

Examiners' Report
January 2012

GCE Government and Politics 6GP03 3B

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Introduction

The standard of performance in this unit was generally in line with previous January sittings. However, there are indications that more centres, and therefore candidates, are gaining a better understanding of requirements linked to synopticity. Fewer candidates thus presented merely descriptive material in responses to essay questions (questions 6-8, marked out of 45), and a larger proportion highlighted the debate at the heart of the question in a clear and thorough manner at the outset. The most common general weakness in performance in response to short questions (questions 1-5, marked out of 15) was limited conceptual knowledge. Candidates in too many cases failed to define terms effectively, and it remained rare for them to demonstrate developed conceptual awareness. There were, nevertheless, some excellent responses to both short questions and essay questions, which showed impressive knowledge and understanding as well as consistently high level intellectual skills.

Question 1

The key discriminators on this question were candidates' ability to demonstrate a range of conservative arguments in favour of authority and their ability to explain these arguments rather than just describe them. Strong candidates often began their answer with a short definition of authority. Very few candidates did not have at least an implicit understanding of authority and an awareness of a single conservative argument, often linked to the maintenance of public order. Some impressive responses examined the distinctive character of the conservative view of authority and, for instance, discussed association, in conservative thinking between authority and paternalism.

Common features of threshold level 2 performance included:

- Accurate, if probably implicit, awareness of the nature of authority;
- Limited knowledge of at least one conservative argument in favour of authority.

Common features of threshold level 3 performance included:

- Clear, and possibly explicit, understanding of the nature of authority;
- Sound explanation of at least two conservative arguments in favour of authority.

This is a very good response which got 14 out of 15.

Conservatives believe in authority in terms of their views on an organic society and a natural hierarchy. Authority is ~~the~~ ~~the~~ a necessary development in which someone has the right to exercise power over someone else.

Conservatives have defended authority on the grounds of natural hierarchy. Burke said that there existed a 'natural aristocracy' which would rule over those lower down in society. Nevertheless, for paternalistic, One Nation conservatives, this authority comes with the social responsibility of looking after the less well-off. This is known as *Noblesse oblige* and justifies ~~the~~ authority as it is needed to help the poor.

Authoritarian Conservatives have ~~the~~ defended authority on the grounds that it is needed to maintain order and provide security. Joseph De Maistre talked of complete subordination to the master for these same reasons, rather like Thomas

Hobbes' social contract theory. However where Conservatives differ from this is their view that authority develops out of necessity, not through consent.

Authority has been defended on the grounds that humans are, by nature, imperfect. ~~Humans~~ ~~even~~ Humans are psychologically dependent and security-seeking, they are morally imperfect and intellectually limited. It is for these reasons that Conservatives defend authority, as it provides the security of knowing where they stand / law and order when people are morally defective and hegemony when abstract, dangerous ideas like socialism are thought of.



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Examiner Comments

There is a definition of authority in the first paragraph. Three clear reasons are explained for the grounds on which conservatives have defended authority and the answer is fully focused on the question.

Question 2

A large proportion of candidates were able, in response to this question, to highlight socialist assumptions about human sociability and to point out the disposition, within socialism, in favour of cooperation. Strong responses were often able to go further than this, by, for instance, examining the roots of social solidarity in assumptions about the 'plasticity' of human nature, pointing out also how and why this gives socialism at least a potentially utopian character. Similarly, strong responses dealt effectively with why these characteristics of human nature have been, or can be, thought of as being 'positive', rather than just assuming that this is the case. Generally, too little use was made of the socialist belief in rationalism.

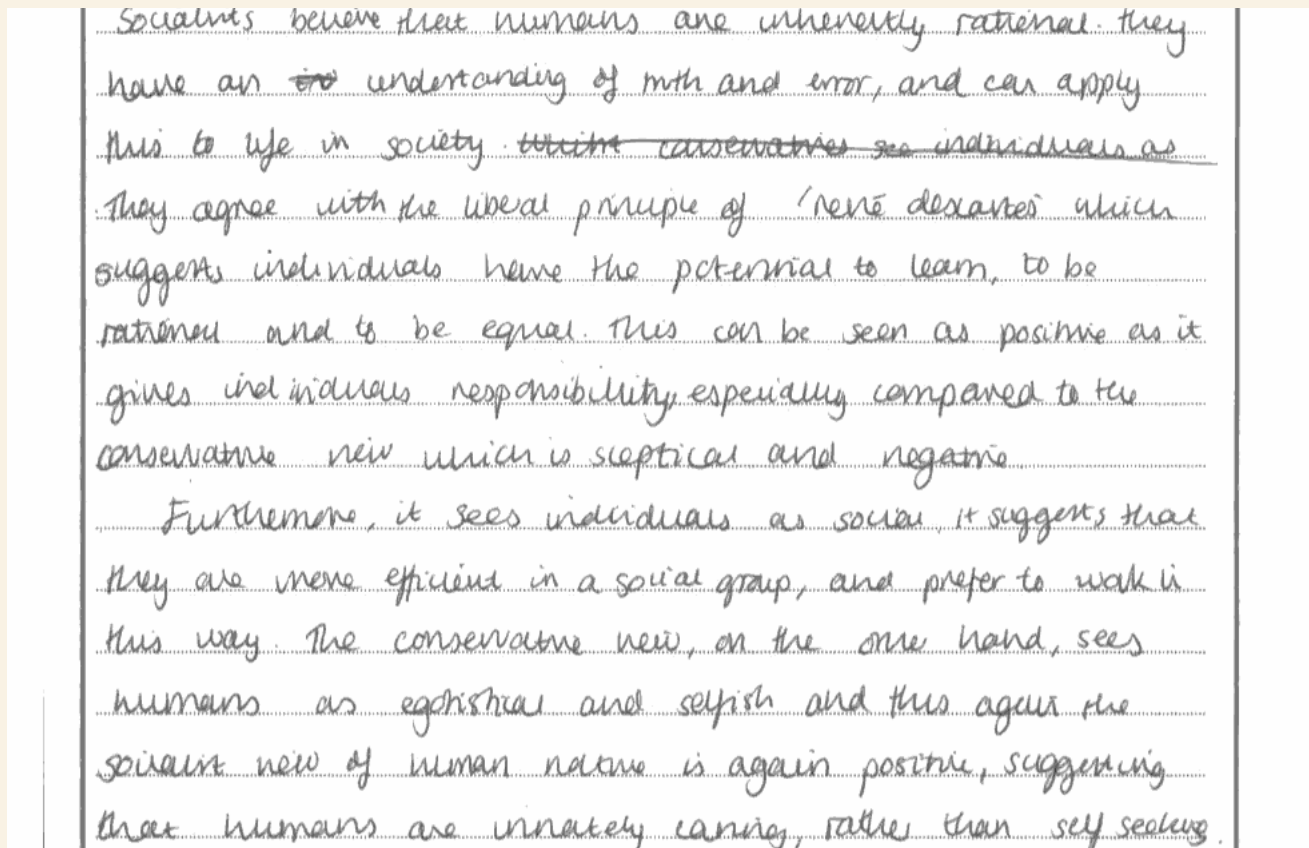
Common features of threshold level 2 performance included:

- Limited knowledge of at least one aspect of the socialist view of human nature
- Some awareness of why this aspect of human nature is 'positive'

Common features of threshold level 3 performance included:

- Clear understanding of at least two aspects of the socialist view of human nature
- Sound explanation of why these aspects can be considered 'positive'

This is a limited response which gained 7 marks.



