



ASSESSMENT and  
QUALIFICATIONS  
ALLIANCE

**General Certificate of Education**

**Government and Politics**  
**5151/6151**

**GOV7**      **Ideas in Contemporary British**  
**Politics**

**Mark Scheme**

*2008 examination – June series*

Mark schemes are prepared by the Principal Examiner and considered, together with the relevant questions, by a panel of subject teachers. This mark scheme includes any amendments made at the standardisation meeting attended by all examiners and is the scheme which was used by them in this examination. The standardisation meeting ensures that the mark scheme covers the candidates' responses to questions and that every examiner understands and applies it in the same correct way. As preparation for the standardisation meeting each examiner analyses a number of candidates' scripts: alternative answers not already covered by the mark scheme are discussed at the meeting and legislated for. If, after this meeting, examiners encounter unusual answers which have not been discussed at the meeting they are required to refer these to the Principal Examiner.

It must be stressed that a mark scheme is a working document, in many cases further developed and expanded on the basis of candidates' reactions to a particular paper. Assumptions about future mark schemes on the basis of one year's document should be avoided; whilst the guiding principles of assessment remain constant, details will change, depending on the content of a particular examination paper.

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*Dr Michael Cresswell*, Director General.

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## CRITERIA FOR MARKING AS/A2 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

### Introduction

AQA's revised Government and Politics specification has been designed to be objectives-led in that questions are set which address the assessment objectives published in the specification. The assessment objectives for A Level and AS are the same, but the weightings are different at AS and A2. Details of the weightings are given in paragraphs 7.2 and 8.4 of the specification.

The schemes of marking reflect these objectives. The mark scheme which follows is of the *levels of response* type showing that candidates are expected to demonstrate their mastery of the skills required in the context of their knowledge and understanding of Government and Politics. Mark schemes provide the necessary framework for examiners but they cannot cover all eventualities. Candidates should be given credit for partially complete answers. Where appropriate, candidates should be given credit for referring to recent and contemporary developments in Government and Politics.

Consistency of marking is of the essence in all public examinations. It is therefore of vital importance that assistant examiners apply the marking scheme as directed by the Principal Examiner in order to facilitate comparability with the marking of other options.

Before scrutinising and applying the detail of the specific mark scheme which follows, examiners are required to familiarise themselves with the general principles of the mark scheme as contained in the Assessment Matrix.

### Using a levels of response mark scheme

Good examining is about the **consistent** application of judgement. Mark schemes provide a framework within which examiners exercise their judgement. This is especially so in subjects like Government and Politics which in part rely upon analysis, evaluation, argument and explanation. With this in mind, examiners should use the Assessment Matrix alongside the detailed mark scheme for each question. The Assessment Matrix provides a framework ensuring a consistent, generic, source from which the detailed mark schemes are derived. This supporting framework ensures a consistent approach within which candidates' responses are marked according to the level of demand and context of each question.

Examiners should initially make a decision about which Level any given response should be placed in. Having determined the appropriate Level the examiners must then choose the precise mark to be given within that Level. In making a decision about a specific mark to award, it is vitally important to think first of the mid-range within the Level, where that Level covers more than two marks. Comparison with other candidates' responses to the same question might then suggest whether the middle mark is unduly generous or severe.

In making decisions away from the middle of the Level, examiners should ask themselves questions relating to candidate attainment, including the quality of language. The more positive the answers, the higher should be the mark awarded. We want to avoid "bunching" of marks. Levels mark schemes can produce regression to the mean, which should be avoided. A candidate's script should be considered by asking "Is it:

- precise in its use of factual information?
- appropriately detailed?
- factually accurate?
- appropriately balanced or markedly better in some areas than others?
- generally coherent in expression and cogent in development (as appropriate to the level awarded)?
- well presented as to general quality of language?"

The overall aim is to mark positively, giving credit for what candidates know, understand and can do.

