



Examiners' Report

June 2019

GCE Politics 9PL0 02

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June 2019

Publications Code 9PL0_02_1906_ER

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Introduction

The overall standard of responses in Unit 9P02_02 was in line with expectations. It was pleasing to see that many candidates used up-to-date examples to illustrate their points, showing good knowledge and understanding, analytical and evaluative skills. However, there were a small number of examples of candidates misinterpreting or misunderstanding questions, or of not addressing the specific question set. A small minority of candidates opted not to answer all of the questions required, probably due to time pressures, and this should be strongly discouraged.

Question 1 is a different type of question to those asked on the previous specification. It was pleasing to see that the vast majority of candidates were well prepared for it. They were able to use the source to good effect in answering the question. In a very small number of cases, candidates wrote a standard essay without reference to the source material, and this should be strongly discouraged.

Question 2 contains a synopticity requirement and again it was pleasing to see that the vast majority of candidates had been well prepared for this. In some cases candidates made their references to Component 1 explicit. This is not required, but was an effective way of signposting that they were meeting this requirement.

It was also pleasing to see that the vast majority of candidates had been well prepared for the non-core political ideas question. The vast majority of candidates made clear and accurate reference to at least two 'key thinkers' and sustained a clear argument throughout, before reaching their conclusion.

Even so, a general point for centres to note is the importance of making judgements and coming to a firm conclusion. Candidates who were able to sustain a clear argument throughout their answers and who reached a conclusion that followed from these arguments were able to attain high marks for AO3.

Overall, an important discriminator remains the extent to which candidates focused on the *specific* question set. It remains good advice to candidates preparing for exams to spend some time in the exam deciding which questions they intend to answer, identifying the key words or terms and planning their answer before starting to answer the question.

Question 1 (a)

This was the less popular of the two questions in this section. The majority of candidates were able to make good use of the source and to evaluate whether or not devolution is in danger of undermining the unity of the UK.

Devolution emerged during a series of constitutional reforms, ~~in~~ begun in 1997 by Tony Blair. New Labour, believed devolution was necessary in order to implement the constitutional reform principles of democratisation, decentralization and ~~and~~ modernisation. ~~and~~ The source outlines both the positive and negative aspects of devolution considering the three key issues, policy diversion, rising nationalism and asymmetric devolution. In comparison with the ~~some~~ importance of different policies for different nations, the role of devolution in satisfying nationalist demands and the existence of relative content and mutual respect between all devolved nations and the central government. It is clear that there was potential for devolution to undermine the unity of the UK but in reality this is not the case.

Firstly, it could be argued that devolution threatens the unity of the United Kingdom as there is significant policy diversion between the devolved bodies and English legislation. For example, in England and Wales ~~to~~ tuition fees for university are around £9,000 to £9,250 per year, whilst in Scotland university education is free. Similarly in Wales prescriptions are free until

the age of 25, whilst in England prescriptions must be paid for after the age of 18. This creates disparity on, arguably important issues within a ~~united~~ supposedly united political system and has the potential to cause divisions between governments and the populations of each individual state who may believe such disparity is unfair and undemocratic.

However, in reality 'policy divergences reflect local democracy and identities' as explained in the source. Demand may be greater in Scotland, where more political consideration is given to young people for free tuition fees. Meaning policy divergence actually serves to maintain unity by preventing significant discontent in a devolved nation which may have different views and demands to those considered by the central government. Furthermore, much of these policy divergences can be over relatively trivial issues such as Wales providing free milk to under 16s which allow differences to be made lower down to prevent demands for more significant or more damaging policy divergence. Therefore it is evident that policy divergence does not threaten the unity of the United Kingdom but actually aids in its maintenance.

Secondly, it could be considered that devolution threatens the unity of the United Kingdom as it creates a rise in nationalism within devolved states. For example, each

devolved government is usually dominated by a nation specific party, for example, the Scottish National Party (SNP), the Democratic Unionist party (DUP), Sinn Fein, or Plaid Cymru.

The existence and dominance of these parties are indicative of growth of nationalist feelings, ~~in devolved areas~~ especially in ~~set~~ Scotland with the SNP where there are still calls for independence, in spite of the 2014 referendum due to Scotland voting remain in the 2016 EU referendum, whilst the overall UK vote supersedes this and Scotland will most likely be forced to leave with the UK. Nationalist feelings, like those of Sinn Fein do pose a significant threat to the union as was demonstrated by the 1919-1921 Anglo-Irish war, which resulted in independence for what is now the Republic of Ireland. Nationalist feelings are the biggest threat to any political union, including the united kingdom.

On the other hand, 'devolution has satisfied some demands for self-governance' nationalist feelings have been essentially appeased through repeated concession of more legislative, administrative or financial powers to devolved governments. It is evident that nationalist feelings in Scotland are not as overbearing as the dominance of the SNP (who have 90% of Scottish seats at Westminster) may indicate. In 2014 there was a referendum in Scotland

on to Scottish independence. The referendum is considered one of the most legitimate in UK history with a turnout of over 80% and the vote being given to 16 and 17 year olds which majorly enhanced democracy in that referendum. The result decided (albeit by a slim margin of around 2%) Scotland would remain in the UK. ^{Moreover,} ~~Similarly,~~ there seems to be considerable capacity in Wales to devolution let alone independence. A referendum held in Wales to decide if the Welsh wanted increased devolved power received only 50% turnout and a resounding 'no' to further devolution. Thus it is evident that whilst nationalism is still somewhat present in devolved bodies it is ~~quite~~ relatively mild and does not pose a tangible threat to the unity of the United Kingdom.

Finally, it could be argued that devolution is in danger of undermining the unity of the United Kingdom due to asymmetrical devolution, that is, 'power has ~~not~~ been devolved in an even way'. Whilst Scotland has almost complete administrative devolution and largely significant financial and legislative devolution, Wales have only administrative and some legislative power. ~~Whilst~~ The Northern Irish assembly ~~is~~ is currently devolved and ^{has} has no power and the English have only the English votes for English issues policy and minor city devolution. This creates insurmountable disparity between each devolved government and is arguably

undemocratic in its inconsistency. This has the potential to create unpleasant contempt between each devolved body and the others as they may feel they have been disadvantaged which could lead to poor relations and in extreme circumstances calls for independence.

~~In~~ In reality, though, this disparity has in no way affected the 'relationship of clear mutual respect' between the nations. This system prevents the creation of a genuine federal system and has all taken place within the consent of the people, for example through referendums. The disparity is widely expected and accepted and thus poses no threat to the unity of the United Kingdom. Additionally, the ability of the central government to dissolve devolved assemblies is key to the maintenance of a significantly fragile peace in Northern Ireland and thus, in this way, protecting the unity of the United Kingdom. Therefore it is evident that asymmetric devolution does not threaten to undermine the unity of the United Kingdom.

In conclusion, devolution serves to both enhance and protect the unity of the United Kingdom and

many of the perceived issues within devolution are not significant or prevalent enough to fundamentally threaten the unity of the UK and in reality devolution protects the unity of the United Kingdom in more ways than one.



This response is well structured, taking each point at a time and evaluating it. There are a number of sub-judgements towards the end of some of the paragraphs, as well as a clear conclusion. The candidate also makes good use of the source. This response achieved level 5: 28 marks.



You can make interim judgements as you go along. If these are in line with your overall argument and conclusion then this could help you to achieve more AO3 marks.

Question 1 (b)

This was the more popular question of the two in this section. The vast majority of candidates were able to use the source to good effect and came to a clear conclusion. Most showed good knowledge of a range of prime ministers and provided plenty of relevant examples.

