

A-LEVEL

Government and Politics

GOV3B – Ideologies

Mark scheme

2151

June 2015

V1 Final Mark Scheme

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

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.

Further copies of this mark scheme are available from aqa.org.uk

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 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, examiners are required to familiarise themselves with the general principles of the mark scheme as contained in the Assessment Matrix.

There are no limits to the areas of knowledge that students may feel able 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

Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
AO1	AO2	AO3
<p>Level 4 (4 marks) 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>Level 4 (4 marks) 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>Levels 3–4 (2 marks) 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>Level 3 (3 marks) 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>Level 3 (3 marks) 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>Level 2 (2 marks) The student demonstrates limited knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The candidate 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>Level 2 (2 marks) 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>Levels 1–2 (1 mark) 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>Level 1 (1 mark) 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>Level 1 (1 mark) 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>0 marks No relevant response.</p>	<p>0 marks No relevant response.</p>	<p>0 marks No relevant response.</p>

A2 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**GENERIC MARK SCHEME for questions with a total of 30 marks**

Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
AO1	AO2	AO3
<p>Level 4 (10–12 marks) 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>Level 4 (10–12 marks) 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>Level 4 (6 marks) 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>Level 3 (7–9 marks) 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>Level 3 (7–9 marks) 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>Level 3 (4–5 marks) 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)

Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
AO1	AO2	AO3
<p>Level 2 (4–6 marks) 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>Level 2 (4–6 marks) 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.</p> <p>There is some recognition of basic parallels and comparisons. Arguments and explanations are undeveloped, with a limited use of concepts.</p>	<p>Level 2 (2–3 marks) 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>Level 1 (1–3 marks) 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>Level 1 (1–3 marks) 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.</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>Level 1 (1 mark) 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>0 marks No relevant response.</p>	<p>0 marks No relevant response.</p>	<p>0 marks No relevant response.</p>

Topic 1 Liberalism

(01) Explain how liberals perceive equality.

[10 marks]

At lower levels students ought to be aware that liberals fundamentally believe that humans are naturally unequal (AO1). Therefore, in a free society people are free to be unequal (AO1 and AO2). At Level 3 and above students would be expected to recognise how classical and new/progressive liberals originally differed over the nature of inequality (AO2). In doing so students would need to point out that the classical liberals of the nineteenth century advocated a society in which individuals would be largely free from restraint. As a consequence some would succeed and others would fail (AO1). In contrast, the progressives recognised that some individuals were born with disadvantages which could not be overcome by their own efforts alone and that these individuals should be entitled to equal life-chances (AO1 and AO2). Again, at the higher levels of response markers should expect answers which are strong on concepts such as equality of opportunity and state intervention as a catalyst to improvement. Also expect discussion of social and welfare policies as tools to promote opportunity (AO1 and AO2).

(02) ‘Liberals have never been in agreement on the extent to which the state should interfere in economic and social affairs.’ Discuss.

[30 marks]

All students may be expected to appreciate that since the second half of the nineteenth century liberals have been divided over the extent to which the state should interfere in economic and social affairs. Most students should be able to discuss how classical liberals originally desired a minimal state whose role would simply be to maintain domestic order and personal security. The progressive liberals in this period, in contrast, argued that the state should actually strive to help people to help themselves. At Level 3 and above, students would also be expected to refer to the key thinkers who are associated with these two schools of liberalism, namely Adam Smith, J S Mill, T H Green, Hobhouse, Hobson and Samuel Smiles. They should also reveal an awareness of the ideas, policies and programmes advocated and implemented by both the classical and progressive liberals when in power and when in opposition. References to the social and economic reforms associated with Lloyd George in the early twentieth century are also likely at these levels. Again, at Level 3 and above, students are likely to refer to the demand/management economic strategies developed by J M Keynes and to the free-marketeers’ opposition to them. Liberal free-marketeers, in contrast would contend that goals could be achieved without recourse to such measures. Also expect discussion of the Beveridge Report and of the policies which the progressive liberals believed were essential if the state was to combat the ‘five evil giants’ contained in the Beveridge Report (AO1 and AO2).