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**A2 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS, EXCLUDING SYNOPTIC UNIT  
(GOV4, GOV5, GOV6, GOV7)**

**GENERIC MARK SCHEME for Question 1 part (a) (Total: 8 marks)**

	<b>Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select &amp; Deploy</b>	<b>Skills: Analysis &amp; Evaluation</b>	<b>Communication</b>
	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
	<p><b>Levels 3–4 (2 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates a good to excellent knowledge and understanding of political data, concept(s) or term(s). Where appropriate, the candidate produces accurate and/or relevant examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Levels 3–4 (3 – 4 marks)</b> The candidate applies a good to excellent range of developed concepts and uses appropriate political theory to construct a clear and cogent explanation or argument.</p>	<p><b>Levels 3–4 (2 marks)</b> The candidate communicates clearly and effectively using appropriate political vocabulary. The answer has a clear sense of direction, is focused on the question and, where appropriate, has a conclusion which flows from the discussion.</p>
	<p><b>Levels 1–2 (1 mark)</b> The candidate demonstrates limited knowledge and understanding of political data, concept(s) or term(s). The candidate produces few or inaccurate examples and/or limited evidence to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Levels 1–2 (1 – 2 marks)</b> The candidate applies a limited range of concepts and makes little or limited use of political theory or ideas in developing an explanation or argument.</p>	<p><b>Levels 1–2 (1 mark)</b> The candidate communicates explanations or arguments with limited clarity and effectiveness using limited political vocabulary. The answer may lack either a clear focus on the question or a sense of direction. A conclusion, where appropriate, may be offered but its relationship to the preceding discussion is modest or implicit.</p>

**A2 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS, EXCLUDING SYNOPTIC UNIT  
(GOV4, GOV5, GOV6, GOV7)**

**GENERIC MARK SCHEME for Question 1 part (b) (Total: 12 marks)**

	<b>Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select &amp; Deploy</b>	<b>Skills: Analysis &amp; Evaluation</b>	<b>Communication</b>
	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
	<p><b>Level 4 (5 – 6 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The candidate fully addresses the requirements of the question and provides developed and effective to comprehensive interpretation. The answer also provides clear to accurate evidence and, where appropriate, good to excellent examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Levels 3–4 (3 – 4 marks)</b> The candidate applies a good to excellent range of developed concepts and uses appropriate political theory to construct a clear and cogent explanation or argument.</p>	<p><b>Levels 3–4 (2 marks)</b> The candidate communicates clearly and effectively using appropriate political vocabulary. The answer has a clear sense of direction, is focused on the question and, where appropriate, has a conclusion which flows from the discussion.</p>
	<p><b>Level 3 (3 – 4 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates sound knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The candidate clearly addresses the requirements of the question and provides sound interpretation and contextual awareness. The answer includes good examples to illustrate points made.</p>		
	<p><b>Levels 1–2 (1 – 2 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates slight to basic knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The candidate makes a very limited attempt to address the requirements of the question and provides little to partial and reasonably effective interpretation. Answers offer limited or little evidence and few or inaccurate examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Levels 1–2 (1 – 2 marks)</b> The candidate applies a limited range of concepts and makes little or limited use of political theory or ideas in developing an explanation or argument.</p>	<p><b>Levels 1–2 (1 mark)</b> The candidate communicates explanations or arguments with limited clarity and effectiveness using limited political vocabulary. The answer may lack either a clear focus on the question or a sense of direction. A conclusion, where appropriate, may be offered but its relationship to the preceding discussion is modest or implicit.</p>