Over time, Prime Ministers have been criticised as having too much power. For instance, as the source states, Prime Ministers can enjoy having "significant powers of patronage" and being an "electoral asset". Such aspects enhance the idea the Prime Ministers have too much power. However, it could be argued that the Prime Minister's (PM) power is still limited as according to the source, they "cannot take Parliament for granted" if they have a ~~small~~^{small} or no majority in the Commons and fundamentally, a Prime Minister can be "brought down by their party". Therefore, the Prime Minister does enjoy a lot of power, but also experiences limits to their power, especially in more ^{recent times.}

As the source mentions, Prime Ministers can have a significant level of power if they are deemed an "electoral asset", especially if they have a "large Commons majority". For example, Tony Blair had a Commons majority of 179 between 1997 and 2005 which was very advantageous for his government. This can be highlighted in comparison to John Major who held a majority of 21 and was deemed a

break PM by many. As a result, Blair's government passed 110% more legislation through Parliament each year than Major and Blair's significant parliamentary majority was ^{an} important factor in this success. It is therefore, more difficult for Parliament to carry out effective checks and balances on the PM's power when the PM holds a large majority, especially as MPs are very unlikely to be disloyal ^{or openly} criticise their own party. When a PM, like Blair, is deemed an "electoral asset", it is more likely that they will be deemed as having too much power.

However, on the other hand, as the source states, when the Prime Minister does not enjoy ~~the~~ a large or any majority, this means that they are unable to "take Parliament for granted". This is because the PM's executive is more likely to appear less strong and stable and instead is subject to higher levels of Parliamentary scrutiny, thereby limiting the PM's powers. For instance, as the source highlights, David Cameron was prevented from initiating military intervention in Syria due to the Commons. This is because Cameron only had a majority of 12 ^{from} between 2015 and so ~~lost~~ his ~~part~~ powers in

Parliament were limited. One may compare Cameron's situation with Thatcher or Blair who both held significant majorities with 144 for Thatcher and 179 for Blair and consequently both ~~initiated~~ deployed troops to war. Thatcher, as PM, ~~was~~ took on a highly prominent role in the Falkland War and Blair initiated the Iraq War despite opposition. This contrasts with Cameron, whom with a relatively small majority, was forced to take the decision of military action to a vote in Parliament (which has become convention since ^{the} Iraq War in 2003) and was defeated. Furthermore, May's government was forced to drop policies from their manifesto which were highly unpopular such as increasing the number of Grammar schools before introducing them to Parliament for debate due to her having lost a ~~majority of seat~~ parliamentary majority after the 2017 general election. Therefore, if the PM has a smaller no majority, then their powers are significantly more limited.

According to the source, the PM has "significant powers of patronage" which seemingly increase their ~~power~~ level of power, to the public for example. Patronage powers entails the PM 'hiring and firing' ministers and having the ability to "control the

"Cabinet" as the source points out. Loyalty from MPs is often an important factor in a PM's decision for promotion and demotion. For example, George Osborne proved himself to be very loyal and reliable to Cameron and as a result was appointed the ^{role of} Chancellor & Exchequer by Cameron in his cabinet. Furthermore, the prime minister is able to ~~"control the agenda"~~ "set the Cabinet agenda" according to the source and so can choose what is discussed and how often they meet. For example, Blair's Cabinet meetings ~~only~~ never lasted for more than 40 minutes and instead he adopted more of a 'set a politics' approach towards the cabinet. Furthermore, Thatcher was accused as simply using the cabinet as a 'rubber stamp', showing how ~~at~~ often, the PM can bypass their cabinet due to their high levels of power and control. Therefore, the PM is subject to being deemed as having too much power which is acceptable, to an extent.

However, perhaps most significantly, the prime minister can also be "brought down by their party", as the source stated. The source points out the example of Blair who, after facing heavy

opposition and criticism for his decisions in initiating the Iraq war as well as becoming presented as ~~an obsessive~~ a PM obsessed with their reputation and accused of often 'spinning the truth' for his benefit, was "arguably forced to resign" which shows ~~that~~ ~~how~~ how the PM is accountable to parliament and it's own party and cabinet. Additionally, Thatcher resigned after facing a vote of no confidence from her own cabinet due to her unpopular stance on poll tax, as the source presents.

Therefore, the powers of the prime minister are limited to a large degree as they are always accountable to their cabinet and parliament as a whole who can, if have rallied ^{up} enough support, lead to the PM's downfall.

Overall, many accuse the PM as having too much power as ~~as~~ over the years they have been accused of taking on a more presidential style of governing whereby parliament is less effective at limiting ^{the powers of} and holding the PM to account. However, in reality, ~~it~~ since 2010, ^{the} prime ministers' powers have been shown to be reduced as only smaller no majorities have been won at elections and so

perhaps this signals that no longer shall the PM enjoy such large majorities which ~~perhaps~~ ^{arguably} is the main factor in increasing the PM's powers. Therefore, although the PM may appear to have too much power, in reality limitations on their powers do remain and a turn in our political atmosphere recently suggests that the ~~PM~~ prime minister may not enjoy such levels of power, as they did in the past, again.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Comments

This response refers to the source throughout and provides lots of examples and context. It arrives at a firm conclusion, that Prime Ministers do not have too much power. This response achieved level 5: 30 marks.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Tip

It is important to refer to the source when answering Q01(a) or Q01(b). This is part of the question rubric.

Question 2 (a)

This question was a little less popular than the other one in this section. Although generally well answered, a significant number of candidates mistook the ECHR for the ECJ or for being part of EU law and this undermined arguments they made on this basis.

The sovereignty of Parliament is arguably invested in numerous areas, whilst, ~~as~~ as Wickson stated, "sovereignty is an abstract concept, not confined to one institution or populace".

Whilst the EU retains legal sovereignty, it arguably lacks political sovereignty. Economic reasons have also created a kind of economic sovereignty. Overall, I believe that membership did undermine sovereignty.

In terms of legal sovereignty, the signing up to the European Economic Community in European Communities Act 1972, did not at first pose a threat to legal sovereignty as it was purely economic union. However, the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 consolidated the powers of the EU to resemble a quasi-federal state. This gave the EU significant control over issues like immigration targets and what kind of environmental regulat-

-ions it can propose. Furthermore, the jurisdiction of the ECJ extends to the UK, which means that cases can be appealed to the highest ^{EU} court - ~~the ECJ~~ the ECJ jurisdiction undermines legal sovereignty as it supersedes the recently created Supreme Court in the UK, meaning some sovereignty has been lost. This means appellants can appeal if rights in the ECHR have been contravened. However, the Human Rights Act (1998) only then entrenched the ECHR into UK law showing that ^{was supported} the Maastricht treaty ~~did not have an immediate effect~~ yet practically, the UK could not contradict the treaty as it would threaten its membership of the EU. In authoritative works like Bingham's English constitution, it can further be suggested that whilst the EU has some legal sovereignty, parliamentary sovereignty will always remain. Parliament can ultimately remove the UK from the EU, shown by the triggering of Article 50 in 2017. Parliamentary sovereignty was emphasised

by the courts vs the people incident, where the Supreme Court ruled in 2017 that parliament must vote on triggering Article 50. This further emphasises the fact that parliament is sovereign. Overall, whilst some legal sovereignty was lost, parliament ultimately retains most of it.

Political sovereignty of the EU may be argued to be present in the accountability of its branches. For example, the European Parliament does hold the European Commission to account as it is an unelected body. However, I believe that the poor democratic interaction with the EU makes a strong case that the EU is not politically sovereign. EU elections have ~~had~~ historically had low turnout, with them only rising by 1% in 2019 to 38%. As this turnout is less than a majority, the sovereignty of the EU is certainly questionable. Furthermore, the EU referendum in 2016 received the biggest turnout ~~and~~ result recorded, and a

a majority of voters voted to leave the EU (52%). Furthermore, the UK has no veto on legislation and has a minority of MEPs in the parliament, showing how other states can influence our law. Overall, the poor electoral history with the EU undermines its political sovereignty considerably, even though it sometimes perform some accountability.

Finally, the concept of economic sovereignty is also important to consider. Membership of the EU started as the common market which was voted for. However, this means that the UK cannot make independent trade deals with foreign countries. This restricts the sovereignty of parliament over the economy, as the European parliament proposes agreements which we have a relatively small voice on. Furthermore, membership has also led to ~~the~~ ^{joining} ~~the~~ ~~customs union~~ ~~yet~~ the ~~European~~ ~~for~~ free movement of

people, goods and labour. As the EU has control over some immigration policy, this being an important aspect, the British ~~influence over~~ role in the single ~~market~~ free movement principle has contributed to an influx of migrants which has contributed to labour. This arguably puts pressure on the UK to remain due to this exchange. Contrastingly, the Brexit vote has meant that there are strong opportunities for a trade deal between the US and UK, ~~over~~^{with} issues like chlorinated chicken becoming increasingly important.