Socialists believe that humans are inherently rational. They have an ~~to~~ understanding of truth and error, and can apply this to life in society. ~~but~~ ~~conservatives see individuals as~~ They agree with the liberal principle of 'non-doxaster' which suggests individuals have the potential to learn, to be rational and to be equal. This can be seen as positive as it gives individuals responsibility, especially compared to the conservative view which is sceptical and negative.

Furthermore, it sees individuals as social. It suggests that they are more efficient in a social group, and prefer to work in this way. The conservative view, on the one hand, sees humans as egoistical and selfish and thus agrees the socialist view of human nature is again positive, suggesting that humans are innately caring, rather than self-seeking.

that humans are innately caring, rather than self seeking. For example, whereas conservative thinkers like Oakeshott see the state as a means to keep society on an 'even keel' the nature of humanity sees socialism societies able to do this themselves, again showing a positive sense of responsibility.

However, there are aspects which portray a negative view of human nature. Socialists believe that 'the ruling class does not govern. It contents itself with ruling the government'. Whereas conservatives believe in paternalism, and 'guiding the masses', it appears that socialists ~~argue~~ arguably view humans as compliable and this can be seen as a negative aspect of their view of human nature, as, surely, with rationality and the ability to distinguish truth from error, right from wrong, the socialist individual should be able to govern.

Therefore there are positive aspects to the socialist view of human nature in the sense that, compared to the conservative view humans are rational and social, but their apparent compliability limits this, and means that there are negative aspects to their approach too. However, overall the socialist approach towards human nature is undoubtedly positive, ignoring the conservative attitude that humans are poisoned with original sin, irrationality, selfish and egotistical.



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Examiner Comments

The attempt to compare socialist views on human nature with those of liberals and conservatives is only partially successful. In the third paragraph, the candidate wastes time by explaining why socialists sometimes have a negative view of human nature. The key points on 'plasticity' and cooperation are either missing or only very implicitly explained.

Question 3

Some weaker responses to this question made very little reference to the Marxist view of the state, concentrating instead on general anarchist thinking about the state. Better responses dealt with the comparative aspect of the question more effectively, and, in the case of good responses, did this on the basis of a sound understanding of both anarchism and Marxism. The contrast most commonly highlighted was over the dictatorship of the proletariat; however, only stronger responses fully explained why anarchists reject the idea of a temporary proletarian state, beyond simply stating that anarchists view all states as evil and oppressive. A general weakness was a failure to root either or both positions in a clear theory of the state, the key contrast being between the anarchist tendency to explain state oppression in terms of human corruptibility and the Marxist tendency to explain state oppression in terms of the class system.

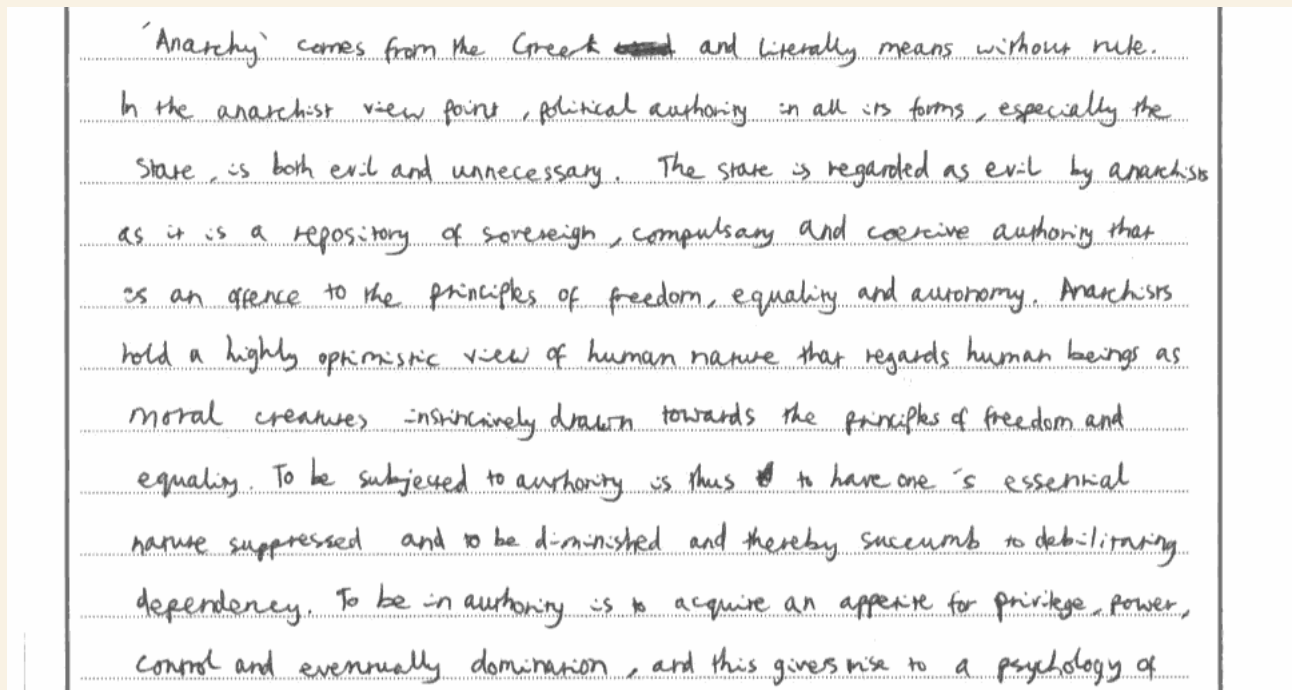
Common features of a level 2 response included:

- Some awareness of both the anarchist and Marxist views of the state;
- Limited, but explicit, knowledge of at least one way in which the anarchist view of the state differs from the Marxist view.

Common features of threshold level 3 performance included:

- Clear understanding of both the anarchist and Marxist views of the state;
- Sound explanation of at least two ways in which the anarchist view of the state differs from the Marxist view.