**A2 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS, EXCLUDING SYNOPTIC UNIT  
(GOV4, GOV5, GOV6, GOV7)**

**GENERIC MARK SCHEME for Question 1 part (c) (Total: 20 marks)**

	<b>Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select &amp; Deploy</b>	<b>Skills: Analysis &amp; Evaluation</b>	<b>Communication</b>
	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
	<p><b>Level 4 (7 – 8 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them. The answer fully addresses the requirements of the question and demonstrates excellent contextual awareness.</p> <p>The answer includes excellent examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 4 (7 – 8 marks)</b> The candidate displays excellent awareness of the implications and demands of the question. There is an excellent focus on the specific question asked. There is a clear evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour which displays a sophisticated awareness of viewpoints and issues.</p> <p>Appropriate parallels and connections are clearly identified together with comparisons. A wide range of concepts is used.</p>	<p><b>Level 4 (4 marks)</b> The candidate communicates arguments, explanations and conclusions with clarity. Excellent use is made of political vocabulary to construct cogent and coherent arguments. The answer has a clear sense of direction, culminating in a conclusion that flows from the preceding discussion.</p>
	<p><b>Level 3 (5 – 6 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates sound knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them. The answer clearly addresses the requirements of the question and demonstrates sound contextual awareness.</p> <p>The answer includes good examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 3 (5 – 6 marks)</b> The candidate displays sound awareness of the implications and demands of the question. There is a clear focus on the question. There is a sound evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour which displays good awareness of viewpoints and issues. There is good recognition of parallels and comparisons. Appropriate concepts are used.</p>	<p><b>Level 3 (3 marks)</b> The candidate communicates arguments, explanations and conclusions well. Good use is made of political vocabulary to construct clear arguments and explanations.</p> <p>The candidate produces an answer with a conclusion linked to the preceding discussion.</p>

**GENERIC MARK SCHEME for Question 1 part (c) (continued)**

	<b>Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select &amp; Deploy</b>	<b>Skills: Analysis &amp; Evaluation</b>	<b>Communication</b>
	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
	<p><b>Level 2 (3 – 4 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates outline knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and some awareness of the relationships between them. The answer makes a limited attempt to address the question and demonstrates contextual awareness covering part of the question. The answer includes simple examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 2 (3 – 4 marks)</b> The candidate displays limited awareness of the implications and demands of the question resulting in a restricted focus. There is a limited evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour which displays partial awareness of viewpoints and issues.  There is some recognition of basic parallels and comparisons with a limited use of concepts.</p>	<p><b>Level 2 (2 marks)</b> The candidate communicates arguments and conclusions adequately with a limited use of political vocabulary.  A conclusion is offered but its relationship to the preceding discussion may be modest or implicit.</p>
	<p><b>Level 1 (1 – 2 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates a slight and incomplete knowledge and understanding of political institutions and processes and a limited awareness of the relationships between them. There is little attempt to address the requirements of the question.  The answer includes few, if any, examples which may be inaccurately reported or inappropriately used.</p>	<p><b>Level 1 (1 – 2 marks)</b> The candidate displays little awareness of the implications and demands of the question and focus is lacking. Evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour is superficial, with little awareness of viewpoints and issues.  There is little, if any, recognition of parallels and comparisons. The use of concepts is superficial and naïve.</p>	<p><b>Level 1 (1 mark)</b> The answer relies upon narrative, which is not fully coherent. There is little or no use of political vocabulary.  A conclusion, if present, is not adequately related to the preceding discussion.</p>