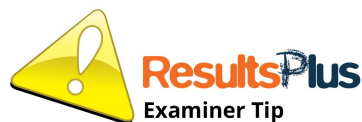
Overall, whilst being in the EU has brought ^{economic} benefits Britain has had little say over these, showing how economic sovereignty has remained. However, the refusal to join the Euro and Britain's future outside the EU does suggest that sovereignty was not completely lost, and will be regained.

In conclusion, in terms of legislation the EU has held some sovereignty but basic principles of the constitution

suggest that we retained influence. Yet political (popular) sovereignty has been riddled with participation issues and Britain's compatibility small exception of the Parliament. Whilst economic sovereignty has been lost due to membership of the single market, it will be regained. Overall, membership of the EU redistributed Parliamentary sovereignty, taking it away.



This is an extensive response which covers a wide range of issues, including legal sovereignty, the single market, subsidiarity, majority voting, and pooled sovereignty. It presents both sides of the argument while coming down firmly in the conclusion. In terms of synopticity, the candidate refers to the referenda on our membership and issues around democracy with regard to the unelected Commission. This response was awarded 29 marks.



It is important to sustain an argument throughout your response. Making the case that you are going to argue clear in your introduction is a way of helping you to do this.

Question 2 (b)

This was a popular question. The vast majority of candidates correctly identified that the Commons has more powers than the Lords, with many going on to explain how the Blair reforms have led to a more assertive chamber. Stronger responses provided a range of examples and were more likely to compare the numbers of government defeats in the Lords to those in the Commons. Synopticity usually centred around the democratic deficit of an unelected second chamber and issues around the mandate.

There is no doubt that with the Commons greater power in comparison to the Lords, practically it exerts more influence on government decisions. It could be said that the increased passage of secondary legislation, which is set to rise with the conversion of EU law into statute, the Lords does exercise greater influence. Equally, the relative irrelevance of party politics and its professionalised composition enable it to step forward against ^{the} government where the Commons exist on big policy issues like fracking. Nonetheless, since the Commons is democratically mandated and institutionally, is more powerful than the Lords, who cannot block primary legislation, ultimately, the Commons also exerts more influence in practice on government decisions.

On the one hand, the Lords' influence in assessing proposed secondary legislation cannot be undermined. Indeed, the number of statutory instruments passed for. recently have increased significantly; from 1,100 in 1982 to at least 3,000 in 2015. Moreover, under the Henry VIII powers, May has articulated that in order to convert EU into UK statute,

the former which already purportedly covers some 60% of UK law, much of the conversion will be completed through secondary legislation, illustrating the Lords' growing influence. However, on the other hand, the Commons enjoys the privilege of passing primary legislation, which holds far more scope and significance compared to statutory instruments which simply constitute amendments to existing legislation. Furthermore, the Lords is unable to delay 'money bills' for longer than a month and regular statute past a year, which means that the Commons has a greater ability to exercise influence over government decisions. This can be seen in the way Scottish MPs were able to block Cameron's bill on Sunday Trading Hours in 2016 despite its specificity to England, thus demonstrating that MPs in the Commons are given more influence over government legislation precisely because they have more institutional power.

However, in terms of holding the government accountable for their decisions, the Lords have also exerted influence over their decision. Prior to the 2009 Wright reforms with the 2005 Constitutional Reform Act, it was the law lords who sat in the highest court and were therefore responsible for ultra vires rulings and assessing the legality of government

decisions and actions. Furthermore, with the passage of significant policy decisions through secondary legislation, such as fracking, many of the challenges arising from around the government's ecological responsibility in this area ~~do~~ arise from the Lords. That said, the power of the parliamentary proceedings that take place in the Commons refute any claim the Lords might have to exercising greater influence with respect to holding the government accountable for its decisions. Not only do Commons select committees enjoy a higher profile than those in the Lords, but their professionalisation through secret chair ballots ensure that the Commons perform better scrutiny of government.⁴¹

Equally, with the increase in Urgent Questions under John Bercow's Speakership, urgent questions like David Lammy's over the Windrush Scandal have enormous impact, even forcing Amber Rudd's resignation as Home Secretary. Similarly, the ~~high~~ influence of opposition day motions allow the opposition in the Commons to raise critical questions over government policy, such as Keir Starmer's 'humble address' that led to the release of the Brexit impact assessments. [⁴² with roughly 40%^{dv} its annual 1,450 recommendations being subsequently implemented]

In this way, it is clear that the Commons are able to exercise better scrutiny and thus influence over government decisions.

Arguably, the composition of the Lords further facilitates its ability to hold influence over government decisions. Indeed, with the Life Peerages Act of 1958, its membership has increasingly reflected the expertise of British ^{science} ~~history~~, culture and ^{business} ~~science~~ with peers such as Lord Sugar. Furthermore, the House of Lords Reform enacted in by Blair in 1999 saw the number of members cut by half to ~~82~~ 92, so the Lords now better reflects modern British society ⁴² and is more mandated and confident in its ability to challenge government action. ⁴² [now also reaching its highest percentage ever of women at 25% of the chamber]. Yet crucially, the Lords remain unelected democratically and therefore ~~more~~ ^{less} unable than the Commons to exercise influence over the government's decisions. In particular, the backing down of the Lords in their opposition to the Brexit Referendum result is in contrast with the Commons growing authority in Brexit negotiations. Bercow's ruling of the Brexit Amendments despite his colleagues questioning its legality is a testament to the Commons utilising its power to exert greater influence than the Lords ever could. ~~Similarly~~ In addition, Bercow also ~~was~~ ~~insisted~~ held the government in contempt of Parliament for withholding information concerning the NI backstop, while the Reform Amendment also sought to improve the Commons influence

our Brexit negotiations with 'indicative' 'meaningful votes' on variations of deals. In fact, the Commons was only able to assert its power given the government's weak democratic mandate, which the Lords lack altogether regardless of its experience and expertise. Therefore, ~~the~~ the Commons undoubtedly is able to exert greater influence over the decision of the government thanks to its democratic mandate, ~~in~~ [in spite of FPTP usually producing a significant winner's boost in the election]

To conclude, ~~the~~ in the coming months perhaps the Lords will have greater influence over government decisions with the conversion of EU law into secondary legislation. Nonetheless, despite the Lords increased professionalisation and ~~despite~~ comparative lack of party loyalty, the Commons are still able to exercise greater ~~legislative~~ legislative scrutiny and hold the government ^{superior} more to account thanks to its democratic nature and institutional power.



This response addresses both parts of the question, while clearly understanding that the Commons has more powers than the Lords. There is reference to the role of the Lords in secondary legislation and plenty of examples of the role of both chambers with regard to recent issues around 'Brexit'. There is also some discussion of the reformed Lords which has become more assertive. The response has a sustained argument and comes to a firm conclusion. This response achieved level 5: 30 marks.



For question 2 candidates are instructed in the question rubric to draw on relevant knowledge and understanding from Component 1. This candidate refers to the fact that the Lords lacks a democratic mandate as it is unelected and also makes reference to FPTP in the context of government majorities.

Question 3 (a)

This was the more popular question in this section. The vast majority of candidates were able to contrast collectivist and individualist anarchist views on the economy, with some also exploring differences within each strand. The vast majority of candidates made accurate reference to several 'key thinkers' as required in the question rubric.

Anarchists ~~agree that~~ agree that there should be a complete rejection of the state in the economy and that economic systems underpin them, however they disagree over the extent to which existing economic systems are negative for individuals and economic organisations. In their disagreement over economic organisation some that they were less than a coherent view on the economy.

One way in which anarchists are coherent in their view on the economy is their agreement over the nature of the economy. All anarchists, collectivist and individualist agree that there should be a complete removal of the state in the economy as it creates exploitation through taxation and private property, thus undermining economic liberty of the individual and their ability to see economic self-interest. Anarchists also agree that private property should be abolished, with individualist arguing that private property is "theft" as it exploits the people through high charges of rent, ~~interest~~ interest and tenancy fees. Thus the

shows how anarchists, collectives and individualists have a coherent view of the economy as they collectively agree that the current economic state undermines economic autonomy through how it seeks to protect monopolies and private property. However, they have a core disagreement in relation to private property. Whilst mutualists such as Proudhon completely reject private property and instead call for common ownership, which collective anarchists also support, individual anarchists such as anarcho-capitalists claim that private property under the state should be abolished, but under a market society, ~~private~~ private property is not regulated as it's not ~~regulated~~ regulated through rent and taxation. Thus it can be argued that anarchists are less coherent in terms of the nature of the economy.