This is a sound answer and is top level 2 with 10 marks.



'Anarchy' comes from the Greek ~~an~~ and literally means without rule. In the anarchist view point, political authority in all its forms, especially the state, is both evil and unnecessary. The state is regarded as evil by anarchists as it is a repository of sovereign, compulsory and coercive authority that is an offence to the principles of freedom, equality and autonomy. Anarchists hold a highly optimistic view of human nature that regards human beings as moral creatures intrinsically drawn towards the principles of freedom and equality. To be subjected to authority is thus to have one's essential nature suppressed and to be diminished and thereby succumb to debilitating dependency. To be in authority is to acquire an appetite for privilege, power, control and eventually domination, and this gives rise to a psychology of

power based on a pattern of 'domination and submission'. The result of this ~~is~~ according to a US anarchist Paul Goodman is a society in which many are ruthless and most live in fear'. ~~But this also led Pierre Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865) to say~~ Moreover, the state is seen as an unnecessary body. Anarchists believe that human beings are rational creatures, inclined by education and enlightened judgement to live in accordance with truth and universal moral laws. In this respect humans have a natural propensity to organise their own affairs in a peaceful and harmonious manner. Therefore anarchists hold a utopian society to be one characterised by statelessness.

Socialists see the state in a different light to anarchists. Marxists see the creation of a fully communist society as one characterised by statelessness. ~~But~~ they regard the state under the capitalist system as a 'bourgeois state' operating in the interests of the bourgeoisie, the ruling class that controls the productive wealth of society, ^{and exploits the proletariat}. ~~But~~ Marxists however, also believe that in overthrowing the bourgeois state through social revolution, a transitional stage of socialism will emerge where class antagonisms will still remain, characterised by a 'dictatorship of the proletariat' in preventing bourgeois counter-revolution.

Social Democrats, emphasise the need for the state in controlling and directing both ~~the~~ social and economic life. In this respect, their view of the state completely contradicts that of anarchists. ~~But~~ Social Democrats see the state as a body capable of ~~social~~ socio-economic engineering, particularly with regards to welfare provision, providing greater social justice through a system of taxation and nationalising the 'commanding heights' of an economy to promote full employment.



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Examiner Comments

There is a clear explanation of the Anarchist view of the state but there is little explicit contrasting of that view with the Marxist analysis. The point about the 'transitional' stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat, while clearly relevant, is not drawn out. The final paragraph on social democracy is not relevant to the question.

Question 4

Some weak responses to this question focused largely, and at times exclusively, on the liberal view of equality, inadequate attention being given to the socialist critique of the liberal view. An alternative approach was to highlight contrasts between the liberal and socialist views, showing, in the process, at best an implicit awareness of the socialist critique of liberal egalitarianism. In these cases, candidates did little more than point out that liberals believe in equality of opportunity while socialists believe in equality of outcome. Strong responses nevertheless focused squarely on the various aspects of the socialist critique, with, in some cases, attention being given to the alleged limitations or deficiencies of the ideas of formal equality and equal opportunities.

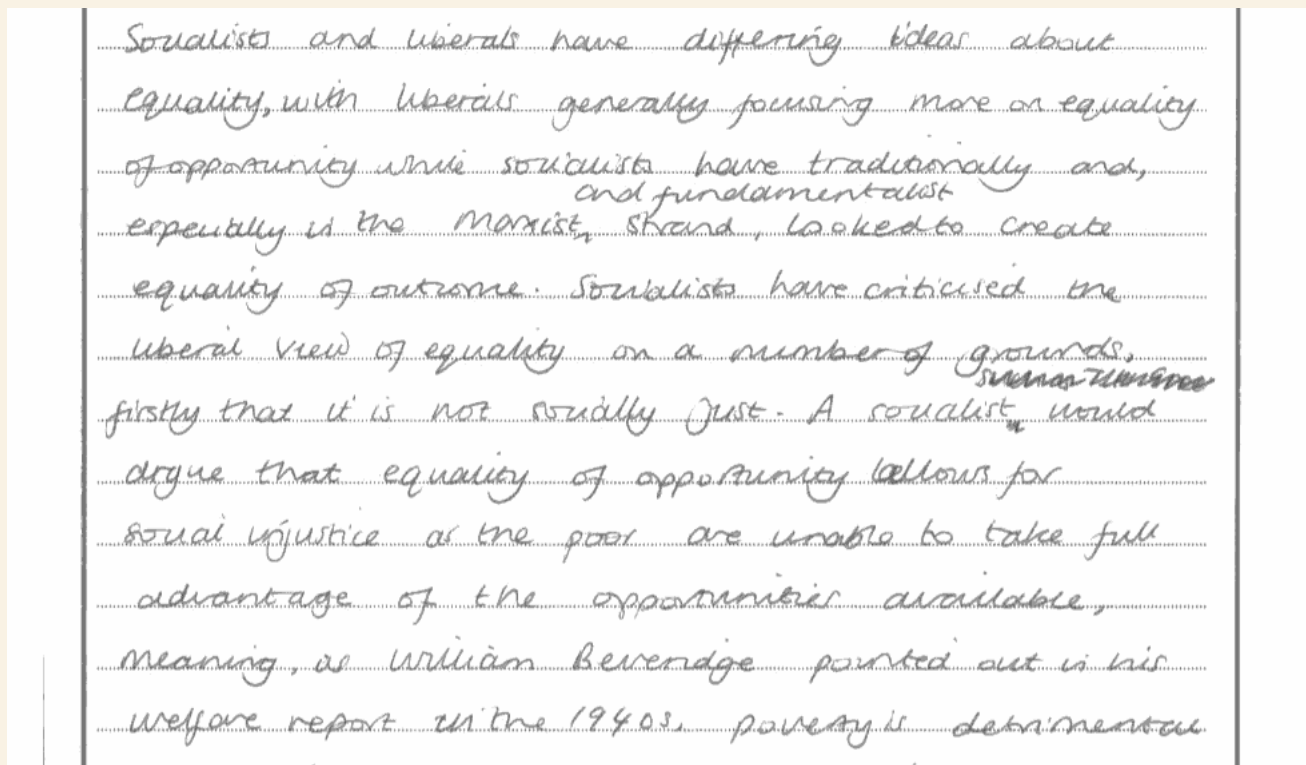
Common features of threshold level 2 performance included:

- Limited knowledge of the liberal view of equality
- Accurate awareness of at least one way in which socialists would criticise the liberal view of equality

Common features of threshold level 3 performance included:

- Clear understanding of at least two features of the liberal view of equality
- Sound explanation of at least two socialist criticisms of the liberal view of equality

This is a level 3 answer and got 12 marks.



