



**General Certificate of Education  
January 2012**

**Government and Politics      GOV3B**

**Ideologies**

**Unit 3B**

***Mark Scheme***

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 students' 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 students' 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 students' 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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## 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 Section 4.2 of the specification.

The schemes of marking reflect these objectives. The mark scheme which follows is of the *levels-of-response* type showing that students 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. Students should be given credit for partially complete answers. Where appropriate, students 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 mark 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, assistant examiners are required to familiarise themselves with the general principles of the mark scheme as contained in the Assessment Matrix.

At A2, generally speaking, there is no unambiguously 'right' or 'wrong' answer to the 30-mark questions. Answers will be judged on factors such as quality of the argument, depth of knowledge and understanding, a synoptic grasp of the subject, appropriateness of the examples and internal logic of the discussion. Where students are presented with a proposition to be discussed they may support it, reject it or adopt a balanced position.

There are no limits to the areas of knowledge that students may feel able to bring to the discussion. Therefore the specification of requirements outlined in the mark schemes can only be indicative. Students are not expected to include all the material presented in order to access the full range of available marks. At the same time they may successfully include material from their particular studies which is not indicated in the scheme.

### 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 students' 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 students' 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 student 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 student'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 students know, understand and can do.

**A2 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**  
**GENERIC MARK SCHEME for questions with a total of 10 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 (4 marks)</b>            The student demonstrates a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The student 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>Level 4 (4 marks)</b>            The student applies an 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 student communicates clearly and effectively in a sustained and structured manner, using appropriate political vocabulary. There are few, if any, errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar and the response should be legible.</p>
<p><b>Level 3 (3 marks)</b>            The student demonstrates good knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The student 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>Level 3 (3 marks)</b>            The student applies a good range of developed concepts and uses appropriate political theory to construct a clear and cogent explanation or argument.</p>	<p>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 2 (2 marks)</b>            The student demonstrates limited knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The student makes a limited attempt to address the requirements of the question and provides little to partial, but reasonably effective, interpretation. Answers offer limited evidence and few, or inaccurate, examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 2 (2 marks)</b>            The student applies a limited range of concepts and makes limited use of political theory or ideas in developing an explanation or argument.</p>	<p><b>Levels 1–2 (1 mark)</b>            The student 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.</p>
<p><b>Level 1 (1 mark)</b>            The student demonstrates little knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The student makes little attempt to address the requirements of the question and provides little interpretation. Answers offer little evidence and few, or inaccurate, examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 1 (1 mark)</b>            The student applies few concepts and makes little use of political theory or ideas in developing an explanation or argument.</p>	<p>There are frequent errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar and legibility may be a problem. A conclusion, where appropriate, may be offered but its relationship to the preceding discussion is modest or implicit.</p>
<p><b>0 marks</b>            No relevant response.</p>	<p><b>0 marks</b>            No relevant response.</p>	<p><b>0 marks</b>            No relevant response.</p>

**A2 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS****GENERIC MARK SCHEME for questions with a total of 30 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 (10–12 marks)</b> The student demonstrates a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them. A synoptic approach is fully developed, drawing appropriately on knowledge, perspectives and examples from a wide range of studies in government and politics. The answer fully addresses the requirements of the question and demonstrates excellent contextual awareness. 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 (10–12 marks)</b> The student 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. 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 (6 marks)</b> The student communicates structured and sustained arguments, explanations and conclusions with clarity. Excellent use is made of political vocabulary to construct cogent and coherent arguments and explanations. The response should be legible with few, if any, errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar. The answer has a clear sense of direction, culminating in a conclusion that flows from the preceding discussion.</p>
<p><b>Level 3 (7–9 marks)</b> The student demonstrates sound knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them. A synoptic approach is well developed, using a range of knowledge, perspectives and examples gained elsewhere in the study of government and politics. The answer clearly addresses the requirements of the question and demonstrates sound contextual awareness. 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 (7–9 marks)</b> The student 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 (4–5 marks)</b> The student communicates arguments, explanations and conclusions well. Good use is made of political vocabulary to construct clear arguments and explanations. The response should be legible but there may be occasional errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar. The student produces an answer with a conclusion linked to the preceding discussion.</p>

