

**MARK SCHEME for the May/June 2012 question paper
for the guidance of teachers**

9770 COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

9770/03

Paper 3 (Ideologies and Philosophies),
maximum raw mark 100

This mark scheme is published as an aid to teachers and candidates, to indicate the requirements of the examination. It shows the basis on which Examiners were instructed to award marks. It does not indicate the details of the discussions that took place at an Examiners' meeting before marking began, which would have considered the acceptability of alternative answers.

Mark schemes must be read in conjunction with the question papers and the report on the examination.

- Cambridge will not enter into discussions or correspondence in connection with these mark schemes.

Cambridge is publishing the mark schemes for the May/June 2012 question papers for most IGCSE, Pre-U, GCE Advanced Level and Advanced Subsidiary Level syllabuses and some Ordinary Level syllabuses.

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Generic marking descriptors for sub-Q (a) [short essays]

- The full range of marks will be used as a matter of course.
- Examiners will look for the 'best fit', not a 'perfect fit' in applying the Levels.
- Examiners will provisionally award the middle mark in the Level and then moderate up/down according to individual qualities within the answer.
- The ratio of marks per AO will be 1:1.
- The weighting of marks for each AO should be considered, but this is reflected in the descriptor: marking should therefore be done holistically.
- Question-specific mark schemes will be neither exhaustive nor prescriptive. Appropriate, substantiated responses will always be rewarded.

Level/marks	Descriptors
<p style="text-align: center;">3</p> <p>15–10 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS MAY NOT BE PERFECT, BUT WILL SHOW EXCELLENT UNDERSTANDING OF THE TEXT AND RELATE IT STRONGLY TO THE QUESTION.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Excellently focused response that brings out the similarities and differences in the extracts in a sustained, point-by-point comparison that understands the views being expressed, relates parts to the whole seamlessly and answers the question convincingly. • At the top end, uses examples from beyond the two texts under discussion to amplify the explanation/provide context. • Towards the bottom, may be a little unbalanced in coverage yet the answer is still comprehensively argued. • Excellent understanding of relevant political knowledge (processes, concepts, debates and/or theories). • Candidate is always in firm control of the material.
<p style="text-align: center;">2</p> <p>9–5 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW REASONABLE UNDERSTANDING OF THE TEXT, OR RELATE A SOUND UNDERSTANDING LESS STRONGLY TO THE QUESTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explanation that makes a solid attempt to respond to the question, identifying some of the substance of the comparison but does not make the comparison explicit (listing rather than juxtaposing points) and/or shows a limited understanding of the views. • No further examples and/or context are provided. • Limited understanding of relevant political knowledge, illustrated with limited examples from the text under discussion. • Unevenness in the coverage of material.
<p style="text-align: center;">1</p> <p>4–0 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW LITTLE UNDERSTANDING OF THE TEXT AND LITTLE ATTEMPT TO RELATE TO THE QUESTION.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Only the most basic comparison between the passages and the most basic understanding of the similarities/differences. There is little or no engagement with the question. • Little if any engagement with the material. The answer may paraphrase the passages and/or compare the factual material in them rather than the views that they offer. • Little or no awareness of relevant political knowledge, with no sign of understanding.

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Generic marking descriptors for sub-Q (b) [full essays]

- The full range of marks will be used as a matter of course.
- Examiners will look for the 'best fit', not a 'perfect fit' in applying the Levels.
- Examiners will provisionally award the middle mark in the Level and then moderate up/down according to individual qualities within the answer.
- The ratio of marks per AO will be 1:3.
- The weighting of marks for each AO should be considered, but this is reflected in the descriptor: marking should therefore be done holistically.
- Question-specific mark schemes will be neither exhaustive nor prescriptive. Appropriate, substantiated responses will always be rewarded.
- NB Answers are required to make critical use of political ideas and texts studied during the course. Responses which fail to enter into critical discussion of ideas and texts are very unlikely to attain a mark above Level 1.
- Evaluation refers to the argued weighing up/assessment of factors in relation to their significance in explaining a issue or in explaining linkages between different factors.