Socialists and liberals have differing ideas about equality, with liberals generally focusing more on equality of opportunity while socialists have traditionally and, especially in the Marxist, strand, looked to create equality of outcome. Socialists have criticised the liberal view of equality on a number of grounds, firstly that it is not socially just. A socialist would argue that equality of opportunity allows for social injustice as the poor are unable to take full advantage of the opportunities available, meaning, as William Beveridge pointed out in his welfare report in the 1940s, poverty is detrimental

to equality and the gap between rich and poor widens under liberal free market capitalism. Socialists have traditionally therefore advocated ~~complete~~ equality of outcome through means such as collectivism, common ownership and nationalization. ~~Similarly~~ Socialists would, ^{also} criticise the liberal view of equality in that it furthers class divides. Marxists in particular see society and all related conflicts as class-based, and thus would argue that complete equality of outcome ~~removes~~ ultimately creates a classless society. ~~By~~ The liberal view of equality, however, states that inequality is natural and, to an extent desirable - it is inbuilt in us and so we will inevitably fall into class division, however the divide between rich and poor creates a healthy competitive economy based around self-motivation to progress. Liberals would sacrifice some equality in order to attain liberty; Socialists, on the other hand, argue that equality is of upmost importance, and liberty should be secondary to this; furthermore, they would criticise the liberal view of natural inequality by suggesting that it is only the capitalist system that creates this state.



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Examiner Comments

The liberal view of equality is partially explained with reference to equal opportunities and there is a much clearer explanation of socialist views with three criticisms highlighted. The answer does not go to the top of level 3 because it does not include a full explanation of the liberal view of equality.

Question 5

Few responses to this question failed to demonstrate at least an accurate if implicit understanding of the nature of rationalism, but it was only in stronger responses that the term rationalism was clearly and fully defined. That said, a large proportion of candidates recognised that the link between liberalism and rationalism stemmed from the fact that liberal ideology was very much the child of the Enlightenment, and therefore that it was founded on a strong faith in reason and progress. Impressive responses were often able to analyse and explain a number of implications of rationalism, while weaker ones sometimes tended simply to describe aspects of liberalism, claiming that they are implications of rationalism without demonstrating the nature of the link.

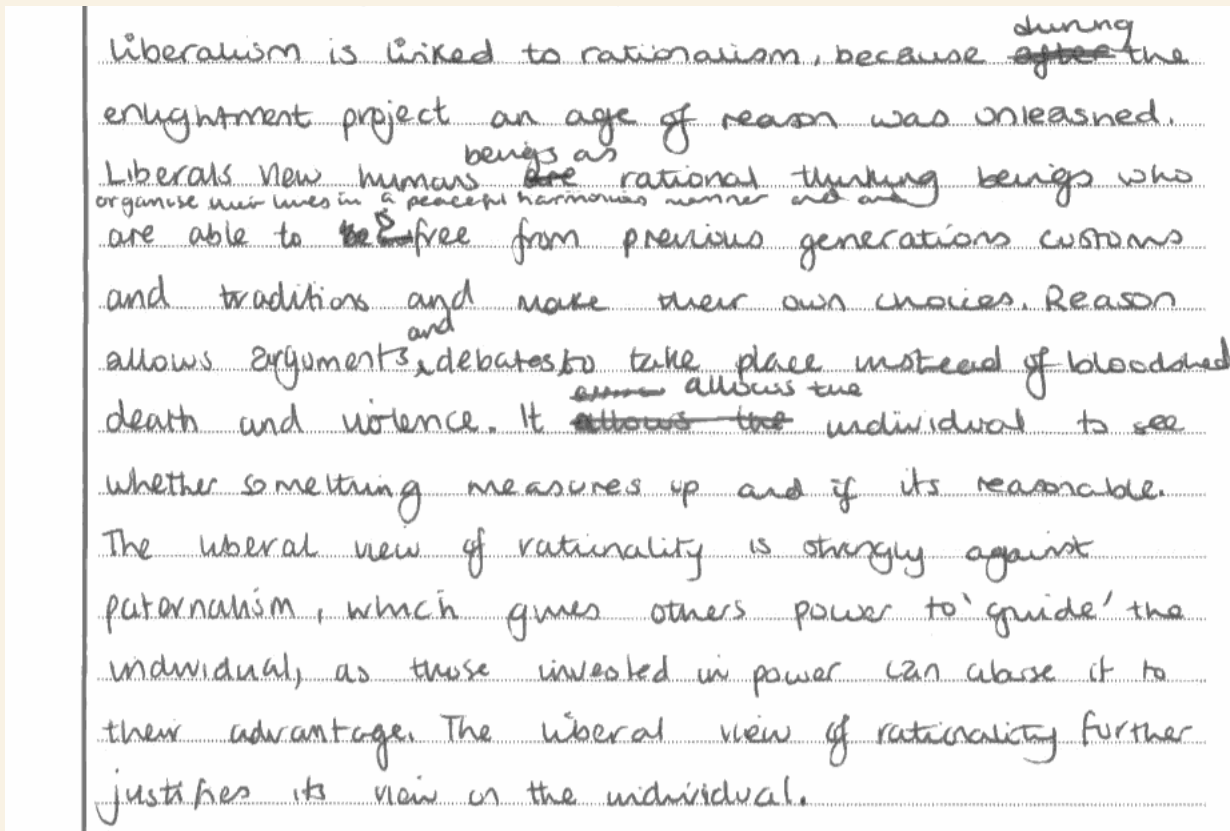
Common features of threshold level 2 performance included:

- Accurate, if probably implicit, awareness of the nature of rationalism;
- Some awareness of the link between liberalism and rationalism;
- Limited knowledge of at least one implication of the liberal belief in rationalism.

Common features of threshold level 3 performance included:

- Clear, and probably explicit, understanding of rationalism;
- Sound knowledge of the link between liberalism and rationalism;
- Sound explanation of at least two implications of the liberal belief in rationalism.

This answer gained 10 marks.



Liberalism is linked to rationalism, because ^{during} ~~after~~ the enlightenment project an age of reason was unleashed. Liberals view humans ^{being as} ~~are~~ rational thinking beings who organise their lives in a peaceful harmonious manner and are able to ~~be~~ free from previous generations customs and traditions and make their own choices. Reason allows arguments ^{and} debates to take place instead of bloodshed death and violence. It ~~allows~~ ^{allows} the individual to see whether something measures up and if its reasonable. The liberal view of rationality is strongly against paternalism, which gives others power to 'guide' the individual, as those invested in power can abuse it to their advantage. The liberal view of rationality further justifies its view on the individual.

The implications of rationalism could be that each individual could hold a different stance in of ~~the~~ moral standards differing from others which doesn't make it wrong, but just different. It increases the ~~users~~ autonomy of the individual and allows it to ~~so~~ develop a higher standard of ethical judgements.