Most students are likely to claim that for much of the post-war period the ideas associated with the progressives dominated liberal thinking, but the best students would also recognise that some liberals continued to believe that too much government interference in the social and economic spheres could be harmful. At the highest levels students might even refer to the critiques produced by bodies such as the Adam Smith Institute and the Institute for Economic Affairs.

From the 1960s to the present day, the majority of liberals, and indeed the Liberal Party, and since the late eighties, the Liberal Democrats, have been ardent in advocating policies to enhance and secure rights, social inclusion, equality of opportunity and social mobility. It goes without saying that such policies require a high degree of government involvement in the social sphere. The

desire to achieve systematic economic growth and high levels of employment also requires high levels of state involvement in the economic sphere (AO1 and AO2).

From the time of Ashdown's leadership to Clegg's leadership of the Liberal Democrats, it would be reasonable to argue that the supporters of 'big' government have been more prominent than free-marketeters and the champions of individual responsibility and limited government. Indeed, it could be justifiably claimed that many of the ideas associated with libertarianism and market economics have held greater sway over the Conservative Party than over the Liberal Democrats. Strong answers could well refer to the influence of New Right thinkers to support and illustrate these points. High-level students would also probably refer to the pro-market ideas which appeared in the Orange Book (2004) which some commentators called the unofficial manifesto of the Liberal Democrats' right wing (AO1 and AO2). Such evidence would serve to indicate that liberalism has not been characterised by unanimity in recent years.

Under Clegg's leadership, the Liberal Democrats have been keen to champion policies to improve employment levels and to remove the tax loopholes which the rich are able to exploit. The Lib Dems have also advocated tax rises and additional spending to stimulate economic activity. With regards to welfare and social policy, the party has also advocated policies to further tackle poverty and social exclusion. Given the proximity of the recent General Elections candidates are also likely to cite examples from the 2015 Liberal Democrat Election Manifesto to provide additional evidence to support and/or refute the claim presented in the question.

Whilst discussion and analysis is likely to be UK-centred, some students might extend their answers beyond the British context and they should be credited for this. High marks could nevertheless be awarded to answers which are essentially British in scope.

Topic 2 Socialism**(03)** How do socialists view revisionism?**[10 marks]**

Students could state that revisionism essentially means the reworking of a political theory in an attempt to present a corrected view of the original. In the specific context of socialism however, expect most answers to define revisionism as a mode/variant of socialism which seeks to reform capitalism by humanising it. At Levels 3 and 4 students would be expected to discuss how this approach to social and economic change rejects the fundamentalist position which advocates the outright destruction of capitalism via class warfare so as to create a classless egalitarian society (AO1 and AO2). High-level answers may also argue that revisionism emphasises the politics of social justice and not just the politics of ownership. This point could be further developed to show how comprehensive social/welfare policies are considered to be essential mechanisms for the betterment of individuals in the quest for equality (AO1 and AO2). At Levels 3 and 4 also expect references to key thinkers associated with revisionist socialism eg Eduard Bernstein in the Nineteenth Century and Anthony Crosland in the Twentieth Century.

The better answers could also point out that the history of the UK Labour Party has been characterised by revisionism rather than by a commitment to the Marxist variant of socialism and all that this entails (AO1 and AO2). At the highest level of response students might even allude to the fact that revisionism is sometimes used by Marxists as a pejorative term to describe those on the left who have criticised Marx's teachings and theories. Maximum marks could nevertheless be awarded to strong answers which have not made this point.

(04) 'Where socialists once looked to destroy capitalism, most now accept it – with conditions.' Discuss.**[30 marks]**

Students may be expected to explain the term capitalism (AO1). Most students should know that capitalism is an economic system in which wealth is privately owned and in which goods and services are produced for profit as dictated by market forces.

Answers are then likely to provide reasons (AO1 and AO2) as to why socialists originally sought to replace capitalist economics and the organisational structures emanating from it with a socialist alternative based on the redistribution of wealth and the public ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange. The rationale was to create a society which would be characterised by equality of outcome and social justice. At Level 3 and above students could well discuss the links which exist between this fundamentalist form of socialism and Marxist theory. At these levels students would also be expected to appreciate that whilst the rhetoric of socialism was clearly anti-capitalist, many on the Democratic Socialist left and, in the context of the UK, the Labour Party during the early years of the twentieth century actually advocated a much less radical approach to the management of the economy than the Marxist left did. High-level answers would also be likely to point out that many parties and movements on the left moved from democratic socialism to social democracy as the Twentieth Century progressed resulting in significant ideological repositioning, particularly with regard to capitalism; basically accepting it, albeit with conditions.