**A2 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS, EXCLUDING SYNOPTIC UNIT  
(GOV4, GOV5, GOV6, GOV7)**

**GENERIC MARK SCHEME for Questions 2, 3 and 4 (Maximum 40 marks)**

	<b>Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select &amp; Deploy</b>	<b>Skills: Analysis &amp; Evaluation</b>	<b>Communication</b>
	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
	<p><b>Level 4 (13 – 16 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them. The answer fully addresses the requirements of the question and demonstrates excellent contextual awareness.</p> <p>The answer includes excellent examples to illustrate points made. The answer includes detailed and comprehensive interpretations or explanations as well as accurate evidence and relevant examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 4 (13 – 16 marks)</b> The candidate displays excellent awareness of the implications and demands of the question. There is an excellent and sustained focus on the specific question asked. There is clear and full evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour which displays a sophisticated awareness of differing viewpoints and recognition of issues.</p> <p>Appropriate parallels and connections are clearly identified together with well– developed comparisons. A wide range of concepts is used and developed.</p>	<p><b>Level 4 (7 – 8 marks)</b> The candidate communicates arguments, explanations and conclusions with clarity. Excellent use is made of political vocabulary to construct cogent and coherent arguments and explanations. The answer has a clear sense of direction, culminating in a conclusion that flows from the preceding discussion.</p>
	<p><b>Level 3 (9 – 12 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates sound knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them. The answer clearly addresses the requirements of the question and demonstrates sound contextual awareness.</p> <p>The answer includes developed and effective interpretations or explanations and also clear evidence and good examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 3 (9 – 12 marks)</b> The candidate displays sound awareness of the implications and demands of the question. There is a clear focus on the question. There is a sound evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour which displays good awareness of differing viewpoints and recognition of issues. There is good recognition of parallels and comparisons. Appropriate concepts are used and developed.</p>	<p><b>Level 3 (5 – 6 marks)</b> The candidate communicates arguments, explanations and conclusions well. Good use is made of political vocabulary to construct clear arguments and explanations.</p> <p>The candidate produces an answer with a conclusion linked to the preceding discussion.</p>



**GENERIC MARK SCHEME for Questions 2, 3 and 4 (continued)**

	<b>Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select &amp; Deploy</b>	<b>Skills: Analysis &amp; Evaluation</b>	<b>Communication</b>
	<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
	<p><b>Level 2 (5 – 8 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates outline knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and some awareness of the relationships between them. The answer makes a limited attempt to address the question and demonstrates contextual awareness covering part of the question.</p> <p>The answer includes a partial and reasonably effective attempt at interpretation or explanation with some examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 2 (5 – 8 marks)</b> The candidate displays little awareness of the implications and demands of the question resulting in a restricted focus. There is a limited evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour which displays a partial awareness of differing viewpoints and issues.</p> <p>There is some recognition of basic parallels and comparisons. Arguments and explanations are undeveloped with a limited use of concepts.</p>	<p><b>Level 2 (3 – 4 marks)</b> The candidate communicates arguments and conclusions adequately with a limited use of political vocabulary.</p> <p>A conclusion is offered but its relationship to the preceding discussion may be modest or implicit.</p>
	<p><b>Level 1 (1 – 4 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates a slight and incomplete knowledge and understanding of political institutions and processes and a limited awareness of the relationships between them. There is little attempt to address the requirements of the question. There is only superficial awareness, if any, of the context of the question, with little interpretation and few, if any, examples often inaccurately reported or inappropriately used.</p>	<p><b>Level 1 (1 – 4 marks)</b> The candidate displays little awareness of the implications and demands of the question and focus is lacking. Evaluation of political institutions processes and behaviour is superficial.</p> <p>Analysis shows little awareness of differing viewpoints and issues. There is little, if any, recognition of parallels and comparisons. Arguments, explanations and use of concepts are superficial and naïve.</p>	<p><b>Level 1 (1 – 2 marks)</b> The answer relies upon narrative, which is not fully coherent. There is little or no use of political vocabulary.</p> <p>A conclusion, if present, is not adequately related to the preceding discussion.</p>

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**1****Total for this question: 40 marks**

(a)	Explain the term <i>anthropocentric</i> used in the extract.	(8 marks)
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The belief that human needs and interests are of overriding moral and philosophical importance.

Nature needs to be respected because it serves man. Thus, for example, the depletion of fish stocks is bad because species may die out and humans will suffer in consequence. This term is the opposite of ecocentrism whereby value is judged in terms of the ecosystem as a whole.

(b)	Using the extract and your own knowledge, consider the diversity of green ideas which exist within environmentalism.	(12 marks)
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The extract refers to both ecosocialism and ecoconservatism with the former explaining environmental destruction in terms of ‘capitalism’s rapacious desire for profit’ and the latter linking the cause of conservation to ‘the desire to preserve traditional values and established institutions’.