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Examiner Comments

The answer is short but all of the points are relevant and there is a useful contrasting of the liberal view of rationalism with that of the conservative. Its weakness is that the arguments are not developed.

Question 6

A large proportion of responses to this question recognised that it addresses the issue of similarities and differences between the liberal New Right and the conservative New Right, also known as neoliberalism and neoconservatism. In a small number of cases, candidates failed to take heed of the notion of 'internal' coherence, discussing instead similarities and differences between the New Right and traditional conservatism. In such cases, they were able only to address the key issues of the question implicitly rather than explicitly. Generally, contrasts between neoliberalism and neoconservatism were better grasped than overlaps or similarities. Strong responses were nevertheless able to highlight areas of coherence, pointing out, for example, that a strong state is not necessarily incompatible with a minimal state, and that moving towards market-based policies created a greater need to strengthen public order and social disciplines. In the same way, philosophical and ideological contrasts, not least between neoliberal libertarianism and neoconservative authoritarianism, were often clearly brought out.

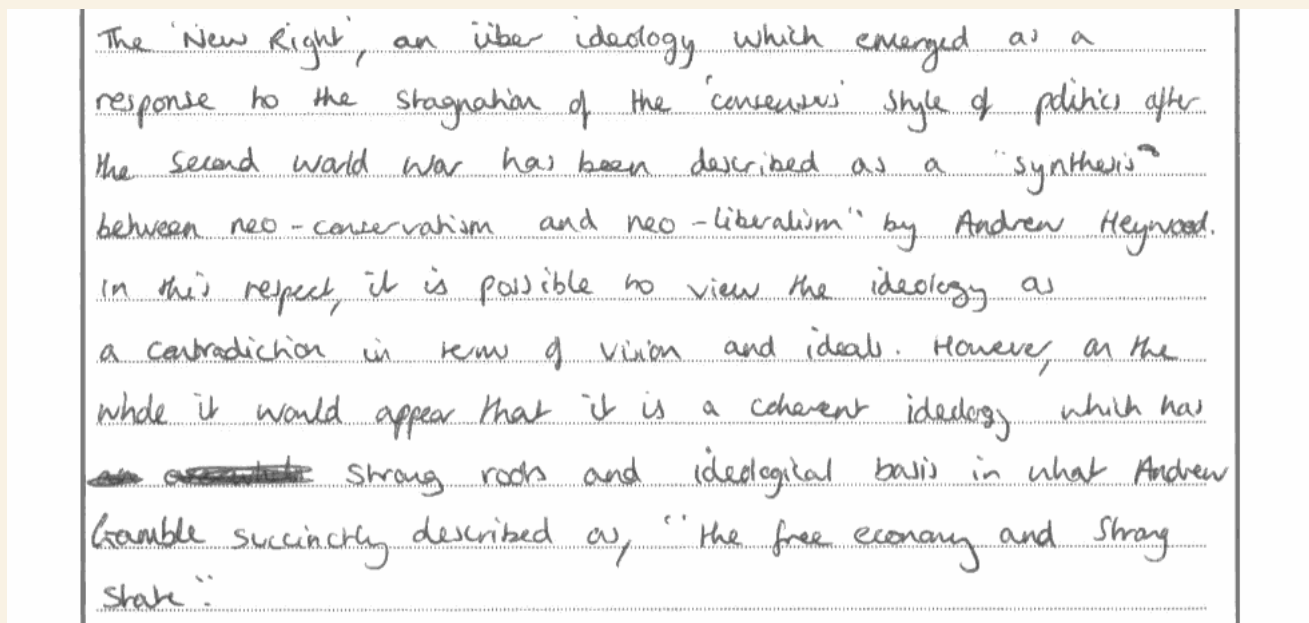
Common features of threshold level 2 performance included:

- Limited knowledge of New Right ideas and beliefs;
- Limited but accurate awareness of differences within the New Right between neoliberal and neoconservative beliefs.

Common features of threshold level 3 performance included:

- Sound and comprehensive understanding of New Right ideas and beliefs;
- Clear explanation of the tensions between neoliberalism and neoconservatism;
- Some ability to evaluate the extent of these tensions by also showing why the New Right may be coherent.

This is a wide-ranging answer that gained a total of 41 marks. The breakdown was 11, 11, 11 and 8.



The 'New Right', an ultra-ideology which emerged as a response to the stagnation of the 'consensus' style of politics after the Second World War has been described as a "synthesis" between neo-conservatism and neo-liberalism" by Andrew Heywood. In this respect, it is possible to view the ideology as a contradiction in terms of vision and ideals. However, on the whole it would appear that it is a coherent ideology which has ~~an~~ strong roots and ideological basis in what Andrew Gamble succinctly described as, "the free economy and strong state".

One of the strongest indicators of the New Right as being a coherent, formulated ideology is shown through the belief and support shown in the 'free market' economy. It is felt the free market is the "route to progress" and there is ~~for~~ the far-reaching opinion that, in the words of von Hayek, "taxation attacks property rights and is morally wrong." This indicates strong neo-liberalist beliefs and support for a laissez-faire attitude to the economy, where the individual is seen as the most important figure rather than working for the ~~the~~ good of the community. Indeed, these policies were adopted by Margaret Thatcher in Britain during the 1980s as she supported the economic beliefs in low taxation and privatisation. However, it could be perceived that New Right economic policy is not always coherent as in many ways it has been shown not to have worked in practice. This is displayed by continual collapses of the banking system and the USA's decision to bail out banks by investing well over \$1 trillion ~~into~~ to a system that should have been allowed to collapse due to its failures. This would indicate that there are contradictions within the ~~strong~~ economic

view of the New Right. These contradictions are heightened by the fact that many economic policies are drawn from Adam Smith whose belief in the 'Hand of God' thesis suggests that policies are not coherent but based on vague fables. However, on the whole ~~the~~ the New Right shows clear coherence in economic terms through the way in which they have support for the free market and embrace the right of the individual to make economic decisions.

A second important factor in discussing coherence within the New Right is displayed in the view of human nature and hereditary principles. The New Right belief in a mechanistic and meritocratic system is displayed as a way of justifying the ultra liberal support for the rationality of human beings. However, this is difficult to reconcile with aspects of traditional conservative ideology which also informs the New Right. This is displayed through Roger Scruton's thoughts on the principles of the 'New Right' and the acceptance that people are born with ~~'original sin'~~ "original sin" and are therefore morally stunted. Furthermore, the ~~fact~~ respect that New Right figures maintain for hereditary principles and rights appears to contradict the notion of a coherent support for a meritocratic

system. Indeed, through respecting these divisions it is difficult to improve social mobility as the talented individuals are given fewer opportunities and remain susceptible to fewer opportunities and what Herbert Spencer describes as "social Darwinism". However, on the whole it is possible to see that there is support for ~~some~~ a meritocratic, positive view of human nature ~~and~~ as shown by Margaret Thatcher's support for ~~entrepreneurs~~ entrepreneurs who have progressed and who are "wonderful people".

