

## Mark Scheme (Results)

Summer 2018

Pearson Edexcel GCE Government and 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 Why have conservatives criticised multiculturalism?

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

- From a conservative standpoint, stable and successful national cultures are largely homogeneous. Shared values and a common culture are a necessary precondition for a stable and successful organic society.
- Conservatives view multiculturalism as inherently flawed. Multicultural societies are inevitably fractured and conflict-ridden societies in which suspicion, hostility and even violence are commonplace.
- Conservatives have criticised multiculturalism for demeaning the national culture by associating it with racism or with colonialism.
- They have criticised the positive discrimination or 'special rights' accorded to minority groups by multiculturalists as this can create hostility from the majority culture.

In response to the changes in society associated with multiculturalism, many conservatives have argued for more controls on immigration and greater assimilation of minorities.

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

A limited understanding of why conservatives have criticised multiculturalism.

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

A clear and accurate understanding of conservatives have criticised multiculturalism.

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
Level 3 (11-15 marks)	<ul> <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>
Level 2 (6-10 marks)	<ul> <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>

Level 1 (0-5 marks)	<ul> <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>

No. 2

Explain the key features of eco-feminism.

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

Eco-feminism is a sub branch of social ecology. Its main ideas include:

- Environmental degradation is explained in terms of patriarchy, male domination, with men striving to dominate both women and nature.
- It is usually based on a belief in profound, and possibly biological, differences between women and men.
- Women are seen as closer to nature and drawn towards relationships characterised by nurturing, caring and compassion, while men are creatures of culture and cold reason. Men are also competitive and strive for domination and control over nature.
- The idea that environmental degradation is best addressed by the withdrawal of women from inherently corrupt patriarchal societies and the construction of matriarchal alternatives.

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

A limited understanding of the key features of eco-feminism.

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

A clear and accurate understanding of the key features of eco-feminism.

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

	<ul> <li>and explanations.</li> <li>Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>
Level 1 (0-5 marks)	<ul> <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>

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

- For most nationalists, a nation is essentially a cultural entity, a collection of people
  who share a common language, religion, values and way of life. Ultimately, however,
  nations are defined by psychological attachments, as no nation is culturally
  homogeneous.
- Nations may be composed of people who have a wide variety of racial identities. A
  race is defined biologically or genetically. It refers to a group of people who are
  supposedly united by blood, that is, by inheritance.

Nations and races are have often been confused:

- Right-wing or chauvinist nationalists, for whom the nation is an exclusive and
  organically defined entity, emphasise ethnic or cultural purity that encourages a
  conflation of nations and races, arguing that the key determinant of national identity
  is genetic.
- The racial nationalism of Nazism under which 'racial' criteria were used to establish who belonged to the 'Aryan nation'; during apartheid in South Africa, nationality was also based on a complex set of 'racial' criteria.
- In the past, ideas of racial national identity were commonly accepted, partly due to a lack of knowledge of genetics.

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

A limited understanding of why the terms 'nation' and 'race' have often been confused.

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

A clear and accurate understanding of why the terms 'nation' and 'race' have often been confused.

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
Level 3	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant

(11-15 marks)	<ul> <li>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>
Level 2 (6-10 marks)	<ul> <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>
Level 1 (0-5 marks)	<ul> <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>

## No. 4 Explain the key ideas of cosmopolitanism.

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

Cosmopolitanism is distinct from multiculturalism and has been linked to globalisation. Cosmopolitanism means a belief in a 'world state'.

- Cosmopolitanism multiculturalists endorse cultural diversity and identity politics; this
  is seen as a transitional state in a larger reconstruction of political sensibilities and
  priorities.
- Diversity is celebrated on the grounds that cultures can learn from each other in a 'pick and mix' cultural exchange, which broadens all of our viewpoints and leads towards a 'one world' perspective.
- Moral cosmopolitanism is the belief that the world constitutes a single moral community, regardless of nationality, religion or ethnicity and they oppose cultural nationalism.
- Political cosmopolitanism is the belief that there should be global political institutions and even a world government, although most cosmopolitans favour divisions of authority between global, national and local levels.

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

A limited understanding of the key ideas of cosmopolitanism.

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

A clear and accurate understanding of the key ideas of cosmopolitanism.

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.
Level 2	<ul> <li>Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> </ul>
(6-10 marks)	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)	<ul> <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>

No. 5 Why have feminists highlighted the distinction between sex and gender?

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

Most feminists have highlighted the difference between sex and gender. Sex refers to biological differences between females and males. Gender 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'.

- This distinction is 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.
- This means that the oppression of women is not inevitable or 'god given' but rather a product of culture. A non-patriarchal society is possible because gender roles and stereotypes can be challenged and overthrown.
- Many feminists believe that human nature is androgynous and that a goal of feminism should be the achievement of genderless 'personhood'.
- This would be a crucial step in liberating women and men from their current highly restrictive gendered roles in society.

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

A limited understanding of why feminists have highlighted the distinction between sex and gender.

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

A clear and accurate understanding of why feminists have highlighted the distinction between sex and gender.