Candidates would also be expected to discuss other green perspectives. These could include:

- moderate/reformist approaches that respond to ecological crises, but without fundamentally questioning conventional assumptions about the natural world.
- right wing green ideas – basically a reaction against post enlightenment rationalism science, industrialism and modernism;
- ‘blue’ Greens – who champion individualism rather than collectivism.
- ecocentric ‘Dark’ green ideas – essentially the rejection of anthropocentrism and the advocacy of a more holistic approach;
- anarcho greens – the championing of a ‘small is beautiful’ philosophy based on decentralisation and community action;
- ecofeminism – which locates the origins of the ecological crisis in the system of male power, reflecting the fact that men are less sensitive than women to natural processes and the natural world;
- at the most basic level one should assume that candidates are, at least, able to distinguish between ‘dark green’ or deep ecology where nature itself is seen as having an intrinsic value and ‘light green’ or shallow ecology which is primarily concerned about the effect of ecological damage on human health and well being.

- (c) 'Despite their manifesto claims, none of the major political parties is really "green".'  
Discuss. (20 marks)

Key points to consider:

- candidates could point out that prior to the 1980s environmental concerns were not high on the lists of the major parties' policy priorities. They were far more concerned about achieving sustained economic growth and avoiding inflation. In consequence environmental policies did not figure prominently in the 1987 and 1992 election manifestos;
- events such as Chernobyl, pollution, depletion of the ozone layer and the growing popularity for the Green Party and environmental pressure groups resulted in parties appearing to be more 'eco-aware' by the mid 1990s. Thus, in 1997, green concerns were more evident in the election manifestoes than had previously been the case, albeit still behind economic, and social policies in rank order of priorities. Green statements tended to be generalised, eg concerns about 'creating a decent environment', 'stemming the tide of pollution' and 'sustaining development without long term damage to the environment';
- by 2001 all of the major parties were talking about the need to make substantial changes to life and employment styles and to safeguarding the future, but compared to the Lib. Dems, the Labour and Conservative statements appeared as somewhat superficial.

The best candidates might be able to point out that Labour's manifesto of 44 pages contained only 1 page devoted to the environment; the 46 page conservative document covered environmental issues in just  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a page.

The Lib. Dems produced 'Green Action' sections on each page of their manifesto, providing clear actions and targets in the process.

- Such information would appear to support the claim that in the Labour and Conservative cases at least there was at best only a limited commitment to green policies/values.
- In 2005 each of the parties shared a stronger commitment to environmentalism:
  - i. Labour – whilst avoiding a specific environmental section outlined policy objectives and specific 'green' targets throughout its document.
  - ii. Conservatives – The section entitled 'Communities, Transport and the Environment' was strong on broad policy objectives but less strong on specific targets.
  - iii. Lib. Dems – contained a section 'The Liberal Democrat Manifesto for the Environment' which outlined specific policies and targets under direct headings eg 'Tackling Climate change', 'cleaner power'.
- These proposals certainly fall short of the more radical policies advocated by the Green Party in 2005. By Green reckoning the major parties remain 'grey'.
- Since the 2005 election the Labour Party, and more particularly the Conservatives under Cameron, have moved the environmental/green package up the political agenda to the higher echelon of priorities, and this appears to reflect a genuine concern for the future of the planet. To date, however, the broad pronouncements made have not been accompanied by hard policy proposals.

The **Skills** which the examiner should be looking for are those which would lead to a reasoned conclusion on the basis of the factual knowledge presented in the course of the answer.

**2****Total for this question: 40 marks**

'New Labour has pursued a broadly neo-liberal economic agenda and a broadly authoritarian social agenda'. Discuss. (40 marks)

**Knowledge**

- Candidates reveal an awareness that for much of the Post War period Labour was associated with state ownership, albeit in a mixed economy which operated according to the Keynesian principles of demand management;
- candidates also recognise that its social agenda in this period could be described as being liberal. The party championed equality for women, ethnic minorities and homosexuals. Furthermore, it saw prisons as performing rehabilitation functions rather than essentially punitive roles. Social and welfare policies were utilised to help those in need in a largely non-judgemental way.