~~The~~ An important factor in discussing the coherence of the 'New Right' is displayed through ~~the~~ their view of society. In this respect the belief in the strong state contradicts the neo liberal support for the rationality of mankind. It is difficult

to reconcile why rational humans require a strong state as they should not need to impact others. However, the New Right has displayed a strong belief in firm control as shown by Newt Gingrich's 1994 'Contract with America' which ~~displayed~~ showed support for firm home policies. This appears to showcase incoherence in the view of human nature and the notion that people are actually feeble and require firm law and order as a means of achieving control rather than supporting ~~with~~ a belief in the rationality of mankind. ~~to~~ This contradictory notion of society is perhaps also displayed by Margaret Thatcher's belief in there being 'no such thing as society'. However, ~~to~~ ~~there~~ there were no attempts to abolish aspects of British society like the NHS as it was realised this would upset the British people. Despite there being contradictions in the way society is viewed, arguably the internal vision of the strong state and free economy

is still maintained. The "strong state" is an important aspect of the ideology.

A final argument which would indicate a discussion over the coherence of the 'New Right' is the view of an individualistic nature of society or the 'atomistic' structure. ~~It in this respect there seems to be contradictions between the traditional conservative~~ ~~idea of the~~ The notion of the individual nature of society which breeds economic chaos and competition is displayed by support of privatisation and 'Reaganomics' which is celebrated by Republican presidential candidates such as Rick Santorum who is against a system of society support like welfare and redistributive taxation. In this respect there are contradictions with the traditional conservative vision of the richest being obliged to support the poorest in society through benevolence. In this respect the concept of 'noblesse oblige' or Ludwig Erhard's 'social market' displayed ways of helping community. However, it could be perceived that the 'New Right' has little notion of helping others and is in this respect coherent as there is

the belief in the individual being paramount and inequalities are justified by people not making the most of opportunities within the free market:

Overall, it would appear that there are ^{some} contradictions within the 'New Right' due to the "fusion" of conservatism and liberal ideals. In terms of the view of human nature and society there are disparities however there is economic similarities in the belief in the free state and economic competition. ~~Overall~~ Ultimately there is general coherence despite some disparities on the vision of the state



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Examiner Comments

There is a clear introduction and conclusion, the essay sticks to the question throughout and several coherent and incoherent features of the New Right are analysed and explained. Although there are no serious weaknesses with this answer it does not get full marks because the understanding and explanation of the neo-conservative wing of the New Right is not fully developed.

Question 7

Many candidates who addressed this question took it as an opportunity to highlight a wide range of differences between classical and modern liberalism, attention being given, for instance, to differences between negative and positive freedom, the minimal state and the enabling state and laissez-faire and interventionism. In so doing, they demonstrated often impressive knowledge of a liberal values and theories. However, only the strongest responses focused clearly on the balance between individualism and collectivism within the contrasting sub-traditions of liberalism, giving appropriate and explicit attention in the process to the meaning of these two key terms. Very strong responses were often able to discuss the extent to which classical and modern liberals have disagreed over the relationship between the sub-traditions, classical liberals typically believing that modern liberals have abandoned individualism in favour of collectivism. Modern liberals, by contrast, argue that they have merely applied classical ideas and values - including individualism - to changed historical circumstances.

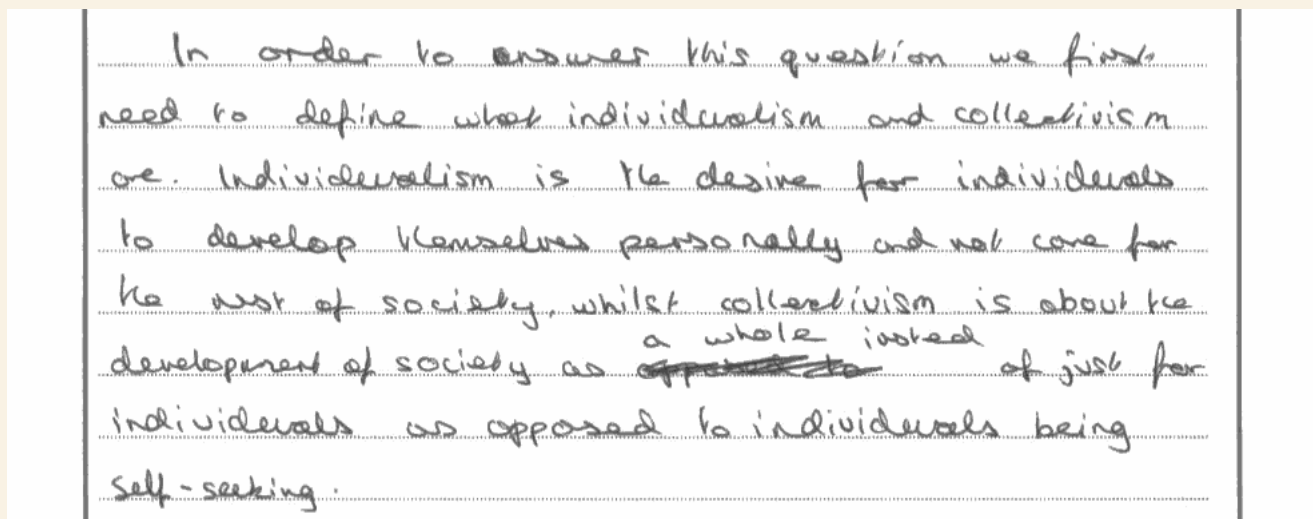
Common features of threshold level 2 performance included:

- Accurate, if implicit, awareness of the nature of individualism and collectivism;
- Limited knowledge of differences between classical liberalism and modern liberalism.

Common features of threshold level 3 performance included:

- Clear, and probably explicit, understanding of the nature of individualism and collectivism;
- Sound and comprehensive explanation of differences between classical and modern liberalism;
- Some ability to evaluate the extent of these differences by also discussing similarities between classical and modern liberalism.

This is an excellent answer which gained full marks.



In order to answer this question we first need to define what individualism and collectivism are. Individualism is the desire for individuals to develop themselves personally and not care for the rest of society, whilst collectivism is about the development of society as a whole instead of just for individuals as opposed to individuals being self-seeking.