**GENERIC MARK SCHEME for questions with a total of 30 marks (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 (4–6 marks)</b> The student 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. An attempt to develop a synoptic approach is made, using a limited range of knowledge, perspectives and examples gained more broadly in the study of government and politics. 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 (4–6 marks)</b> The student 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. 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 (2–3 marks)</b> The student communicates arguments and conclusions adequately, with a limited use of political vocabulary. There are frequent errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar and legibility may be a problem. A conclusion is offered but its relationship to the preceding discussion may be modest or implicit.</p>
<p><b>Level 1 (1–3 marks)</b> The student demonstrates a slight and incomplete knowledge and understanding of political institutions and processes and a limited awareness of the relationships between them. A very limited attempt at synopticity is made, sometimes using superficial or inaccurate knowledge, perspectives and examples cited from elsewhere in their study of government and politics. 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 (1–3 marks)</b> The student displays little awareness of the implications and demands of the question, and focus is lacking. Evaluation of political institutions processes and behaviour is superficial. 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 mark)</b> The answer relies upon narrative which is not fully coherent. There is little or no use of political vocabulary. Errors in spelling, punctuation and grammar may be intrusive and the response may not be legible. A conclusion, if present, is not adequately related to the preceding discussion.</p>
<p><b>0 marks</b> No relevant response.</p>	<p><b>0 marks</b> No relevant response.</p>	<p><b>0 marks</b> No relevant response.</p>

**Topic 1 Liberalism****Total for this topic: 40 marks**

(01) How do liberals perceive natural rights?

*(10 marks)*

Students could well point out that in today's terminology, 'natural rights' are also referred to as 'human rights'. Such rights are held by people as part of their very humanity. They are seen as God-given or derived from nature itself. The concept of natural rights is important in general political theory because it assumes that humans are innately rational and good and that they carry into political society those rights that they enjoyed in earlier stages of history. Central to liberalism is the debate about whether rights occur 'naturally' or flow from membership of a specific policy.

- Those liberals who believe in 'natural rights' would contend that respect for individuals' rights is the foundation of political morality. Indeed, in this sense such rights, to use an analogy, operate as 'trumps' which override competing considerations. This prevents collective goals from being used to justify denying individuals the right to do what they wish or for imposing some laws or injury on them. Furthermore, governments are obliged to uphold these rights; if a government does not, it acts immorally.

The best students could well discuss how such a position conflicts with the views held by Legal Positivists who maintain that individuals have rights only in so far as these are recognised and codified within legal systems. They could also point out that this view is closer to the reality of modern societies.

A\* quality answers could well refer to theoreticians/political philosophers associated with scholarly works/writings or natural rights such as John Locke in the seventeenth century, Thomas Jefferson in the eighteenth century and, in more recent times, Ronald Dworkin.

(02) 'Liberalism is compatible with both conservative and social democratic thinking.'  
Discuss.*(30 marks)*

Students are likely to interpret 'thinking' as the ideas associated with modern democratic parties in the UK. This being the case, the question requires students to assess the extent to which the core values and beliefs associated with liberalism sit easily in the value systems held by conservatives and social democrats and in the policies and programmes advocated and pursued by those parties which could be described as conservative and social democratic – basically the AO2 element of the question.

In order to do so, students should cover the following points (AO1).

- Core values of Liberalism. These could include:
  - A commitment to freedom/liberty.
  - A commitment to free markets on the part of classical liberals and to a degree of government interference in the market on the part of new/progressive liberals.
  - A belief in limited government – classical liberalism and interventionist government – progressive liberalism.
  - A commitment to constitutional reform and the protection of rights.



- Recognition of the impact of classical liberalism on conservatism in recent decades. Students would be expected to discuss how the central value of classical liberalism 'morphed' into neo-liberalism in the 1970s and 1980s and how this ideological strand influenced the New Right and helped to create what came to be called Thatcherism in the UK. These central values were support for laissez-faire economics, a firm belief in self-help as originally championed by Samuel Smiles and the desire to achieve a meritocracy. These are evident in the Conservative Party's economic policies (particularly privatisation and supply-side measures) which were, and still are, seen as integral to the creation of an enterprise culture. They can also be seen in the measures utilised to 'roll back the frontiers of the state' and to dismantle the 'nanny state' in the quest to reduce dependency and to promote individual responsibility.
- Awareness of the significance of the New/Progressive liberalism on Conservative policies and actions. Discussion here is likely to focus on how Conservatives and the Conservative Party have come to accept the need to safeguard minority and individual rights. Indeed, it could be argued that, under Cameron, the Conservatives have become more 'liberal' than they have ever been in their history. Social inclusion and a firm belief in equality of opportunity along with a positive role for the state in the spheres of health and education are clear features of Cameron's brand of Conservatism.
- Students could take their analysis back to the 1950s and 1960s, explaining how both Keynes and Beveridge influenced Conservative Party thinking and policies during the 'Age of Consensus'.