Additionally, anarchists disagree on the nature of the economy in relation to economic systems. They both ~~reject~~ ^{do not} fully accept neither capitalism or communism, however for different reasons. In relation to capitalism, individual anarchists such as Stirner argue that it undermines "the ego", and set intent as it creates surplus and private monopolies which is exploitative of the individual and obstructs the ability for them to pursue economic self interest. They argue that through taxation, interest and state regulation it creates great inequalities and exploitation by suppressing autonomy. Communism however differs slightly in the sense

most capitalism inherits the individual and selfishness by demanding competition, thus creating social inequalities. Bulletin argues that communism, would be more beneficial to the economy than capitalism. In relation to communism, individualism advocates that communism simply brings another form of state ~~regulation~~ regulation or controlling is present under state control, whereas some communists such as Anarcho-communists led by ideas of utopian, argue that communism just removes the state with another form of control. Therefore communists and individualists disagree over new economic systems or regimes, ~~but~~ in relation to how they impact people, but are similar in the sense that they both agree that capitalism and communism restrict economic liberty in one way or another.

Another area of debate is relation to the economy is economic organization. Both collectivism and individualism ~~advocate~~ ^{advocate} agree that there should be no state autonomy to command the economy, but differ in how it is commanded or needed. Individualism, such as, anarcho-capitalism essentially believe in elements of capitalism but without the regulations of the state. Anarcho-capitalists argue that the economy will be regulated and guided by the invisible hand of

the free market, which will take over state intervention cannot ~~be~~ act governmental prices, such as transport, petrol prices etc. They do argue that individuals in the economy should retain their own economic self interests and retain the fruits of their own labour.

Equity stillers argue that the economy will be based on voluntary agreement of individual people and the collective to pursue economic self interest, in a similar manner, the firm organisations made up of producers and consumers to ensure a fair economic society.

However collective anarchists disagree on the individual aspect of the economy arguing that the collective doesn't suppress individual interests. Anarchists, collective anarchists, ~~believe that~~ such as Bakunin argue for common ownership of goods, lands and prices to ensure order and a fair economy. Bakunin, an anarcho-synarchist argues that this can be achieved through collectivisation, where land is shared and labour is distributed evenly, as done in Russia from 1924-1929 with Stalin's economic five year plans. Anarcho-communists argue that all should be under common ownership. Urpethkin calls for fruits of labour, and resources to be commonly shared, which is at disagreement with other collective

anarchism. Collectivists and socialists however think economic systems will be based on collective schemes where individuals cooperate to develop each other to pursue economic self interests.

Utopians argue that there should be introduction of various rules that record and measure the value of money and production of services, fair wages and exchange of goods. Therefore Anarchism greatly differs on the economic organization of the economy.

In conclusion, Anarchists are not significantly coherent on issues of the economy, whilst they agree that there should be no state whatsoever in the economy as its exploitation and undermining economic issues, they are incoherent on the nature of economic systems and how the economy should be aimed at. Whilst the state, with individuals calling for individual initiative and capitalist elements and collectivism remain common arguments through centralization and anarchism. Overall there is consent to a small extent, agreeing only on the role of the state in the ~~economy~~ economy.



This response is wide-ranging. It covers a range of 'key thinkers' and a number of different areas of potential agreement or disagreement. As well as the final conclusion, this candidate also makes evaluative judgements towards the end of several of the paragraphs. These and the final conclusion are in line with each other and show a sustained argument throughout the response. This was awarded level 5: 24 marks.



You can make evaluative judgements as you go along, rather than all at the end in your conclusion.

Question 3 (b)

This question was less popular than Q03(a). The vast majority of candidates were able to explore whether or not an anarchist society is a realistic goal. Many focused on issues around human nature and whether or not society can function without a state. Some also focused on the differences between the anarchist traditions.

An anarchist society is one without a state, or with a very limited state, and ~~give~~ has an idea of total freedom. It is one based around a utopia, a completely idealistic society. Anarchists believe this is the ultimate way to live but sceptics view this ~~idea~~ idea as an unachievable one that will descend into chaos.

An anarchist society isn't a realistic and achievable goal because there are so many different versions of it. Individualist anarchists want society to live amongst ourselves, fend completely on our own and be individuals. Max Stirner, an individualist thinker, believes we are all egotistical and are entitled to the fruits of the world. If this is true ~~then a collectivist anarchist~~ then we should completely disregard a collectivist view which is completely different. Instead of living alone with little human interactions, humans

should work together. Collectivist Thinkers Peter Kropotkin and Mikhail Bakunin say humans are social beings and want to work cooperatively and not competitively. These two forms of anarchism are completely contradictory so what view of society is best? The realistic goal is questioned by rational thought if the two idealistic ideas are completely contrasting.

★PTO.

History tells us that not having a state to oversee a nation doesn't work. Anarchists like Pierre-Joseph Proudhon want a completely equal society but if there's no state to help this be achieved then how will the gap between rich and poor diminish. There is no evidence to suggest that the country won't turn to chaos when all power is distributed and if the nation isn't in chaos with a state then why should we abolish it.

However, in contrast to this the overall view of anarchists is that human kind is good natured. If this is true there is no reason that humans can't work cooperatively without a state ~~to~~ in a harmonious way.

Anarchists have a very positive view of how

humans behave which is realistic

If we are self interested and egotistical like Max Stirner says then we should only care for ourselves and not others. This gives us an advantage for a utopian society because if what others do doesn't interest us we can live harmoniously with all our differences. A state wouldn't be necessary because the only people each of us would care for would be ourselves. There would be no need to trade as we would all be self-sufficient human beings who don't need to rely on others.

In conclusion, I think it's unrealistic to strive towards an anarchist view of an utopian society. Individualists and Collectivists can't agree on what an ideal society looks like so we don't even know what to strive towards. It is not an anarchist society is one based on idealism not realism. If we are realistic about anarchism it isn't achievable unless we can get rid of the factions within the political idea. An A mutual understanding has to be realised before we can implement this 'realistic' society.

Furthermore not only do collectivists and individualists have differing ideas but the sub categories within them do as well. Mutualists differ from syndicalists and anarcho-capitalists have differing views from those believing in egoism. From this how can we create a utopian, realistic society if no one can agree on what this society would look like. This makes it an unrealistic goal as we don't know what we are striving towards. If they all have different views on even how to overthrow the state then we not even a beginning to our utopian society. We can't live in a society that's realistic if anarchists can't agree on what that society looks like.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Comments

This is a wide-ranging response. It focuses on several different areas, including the disagreements within anarchism on what an ideal anarchist society would look like. It also addresses issues around our human nature and whether or not we need a state. This response achieved level 5: 24 marks.



Make sure that you refer to the 'key thinkers' in your answer. You can refer to other relevant thinkers as well, but it is a requirement in the rubric to use the 'appropriate thinkers you have studied to support your answer'.

Question 4 (a)

Ecologism was one of the least popular non-core political ideas. This was the less popular question of the two questions in this section. The vast majority of candidates identified that all ecologists have concerns over economic growth and most went on to distinguish between the positions of shallow and deep ecologists.

All ecologists agree that rapid economic growth causes environmental damage, and is driven by consumerism and materialistic values. Sustainability needs to be reached and there needs to be limits to economic growth, but ecologists have fundamental differences in how this should be achieved. Shallow greens advocated doing more with less in environmentally friendly ways to preserve nature, while ~~shallow greens~~ deep greens and radical social ecologists argue the entire system needs altering to promote values of community. Overall, there is agreement ^{negative} between ecologists over the environmental impact of economic growth, although they have conflicting approaches.