Level/marks	Descriptors
5 35–29 marks	<p>ANSWERS MAY NOT BE PERFECT, BUT WILL SHOW SOPHISTICATED UNDERSTANDING OF THE QUESTION AND DRAW COMPREHENSIVELY FROM THE IDEAS AND TEXTS STUDIED IN THEIR RESPONSES.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Excellent focused critical analysis and full evaluation of ideas and texts that answers the question convincingly. • Excellent sustained argument throughout with an excellent sense of direction that is strongly substantiated by an excellent range of supported examples. Excellent substantiated conclusions. • Excellent understanding of relevant political knowledge (processes, concepts, debates and/or theories). • Towards the bottom, may be a little unbalanced in coverage yet the answer is still comprehensively argued. • Candidate is always in firm control of the material.
4 28–22 marks	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW MANY FEATURES OF LEVEL 5, BUT THE QUALITY WILL BE UNEVEN ACROSS THE ANSWER.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A determined response to the question with clear critical analysis and evaluation of ideas and texts across most but not all of the answer. • Argument is strong and sustained, showing clear awareness/understanding, but parts are underdeveloped and/or the range of substantiating evidence is not even across the answer. Strong conclusions adequately substantiated. Description is avoided. • Good understanding of relevant political knowledge.
3 21–15 marks	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A SOUND UNDERSTANDING OF THE QUESTION AND DRAW FROM THE TEXTS STUDIED IN THEIR RESPONSES.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engages with the question although analysis and evaluation of ideas and texts is patchy and, at the lower end, of limited quality. • Tries to argue and draw conclusions, but not well sustained and supporting evidence is patchy. There may be significant sections of description. • Reasonable understanding of relevant political knowledge.

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<p>2</p> <p>14–8 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A LIMITED UNDERSTANDING OF THE QUESTION AND A LIMITED USE OF/REFERENCE TO TEXTS STUDIED.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some engagement with the question, but analysis and evaluation of ideas and texts are limited/thin. • Limited argument within an essentially descriptive response. Irrelevance may characterise parts of the answer. Conclusions are limited/thin. • Understanding of relevant political knowledge is limited and/or uneven.
<p>1</p> <p>7–0 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW LITTLE UNDERSTANDING OF THE TEXT AND LITTLE ATTEMPT TO RESPOND TO THE QUESTION.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or no engagement with the question. Little or no analysis or evaluation of ideas and texts. • Little or no argument. Assertions are unsupported and/or of limited relevance. Any conclusions are very weak. • Little or no relevant political knowledge.

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1 Liberalism and the Individual

(a) Compare the views expressed about liberty expressed in the passages. [15]

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected, but the question asks candidates to compare and answers in Levels 2 and 3 need to show evidence of genuine comparison of the similarities and differences between the two passages. Answers might use matters of provenance, date and context to aid their comparison. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the comparison. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

In Passage A, Berlin puts forward the negative view of liberty and candidates should contrast this with the positive view which is put forward in Passage B. Passage A sees liberty in terms of the absence of restraint, while in Passage B he rejects the classical view of Mill and others that society is made up only of self-interested individuals. Berlin saw society as 'organic' and citizens as interdependent as well as independent. Passage B suggests that citizens are not merely motivated by self-interest but also a desire to promote the common good. Some might take this further and suggest that individuals achieve fulfilment not merely by pursuing their own happiness, but by pursuing social goals such as the welfare of others. It might also be suggested that Passage B suggests in positive liberty there should be the widest possible degree of choice and opportunity for everyone. Some arguments might develop ideas put forward in Passage A and suggest that this represents the view of Mill of 'true' freedom which was based on the absence of constraint. Much of Passage A concentrates on the idea of the absence of unwarranted constraints and some might note that it does not develop the idea of self-interested freedom that was also part of Mill's philosophy.