Most academics, analysts and political commentators have described the Labour Party in the post-war era as being a social democratic rather than a democratic socialist party. This being the case, students should establish the clear links which exist between liberalism and the views and values held by social democrats and the variant of social democracy practised by the Labour Party. One should expect to see the following in the answers produced by students:

- Labour's acceptance that the promotion of individualism should be given more prominence, even at the expense of collectivism in some cases.
- The adaptation of a liberal form of communitarianism. This sought to widen individual rights and entitlements, whilst also recognising the need for individual moral responsibility and social duty. This is clearly evident in many of New Labour's welfare reforms and policies.
- Growing acceptance of the role of the market in economic policy. Indeed, it could be argued that neo-liberal economics was the dominant influence here.
- New Labour's constitutional reforms were also – in diluted form – largely derived from constitutional liberalism with its belief in decentralising and fragmenting power. Expect discussion of devolution; elected mayors. Also of House of Lords reform. Students would also probably include the use of proportional representation across a wide range of elections and the incorporation of the European Convention on Human Rights into British law.
- As in the section on Conservatism, some students might choose to discuss the influence of Keynes and Beveridge on Labour policy and thinking in the post-war era.

The best students would be expected to challenge the claim made in the quotation, citing New Labour's authoritarian/illiberal policies on law and order and anti-terrorism in the process.

Clearly, the Liberal Democrats could also be described as social democrats, so expect some discussion of the obvious links between liberalism and Liberal Democrat programmes and policies as well.

Students are likely to claim that the adoption of such a wide-ranging set of liberal ideas by all three parties, and individuals who would claim to be conservatives and social democrats, has led to the view that 'we are all liberals now'; indeed, that Britain is not just a liberal democracy but also a liberal society. It would appear that neither conservatism nor socialism have ever overshadowed the fundamentally liberal spirit of the country. The evidence utilised thus would (largely) support the claim presented in the quotation (AO3).

**Topic 2 Socialism****Total for this topic: 40 marks****(03) Explain why fraternity is a core socialist value.****(10 marks)**

One would expect that most students would understand the term ‘fraternity’ to mean ‘the brotherhood of man’ – an affirmation of the inherent worth of all humanity regardless of class, nation, colour, creed or gender. They should recognise its centrality to socialism’s value system (alongside liberty and equality) given that fraternity focuses specifically on the inter-relations between human beings in the context of communal existence. Indeed, at the top end of the range, one would hope to see evidence of an appreciation of the existence of an implicit assumption that human beings possess a clear and genuine capacity to live peacefully and co-operatively with each other.

Students could well make comparisons with conservatism, which is less optimistic about the capacity of humans to coexist in such supportive and collaborative ways.

The best answers could well assert that New Labour placed considerable emphasis on the idea of community – a stance which links closely with the socialist values of fraternity and co-operation and which contrasts with the extreme individualism associated with the New Right. High marks can still be achieved without such ‘modern’ references/illustrations.

**(04) ‘Socialism is no longer a force in British politics.’ Discuss.****(30 marks)**

The AO1 marks will be gained by students first defining socialism, ie by addressing the key beliefs and values associated with this ideology – essentially the desire to end capitalism and class divisions in society and the quest for equality of outcome. Also expect discussion of the extensive role to be played by the state in the process of achieving and sustaining socialism. Additional concepts which might also be included would be fraternity, collectivism and internationalism.