A case can be made that modern liberals have abandoned the value of individualism and embraced collectivism. ~~So~~ The foundation for this belief is the difference in the understanding of freedom from modern liberals. Modern liberals adhere to positive freedom. This is the freedom to do something as opposed to what classical liberals believe, in that freedom is negative and is the freedom from something. If we look at the classical point of view in that freedom is the freedom from external constraints, this leaves the individual as an autonomous, completely self-striving individual. Without the lack of constraints on the individual, it is left to its own devices; to do whatever it can in order to ~~the~~ fulfill its maximum potential. This is a form of individualism. So ~~the~~ as a result, ^{when} ~~the~~ modern liberals enhance ~~the~~ the idea of positive freedom, in which the individual has laws put in place of it, it must be said therefore, that modern liberals have abandoned the theory of individualism.

We have seen modern liberals, after abandoning individualism, take up the idea of social liberalism. This is where govt intervenes in order to advance society so that the individual can advance. The main thinkers behind this were Rawls and Rawnsdige. Rawls came up with the concepts of the original position and the difference principle. This was that if individuals could recreate a society in which they could not know where they personally would end up i.e. from behind the veil of ignorance mask, if not all, would choose for the work off in society to be a lot better in this hypothetical

society to be a lot better in this hypothetical society. This was the difference principle in that people would, if they could, try and make a difference in society, helping the worse off. So therefore it ~~can~~ must be said that because of Rawls, modern liberals have abandoned individualism and embraced collectivism. This is shown and has been put into practice by a number of liberals. Beveridge for example put together his report in which he attempted to get rid of the five evils

~~to~~ to freedom, war, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness. The Beveridge report was said to be the ^{post-1945} ~~post-1945~~ blueprints for the welfare state in which it promised to carry people "from cradle to grave." Thus it can be said that this is collectivism. Another example was Mayor Joseph Chamberlain who raised taxes in order to fund schools, libraries, sewages, street lighting etc. Again this is seen to be a collectivist point of view. This social liberalism was chosen over the classical liberal choice of social Darwinism, advocated by Herbert Spencer and Samuel Smiles. Social Darwinism was a theory that the government should not help individuals out of poor situations as they would merely become reliant on the state for support. Instead, ~~they~~ Spencer and Smiles said if individuals are to survive in society and develop as individuals they need to learn about 'self-help'. They strongly emphasised that 'Heaven helps those who help themselves'. This was further emphasised by Sumner who went on to say that 'the drunkard in the gutter is exactly

where he ought to be' This shows that individuals need to learn, in order to develop, how to get out of problems by themselves. Therefore, as modern liberals chose social liberalism over social Darwinism, it must be said that they abandoned individualism and embraced collectivism.

Another way in which this is shown is through their choice of economic system. Modern liberals championed Keynesian economics over Adam Smith's free market theories. Keynesianism is said to be a form of collectivism as its main aim is to reduce the problem of unemployment. Keynesian economics says that the government should invest in the economy to create jobs in which people find jobs, and then use their earnings in the economy to fuel it thus reducing unemployment and creating general prosperity. The fact that they chose this over Adam Smith's theories shows the abandonment of individualism and the embracing of collectivism because Adam Smith's theories implies a non-interventionist government in which individuals use the free market and, through the 'invisible hand theory' gain greater prosperity. This, as individuals are told to fend for themselves in the economy and society, rather than being handed everything by government is said to be an individualist point of view. So therefore the championing of Keynesianism over Adam Smith's free market proves the abandonment of individualism and the embracing of collectivism.

However, that being said, it must be said that all modern liberals try to do is still in the

name of individualism. The reasons for preferring social liberalism over social Darwinism, and favouring Keynesian economics over Adam Smith's free markets was all in the name of individualism. The situation in which modern liberalism emerged showed problems for the individual. Adam Smith's economics and the non-interventionist state had created a society in which people did not have the same opportunity to rise and fulfill ~~the~~ their potential. There was a 'cycle of depravity' by which poor people gave birth to poor children, who had no chance of developing in such a competitive and exploitive society. This cycle kept on going round and no one could break free from it. Therefore the state and government had no choice but to choose social liberalism and had no other option ^{but} to champion Keynesian economics. The reason why the government chose these things was to give people their equality of opportunity back. It was creating a fairer society in which there were no inequalities in order for people to be able to develop personally. The modern liberal choices were made in the name of individualism. So it must be said that modern liberals have not abandoned individualism and embraced collectivism.

Overall, it must be said that although modern

liberals seem to be abandoning individualism and embracing collectivism, the truth is that they embraced a more collectivist society in order to ~~defence~~ individualism. On the surface it seems as though the policies modern liberals take are collectivist but in actual fact, the reasons behind such choices was individualism. In order to fully champion the key liberal idea, i.e. primacy of the individual and individualism, it had no choice but to bring in the reforms it did. So overall, modern liberals have not abandoned individualism at all.



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Examiner Comments

The answer is wide-ranging, full of evidence and makes a strong argument which leads to a logical and convincing conclusion.

Question 8

Generally, responses to this question were, thankfully, often better focused than has sometimes been the case with anarchism answers. Few candidates experienced difficulty in highlighting the key agreement within anarchism over the nature of the future anarchist society, namely the fact that this society will be stateless and so will be characterised by unlimited freedom. Similarly, few failed to recognise that there are substantial differences between rival anarchist sub-traditions, notably over matters of economic organisation. However, whereas weaker responses tended to offer largely descriptive accounts of these differences, and sometimes focused just on broad differences between collectivist anarchism and individualist anarchism or on narrower differences between anarcho-communism and anarcho-capitalism, stronger responses showed a more sophisticated and nuanced awareness of tensions within anarchism. Some impressive responses, for instance, discussed parallels between mutualism and libertarianism, seeing each as an attempt to outline a future anarchist society that blends elements of anarcho-collectivism with elements of anarcho-individualism.