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(b) Assess the reasons why liberals support constitutionalism and consent. [35]

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No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What is important is the quality of the critical analysis and degree of evaluation. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question. Further, they are required to refer to specific theorists to support their answer. Any answer that fails to do so cannot be given a mark above level 3.

Specific

Candidates might consider a number of reasons and it is not expected that they will consider them all. What matters is the quality of analysis. The two ideas follow from the idea of liberty and legitimacy. As people were free, Locke argued that they would have to consent to government if it was to have legitimacy. He built on Hobbes' views and argued that consent was constantly renewed as long as future generations did not dissolve a government. This idea has been developed and liberals argue that consent must be a more continuous process and therefore the people need to be given regular opportunities to express or withhold it. This is closely linked to the liberal ideas on freedom as elections must be free and regular; there must be the free expression of public opinion. Liberals therefore believe that governments can only be considered legitimate if people have freely given their consent.

However, candidates may link this to the idea of constitutionalism as they believe that simply establishing a government by consent is not enough. Linked to the idea of liberty is the belief that governments must act within certain boundaries. This means that the government needs to be limited so that it cannot encroach upon the freedom and private lives of the citizens. This could be linked to liberal views on power, which is seen as dangerous and in need of control. There needs to be a constitution so that arbitrary power is prevented and to ensure that power is not concentrated in the hands of a few and to prevent the democratic system simply becoming the tyranny of the majority, where legitimate minorities are ignored. This may lead to a consideration of the Separation of Powers or the concept of federalism and some answers might make mention of writers such as Montesquieu, Waluchaw, Hamilton, Dicey or Buchanan. A constitution can prevent all of these from happening as it will ensure that governments are subject to its terms, the constitution being sovereign. A constitution will prevent the growth of state power and limit the jurisdiction of government and therefore protect individual freedom as citizens' rights will be protected. A constitution will ensure arrangements for its own amendment and ensure that it is the citizens who control the process (to prevent the government from gaining too much power without popular assent). This system is supported because it will reconcile effective government with the rights and freedoms of individuals and of intermediate groups.

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2 Conservatism and the Nation

- (a) Compare the views on ideology and its role within Conservative thought expressed in the passages. [15]

General

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Specific

The Passages offer two fairly similar views about the role of and need for ideology within the Conservative party and conservative thought. This is an issue with which candidates should be familiar as a key issue is the extent to which Conservatism is an ideology. Both passages express a view about the typical Conservative political state of mind. However, they do offer slightly different reasons as to why Conservatism should be sceptical of ideology and these points can be compared. Passage A focuses on the idea that Conservatives are sceptical of most fixed political principles and this could be developed to suggest that this would make them sceptical of ideologies. Candidates could then link this to Passage B which considers the flexible nature of conservatism. Some might refer to this as empiricism and this can gain credit, this means that they judge current actions against the experience of the past. This would mean that they would be willing to modify their views in light of past developments. Ideological change is usually radical in nature and excessive attachment to ideology can also lead to tyranny, which may be used to explain Passage B's opposition to ideology. Ideology is also based on a fixed view of human nature, yet candidates could argue that Conservatives see human nature as fickle and changeable and therefore, as Passage A argues, if there were no fixed beliefs, Conservatism would not be needed, but it is needed because the assumptions about human nature are wrong. This also links to Passage B as Conservatives see all political principles as flawed and, therefore, the adaptability of Conservatism is its strength.

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(b) How important is the role of tradition in Conservative ideology?

[35]

General

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Specific

The question requires candidates to weigh up the importance of tradition against other components of Conservative ideology. Answers cannot simply suggest that tradition is not important and then consider other features, they must write at least a good paragraph on the named factor even if they argue that it is not as important as other issues. There are a wide range of issues that candidates can consider and examiners should not expect all components to be considered; what matters is the quality of the analysis.