Candidates also need to show that since the mid 1990s Labour's economic policies have become more market-based and its social policies more authoritarian.

New Labour's economic policies have been characterised by:

- the championing of a neo-liberal enterprise culture;
- low taxation;
- the rewriting of Clause IV, moving Labour away from state ownership;
- viewing inflation as a greater menace than unemployment;
- distancing the party from the trade union movement and industrial collectivism;
- seeing people as 'consumers of services', embracing the principles of marketisation and competition in the process so as to bring about more efficient service delivery;
- public/private partnerships whereby the private sector can be employed in the building of schools and hospitals;
- the introduction of Foundation Hospitals which give the best performing hospitals powers to manage themselves and to raise money for further improvement;
- allowing universities to change students variable fees;
- since 1997 the rich have become richer and the poor poorer;
- New Labour largely accepts the free market but desires to control monopoly power through state regulation;
- beating inflation more important than full employment.

With regards to Labour's social agenda, aspects can be viewed as authoritarian in as much as:

- policies are intended to reduce people's dependency on benefits encouraging them to return to work if possible;
- Blair has spoken of his desire to foster an 'opportunity society' and has declined to make the reduction of overall income inequality a priority for New Labour;
- they are also intended to balance rights with responsibilities;
- they also make the receipt of benefits conditional on appropriate social behaviour;
- New Labour's 'tough on crime' stance could also be used as evidence – ASBOs, curfew orders;
- anti-terrorism measures – 42 day detention without trial, increasing use of CCTV;
- re-classifying cannabis – upgrading its status;
- reversing the decision to create US-style super casinos in the UK.

A counter-view could also be provided which emphasises social justice; this is very much in line with traditional Labour views.

Also note New Labour's commitment to a minimum wage, its adoption of the European Social Charter and its record levels of investment in health and education.

**Skills**

Utilising knowledge of key concepts, programmes and actions of assess the extent to which the claim stands the test of scrutiny.

**3****Total for this question: 40 marks**

'Modern conservatism owes more to New Labour than it does to Thatcherism.' Discuss.  
(40 marks)

**Knowledge**

Candidates need to reveal a sound appreciation of the key values/ideas/policies associated with Thatcherism, namely:

- free markets are the best way of creating wealth and economic progress;
- the creators of wealth, the entrepreneurs require help, hence the emphasis on supply side economics;
- the State should withdraw from economic management;
- trade Union power must be reduced so as to free up labour markets;
- high taxation is unjust and inhibits wealth creation and economic growth;
- inequality of income is unavoidable and morally justified within limits;
- social inequality is a natural and just consequence of free markets;
- high levels of social security benefits are a disincentive to work and help to create a 'dependency culture';
- politics is about individualism – 'there is no such thing as society...';
- an authoritarian approach towards law and order;
- assertive nationalism.

Ditto the key values and ideas/policies associated with New Labour:

- accepting free markets, but control of monopoly power through state regulation;
- promoting competition – even within public service institutions;
- promotion of PFI's;
- no attempt to exercise active control of the economy, but utilisation of measures to ensure stability and discipline in monetary control and public finances;
- no restoration of Trade Union power; instead the strengthening of individual worker's rights through, for example, the social chapter and the minimum wage;
- on balance, viewing inflation as a greater evil than unemployment;
- accepting inequality, but establishing a minimum standard of living below which nobody should be allowed to fall;
- targeting social security benefits – 'a handup and not a handout';
- promoting 'cooperative self-help' whereby the emphasis is on individual responsibility;
- strong position on Law and Order..., 'tough on crime', tough on the causes of crime...';
- increased spending on Health and Education;
- improved pensions;
- being in 'the heart of Europe';
- maintaining the UK's 'special relationship' with the USA.

