question are as follows:

- The ability to analyse and explain differences between the nation and the state as well as reasons why the two terms are often confused.



LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
<p><b>Level 3</b> <b>(11-15 marks)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>• Good or better ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Level 2</b> <b>(6-10 marks)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>• Sound ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Level 1</b> <b>(0-5 marks)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Limited knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>• Poor ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>

4	Explain the link between ecologism and anarchism.
<b>Indicative content</b>	
<p>There is a distinctive tradition of ecological thought that is usually called eco-anarchism, which reflects key linkages between ecologism and anarchism. These include the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There is a correspondence between the ideas of anarchism and the principles of ecologism, articulated in the idea of ‘social ecology’, the belief that ecological balance is the surest foundation for social stability.</li> <li>• Both ideologies believe that balance or harmony arises spontaneously, dispensing with the need for external authority or control.</li> <li>• Anarchists have advocated the construction of decentralised societies in which people live close to nature.</li> <li>• The anarchist distaste for materialism and consumerism has influenced the post-materialism of many forms of ecologism.</li> </ul> <p>The intellectual skills that are relevant to this question are as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The ability to analyse and explain key aspects of the relationship between ecologism and anarchism.</li> </ul>	

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
<p><b>Level 3</b> <b>(11-15 marks)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>• Good or better ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Level 2</b> <b>(6-10 marks)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>• Sound ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Level 1</b> <b>(0-5 marks)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Limited knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>• Poor ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>

<b>5</b>	<b>Why have conservatives had reservations about multiculturalism?</b>
<b>Indicative content</b>	
<p>Conservatives have often had reservations about multiculturalism, sometimes being openly hostile towards it. The chief conservative objection to multiculturalism is that shared values and a common culture are a necessary precondition for a stable and successful society. Conservatives thus favour nationalism over multiculturalism. From this perspective, multiculturalism is inherently flawed, multicultural societies being inevitably fractured and conflict-ridden societies in which suspicion, hostility and even violence are commonplace.</p> <p>The intellectual skills that are relevant to this question are as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The ability to analyse and explain conservative criticisms of multiculturalism.</li></ul>	

	<b>DESCRIPTORS</b>
<b>Level 3</b> <b>(11-15 marks)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>• Good or better ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>
<b>Level 2</b> <b>(6-10 marks)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>• Sound ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>
<b>Level 1</b> <b>(0-5 marks)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Limited knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>• Poor ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>• Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>

<b>6</b>	<b>To what extent is feminism a single doctrine?</b>
<b>Indicative content</b>	
<p>Feminism is a single doctrine in the sense that all feminists share certain positions. These include the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Feminists are concerned to advance the social role of women.</li> <li>• They believe that patriarchal structures can be challenged and overthrown, bringing about female emancipation.</li> </ul> <p>However, feminism is characterised by significant ideological divisions. These include the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Major differences can be identified between liberal feminism and radical feminism. these include that liberal feminism is rooted in individualism, supports reformism and seeks to achieve equal access for women and men to the public realm, while radical feminism emphasises sisterhood, has a revolutionary character, and believes that patriarchy is rooted in the structures of personal family life.</li> <li>• Socialist feminism differs from both liberal and radical feminism in that it believes that patriarchy and capitalism are linked, viewing female oppression in largely economic terms.</li> <li>• Significant differences exist between egalitarian feminists, which includes all liberal and socialist feminists and many radical feminists, and so-called difference feminists who believe in essentialism and are critical of the pursuit of gender equality.</li> </ul> <p>The intellectual skills that are relevant to this question are as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The ability to analyse and explain key similarities and differences amongst the sub-traditions of feminism.</li> <li>• The ability to evaluate the balance between similarity and difference within feminist ideology, particularly in relation to the three main traditions.</li> </ul> <p>Synopticity in this question refers to the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The ability to recognise that feminism can be viewed either as a single doctrine or as a deeply divided doctrine.</li> </ul>	

<b>A01</b>	<b>Knowledge and understanding</b>
<b>Level 3</b> <b>(9-12 marks)</b>	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<b>Level 2</b> <b>(5-8 marks)</b>	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<b>Level 1</b> <b>(0-4 marks)</b>	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<b>A02</b>	<b>Intellectual skills</b>
<b>Level 3</b> <b>(9-12 marks)</b>	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<b>Level 2</b> <b>(5-8 marks)</b>	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<b>Level 1</b> <b>(0-4 marks)</b>	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<b>A02</b>	<b>Synoptic skills</b>
<b>Level 3</b> <b>(9-12 marks)</b>	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
<b>Level 2</b> <b>(5-8 marks)</b>	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
<b>Level 1</b> <b>(0-4 marks)</b>	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

<b>A03</b>	<b>Communication and coherence</b>
<b><i>Level 3</i></b> <b>(7-9 marks)</b>	Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
<b><i>Level 2</i></b> <b>(4-6 marks)</b>	Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary
<b><i>Level 1</i></b> <b>(0-3 marks)</b>	Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary



<b>7</b>	<b>‘The goals of ecologism can only be achieved through radical social change.’ Discuss.</b>
----------	--

**Indicative content**

Some strains of ecologism emphasise that the need to alter the relationship between humankind and nature can only be achieved in the context of radical social change. This position has been advanced by a number of ecological thinkers including the following:

- Eco-socialists believe that the root cause of environmental degradation is the capitalist system and that only its overthrow and replacement by socialism can reorder the relationship between humankind and nature.
- Eco-anarchists argue that the state and centralised power are the principal threats to ecological balance and so believe that only within a stateless society, characterised by self-managing communities, can nature be properly protected.
- Eco-feminists argue that patriarchy is the underlying cause of environmental degradation, in which case only the construction of a post-patriarchal society will reorder the relationship between humankind and nature.