Ecologists believe that rapid economic growth is the main cause for environmental damage. It ~~also~~ affects the sustainability of the planet and its ability to reach homeostasis. Ecologist thinker Rachel Carson argued that the 'gods of profit and production' cause such extensive damage in order to get rich quickly, mass producing products in order to meet the demand of consumers. This links to the core value of sustainability as by limiting economic growth it protects Earth's natural resources and minimalises humans materialistic values, ^{instead} emphasising appreciation for nature.

However, different strands of ecology disagree over how this should be achieved. Shallow green thinkers argue that economic growth should be managed using environmentally friendlier ways such as green capitalism, managerialism or technological solutions. A UN objective in 2012 was to reduce CO₂ in the atmosphere by 80% by 2050 and demonstrates how the state can be used to protect the environment without stopping economic growth. Shallow green thinker, Kenneth Boulding argues that this is essential in order to preserve nature for future generations to enjoy and that by doing more with less it protects the ~~planet~~ future of the planet without compromising the economy.

In contrast, deep greens completely reject this way of thinking as it promotes anthropocentric ideas and places humanity above nature.

Deep green ecologists argue for strong sustainability and doing less with less, where the importance ~~of the planet~~ is placed on being one with nature and not on profit. Deep greens such as E.F. Schumacher argue that Buddhist economics should be adopted and societies broken down into small communities. This is because it supports the idea of living economies and a unity ^{with} of nature, so its resources are not exploited for personal profit.

Furthermore, social ecologists also argue for strong sustainability, but reject E.F. Schumacher's emphasis on Buddhist principles as "eco-la-la". Instead they argue that in order to place limits on economic growth, society needs to be ~~radically~~ radically changed in order to promote

co-operation in what social-anarchist Murray Bookchin described as an 'ecotopia'. This destroys societies links with consumerism and materialism stopping ~~the~~ economic growth as it is no longer sort after by humans, who now value nature and have a holistic view.

In conclusion, all ~~the~~ ecologists agree that there needs to be limits placed on economic growth in order to protect the sustainability of the planet and limit environmental damage. However, the different strands of ecology have fundamental different beliefs in how this should be achieved leading to conflict. Deep greens reject ~~the~~ any anthropocentric approach, while shallow greens and social ecologists criticise their way of thinking of the economy as impractical.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Comments

This response covers a range of 'key thinkers' and has a sustained argument throughout, coming to a clear conclusion. This response scored 23 marks.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Tip

Make sure you refer to 'key thinkers' in your answers. It is a requirement of the question rubric to use 'appropriate thinkers you have studied to support your answer'.

Question 4 (b)

This was the more popular of the two questions in this section. Most responses made reference to shallow and deep ecologism, and stronger ones went on to identify differences within shallow ecologism.

Ecologists are aligned in believing that change is needed in society. The traditional society is leading to environmental degradation as is completely ruinous to the planet. However, stark divisions appear between ecologists on the extent of change with shallow ecologists arguing for moderate change in comparison to deep ecologists who argue for radical change in all aspects of society.

The first, most fundamental division appears in the ecologists' belief on the change needed in human attitude in order to reform society. Both shallow and deep ecologists are in agreement that traditional anthropocentric views are ruinous as it encourages selfish behaviour, giving mankind excessive dominion over nature. Instead shallow ecologists argue that the moral community needs to be extended in

order to achieve a state of enlightened anthropocentrism. This is aligned with their core belief of intergenerational equity which argues for the preservation of society so that future generations do not suffer from depletion and other shortages of natural resources.

This requires moderate change whereby there is a growth ~~to~~ in environmental awareness.

In comparison, deep ecologists completely reject this view as it still places humans at the centre, encouraging selfish dominion thus would still lead to environmental degradation.

Instead, deep ecologists ~~argue~~ such as Leopold argues there needs to be a paradigm shift in society. This requires a fundamental change in human nature so humans can achieve an eco-centric outlook whereby environmental consciousness means humans want to live in harmony with nature by giving nature intrinsic value and expanding biocentric equality. This is supported by Capra's "web of life" which argues that the only way to save the environment is for society to view themselves as interconnected with nature therefore reaching a level of

spiritual fulfillment in protecting the environment. This draws on ideas from Zen Buddhism and highlights the difference in beliefs of shallow and deep ecologists in their view on reform to human nature to create a new society.

In addition, all ecologists ~~believe~~ challenge traditional beliefs on society through their ~~own~~ views on anti-consumerism, post-materialism and sustainability which aligns with their belief in the need for economic reform in order to create a new society.

Some shallow ecologists believe in market-based solutions to some environmental problems. They believe extending the moral community will lead to a reform to the consumer-choice model that companies will make technological advancements to meet the environmental demand of the consumer. They argue this will ~~lead~~ lead to a post-materialist society whereby there is more demand for environmental preservation, creating a reformed society. On the other hand, eco-socialists such as Foster, reject this

view as they believe, it encourages capitalism which requires exponential growth, leading to weak sustainability. ~~Instead, the state~~ which in turn adds to environmental issues. Instead, deep ecologists argue for the eradication of capitalism ~~and~~ and the state which Schumacher argues will lead to pastoralism. This radical change will depend on a zero-growth economy, leading to a radically new society. Therefore, it is clear that whilst shallow ecologists desire moderate change in societal beliefs, deep ecologists advocate radical change in society.

Furthermore, ^{some} shallow ecologists argue for ~~a~~ the state to take a managerialist position within society and regulate the market to achieve a society and ~~emerging~~ economical structure that protects the environment. They argue that ~~this~~ ~~will lead to~~ the state should impose green taxes ~~and~~ and be involved in ~~climate change~~ such negotiations with groups such as the UNFCCC. This will lead to a society which functions around environmental consciousness however, radical change is not needed for this. In comparison, eco-anarchist Bookchin, rejects the state completely in his ecotopian

view of society and draws upon more holistic views encouraged by Rachel Carson. He advocates radical change in the structure of society whereby humans should live in small communities based on local decisions. This would eradicate market competition and lead to a sustainable environmental change. Eco-feminist and Merchant, agrees with this view as she believes it would eradicate the patriarchy and once the societal tradition of the authority of human over human is eradicated, only then will a sustainable society be created: ^{that can protect the environment.} This exemplifies stark differences on societal structural beliefs within ecologism, with many arguing radical shifts are needed ^{and} for society to be based on small communes and collective ownership, a view which shallow ecologists would view as too extreme.

In conclusion, it is clear that ecologists agree that there needs to be change in the traditional beliefs and structures of society to avoid environmental degradation. However, it is equally clear that deep ecologists desire a paradigm shift and ~~radical~~ radical changes in societal structures. The differences are irreconcilable as deep ecologists argue that shallow ecologist views on reform ^{do not go far enough and} contribute to environmental problems, ^{not solve it.}



This response uses a range of 'key thinkers' and focuses on the question throughout. It is particularly strong on the distinction between shallow and deep ecologists, but also discusses some of the differences between shallow ecologists. This response scored 21 marks.



Make sure that you focus on the question. If it is clear from reading your introduction and conclusion what question you are answering then you are more likely to have focused on it.

Question 5 (a)

Feminism was the most popular of the non-core political ideas. Both questions were generally well answered and most candidates referred accurately to a range of 'key thinkers'. A few weaker responses gave a description of the different strands within feminism without relating these specifically to the question.

This was the less popular question in this section. Most candidates were able to focus on the contrasting views on human nature that difference and equality feminists hold.

Mainstream feminism recognises human nature as androgynous and that society has created conceptualisations of 'sex and gender' in order for women to internalise ~~or that~~ a belief that they are inferior to men due to their sex. There is a split in this belief where difference feminists claim that women are culturally different due to their biology but this is largely discouraged by mainstream feminist thought which therefore shows that traditions of feminism have a typically coherent view of human nature.

The main shared view by different strands of feminism is ~~that~~ over the conceptualisations of 'sex and gender'. Sex refers to the biology of someone and gender refers to what ideals society has constructed to fit the image of a man or woman. Simone de Beauvoir, a liberal existentialist thinker prominent in the 1940s, argued that "women are made not born". She critiqued that society has created an idea of human

nature for women to fit; that they are biologically and culturally inferior. She coined the term 'theory of men' and remarked that because she has "ovaries and a uterus; these peculiarities imprison me within my sex.". This view is shared by many thinkers such as Kate Millet who argued that human nature was in fact 'androgynous' and part male - part female. However, this view is rebuked by difference feminism such as Carol Gilligan who argue that women are culturally different but these differences should be celebrated. More conservative feminism agree and argue that 'biology is destiny', however it is important to recognise that these views were not shared by mainstream feminist thought and only a small minority of people agreed with it.