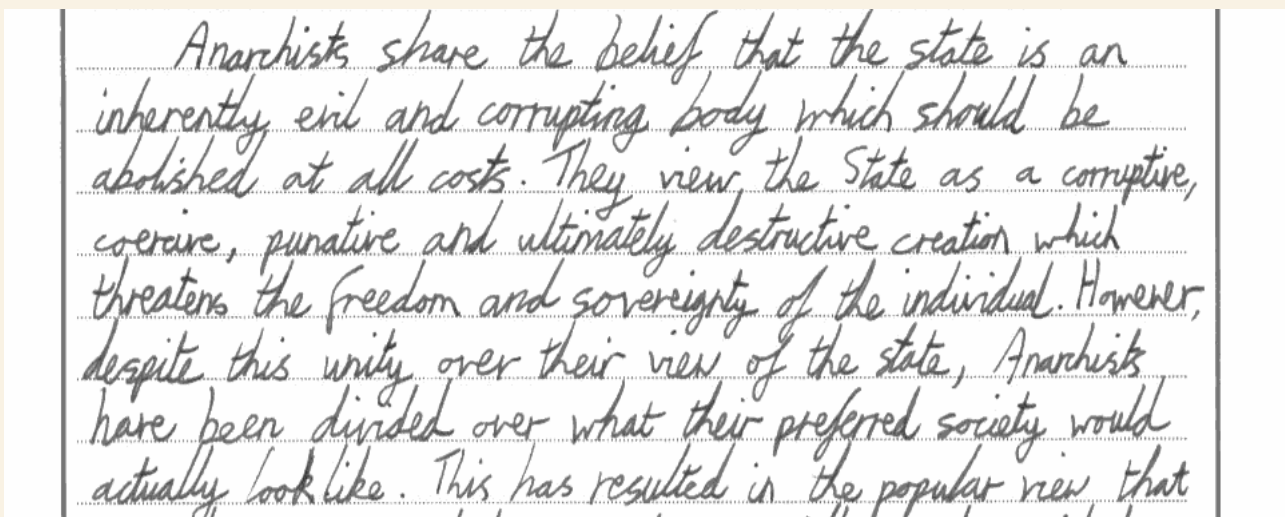
Common features of threshold level 2 performance included:

- Accurate awareness of anarchist ideas and theories;
- Limited knowledge of how anarchists disagree over the nature of the future anarchist society.

Common features of threshold level 3 performance included:

- Sound and comprehensive explanation of the tensions within anarchism over the nature of the future anarchist society;
- Some ability to evaluate the extent of these tensions by also discussing areas of agreement within anarchism.

This is a clear level 3 answer which gained marks of 10, 10, 10 and 8.



Anarchists share the belief that the state is an inherently evil and corrupting body which should be abolished at all costs. They view the State as a corruptive, coercive, punitive and ultimately destructive creation which threatens the freedom and sovereignty of the individual. However, despite this unity over their view of the state, Anarchists have been divided over what their preferred society would actually look like. This has resulted in the popular view that

anarchism is an idealistic and essentially 'incoherent' ideology. Various alternatives to a state led society have been proposed although these alternatives have rarely been tested in real terms. The key distinction is between anarcho-individualism and anarcho-collectivism and these two ~~two~~ branches of thought lead to different visions of a possible future society. In addition, there is the belief in anarcho-capitalism and a society based on market forces.

Anarcho-individualists like William Godwin and Benjamin Tucker reject ^{early} all forms of human cooperation and organisation. They argue that any attempt to form systems of collectivism will naturally lead to a central bureaucracy and this in turn will lead to the formation of a new state. This branch of

anarchism does not view capitalism and the free market as the main problem with society. In simple terms, 'monopoly is the child of the state, not its father'. This suggests that capitalism is not inherently evil and corrupting, nor does it necessarily result in inequality and corruption. A society could function properly with the inclusion of the free market. Indeed, the notion of a free market suggests a great deal of personal liberty and individualism, and is therefore in keeping with anarcho-individualist thought.

Some anarchists take this a step further and promote a society entirely based on ~~the~~ market forces. Key thinkers like Murray Rothbard and Robert Nozick to some extent, argue that the markets can cater for every human need. Healthcare, transport, education would be provided by a variety of different companies all competing for dominance in the market. Even security and law could be provided by the free market in an anarcho-capitalist society.

On the other hand, some anarchists envisage a society based on collectivist or communist principles. Key thinkers like Michael Bakunin and Peter Kropotkin would argue that the capitalism system is what gives birth to the state with all its inherent evils. They would suggest that 'monopoly is the father of the state, not its child' - In essence, the free market leads to inequality and the accumulation of wealth and power in the hands of a select few. This elite will then set up ~~the~~ state institutions to protect the free market and consolidate their power. Therefore, anarcho-collectivists

would aim to abolish the capitalist system as well as the state which it created. They would not necessarily be opposed to the formation of communes and cooperatives. However, these organisations would have to be strictly voluntary and would be free from a central, over-riding bureaucracy. Moreover, they should be free from any of the coercive elements which are ~~typical~~ typical of the state.

The belief in anarcho-communism could result in a system of 'mutualism' ~~as~~ as envisaged by Pierre Joseph Proudhon. This means that trade between different communities ~~and~~ would be conducted on the basis of labour value and not the desire for profit. Effectively, profit would cease to exist as you would ~~be~~ buy a product on the basis of the time and effort which went into creating it. This would prevent the existence of 'surplus value', as Marx termed it, where ~~the~~ labourers would be exploited by their managers in the pursuit of profit. Instead trade would be conducted on an equal basis with the desire for mutual gain, as opposed to the individualistic, egotistical desire to further one's own ends, at the expense of others. This system is in stark ~~contrast~~ contrast to, the ~~best~~ beliefs of anarcho-individualists like

Max Stirner who argued that 'we should each act as an egoist' and 'sacrifice nothing' to the state or any other organisation for that matter.

In a sense, anarcho-collectivism enshrines many of the principles laid out by Marx. It is opposed to the exploitation of the poor by the wealthy elite and aims

to abolish the capitalist system. This is what sets up anarcho-collectivism in stark contrast to anarcho-individualists who promote the kind of liberal, ~~modern~~ society, filled with social inequality, which Marx fervently opposed. There is an undeniable distinction between ~~the~~ the anarcho-individualist society, which rejects cooperation and social organisation and the anarcho-collectivist society which actively promotes it. ~~The~~ The formation of a future anarchist society depends greatly on whether you view humans as naturally sociable and cooperative or naturally self-seeking and individually focussed. Indeed, anarcho-individualists seem to support Margaret Thatcher's belief that 'there is no such thing as society, only individuals and families'. Contrastingly, anarcho-collectivists envisage a future society based on cooperation and collaboration. Indeed, Peter Kropotkin looked towards the animal ~~and~~ kingdom, particularly insect colonies, and believed that a future society could be based on the kind of interdependence and mutual effort shown in the natural world.

Therefore, it ~~is~~ is difficult to deny that anarchists are divided over the nature of a future anarchist society. They are only united in their opposition to the state and their desire to see it absent from any future society.



ResultsPlus
Examiner Comments

There is a very good introduction which clearly sets the tone of the debate. The answer is stronger on collectivist Anarchism than it is on individualist Anarchism and it points out more of the differences between the two strands than it does the similarities.

Paper Summary

Examination performance could be improved by:

- Encouraging candidates to focus more rigorously on the key terms and central issues of the questions set;
- Ensuring that candidates are able to provide clear and robust definitions of key terms in the specification, which can then be developed, as appropriate;
- Strengthening candidates' awareness of the requirements associated with AO2, including synopticity, and particularly of the need to analyse and evaluate contending arguments rather than just describe them.

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