Since becoming Conservative Party leader Cameron has stated that:

- Conservatives 'believe in the family, but don't preach to people how to live their lives' – this reinforces the traditional conservative belief in the importance of the family, but in its modern, diverse forms;
- Conservatives believe in '...personal responsibility but not in selfish individualism' – this emphasises shared responsibility;
- Conservatives believe in 'lower taxes, but not in fostering greed or favouring the rich' – essentially a call for a more compassionate approach to the free market;

- Conservatives believe in 'high standards in health and education, but opt outs and escape routes for the privileged few will never deliver high quality for all' – a commitment to the public services;
- Conservatives believe '...in limited government, but rolling back the state must never mean the weak are left behind';
- Conservatives believe in 'national sovereignty but not in isolation'...Euro sceptic rather than Europhobic.

Also:

- the quality of public services should not be sacrificed for tax cuts;
- the young should be viewed in a less hostile way 'hug a hoody';
- environmental concerns need to be at the very top of the political agenda.

Cameron's 'built to last' pronouncements of 2006 contained eight key statements. A Populous opinion poll for the Sunday Times found that many respondents wrongly attributed five of these statements to Labour rather than the Conservatives.

### **Skills**

The strength of the answer will depend on the quality of the knowledge revealed and the skills utilised to measure the extent to which Cameron's vision of Conservatism owes more to New Labour than it does to Thatcherism.

**4****Total for this question: 40 marks**

Assess the view that liberalism has triumphed to become the dominant ideology in contemporary British politics. *(40 marks)*

**Knowledge**

Academics and commentators have argued that not only has the Liberal Party spread ideas of Liberalism in the UK but in recent years so have the Conservative and Labour parties as well.

Core ideas championed formerly by the Liberal Party and more recently by the Liberal Democrats include:

- a commitment to personal liberty;
- tolerance;
- limited government;
- the free market/classical economics.

Students would be expected to differentiate between classical and progressive/New Liberalism.

In the 1980s the Conservatives adopted an essentially neo-liberal agenda. Thatcher and the New Right looked at the past and essentially recycled the ideas of classical liberalism, particularly regarding the economy and the role of the individual.

Key concepts which should be alluded to ought to include:

- free market economics/the rejection of Keynesian demand management;
- privatisation;
- deregulation.

These ideas have continued to influence Conservative thinking and policies post-Thatcher. Candidates would provide appropriate evidence to illustrate this.

Much of New Labour's 'Third way' ideological approach can also be seen as having its roots in Liberalism:

- neo-liberal economics – essentially the continuation of the political economic approach established by the Conservatives;
- equality of opportunity – Labour has abandoned its commitment to equality of outcome.
- multi-culturalism and pluralism – tolerance for a variety of groups and cultures within society rather than the aim of establishing a specifically robust culture (arguably views on multiculturalism are now changing);
- individual rights – The Human Rights Act (2000) has given UK citizens a body of established rights for the first time;
- constitutional Reform – Labours approach has broadly mirrored that of the Liberals – increased separation of powers, support for devolution, elected mayors, regional government;
- abolition of Clause IV.

In a lecture to mark the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of 1945 – Labour General Election victory Blair described socialism as 'the political heir of liberalism' and as a form of politics through which to



fight prejudice, and unemployment and to create the conditions in which to build a nation which was tolerant, fair, enterprising and inclusive.

It could, therefore, be argued that the obvious championing of core liberal values by the Liberal Democrats, and perhaps more significantly the adoption of such a wide ranging set of liberal ideas by both Labour and Conservatives justifies the claim that 'we are all liberal now'.

Liberalism appears to have been so successful that all other ideologies compete within the parameters established by liberal ideology

**Skill**

The strength of the answer will depend upon the candidate's ability to ascertain the extent to which liberal ideas have influenced the policies of the major political parties in recent years at the expense of the other major ideologies, in particular socialism and conservatism.