Most if not all feminists agree that this view of human nature is reinforced by the patriarchy which is prominent in the state and in the private sphere of the home. Charlotte Perkins Gilman an early first wave, socialist thinker argued that children are socialised from a young age by the clothes they wear and the toys they play with. This view that the human nature of girls is created is shared by many feminist thinkers including Kate Millet, Belle Hook (post-modern feminist) and Simone de Beauvoir.

Moreover socialist feminism such as Sheila Rowbotham argued that alongside the patriarchy enforcing this view of human nature, capitalism operates alongside this to ensure that women continually feel inferior to remain at home to be a 'reserve force of labour'. Furthermore, post-modern feminist bell hooks influenced the idea of intersectionality and that human-nature is multi-faceted as we have multiple identities.

Feminists ultimately agree that the end-goal of feminism, to reach equality, is to eradicate this view of human nature and have a 'genderless personhood' whereby there are no distinctions between sex and gender and that you are biologically different but your natural characteristics (human nature) is the same. There is a slight dispute over how this can be achieved with female separatism like Monique Wittig arguing that women must live in communes together to gain this clear consciousness, and other radical feminism such as Germaine Greer and Andrea Dworkin arguing for separate lesbian states.

In conclusion, most if not all mainstream feminist thought concludes that women and men are the same culturally and human nature is 'androgynous' however, ^{or minority} difference feminists disagree with this

but are largely disregarded by other feminists which shows that there is typically a coherent belief ~~over~~ over human nature and how it is internalised.



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Examiner Comments

This response refers to a range of 'key thinkers' and focuses on the distinction between difference feminists and those feminists who see human nature as essentially androgynous. There is a clear and sustained argument throughout and it is made clear that the difference feminist position is very much a minority one. This response scored 24 marks.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Tip

Make sure that you refer to a range of 'key thinkers' in your answer. It is a requirement of the question rubric to use 'appropriate thinkers you have studied to support your answer'.

Question 5 (b)

This was the most popular question in this section. The majority of candidates referred to a range of 'key thinkers' and many distinguished between the views of liberal, socialist and radical feminists with regard to the nature of society they wish to create.

This was the most popular question in this section. The vast majority of candidates made an accurate comparison between the different strands of feminism, with appropriate reference to 'key thinkers'. Many responses were comprehensive in their scope and covered liberal, radical, socialist and difference feminism.

For the most part feminists agree that they want an equal society - feminism is originated with the fact that women are being oppressed and ever since have wanted to achieve the same, and have the same opportunities as men. This is especially clear under liberal and equality feminism, however socialist feminists have a different aim for society being communal living, to which radical feminists take this even further in calling for an end to monogamous marriage.

Liberal feminists want women to have the same opportunities as men such as career paths, currently they are held back from their full potential as there are limited job roles acceptable for women. Therefore, Liberal feminists want to break down the barriers in society which prevent women achieving their potential. The society they envisage with men and women equal in all areas, they believe can be achieved through reforms. Liberal feminist Betty Friedan argued that domesticity is meant to make women feel fulfilled but in fact traps them. Therefore, they look for a society that treats women ~~equ~~ and

men equally to stay at home, go out to work or both. There is an agreement that can be seen here with the views of Liberal and Equality feminists.

~~Some~~ Equality feminists also advocate a simply equal society as they believe biological differences between men and women are inconsequential. However, although these two strands of feminism agree, there is a major disagreement when the views of difference feminists are considered. Some difference feminists go as far as to say women are superior to men, therefore they wouldn't want a society based on equality, they want a society where girls would literally, rule the world. This wouldn't just be the removal of patriarchy but the complete reversal of it. Therefore, between certain strands of feminism there is a clear disagreement about the nature of society they want to create, this is evident of Simone de Beauvoir stating that with society how it is, however patriarchal, 'we shouldn't reject the idea of being part of a man's world'. To radical feminists, this statement considering leaving society the way it currently is, is absurd.

In contrast to liberal feminists more relaxed reforms to society, radical feminists believe society is completely riddled with strong ~~part~~ and deeply rooted patriarchal

views and oppressive gender equality. In order to transform society into one of equality a sexual revolution was required. However, they believed this was only half the job as much of women's oppression took place in private - It was in the family that stereotypical gender roles were created with ~~the~~ children observing the domestic role of their mother and dominant role of their father. Unsurprisingly, radical feminists proposed a radical solution to create what they believed to be complete equality, but it was also fundamentally change society. They proposed an end to monogamous marriage and an undoing of the traditional family - These views were strongly advocated by Kate Millet who said women would then be truly liberated as she believed it was families in society that oppressed women. Therefore, there is a fundamental difference between liberal feminists who seek to incorporate themselves into society peacefully and remain within its original structures, and radical feminists who want to completely renew the way we view society and create a whole new basis without marriage or families.

To an extent there is an agreement as socialist feminists follow similar lines to radical feminists in the ~~way~~ nature of society. They agree with radicals that

women are oppressed at home in the family. Therefore, they propose communal living, rather than families, therefore in society everyone would have equal responsibility for domesticity and women would be liberated from child caring. This requires a complete change to society as the economy and politics would have to change to the changing social system where there were no longer families to provide for and no specified gender roles for people to aim towards. Therefore, there is an ~~slight~~ agreement between radical and socialist feminists as they are completely reimagining the nature of society that they could create that they believe would bring genuine equality.

In conclusion, for the most part there is a disagreement within feminism with liberal and equality feminists advocating small reforms, and radical ~~gen~~ and social feminists such as Sheila Rowbotham believing society should be restructured based on consensus and communal living. These views are unlikely to align considering Socialist want to overthrow capitalism (and patriarchy with it) showing the extent of their disagreement.



This response refers to a range of 'key thinkers' and addresses the question. It is wide-ranging, considering difference feminism, as well as liberal, socialist and radical feminism. This response scored 24 marks.



Make sure that you focus on the question throughout your answer and that you come to a conclusion that is based on the argument you have made.

Question 6 (a)

This was one of the less popular non-core political ideas. Most candidates chose the second question in the section. There were a wide variety of responses across both questions.

This was the less popular question of the two in this section. Most candidates were able to identify key conservative criticisms of multiculturalism and to evaluate them.

While to a certain degree it does appear that in some respects, such as economic management, multiculturalist and conservative ideas could coexist, in a general sense the fundamentalist beliefs underpinning multiculturalist thought, in relation to human nature and society, can be justifiably criticised from a conservative standpoint because in this regard there are fundamental opposites.

Multiculturalist thinkers which come from a liberal standing, such as Will Kymlicka, may certainly disagree that conservative criticisms of multiculturalism are justified. Whereas thinkers like Charles Taylor saw cultural identity as an end within itself, Kymlicka perceived the concept to be a vehicle to advancing individualism, a theme very in tune

with conservative thought. Kymlicka ^{disagreed with the belief} believed that while he acknowledged the belief that identity may or may not be formed 'dialogically', underwriting the idea that humans only become complete individuals 'intersubjectively' - via routine contact with others. Kymlicka stressed the fact that cultural identity can be accessed autonomously, through literature, television and the arts. Therefore in this sense multiculturalists would not be criticised by conservatism as one of the key criticisms of multiculturalism from conservatives is that it places too much emphasis on society, whereas certainly New Right conservative thinkers such as Ayn Rand would have argued that society is 'atomistic' - a mere collection of individuals. Therefore in this sense, conservative criticism of multiculturalism is not justified.

However, here provides a key distinction between 'universalist liberalism' and multiculturalists who adhere to 'pluralist multiculturalism' (i.e. 'deep

diversity' such as Bhikhu Parekh. In his key work 'Rethinking Multiculturalism' (2002) Parekh stressed the importance of society's cooperation in preserving the ideology - which New Right conservatives would almost certainly criticise. Parekh stressed that multiculturalism would need to be a 'continuous conversation' between the various cultures in society were complementary rather than conflicting. In this sense conservative criticism of multiculturalism is certainly justified as where pluralist and liberalist multiculturalists duly stress the positive state of human nature with its potential to improve society, conservatives argue that human nature is largely negative and New Right argue that society should be atomistic.