In considering tradition, they may link this to their desire for public order. Tradition may also be seen in a wide context, candidates might consider it to mean traditional institutions such as the monarchy, church and the political constitution or they might define it in terms of values and consider family, religion and morality. In considering these ideas, there may be mention of Burke and candidates might refer back to his writing on the French Revolution where he criticised the French for abandoning traditional forms of authority. They might argue that the very fact the values and institutions have survived shows their importance. Candidates might also argue that tradition brings some of the best aspects of the past to contemporary society. They might argue that traditions are important as they have provided stability and order and that these are also important elements of conservative ideology. However, some answers might balance this approach by suggesting that tradition has been largely ignored by the modern UK Conservative Party, particularly since the 1980s. They could point to many of the new elements that Conservatism has embraced, such as monetarism, whilst it has attacked some traditional institutions such as the civil service. But if candidates use examples from abroad, such as France or the USA, they might argue that conservatism still embraces such values.

There are a wide range of other issues that candidates might consider and this could include human nature, order, inequality, pragmatism, individualism and property. They might suggest that human nature is the most fundamental value and forms the core of conservative belief. It could be argued that their view that man is flawed is crucial as it links to the need for order to be provided by the government. Conservatives see man as untrustworthy, self-seeking and feckless - which again links to the need for order and firm government. This could be linked to individualism as Conservatives believe that humans are not driven by reason and again are in need of order. It might be suggested that human desire to be free had implications for the type of government people desire and this was reflected in the philosophy of Margaret Thatcher. In considering the importance of order, it has been suggested that links can be made to human nature and candidates might make mention of the works of Hobbes and Burke. This might also be linked to individualism as the need for order meant conservatives have tended to favour the community's need for security over individual rights. Conservatives

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have emphasised their belief in natural inequality, but their views about a hierarchical society have been abandoned over recent years and therefore it could be argued that it has played a less important role. Pragmatism, it might be argued has played an increasing role in conservative thought and there might be reference to Oakeshott who argued for a pragmatic or flexible approach to politics. Individualism might be linked to the idea of order and stability as conservatives believe that it can best flourish in such circumstances. Some might argue that this is more closely associated with liberalism and this is a valid view, although conservatives stress the difference between public and private or individual sphere. Conservative parties have traditionally been strong upholders of property rights, particularly against issues such as nationalisation but, with the decline of socialism, attachment to property rights is less a preserve of Conservatism and has become part of the consensus.

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3 Socialism and the Common Good

(a) Compare the views about equality expressed in the passages. [15]

General

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Specific

Equality is a key issue in socialist thought and candidates should be able to see how the two extracts represent two different traditions and developments. Socialists have always seen the creation of equal rights and equality of opportunity as central. Candidates might also suggest that there are different types of equality, such as equal rights, opportunity, equality of outcome, absolute equality and equality of welfare. In Passage A, Marx is arguing for absolute economic equality, with minimal inequalities to create incentives. This outlook is more extreme than equality of outcome as it suggests that all individuals will receive the same rewards as long as they make a contribution to the best of their abilities. Underlying this, there is an assumption that everyone will make a broadly equal contribution. Some may comment that the passage is too utopian to be realistic. However, in Passage B the focus is on equality of opportunity and attempts to reconcile infringements on liberty with equality. Rawls argues (Passage B) that inequality is acceptable if it benefits large sections of society and does not make the poor any poorer. Candidates might develop this further and note that this tradition is the basis of liberal social democracy. They might suggest that in this instance inequality is seen as inevitable, although they accept that there must be a minimum standard of living for all, but there also need to be incentives if society is to prosper and that most thinkers have dismissed Passage A, arguing that there will need to be some competition for scarce resources.

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(b) How far have socialists disagreed about the role of the state?