The AO2 marks are to be derived from analysis and evaluation, with the term ‘no longer’ serving as the effective discriminator. Some students could well argue that with the ‘end of ideology’ (Bell) and the ‘end of history’ (Fukuyama) we are ‘all liberals now’, contending that New Labour owed more to Thatcherism and progressive liberalism than it did to orthodox, traditional socialism. Basically, that the Labour Party is best described as a social-democratic rather than a democratic-socialist entity. As more information becomes available, analysis of the Labour Party’s values and policies since the electoral defeat of 2010 is also likely to be undertaken to evaluate the accuracy/relevance of the question’s assertion. Some students could well claim that aspects of socialism did influence a policy and indeed the political culture during the Attlee years and in the ‘Consensus Era’ that followed. Evidence to support such claims could include the creation of the National Health Service, nationalisation of key utilities and decolonisation. Where such points are made they should be suitably rewarded.

Some students could well decide to argue that socialism has never actually been a strong force in British politics. Evidence used to support such a claim could include:-

- The Attlee Governments 1945–51 being more influenced by the thinking and works of liberals, such as Beveridge and Keynes, than by socialist scholars and theoreticians.

- The absence of clear socialist policies and programmes (with a few exceptions such as the re-nationalisation of the steel industry and the creation of the comprehensive education system) in the Wilson and Callaghan governments of the 1960s and 1970s.

The best students might even take their analysis further by arguing that the Trade Union movement was actually more 'labourist' than it was socialist. They could also point out that openly socialist parties in the UK have made little headway in general elections; indeed, in many ways, their behaviour is more akin to pressure groups than to political parties. Examiners should note that Level 4 marks can be gained without the inclusion of such propositions.

Both of these approaches are acceptable. Examiners should reward marks according to the relevance and accuracy of the knowledge used and the quality of the analysis and evaluation undertaken.

**Topic 3 Conservatism****Total for this topic: 40 marks****(05) What do conservatives mean by the organic theory of society?****(10 marks)**

Essentially this is a view that states, and the societies which function within them, develop naturally. They are not social constructs based on ideological blueprints. As such, states need to be perceived as single, living and evolving entities. Such organic theories can be explained in two ways:

- via Conservative political philosophy
- via the organic analogy.

Explanation 1:

- Traditional conservatives have a preference for established forms of social knowledge and see abstract, rationalist thought as depersonalised. The integrity of the community within the organic state can be undermined by the 'relentless march of reason' which threatens centuries-old customs and traditions which have stood the test of time and which exist because they have avoided natural extinction/destruction.
- Such 'organic' perspectives view states/societies as more than aggregates of individuals. Instead, they are perceived as holistic entities which involve ties of mutual dependence which, in turn, suggest social duties and responsibilities as well as individual rights.
- Viewpoints like these lead to an appreciation of the need for strong, caring leadership by elites who, unlike the masses, possess the attributes, experience and leisure to be qualified to govern, albeit with the quiescent support of their deferential supporters. Students could well go on to discuss the very British 'Tory paternalism' here, based on the notion of 'noblesse oblige'.

Explanation 2:

The idea that states/societies are akin to biological organisms that must be protected from harmful internal and external influences. Thus, just as the biological organism is dependent on the correct functioning of all of its constituent parts, so societies comprise interdependent wholes. If one part of the organism/community is damaged (as a consequence of social revolutions or radical change conducted in haste) the correct functioning of the whole will be affected. This accords with conservative antipathy towards rapid change in favour of slow, incremental, ie organic, change.

The best students might reveal an awareness that the idea of society as a fragile organic entity finds greater expression in continental European conservatism than in Britain, but it does help to understand the aforementioned hostility of British conservatism to rapid social and economic change and to the desire to create a paternalistic ethos of 'faith, family and nation' as vital parts of the moral fabric of society.

(06) 'Conservatism as an ideology has endured because of pragmatism.' Discuss. (30 marks)

This question requires students to discuss whether the endurance of conservatism as a political philosophy is largely attributable to pragmatism. In doing so, students would first need to define 'pragmatism' and to outline the core features of conservatism (AO1). Having done so, they could then proceed to analyse/evaluate the claims.

Pragmatism – essentially, a flexible approach to politics: an understanding of what is best for people, what is acceptable to them and what will preserve a stable society. It is also a rejection of the politics of strongly held ideology and of a dogmatic approach to decision-making.

Conservatism – a belief system which is reactionary and anti-change. It seeks to conserve, ie maintain, the status quo. This value-system has survived when challenged by more radical/progressive ideologies because it has been prepared to adapt to new situations/challenges. In other words, it has been pragmatic; it did and (arguably) still does seek practical and flexible responses to concrete, changing circumstances, eschewing what it perceives to be politically abstract/utopian. The best students could well assert that it is not an ideology in the sense of a comprehensive package of principles and doctrines which provide blueprints for structures and actions.