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
Level 3 (11-15 marks)	<ul> <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>
Level 2	<ul> <li>Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> </ul>
(6-10 marks)	Sound ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments

	<ul> <li>and explanations.</li> <li>Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>
Level 1 (0-5 marks)	<ul> <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>

# No. 6 To what extent is ecologism united in its opposition to capitalism?

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

The majority of ecologists agree on the need to at least curb the environmentally destructive excesses of capitalism, such as:-

- An opposition to materialism and consumerism.
- The need to limit CO2 emissions and to at least limit future global warming.
- A general need for greater control and regulation at national and international levels in order to protect the environment.

However, there are disagreements among ecologists over their opposition to capitalism:

- Modernist ecologists do not oppose capitalist modernity and economic growth, but work to promote environmentally friendly and sustainable practices, e.g. in energy production and controlling pollution. It is not capitalist economic growth but the wrong type of economic growth, based on carbon-based technologies, which is the problem. They argue that ony the innovation and ingenuity of capitalism can find solutions to the environmental challenges we face and that other ecologists do not offer realistic ways forward.
- Eco-socialists oppose capitalism because it 'commodifies' nature, turning it into a resource available to satisfy human ends. Through significant social change an alternative, non-capitalist social system should be created that can provide the basis of a sustainable future for humanity.
- Eco-anarchists also oppose capitalism, arguing for a stateless society and the construction of decentralised communities that are in harmony with nature. Capitalism relies on state oppression, competition and relentless economic growth.
- Eco-feminists' main focus is their opposition to patriarchy rather than capitalism. However, their goal of overthrowing patriarchy and establishing an entirely new relationship between society and the natural world, suggests an opposition to capitalism an economic system that relies on the subordination of nature, competition and creative destruction.
- Deep ecologists criticise other ecologists as anthropocentric. Ecological thinking should be holistic and eco-centric, orientated around the interests of the biosphere or ecosphere rather than the interests of any particular species, including humankind. Therefore deep ecologists are opposed to capitalism, which is environmentally destructive.

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

A limited understanding of the arguments that ecologism is or is not united in its opposition to capitalism.

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

A clear and accurate understanding of the arguments that ecologism is united in its opposition to capitalism, with some consideration of both sides of the argument.

AO1	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. 7	'Feminists disagree on their goals and how to achieve them'.
	Discuss

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

In terms of disagreement over goals:

- Difference feminists argue that men and women are fundamentally different and that women should celebrate these differences, rather than argue for equality.
- As a consequence, they argue for separatist solutions to women's current oppression.

In terms of agreement over goals:

- Liberal feminists, socialist 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.

There are significant disagreements on how to achieve these goals:

- Liberal feminists argue for gradual change, keeping a strict separation between the public and private spheres of life. As women gain legal and political equality they will become more equal in all spheres of public life.
- Radical feminists aim to break down this distinction, arguing that the 'personal is political'. Their aim is for much more radical change including the socialisation of childcare and the undermining of the patriarchal family as an institution.
- Socialist feminists also argue for radical change. However, they see the core problem to be capitalism, which embraces patriarchy in order to oppress women. Through a socialist revolution all women and men will be liberated.
- Difference feminists do not want to engage with men in promoting social change as men themselves are the 'problem'.
- So called 'third wave' feminists have emphasised differences between women. For instance, black feminists have argued that racism must be addressed in the struggle for women's equality.

However, there are some areas of agreement between feminists on how to achieve their goals:

- The vast majority of feminists agree in principle on the need to attain equal legal and political rights for women in society.
- They also agree that there should be at least some reforms to address the public/private divide.

 They are agreed on the need to consistently oppose structured systems of male dominance, or patriarchy, in society.

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

A limited understanding of the arguments that feminists disagree or agree on their goals and how to achieve them.

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

A clear and accurate understanding of the arguments that feminists disagree or agree on their goals and how to achieve them, with some consideration of both sides of the argument.

AO1	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	Sound ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and a reliable				

(5-8 marks)	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	Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making			
(7-9 marks)	good use of appropriate vocabulary			
Level 2 (4-6 marks)	Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary			

#### No. 8

## To what extent is nationalism a coherent doctrine?

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

Nationalism can be viewed as a coherent doctrine:

- 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.
- There are similarities across the different strands of nationalism on the importance of the nation state, and on self-determination.
- Nationalism appeals to people's emotions and passions. It has formed the basis of many of
  the conflicts in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and is therefore a sound basis for
  explaining people's motivations and behaviours.
- There is a re-emergence of nationalism across Europe, and other parts of the world, which suggests the enduring nature and relevance of national identity.

However, nationalism is characterised by ambiguity and contradictions. It is a cross-cutting ideology that draws on a range of other ideological traditions and thus it can be argued that it is not a coherent doctrine:

- Key differences within nationalism include the distinction between political nationalism and cultural nationalism, sometimes seen as the distinction between civic nationalism and ethnocultural nationalism.
- Liberal nationalism is 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 nationalists argue for universalist ideas such as human rights and accept 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 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 supra-nationalism.
- 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 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:

A limited understanding of the arguments that nationalism is or is not a coherent doctrine.

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

A clear and accurate understanding of the arguments that nationalism is or is not a coherent doctrine, with some consideration of both sides of the argument.

AO1	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				

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