However, such an emphasis on radical social change has been rejected in two main ways:

- Modernist or reformist ecologists believe that ecological concerns can be met through piecemeal reforms, ecological sustainability being compatible with economic growth and the maintenance of the capitalist system.
- Deep ecologists argue that radical social change is misguided. What is required instead is a paradigm change, a change in people’s philosophical, moral and psycho-emotional relationship with nature. Social change, radical or reformist cannot bring ecological consciousness into existence.

The intellectual skills that are relevant to this question are as follows:

- The ability to analyse and explain the ideas of the various sub-traditions of ecologism.

Synopticity in this question refers to the following:

- The ability to recognise divisions within ecologism over the relationship between ecology and social change, between those committed broadly to a form of social ecology and their critics, notably modernist ecologists and deep ecologists.

<b>AO1</b>	<b>Knowledge and understanding</b>
<b>Level 3</b>	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions,

(9-12 marks)	processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<b>Level 2</b> (5-8 marks)	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<b>Level 1</b> (0-4 marks)	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<b>A02</b>	<b>Intellectual skills</b>
<b>Level 3</b> (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<b>Level 2</b> (5-8 marks)	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<b>Level 1</b> (0-4 marks)	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<b>A02</b>	<b>Synoptic skills</b>
<b>Level 3</b> (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
<b>Level 2</b> (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
<b>Level 1</b> (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

<b>A03</b>	<b>Communication and coherence</b>
<b><i>Level 3</i></b> <b>(7-9 marks)</b>	Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
<b><i>Level 2</i></b> <b>(4-6 marks)</b>	Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary
<b><i>Level 1</i></b> <b>(0-3 marks)</b>	Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary

<b>8</b>	<b>To what extent is nationalism a backward-looking ideology?</b>
----------	---

**Indicative content**

Nationalism can be viewed as a backward-looking ideology in a number of senses:

- Nations are widely understood to be historical entities shaped by past experience. This has been particularly emphasised by those who believe that nations are held together by ‘primordial bonds’.
- The backward-looking character of nationalism is particularly evident in conservative nationalism, which has commonly been used as a defence of traditional institutions and values and as a way of preventing progressive social change.
- Many forms of nationalism are rooted in the image of a past ‘golden age’, which establishes the image of a national greatness that nationalists seek to regain.
- Cultural nationalism, as opposed to political nationalism, is widely viewed as reactionary.

However, nationalism also has forward-looking or progressive features. These include the following:

- Liberal nationalism has tended to flourish amongst nations deprived of sovereign statehood, in which case it is orientated around the quest for national independence and self-government.
- Anti-colonial nationalism was also progressive in that it emphasised the goal of national liberation, often fusing self-determination with a belief in social emancipation.
- Even apparently reactionary forms of nationalism such as fascist nationalism had certain future-looking goals, such as the construction of Arian world domination.

The intellectual skills that are relevant to this question are as follows:

- The ability to analyse and explain progressive and reactionary tendencies within nationalist ideology.

Synopticity in this question refers to the following:

- The ability to recognise that there are debates about the balance between forward-looking and backward-looking features within nationalism, which overlap significantly with rival nationalist traditions, particularly conservative nationalism and liberal nationalism.

<b>AO1</b>	<b>Knowledge and understanding</b>
<b>Level 3</b>	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions,

(9-12 marks)	processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<b>Level 2</b> (5-8 marks)	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<b>Level 1</b> (0-4 marks)	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<b>A02</b>	<b>Intellectual skills</b>
<b>Level 3</b> (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<b>Level 2</b> (5-8 marks)	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<b>Level 1</b> (0-4 marks)	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<b>A02</b>	<b>Synoptic skills</b>
<b>Level 3</b> (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
<b>Level 2</b> (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
<b>Level 1</b> (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

<b>A03</b>	<b>Communication and coherence</b>
<b><i>Level 3</i></b> <b>(7-9 marks)</b>	Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
<b><i>Level 2</i></b> <b>(4-6 marks)</b>	Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary
<b><i>Level 1</i></b> <b>(0-3 marks)</b>	Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary

Further copies of this publication are available from  
Edexcel Publications, Adamsway, Mansfield, Notts, NG18 4FN

Telephone 01623 467467  
Fax 01623 450481

Email [publications@linneydirect.com](mailto:publications@linneydirect.com)

Publications Code UA026417  
January 2011

For more information on Edexcel qualifications, please visit [www.edexcel.com/quals](http://www.edexcel.com/quals)

Edexcel Limited. Registered in England and Wales no.4496750  
Registered Office: One90 High Holborn, London, WC1V 7BH