[35]

General

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Specific

The issue of the appropriate role of the state in a socialist society has divided socialists. Marxists' ultimate goal is the disappearance of the state, whilst hard-line state socialists see the centralised state as the ultimate vehicle for all socialist ideals and objectives. Between these two extremes are to be found a wide variety of attitudes. Marxists argue that the state is an expression of class rule and want to establish a socialist state that will re-educate the people and ultimately lead to a classless society where the state is not needed. In simple terms, the socialist state would kill off the need for a state. However, utopian socialists did not see the state as a means of establishing socialism as they wanted small-scale cooperative communities to promote socialist values, and in a similar vein to Marxists this would also render the state unnecessary. However, writers such as Owen did still see that the state had a role to play in areas such as defence and security. State socialists argued that the state had a crucial role to play in achieving socialist ends. For writers such as Saint Simon, the state would control capitalism so that it created more equality and advanced to the benefit of all.

This could be contrasted with Blanqui who wanted the state to have complete control over the means of production and distribution. In order to achieve social solidarity and economic equality he argued that the state had to become the sole vehicle of common ownership of the means of production. These examples could be used to show that even within the same strand of socialism there are divisions. The Fabians also assigned the state a crucial role but, unlike hard-line state socialists, they argued that it had to be democratic. They also gave local government a key role in establishing socialism. In a similar way, democratic socialists argued for democracy, but they did not offer a clear view on the role of the state. They argued that the state had a role, but that the private sector could co-exist. The state would run a welfare system and tax would be used to redistribute income. They wanted major and strategic industries under state control so that they served the community, but they were willing for consumer industries to be left to the free market. They also support state planning so that economic development is carried out in the interests of the community.

This can be contrasted with social democracy in which virtually all industry is under private control. Most of the centre-left now agrees that individualism should flourish and that excessive state power would threaten it. In practice, this acceptance has been seen in Britain. However, this does not mean that the role of the state has disappeared and it could be argued that instead of being the provider it is now seen as the regulator which ensures that the public interest is served. They have also accepted lower levels of taxation and therefore the idea of the state redistributing wealth has largely disappeared, although the

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state still protects the most vulnerable. Most importantly for social democrats, the state is seen as the guarantor of equality of opportunity.

4 Democracy and its Critics

(a) Compare the views about democracy expressed in the passages. [15]

General

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Specific

In Passage A, Hitler puts forward the view that the majority are not necessarily right. Candidates might link this to the view of Rousseau who simply saw democracy as an arithmetical expression of the most dominant self-interests. Candidates might suggest that fascists are more concerned about the will of all, which may not be recognised by individuals, other than the fascist leader. The passage attempts to justify the rule of one man of wisdom who claims to understand the needs of the people, arguing that this leader's moral strength and fortitude are better than a weak mass. However, Passage B (Huber) does try to suggest that fascist rulers can have some claim to be considered democratic as the leader will embrace the collective will and again this might be linked back to Rousseau. The passage does argue that the leader serves the people and is not simply a dictator ruling in his own interests. In Passage B, Huber points to the leader who serves the people and some may be able to compare this with democratic leaders who see themselves as servants of the people. However, it might be noted that Passage B argues that the leader serves the collective will of the people, not individuals or groups. This might then be linked back to Passage A and Hitler and the issue of who knows what the collective will of the people is. Candidates might go on and briefly consider how the leader emerges, but this is not essential.

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(b) How far is nationalism anti-democratic?

[35]

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Specific

Candidates might suggest that nationalist attitudes to democracy have changed over time and vary from political movement to political movement. Nationalism has been associated with a number of political movements and its attitude towards democracy varies from fascism to liberalism, to conservatism. Some might suggest that in its original form that as the national spirit of common identity developed it was associated with the need for government by consent and was therefore far from being anti-democratic, but this might be contrasted with later developments, particularly during the 1930s. However, other answers might consider the different types of nationalism, for example liberal nationalism, conservative nationalism, right-wing nationalism, cultural nationalism, post-colonial nationalism, socialist nationalism and racialism and consider whether these are anti-democratic. They might argue that liberal nationalism by its very association with liberalism is democratic, although the scope of that democracy would vary with time; recent examples such as Scottish or Czech nationalism could be used to show its links with democracy. It might be argued that Conservative nationalism has both democratic and anti-democratic tendencies. They might suggest it was more concerned with the development of the nation and over time this became more radical and associated with fascism.