While it can be argued that conservatism and multiculturalism draw some parallels, for example Charles Taylor's view that humans are 'communally embedded' and the findings of traditional conservatives such as

Edmund Burke who saw society as being organised in 'little platoons'. Ultimately ~~that~~ conservative criticisms can be justified regarding human nature as the opposite ideologies mean that the very innate nature of society is different for the ideologies & standpoints: conservatives believe society is fragile as the people within it are driven by relentless self-interest whereas multiculturalists believe that society is built on comradery and fraternity.

Moreover, the views of Charles Taylor and Isaiah Berlin that capitalism may have to be moderated and of Bhikhu Parekh and Tariq Modood that capitalism may be checked by multiculturalism would spark a great deal of criticism in the sense that certainly New Right conservatives believe fundamentally in a deregulated, free-market economy which only Bill Kymlicka champions from the multiculturalist side of the debate.

In conclusion, I believe that conservative criticisms of multiculturalism can be justified as they fundamentally conflict, with some key exceptions, in the realms of human nature and society, as well as the economy.

* Furthermore, while some conservatives may approve of cosmopolitan multiculturalism, this is disagreed with by pluralist multiculturalists such as Bhiku Parekh who regard the ideology as 'pluralist monoculturalism' because it reduces cultural identity to something of commercial value. Therefore conservative criticisms of multiculturalism are firmly rooted in logic.



This response refers to a range of 'key thinkers' and addresses the question. It covers both the New Right and more traditional conservative views which is a more unusual approach. This response scored 22 marks.



Make sure that you focus on the question and that you sustain an argument throughout your answer. This should lead to a clear evaluative judgement which is based on the arguments you have made.

Question 6 (b)

This was the more popular question in this section. Most candidates referred to a number of 'key thinkers' in their answers and were able to focus specifically on the role of the state.

Multiculturalists have faced varying internal disagreements over the role of the state, in which ~~it has to~~ the state has different roles of intervention to enable the development of ~~that~~ a multicultural society, and social cohesion.

Liberal Multiculturalists have indicated significantly that the role of the state is to enable equality and equality of minorities in society, to integrate them into the majoritarian Liberal society. This would enable the extension of formal and fundamental equalities to minorities, which provides unity of society and social cohesion of society through citizenship. These shared equalities and rights enable the integration of minorities in the shared Liberal values of society, upheld under Liberals' belief of Liberal Universalism and a shared 'inner identity'. ~~That~~ Through this the state can enable the development of a multicultural Liberal society, where values are expressed in the 'private sphere' of society while maintaining social equality throughout society under the united values of civic consciousness and

patriotic loyalty. This In this way the state is able to achieve peace and integration in a liberal society. However, this political 'Policy of Rights' enabled by a liberal state is significantly limited by some liberals, whose belief in the dominance of liberal values are either weak or the values of shallow diversity enhances the adversely interventionist role of the state. ^{or} Liberals' tolerance of minority values would only extend up to Mill's Harm Principle, with the state requiring cultural intervention to protect prevent equality of cultural expression in favour of the dominant culture. This has been seen through the ban of Female Genital Mutilation and the Veil in France where the multicultural values conflict with liberal values or universal values, enabling state intervention to protect the values of the dominant culture. This highlights the different extents to which liberal multiculturalists are divided over the role of the state, between creating equality and integration or protecting the values of a liberal society.

Pluralist Multiculturalists have diverged significantly from liberals over the role of the state, largely agreeing that the state should provide active promotion of minority cultural values in society through. This would be achieved through a focus on Policies of

Recognition are Liberals' Politics of Rights and acknowledgment of Benin's Value Pluralism, where all values are equally valid in a post-Liberal society. ~~The~~ This state intervention is enhanced through the extension of minority rights, undermining Liberal and Communitas equality, with Kymlicka arguing for self-government, Polyethnic, and ~~the~~ Representation rights to enhance the notion of 'belonging' felt by minorities and increase the health and cohesion of a multicultural society. Indeed, Charles Taylor agreed that these were vital as without recognition, minorities would develop a 'crippling self-hatred' that breeds extremism. In this way the ~~role~~ role of the state is to enable greater recognition of deep diversity in society and the expression of pluralist values to encourage social cohesion. However this is arguably undermined by the development of Particularist Multiculturalism which argued that the state's role is to enable greater purity of cultures through the development of plural monocultural societies (see Pluralist's ~~notion~~ organic nation of nation). This was a defence of cultural values and integrity against Western oppression, suggesting that the role of the state was to protect ~~the~~ the threatened cultural values of a minority group against the increasing integration and presence of Western cultures of imperialism. However, ~~the~~ This was,

however, criticised by Amartya Sen and Modood for undermining the health of society and breeding greater ethnic and social conflict, are peace and cohesion enabled by the state.

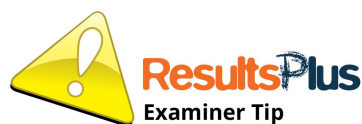
Cosmopolitan multiculturalists diverged from Pluralists as the role of the state, facing greater similarities with Liberal Multiculturalists in a ~~few~~ limited paradigm of deep cultural differences and extended equality rights. However, Cosmopolitans agreed that the role of the state was to enable greater cultural or global cultural integration which would result in cultural mixing and the creation of a global culture. This one-world approach would create 'citizens of the world' with states ~~to~~ the state reducing the partitions of national borders to create ~~global~~ a global melting pot and individual cultural hybridity nationally.

Parekh supported the mixing of cultures and on the grounds that it would improve human nature, and as such the state should encourage immigration and limit the maintenance of national divisions between culturally distinct nations. This significantly diverges from Liberal and Pluralist national state multicultural strategies to enable a deeply different perception of the role of the state.

In conclusion, the role of the state is within the multiculturalism is deeply divided between the three strands of multiculturalism. Each strand supports extensive differences over the state's role in integration, extension of equality, and cultural mixing. Liberals and Cosmopolitans significantly agree on equality to enable integration, but disagree on cultural mixing, while Liberals and Pluralists have some agreement on cultural mixing in society. Pluralists and Cosmopolitans disagree significantly, although both have limited agreements on the promotion of culture different cultures.



This response refers to a range of 'key thinkers' and addresses the question. It starts off with liberal approaches and then contrasts shallow and deep diversity. It goes on to distinguish the cosmopolitan approach. It scored 22 marks.



Make sure that you refer to 'key thinkers' in your answer. It is a requirement of the question rubric to use 'appropriate thinkers you have studied to support your answer'.

Question 7 (a)

Both questions in this section were equally popular. Most candidates referred accurately to 'key thinkers' and addressed the question. The vast majority of responses were comprehensive in scope.

Nationalism, being what Anthony Smith termed a 'chameleon ideology', has a great number of conflicting schools of thought with regard to the level of progress or otherwise in society. In nationalism, ^{being} regressive ~~is~~ refers to how society looks towards social progress, ~~or to~~ and to ways in which it looks backward. This can vary a lot, from liberal nationalism, to more conservative nationalism.

Liberal nationalism is more progressive than regressive. Considering views of the 'general will', as suggested by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, as being key to inclusion in society, it can be seen to ^{be} more open and progressive. It is a form of civic nationalism, which places focus on ^{shared} values, but variances of culture being able to exist inside the one society. In that sense it can be seen to view society as something open and capable of being advanced. Liberal nationalists view the nation-state, being a concept open to all nations, as the only ~~legitimate~~ legitimate unit of government. However, in a manner that further shows it to

be a progressive strand, liberal nationalists also recognize the importance of international bodies, such as the United Nations or the European Union to promote dialogue, trade and unity between nations. Indeed, a founding aim of the EU was to prevent war between France and Germany. One can see, therefore, the progressive nature of ~~not~~ liberal nationalism.