The ideology is obviously practised by the Conservative Party in the UK so examiners should anticipate responses which illustrate how, over the years, conservative thinkers and politicians have adapted the political philosophy and policies which emanate from it to meet changing circumstances in the quest for political power.

Analysis and evaluation could well go as far back as Disraeli, who created One Nation Conservatism in an attempt to make the party electable. Markers should also expect coverage of the Conservative Party's thinking and policies during 'The Age of Consensus', when its social and economic policies were described as 'Butskellite' and its pragmatism was evident in its changed political stance regarding decolonisation. Some students might also cite Heath's U-turns following difficulties with his right wing Selsdon Programme in the early 1970s, as a further example of pragmatism.

Analysis/discussion of the Thatcher years and Thatcherism will figure large in most answers. Students are likely to assert that Thatcher's response to economic decline, and what the Right saw as social decline, also reveals a capacity to change political direction – hence pragmatic behaviour to redress clear problems/failings. One should expect to read about the New Right agenda with regards to supply-side economics, limited government, individual responsibility and vigorous foreign policy.

Students might claim that Thatcher's policies and actions were driven more by ideology (albeit neo-liberalism) than pragmatism. Well-argued claims deserve to be rewarded (AO2). At the top end of the range, answers could well include arguments/propositions that hard-headed realism (sic pragmatism) was also evident during the Thatcher years. Some of the 'extreme' neo-liberal ideas advocated by politicians such as Keith Joseph, and Right-Wing Think Tanks such as the Centre for Policy Studies were not taken on board because Thatcher was of the opinion that they would not work out well in practice.

The Conservative Party, when in opposition between 1997 and 2010, also appeared to be more pragmatic than ideological.

- John Major's signing up to the Maastricht Treaty was done in such a way that he (initially) managed to get both Europhiles and Eurosceptics to accept it.
- William Hague democratised the party's organisational structure so as to make it less 'top down' and elitist.
- Iain Duncan-Smith attempted to create a more open and caring party.
- Michael Howard, a natural Thatcherite, appreciating that a Right-Wing party did not fit the zeitgeist, promised to 'lead the party from the centre'.

The Cameron years certainly appear to have been characterised by pragmatism rather than ideological conviction. As opposition leader, he realised that the party was seen by many voters as 'nasty' and 'exclusive'. He also recognised that aspects of the New Labour programme were popular with the public and that, electorally, there was little to gain in criticising these. Evidence of such pragmatism can be seen in his support for the state as a tool for promoting equality of opportunity and enhancing social inclusion. Further evidence of this pragmatism can also be seen in the party's acceptance of constitutional reform, eg devolution and the Good Friday Agreement. Expect to see Cameron described as a 'moderniser' and a 'populist'.

- More recently, Cameron's pragmatism can also be seen in his decision to invite the Liberals into a coalition given that no outright winner emerged in the 2010 General Election. Cameron clearly felt that a minority government would not be suited to resolve the problems of the day. This decision has required the Conservatives, even though they are the dominant partner in the relationship, to compromise on policies to ensure effective co-operation with the Liberal Democrats.

Since the coalition has been created, the Conservatives have been willing to allow a referendum to take place on electoral reform – evidence of pragmatism, given the party's support for First Past the Post in general elections.

Markers should give credit to any other examples of policies or proposals utilised by students to illustrate pragmatism rather than ideological commitment.

Students are likely to conclude that pragmatism does indeed go a long way to explain the endurance (and success) of Conservatism, sometimes in the face of seemingly overwhelming odds (AO2 and AO3).

**Topic 4 Fascism****Total for this topic: 40 marks**

(07) Explain the significance of the 'cult of personality' in fascism. <span style="float: right;">(10 marks)</span>
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In explaining the 'cult of personality', students would be required to point out that fascists reject the liberal idea of limited government based on constitutionalism and consent. Instead, fascists favour authoritarian leadership and a strong state. These views accrue from the fascist belief that, throughout history, humans have always been ruled by dominant individuals and that such individuals stand apart from the masses who follow them. This is because they possess charisma; they are powerful, omnipotent figures who reveal clear martial virtues such as honour, virility and courage, traits which produce unquestioning reverence from followers towards their leaders and a belief in the infallibility of the leader's vision. This creates a '**cult of personality**' which finds its clearest expression in historical figures such as Hitler, Mussolini and Franco – the Fuehrer, Il Duce and the Generalissimo.