Whilst the question provides students with the opportunity to examine the political left's attitudes towards capitalism without geographical parameters, most students are likely to approach the

question from a largely British perspective. Whatever the geographical focus of the answers, the full range of marks may be awarded. Marks should be allocated in line with the quality of the knowledge and evidence presented in support of the case being made. Given the likely propensity for UK-focused answers however, markers could expect students to point out that even though Clause IV committed the party to public ownership, in reality the Labour Party sought an accommodation with capitalism rather than its destruction, and this in essence is the central theme of the question (AO1 and AO2). The best responses would normally be expected to point out that as the Labour Party moved from democratic socialism to social democracy there is clear evidence to support the claim made in the question that Labour accepted capitalism, albeit with conditions. This could be substantiated as follows.

- The relatively limited scope of Labour's public ownership schemes and programmes between 1945 and 1979 which allowed many key industries, services, financial institutions and the agricultural sector to remain in the private sector.
- The clear lack of policies to bring about a fundamental redistribution of wealth.

At the highest levels students could also include references to Crosland's revisionist theories and the political statements made by Gaitskell which clearly reveal Labour's conditional acceptance of capitalism. In doing so students could well discuss the party's desire to achieve year on year economic growth within a mixed economy, the fruits of which could be used to improve infrastructures and the welfare state. Progressive taxation, economic planning and the improvement of workers' rights also serve to reflect the reality of Labour's position. At the higher levels also expect discussion of Labour's preference for Keynesianism over socialist theories on economic management. Some students could well claim that during the early eighties Foot and Benn did advocate economic and industrial policies more associated with orthodox socialism, albeit to limited effect (AO1 and AO2).

More recent developments in British socialism may also be discussed by students, particularly New Labour's position on capitalism and free markets and the Party's position with regards to economics under Milliband's leadership.

Overall students are likely to arrive at conclusions which support the question's assertion. Some students could examine the proposition that the left in Europe and elsewhere have largely accepted formats of regulated capitalism. Only fundamentalists continue to seek its outright destruction. Few such answers are anticipated but such approaches are to be welcomed.

Topic 3 Conservatism

(05) Explain what is meant by paternalistic conservatism.

[10 marks]

For AO1 and AO2, students would be expected to know that this is a mode of conservative thought which is closely associated with the ideas and work of Benjamin Disraeli in the nineteenth century (AO1). They would also be expected to know that it represents a top-down approach to societal management where those at the top of the social pyramid behave in a father-like (paternalistic) manner towards the masses beneath them – hence the adjective describing this type of conservatism (AO1 and AO2).

Answers above Level 2 would be expected to develop these points so as to include concepts such as the exercise of authority by elites for the purpose of bringing benefit to the masses and to protect them from harm. Paternalistic conservatives did, and still do contend that those with wealth and privilege have a duty and moral obligation to help those who are less fortunate than themselves. It could also be argued that this paternalistic conservatism is pragmatic in that help and guidance from those at the top can serve to ensure the maintenance of order and social cohesion in society. Students should recognise that such actions were intended to prevent the growth of a feeling of alienation and a sense of exploitation on the part of the masses, conditions which could lead to social unrest and even revolution ultimately (AO1 and AO2).

The best answers are also likely to point out that this approach is usually associated with One Nation school of conservatism. Some might even go on to say that the One Nation approach has been rejected by conservatives of a more libertarian, individualistic persuasion who view paternalism as being patronising; they might also claim that it is actually damaging as it undermines individual responsibility and can produce dependency cultures supported by “big” government. Furthermore, at the highest level of response, students could reasonably claim that critics of conservatism have even gone so far as to argue that this kind of paternalism is little more than a thinly veiled rationalisation of self-interest. High marks could nevertheless be awarded without recourse to such a criticism.

(06) 'Modern conservatism is more influenced by liberalism than by traditional conservative beliefs.' Discuss.