Anti- and post-colonial nationalism falls into more of a grey area with regard to regressiveness and progress. It can take quite open, progressive forms, such as Mahatma Gandhi's peaceful methods of pushing for Indian independence. Gandhi sought to promote the shared experience of British colonial repression to create a shared Indian identity and the hope of a more positive future. In other forms, post-colonial nationalism can be more unclear. In many African countries, this manifested itself in a turn to 'African socialism'. For example, Julius Nyerere, as leader of Tanzania, pushed for a collective 'national identity, rejecting tribal allegiances - this could be seen as a fairly progressive view, but his means of doing so, including nationalization of industry, could be argued to be more authoritarian and regressive. Therefore, the variance present in this strand of nationalism make it harder to judge.

Conservative nationalism is more clearly regressive. It

relies more upon shared experience of a nation and more strict acceptance of its values for someone to become a part of it. This links to Johann Gottfried or Gottfried von Herder's view of the 'volksgeist', with each nation having a unique cultural spirit, and with each being of equal value. This links its conservative nationalism, therefore, to the idea of culturalism. This focus on shared culture makes it more regressive. This idea can be seen with the 'cricket test' suggested by Norman Tebbit in the 1980s. He argued that a good test of whether many South Asian immigrants could be considered fully part of society and the nation is whether they cheered for the English cricket team or that of their country of origin. One can see, therefore, the more emotional and restrictive view of the nation in conservative nationalism to be quite regressive.

Expansionist and chauvinistic forms of nationalism take this to the extreme. The emotional aspect goes so far as to place the interests of the state/nation over those of the individual, in what can be termed "integralism". This view, espoused by such figures as Charles Maurras, views society as a collective, rejecting individualism as detrimental to a nation's interests. These strands are more explicitly emotional, and often divides society into 'us' and 'them'.

and 'them' groups, often along racial lines, seeking a society perceived as better when ~~it~~ the nation was more culturally 'pure'. Such nationalists reject the idea of nation-statehood for all nations, reserving it only to those nations strong enough to hold it. Combined with the view of other nations as an economic threat, and the desire for autarky, or complete economic self-sufficiency, this feeds into the ^{need for} idea of expansion and colonialism. In a* less extreme form this can be seen in the 'scramble for Africa' of the 1890s by a European powers such as Britain, France and Belgium. In a more extreme form, the aggressive expansion of Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan in the Second World War can also be linked to this strand. Overall, with its aggressive, exclusive and often racial aspects, this is a very regressive form of nationalism.

In conclusion, though mixed, nationalism is rather more regressive than not. Conservative and chauvinist forms take similar views to rather different extents, while anti- and post-colonial forms can be quite mixed in terms of ~~the~~ the level of regression. Liberal nationalism, though more openly and clearly progressive is only one strand of nationalism. On the whole, therefore, the balance tips towards nationalism being a more regressive ideology.

* somewhat



This response is wide-ranging. It covers liberal, conservative, anti-colonial, expansionist and chauvinist nationalism. The candidate refers to a range of 'key thinkers' and addresses the question throughout. This response scored 24 marks.



Make sure that you use 'appropriate thinkers you have studied to support your answer'. This is a requirement of the question rubric.

Question 7 (b)

This was a popular question in this section. Many candidates took a more internationalist approach to answering the question, while others focused mainly on internal unity and division. The vast majority of candidates were able to accurately refer to 'key thinkers' in their answers.

This response is wide-ranging. The main focus is on international unity and divisions, although it also considers internal divisions. The response covers liberal, expansionist and anti-colonial nationalism in detail. The candidate also refers to a range of 'key thinkers' and sustains an argument throughout before reaching a conclusion. This response scored 24 marks.

It can be argued to some extent that nationalism can unite nations from the liberal perspective which encourages interdependence and co-operation between nation-states, thus uniting nations through mutual gain. ~~On the other hand~~ Moreover, conservative nationalist nationalism may also be seen as promoting unity rather than division through sharing traditional customs and values. However, expansionist nationalism may be perceived to divide rather than unite to the greatest extent as it commonly results in imperial nationalism and ~~also~~ believes some nations to be naturally superior. As well as that anti/post colonial nationalism can also be viewed to cause divisions as it separates those who have exploited from those who exploit and ~~encourages~~ encourages ~~the minority to overtake~~ the weak majority to overtake the powerful minority. On balance, nationalism can be viewed ~~as~~ to cause divisions to a greater extent than it does unity as it essentially ~~divides each~~ reduces each state to its own independent nation-state.

~~On~~ On one hand, liberal nationalism can be seen to unite rather than divide societies ^{to some extent} as it encourages each nation-state to its right to self-determination through co-operation. Liberal internationalism believes that nation-states will naturally seek to co-operate with other nation states economically, educationally or socially in order to benefit themselves. This will create a complex ~~text~~ web of interdependence between nation states ~~thus~~ thus reducing the likelihood of conflict and uniting societies rather than dividing. This would be agreed with by thinkers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau who believed that every nation has the right to self-determination. He also believed that all states are made equal and that the state should operate according to the general will of the people - what the people collectively want. Thus the state should enforce the general will of the people rather than direct them. Thus therefore, as liberal nationalist believe in a world where individual ~~nation states~~ nation-states seek to co-operate they unite rather than divide societies.

On the other hand, ~~the~~ expansionist nationalism can be seen as ~~one~~ one of the most irrational forms of nationalism which seeks to divide to the greatest extent. Von Herder is commonly associated with culturalism as he illustrates his view of nationalism through the concept of 'volkgeist'.

folk spirit. He believes that every nation has their own deeply rooted traditions, cultures, religion, language etc. which unites the people together. Expansionist nationalists may use this to justify imperialism as they argue some nations have a superior 'volkgeist' to other nations and are therefore more important. This therefore divides societies into the inferior and superior societies. However, Von Herder himself rejects this view as he believes each country has their own 'volkgeist' but each 'volkgeist' is equal to another. Expansionist nationalist however may use racialism to encourage divisions within society as they believe ~~are~~ are each race has their own unique biological make-up with their own characteristics and abilities. Thus, believes some races have better characteristics and abilities than others and are therefore superior. This was seen in the case of Nazi Germany with Hitler's reign. Hitler believed the Aryans to be superior to Jews and others who had opposing biological make-ups. This in turn led to ~~World War~~ the Holocaust which created major divisions within society between the Aryans and the Jews, gypsies and black people who were considered inferior. Therefore nationalism to a much greater extent can be seen to ~~create~~ divide societies rather than unite.

Moreover, post anti/post colonial nationalism can be seen to further the idea that nationalism divides

rather than unite society. ~~This can be seen with the~~
~~through thinkers such as Marcus Garvey who believed~~
~~that black people were exploited and should come to~~
~~get~~ On one hand, thinkers such as Marcus Garvey can
can be seen to unite societies as he ~~pose~~ poses the
idea of pan-africanism - black people are one no
matter where they are in the world. On the other hand,
he believes that black people should come together to ~~be~~
create their own nation, his aim was for ~~an~~ the
'creation of the ~~the~~ United State of Africa ^{encouraging separatism}
separating black people from the others! Therefore,
~~rather~~ nationalism again can be seen ~~as~~ to
encourage divisions rather than unite societies.

In conclusion, although liberal nationalism can be seen to
unite societies to some extent through co-operation and
interdependence, it can also be argued to divide as it's
ideal world is one of which there are individual nation-states
as well as that, anti/post colonial nationalism and
expansionist nationalism ~~can~~ can be seen to cause
separation in society through the idea that some
nations ~~are~~ nations can be seen as superior and by
~~encourage~~ encouraging separatism. Thus, overall, nationalism
can be viewed to divide to a greater & extent than
it unites.



Make sure that you focus on the question and sustain an argument. Your conclusion should follow from the arguments you have made earlier in your answer.

Paper Summary

Based on their performance on this paper, candidates are offered the following advice:

- Make sure that you address the **specific** question asked.
- Refer to relevant points from the source when answering question 1.
- Provide relevant synoptic points when answering question 2.
- Refer accurately to two or more 'key thinkers' when answering the question on non-core political ideas.
- Make judgements and come to a firm conclusion. This should be based on the arguments and evidence provided in your answer.
- Ensure that you leave sufficient time to answer all of the questions fully.

Grade Boundaries

Grade boundaries for this, and all other papers, can be found on the website on this link:

<http://www.edexcel.com/iwantto/Pages/grade-boundaries.aspx>