Students should explain that leaders such as these relate to their nations in almost mythical ways, personifying and articulating their aspirations beyond the constraints created by liberal, bourgeois, political systems. These cult figures are more than mere politicians. Instead they are what Friedrich Nietzsche called 'Übermensch' or 'Supermen'.

(08) 'A blend of nationalism and socialism.' Discuss this view of fascism. <span style="float: right;">(30 marks)</span>
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To secure marks for AO1, students will need to define the two terms, nationalism and socialism. The AO2 marks will derive from an evaluation of the claim presented in the quotation.

In discussing nationalism, the best answers should include the following points. At the very top of the range, students could assert that nationalism is a psycho-political construct because it is essentially subjective, ie a matter of sentiment and self-identity rather than an objective character. It is based upon a sense of common culture and is identified with traits such as language, religion, race, history and territory. Students would be expected to point out that all fascist movements have been, and still remain, strongly nationalist. They used to/still do strive for unity around a sense of common culture. Again, the top end answers could well claim that the type of nationalism most associated with fascism is the chauvinist variant. Even if this term is not actually used, one would expect students to recognise that fascism promotes aggressive militaristic expansionism and that this is allied to a strong sense of ethnocentrism. One could expect references to Mussolini's Italy, which sought national rebirth and renewal by a return to the glories of the old Roman Empire through war and conquest, and to Hitler's desire to create a Third Reich dominated by an Aryan super race committed to 'Lebensraum' (living space for a master race). Contemporary/recent examples would be likely to include the National Front in France and the BNP in the UK, both of which reveal a strong link between race and nationalism. Credit should be given to those students who recognise/appreciate that fascist nationalism is in total opposition to liberal nationalism, as the former views nations as unequal in their rights to self-determination.

With regards to the second concept – socialism – students would be likely to point out that fascism has always had a relationship of sorts with socialism. Mussolini, as a young adult, flirted with socialism, and Hitler called his movement National Socialism. They would also need to discuss the broad theoretical principles which fascism would appear to share with communism. They could include:



- Communitarianism
- Social Darwinism
- the dialectic
- opposition to liberalism
- opposition to the free market and the globalisation of 'laissez-faire' capitalism
- the rejection of individualism and support for collectivism in so far as private property can be harnessed to the fulfilment of nationalist and racist ideological goals.

To secure the AO2 marks, students would need to point out that fascism had little in common with socialist ideas of:

- equality
- common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange
- internationalism
- social harmony.

In doing so, students would also be likely to claim that, in direct contrast to socialism, fascism is an extreme Right-Wing movement which stressed private property and hierarchy. The best answers might even draw attention to the fact that pre-war fascism was funded and supported by business classes who did (or who sought to) prosper from it.

So, whilst elements of socialism, it could be argued, are evident in fascism, students should nevertheless be aware that, philosophically, fascism and communism are, in many ways, diametrically opposed –

“Before all else, fascism was anti-communist. It lived and thrived on anti-communism”  
– Hugh Trevor-Roper.

With regards to nationalism, students will almost certainly assert that fascism was/is an ideology heavily influenced by it – albeit the chauvinist type rather than the liberal variant.

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**ASSESSMENT OBJECTIVE GRID**

<b>A2 Assessment Objective</b>	<b>Marks allocated by Assessment Objective 10-mark questions</b>	<b>Marks allocated by Assessment Objective 30-mark questions</b>	<b>Total Marks by Assessment Objective</b>
<b>AO1</b>	4	12	16
<b>AO2</b>	4	12	16
<b>AO3</b>	2	6	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>40</b>

**Mark Ranges and Award of Grades**

Grade boundaries and cumulative percentage grades are available on the Results Statistics page of the AQA Website: <http://www.aqa.org.uk/over/stat.html>.

**Converting Marks into UMS marks**

Convert raw marks into marks on the Uniform Mark Scale (UMS) by using the link below.

**UMS conversion calculator** [www.aqa.org.uk/umsconversion](http://www.aqa.org.uk/umsconversion)