Right-wing nationalism is likely to be linked with anti-democratic tendencies and examples of fascist rule may be mentioned, and also links with expansionism and xenophobia, which encourage anti-democratic tendencies. Candidates may mention the National Front in countries such as France, South Africa, Austria or the Netherlands. Cultural nationalism offers the opportunity for debate; the type of non-violent cultural nationalism found in Wales might be contrasted with the ideas of Fichte and the pursuit of a historical destiny which ultimately provided justification for conquest and expansion. This idea could be linked back to right-wing nationalism and the rights of 'superior peoples'.

As with cultural nationalism, post-colonial nationalism also offers evidence for and against the proposition; much is anti-democratic or results in the establishment of one-party states. The need to create unity has resulted in countries becoming highly authoritarian. It could be argued that were newly-independent states to be democratic there would be a danger of it falling apart under internal conflict. This could be supported by reference to countries such as Uganda, Sudan and Ethiopia. However, where new nations have been anti-democratic, they have been able to survive, as is shown clearly in Tanzania where Nyerere abandoned his democratic instincts. There could also be mention of Cuba where a one-party state was established, although this could also be linked to socialist nationalism which does not display democratic tendencies as one-party, highly centralised states are established, even if people have a vote. Racialism also implies a lack of democracy as it usually results in racial

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exclusivity and a sense of superiority, even if some racial movements argue that racial units should be treated as equal.

5 Current Ideological Debates

- (a) Compare the views about why the state should be abolished expressed in the passages. [15]

General

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Specific

Anarchists have all agreed that the state should be abolished, but in criticising the state they have put forward different reasons for their views and the two passages offer two contrasting views which candidates should be able to identify. They should be able to comment on the view that both passages want to see the state abolished, but for different reasons.

Passage A (Malatesta) focuses on the idea that the state is oppressive and removes freedom. Malatesta argues that the state represents the few who seek to oppress the masses. At different times there were different oppressors, be it the aristocracy or the forces of capitalism (in the 1890s it would be seen as the latter). They exploit the workers and the passage considers those who are the instruments of the oppression. However, in Passage B the focus is on the loss of liberty and it argues that this prevents humankind from developing. Passage B places emphasis on the liberty of the individual and some might suggest that Rothbard believes that all services required can be provided by private enterprise and that therefore there is no need for the state. Some candidates might be aware that he offers an anarcho-capitalist or even an extreme libertarian view. It sees freedom being removed at every opportunity through laws and controls that are both artificial and deny the basic principle of individual liberty.

Some answers might note that there are other reasons in anarchist thought for the abolition of the state and if there is a brief mention of these they can be credited, but there is no expectation that answers should consider the state as unnatural or corrupting.

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- (b) To what extent is feminism no more than a collection of doctrines and beliefs about issues faced by women? [35]

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What is important is the quality of the critical analysis and degree of evaluation. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question. Further, they are required to refer to specific theorists to support their answer. Any answer that fails to do so cannot be given a mark above level 3.

Specific

The question raises the suggestion that feminism is not a coherent ideology but, rather, a fragmented movement with a wide range of beliefs and attitudes. Some answers might suggest that the approach depends upon which type of feminism is under consideration and that within liberal or radical feminism there is much greater coherence of ideas than the question suggests. However, others may argue that the wide variety of types of feminism is a clear indicator of the loose collection of ideas. It might be suggested that liberal feminists do have a coherent set of ideas in relation to discrimination and legal rights. Answers might also suggest that there is coherence in feminist attitudes towards a division between public and private life. Some may suggest that a similar coherence can be seen in radical feminism, although this may be harder to sustain as it is more fragmented.

In support of the coherence of the movement, candidates might consider attitudes towards patriarchy, gender differences and the need for radical change. Some might approach the question from a different angle and consider the core values that are associated with feminism, which might lead to a discussion of issues such as patriarchy, otherness, gender, equality and liberation.