

Mark Scheme (Results)

June 2008

GCE

GCE Government & Politics (6498) Paper 01

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.

Question Number	Indicative content
1	<p>Anarchists view the state as a form of concentrated evil. Such a view is rooted in their theory of human nature and the belief that any form of political power is absolutely corrupting. Respectful and co-operative individuals thus become oppressive tyrants when invested with power or authority over others. The oppressive character of the state is heightened by the type of authority it exercises. Its authority is compulsory in the sense that citizens do not choose to become members of the state; it is coercive in that the state punishes those who challenge its authority; it is all-encompassing in that (potentially) the state's authority knows no limits; it is exploitative in that the state extracts wealth from its citizens through taxation; and it is destructive in the sense that the state wages war for its own aggrandisement, calling on its citizens to either kill or die.</p> <p>The Marxist theory of the state is different in the sense that the state's oppressive character derives from the class system and not from human nature. For Marxists, the state is an instrument of class oppression, wielded by the economically dominant class and used to suppress subordinate classes. Although Marxists have sought to 'smash' the capitalist state, they have not rejected all states as evil and oppressive. In particular, they have called for the establishment of a temporary socialist state, through the 'dictatorship of the proletariat'. The role of this proletarian dictatorship is to protect the gains of the revolution and smooth the transition to full communism through the suppression of the dispossessed bourgeoisie. Counter-revolution must therefore be countered. Moreover, as the state arises from the class system, the state will 'wither away' once class antagonisms abate and full communism is constructed. The state, therefore, does not need to be overthrown, and nor can it be destroyed while the class system continues to survive.</p>

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-6	A weak or inadequate understanding of the Marxist and anarchist views of the state.
Level 2	7-12	A limited to sound understanding of the Marxist and anarchist views of the state with an awareness of how they differ.
Level 3	13-20	A good or better understanding of the Marxist and anarchist views of the state with a clear and full explanation of difference between them.

Question Number	Indicative content
2	<p>The nation-state is a sovereign political association within which citizenship and nationality overlap. The boundaries of the nation therefore coincide with the borders of the state. Liberal nationalists in particular have viewed the nation-state as a political ideal. This has happened for a number of reasons. The first is that the nation-state embodies the goal of political freedom, giving expression to the principle of national self-determination. Democracy and self-government can therefore only operate within a nation-state. Second, nation-states are uniquely stable and cohesive, all other political forms being defective and impermanent. This is because nation-states are united by a combination of political allegiances (via citizenship) and a high level of cultural cohesion (via nationality). All members of such a state therefore 'belong' to it in a civic and a cultural sense. Third, nation-states are believed to be inherently peaceful, whereas multinational empires are restless and expansionist, nation-states tend to respect the sovereign independence of neighbouring states. This applies, if for no other reason, because the members of the nation-state do not want to sacrifice their civic and cultural cohesion through expansionism and conquest.</p>

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-6	A weak understanding of the nation-state and little awareness of its benefits.
Level 2	7-12	A sound understanding of the nation-state and an effective explanation of at least one advantage of the nation-state.
Level 3	13-20	A good or better understanding of the advantages of the nation-state from a nationalist perspective.

Question Number	Indicative content
3	<p>Anti-rationalism is a rejection of the image of human beings as reason-driven creatures, emphasising instead the importance of non-rational impulses and emotions. Humans are motivated by their 'will' rather than by the rational mind. Fascism was linked to anti-rationalism in a number of ways. First, fascists embraced an essentially anti-rationalist model of human nature. In particular, they were attracted to their own (mis)representation of Nietzsche's idea of the 'will to power', seeing this as the drive of human beings to exert power over others. Fascist leaders were therefore thought to possess a heightened 'will to power' that marked them off from the masses and enabled them to establish supreme and unquestionable leadership. Moreover, fascist theories have the character of political myths, in that they sought to promote political activism by an appeal to emotion rather than reason. Fascists often therefore placed greater emphasis on symbols and slogans rather than careful analysis and exposition. Fascist anti-rationalism was also evident in a general distaste for intellectualism, reflected in Mussolini's slogan 'Action not Talk'. Intellectual life was devalued, even despised, as cold, dry and lifeless. Many also link fascist anti-rationalism to aggression and destruction. In this light, fascism has been portrayed as an example of nihilism, a belief in nothing. This, in turn, can mean that conventional moral constraints on political action may no longer apply. A final link to anti-rationalism may be the emphasis within fascism on the idea of organic community, the notion of emotional bonds, associated with the nation or the race, that are forged by a common past.</p>

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-6	A weak or inadequate understanding of anti-rationalism with little awareness of its role within fascism.
Level 2	7-12	A limited to sound understanding of anti-rationalism with an awareness of at least one form of fascist anti-rationalism.
Level 3	13-20	A good or better understanding of anti-rationalism supported by an insightful grasp of at least two links between fascism and anti-rationalism.

Question Number	Indicative content
4	<p>Radical feminists hold that gender divisions are the deepest and most politically significant of social cleavages. However, they believe that these operate primarily in the 'private' or personal realm, reflected in the patriarchal structures of domestic and family life. Patriarchy, in a literal sense, stems from the role of the husband-father within the family. This affects the radical feminist view of politics. Instead of seeing politics as a 'public' activity associated with the institutions of government, radical feminists view politics more broadly as power structured relationships, relationships in which one group subordinates and oppresses another group. In this view, the family is not non-political but, rather, is the heart of the political process. This, further, implies the gender divisions within the family and personal life structure all other aspects of life. Therefore, discrimination against women in education, careers and political life are seen only as a reflection of deeper forms of oppression that operate within the personal sphere. Finally, this implies that the social role of women will only be altered by a sexual revolution that overthrows and replaces the patriarchal family and the values and culture that help to sustain it.</p>

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-6	A limited or poor understanding of radical feminist thinking about the nature of politics and its location.
Level 2	7-12	A limited to sound understanding of the slogan that shows an awareness of the nature of patriarchal dominance.
Level 3	13-20	A good or better understanding of the slogan that shows how unequal power relations in the personal sphere structure other effects aspects of social justice.