[30 marks]

To answer this question effectively, students would need to reveal a good knowledge and understanding of what are commonly regarded to be traditional conservative beliefs and values alongside an awareness of the key elements of liberalism (AO1). Only once this knowledge has been revealed can an evaluation of the claim presented in the question be tested (AO2). This will require students to use their knowledge of the pronouncements made by conservative theoreticians and writers and the policies advocated and pursued by conservative practitioners in recent decades so as to arrive at a reasoned conclusion (AO1, AO2 and AO3). The question provides students with the opportunity to examine conservatism beyond the confines of the UK should they so desire and some could well focus on US and European conservatism for example in answering the question. Most answers however are likely to focus on British conservatism and Level 4 order marks can be achieved where this is the case.

Regarding 'traditional' conservative beliefs, most answers would be expected to contain a basic range of examples of these beliefs. At Level 3 and above expect the coverage to be more comprehensive and to encompass the following points:-

- A belief in organic societies.
- Support for hierarchies reflecting conservative belief in 'natural order'.
- The recognition of human imperfection and the viewing of inequality as being natural.
- Support for tradition and authority and the desire to preserve established institutions.
- A rejection of ideology in favour of pragmatism.
- Being reactionary rather than radical.

Below Level 3, coverage is likely to be more generalised and superficial.

When discussing liberalism's core values, expect students at Level 3 and above to be aware of traditional liberalism's quest to maximise the realm of unconstrained individual action via the establishment of a minimal state, alongside a commitment to free markets. In contrast, students at these levels should be aware that modern/progressive liberalism provided a qualified endorsement for social and economic intervention as a means of promoting personal development and equality of opportunity.

In those answers which are essentially UK-based students are likely to assert that the Conservative Party has been the main vehicle for the transferring of conservative beliefs and values into actual programmes and policies and that for much of its history, it could be argued, the Conservative Party has championed traditional values in tandem with paternalism and an acceptance of 'middle way' economics. This was particularly the case during the so-called 'era of consensus' from the post-war period to the mid-1970s. It could justifiably be argued however that Thatcherism and the New Right ideas which influenced it served to undermine many of these traditional values in favour of free markets and limited government in the social and welfare spheres in the quest to reduce government spending and to promote individual responsibility in an entrepreneurial environment; in essence this is a form of libertarian conservatism (AO1 and AO2). At Level 4, students would be likely to point out that there remained a strong sense of authoritarianism as well during the Thatcher era as evidenced, for example, by her hardline attitudes and policies with regards to law and order.

Some discussion of the Major to Howard eras should also be expected at Levels 3 and 4. However, much of the evidence used and arguments presented by students in answering the question is likely to focus on conservatism during Cameron's period of leadership since 2005. When awarding marks here, markers should pay particular attention to the relevance, accuracy and quality of information presented to ascertain which of the two value sets has wielded greatest influence over the Conservative Party's thinking and actions over the last ten or so years. There is much evidence to indicate that the party still adheres to many core conservative beliefs and values, particularly in its centre and right wings. Examples could include hostility to Scottish independence and scepticism towards the European Union. Continued support for the monarchy and increasingly authoritarian pronouncements on law and order further indicate support for core traditional values. Cameron has also claimed that he is 'a pragmatist' rather than an ideologue and this sits very much within the Tory tradition. Strong responses would also be expected to point out that Cameron has also revealed clear libertarian tendencies in his acceptance of alternative lifestyle choices and in his and Osborne's pronouncements on economic policy and management where the quest for deficit reduction and utilisation of supply-side measures, rather than demand management techniques, has prevailed. Students are also likely to claim that the ideas and programmes promoted during the 2015 General Election campaign and the contents of the Party's 2015 manifesto largely reflect a continuity in thinking and policy.

As was stated in the opening paragraph students could well utilise their knowledge and understanding of how the New Right in the USA for example has championed neo-liberalism in the economic sphere and how libertarians have challenged social conservatives with regard to life-style choices, sometimes to considerable effect, not only in North America but also in South America, Europe and Australasia. Such approaches are to be welcomed and awarded.

Topic 4 Fascism**(07)** Why are fascists hostile towards individualism?**[10 marks]**

Expect individualism to be explained as the belief in the supreme importance of the individual over any social group or collective body (AO1). Students performing at Level 3 and above could well point out that this emphasis on the individual is often associated with the Enlightenment and the liberal political philosophy which emanated from it. Again, at these levels students would be expected to recognise liberalism's belief in the capacity held by individuals for rational problem solving and decision making within pluralistic political and social structures (AO1).

Fascism's hostility towards liberalism and the individualism which is associated with it can best be understood and explained by its outright rejection of such ways of thinking and of institutions and structures which allow individuals to enjoy rights and freedoms at the expense of the collective or national community. Reasons should be provided as to why fascists are keen to champion the supremacy of the nation over the individual. Many answers are likely to focus on the selfishness of individuals and on their incapacity for grand actions and self-sacrifice for the greater good of their nation. At Level 3 and above, however, the explanations will be more sophisticated and are likely to recognise fascism's view of the state as an organically unified national community which achieves "strength through unity", a quality which cannot be derived from egotistical, self-seeking individualism. Quite simply, the state is more important than the individual. This hostility and antipathy towards the individual could be further explained by fascism's preference for decision-making by single leaders or ruling elites who are deemed to possess talents and abilities over and above those held by the less able folk who make up the masses.

Fascists also argue that national greatness can only come about when members of such totalitarian societies are prepared to sacrifice their individuality and personal rights and freedoms for the common national, collective good. Thus, individualism is totally incompatible with fascism (AO1 and AO2).

(08) 'From the 1920s through to the present day, race has dominated fascist thinking.' Discuss.**[30 marks]**

This question requires students to assess the centrality of race to fascist thinking from the creation of the ideology in the 1920s to the present day. For AO1 marks students would be expected to reveal knowledge of how inter-war fascists viewed racial superiority and national conflict as being integral to their political philosophy. They would also be expected to discuss German National Socialism's particular obsession with race and nation and, to a lesser extent, Italian fascism's emotional attachment to Italy's Roman heritage and how this bestowed innate racial characteristics which facilitated a sense of racial superiority over non-white peoples. Discussion of the post-war period should focus on the centrality of race in the publications produced by and the statements made by far right movements and parties in the aftermath of World War II. At Level 3 and above, expect students to reveal a knowledge of the pronouncements on race and racial superiority made by groups such as the League of Empire Loyalists, the National Socialist Movement, the embryonic British National Party and the like. Discussion of race and far right politics from the 1960s to the late twentieth century would be likely to focus on the National Front, the British Movement and other extreme bodies such as Column 88 and Combat 18. Discussion of race and fascism in the twenty-first century should cover the aims and objectives of, and the policies and pronouncements made by the British National Party and, more latterly, groups like the English Defence League. At the highest levels some references could also be made to the centrality of race to far right

movements and parties outside of the UK, but high marks can still be awarded to answers which focus exclusively on the United Kingdom. Answers are also likely to discuss the overt and covert anti-Semitism which is associated with the far right from the 1920s onwards. Also expect references to the hostility shown towards non-whites by right wing extremists in the 1960s, 70s and 80s in particular. At Levels 1 and 2 discussion is likely to be generalised; at Level 3 and above expect greater detail and more sophisticated analysis. At all levels expect discussion of how in recent years this type of hostility has been directed more towards followers of Islam and the perceived Islamification of the UK and elsewhere than to Jews and non-white immigrants and peoples. The EDL is likely to loom large in discussions of contemporary politics.

For AO2, marks need to be awarded on the basis of the quality of analysis and evaluation presented in the answers. Below Level 3 students are likely to assert that race is indeed central to fascist thinking. At Level 3 and above however, students would be expected to point out that fascism was and is also associated with other core beliefs and values. Examples could include the rejection of democracy, the “will to action”, the importance of warfare, the rejection of rationalism in favour of romanticism and emotionalism and support for the leader or “ubermensch”. References may also be made to organicism and corporatism. The quality of analysis should reflect the students’ capacity to evaluate the significance of race relative to these other features of fascism.

AO3 should be awarded in accordance with the guidelines given in the generic mark scheme.

ASSESSMENT OBJECTIVE GRID

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