Question Number	Indicative content
5	<p>Individualism is a belief in the supreme importance of the human individual over any collective group or entity. Collectivism, by contrast, is the belief that collective social action is morally and practically superior to individual self striving. Anarchism has been associated with both individualism and collectivism, creating rival individualist and collectivist anarchist traditions. Individualist anarchism takes the belief in individualism to its logical extreme. This extreme is reached through the idea of the sovereign individual, which portrays the individual as an entirely autonomous political and moral being. This implies anarchism, as law and government have no rightful authority over the individual and are therefore an affront to freedom. However, individualism is weaker in explaining how an anarchist society could remain peaceful and stable, as self-striving tends to imply conflict between and amongst individuals for limited resources. Individualist anarchists make additional assumptions, either about rationality or the capacity of social institutions, particularly market competition, to reconcile competing interests and maintain natural harmony. Anarcho-capitalists, for example, apply assumptions about market equilibrium to all areas of economic life.</p> <p>Collectivist anarchism similarly takes collectivism to its logical extreme. In this, human nature is seen to be naturally sociable, co-operative and gregarious, implying natural harmony amongst people. This demonstrates that the state is both evil and unnecessary. Mutualism, anarcho-syndicalism and anarcho-communism are thus all essentially based upon collectivist assumptions about human nature. Some may therefore argue that anarchism is closer to collectivism than individualism. Others, however, may argue that each is basic to the anarchist tradition as the rival collectivist and individualist schools demonstrate.</p>

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-19	A rudimentary grasp of individualism and collectivism with a weak understanding of their relevance to anarchism.
Level 2	20-39	A limited to sound understanding of individualist and collectivist anarchism with some evaluation of the significance of individualism and collectivism to each.
Level 3	40-60	A good or better understanding of the two anarchist traditions with clear demonstrations of the roles of individualism and collectivism

Question Number	Indicative content
6	<p>Significant overlaps occur between feminism and liberalism and socialism. Liberal feminism derives from a belief in individualism, which suggests that gender differences are at best secondary and should not affect the rights and opportunities of women and men. This form of equal-rights feminism aims to establish for women and men equal access to the public sphere, bringing about change through incremental reform. Socialist feminism uses the socialist critique of capitalism to explain gender inequality, implying that class exploitation and sexual oppression are linked social processes. For Marxists, both have their root in the institution of private property.</p> <p>However, there may also be points of tension between feminism and both liberalism and socialism. For example, liberalism is primarily concerned with the individual rather than with gender identities which are collectivist in nature. Similarly, socialists have often regarded sexual politics as less important than class politics, seeing the struggle for social justice as more important than the struggle for sexual justice. Radical feminists would certainly highlight the limitations of both liberalism and socialism as vehicles for advancing the social role of women, as neither of them recognises the fundamental importance of gender divisions and their roots in family and personal life.</p> <p>Feminism is nevertheless much less compatible with conservatism. A number of traditional conservative theories have starkly anti-feminist implications. This applies to a belief in tradition, legitimising the sexual division of labour, the idea of the organic society, which implies that biological differences between women and men determine, and legitimise, their different social roles, and a belief in hierarchy which suggests that male 'breadwinners' will inevitably have a different social position from female 'homemakers'. Neoconservatives sometimes go further in condemning feminism for promoting the breakdown of marriage, and therefore weakening the family, and for leading to delinquency and crime as women concentrate on their careers rather than on bringing up children. Where conservatives have shown sympathy for feminism, it has usually been because they have been converted to the liberal creed of equal rights and equal opportunities.</p>

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-19	A weak or poor understanding of the relationship between feminism and other ideological traditions.
Level 2	20-39	A limited to sound awareness of the compatibility of feminism with liberalism and socialism and a clear awareness of tension between feminism and conservatism.
Level 3	40-60	A good or better evaluation of the compatibility of feminism with liberalism and socialism and a full understanding of the relationship between feminism and conservatism.

Question Number	Indicative content
7	<p>Nationalism refers to the belief that the nation is the principal unit of political organisation. However, it has been used in a number of very different ways. In its chauvinist and expansionist guise, nationalism has been strongly associated with fascism, to the extent that some see fascism as essentially a form of ultranationalism. This has been evident in the idea of integral nationalism, in which the individualism is entirely absorbed into the nation through a heightened sense of national greatness and nationalistic zeal. It has also been apparent in the notion of palingenetic ultranationalism. This is because many forms of nationalism are based on a myth of national rebirth linked to a historical model of national greatness. For example, Mussolini drew parallels between his Fascist state and Imperial Rome.</p> <p>However, the extent of the link between fascism and nationalism may also be questioned. For example, Nazism was based on a form of extreme racism grounded in biological doctrines, that differs from conventional forms of nationalism. Similarly, few argue that ultranationalism explains all aspects of fascism. For instance, fascist theories about international conflict and war were shaped as much by social Darwinism as by nationalist doctrines. Some also argue that fascism is a blend of nationalism and socialism, implying that fascism cannot merely be seen as form of nationalism. Nationalism may be an important part of fascist ideology, but it is only a part.</p>

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-19	A weak or poor understanding of the linkage between fascism and nationalism.
Level 2	20-39	Limited to sound understanding of fascism, showing an awareness of the significance of nationalism within it.
Level 3	40-60	A good or better understanding of fascism which develops an effective evaluation of the significance of nationalist ideas and doctrines.

