

Examiners' Report  
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GCE Government & Politics 6GP03 3B

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## **Introduction**

The standard of responses to this examination was, generally, consistent with previous years. There is evidence that a growing number of candidates are showing an awareness of the need to define and explain key terms, especially in the short questions and usually at the beginning of the answer. However, too many candidates still either neglect to define these terms or are only able to do so in a rudimentary manner. Training candidates in conceptual awareness should take place throughout the course and be regularly internally tested; it is one of the easiest ways to improve examination performance. There is also a concern that the number of candidates who recognise that all essay questions are an invitation to debate and discuss an issue, or a range of issues, is not increasing as speedily as it should (considering the age of the specification and advice provided in previous examiner's reports). That said, the best responses were, as ever, highly impressive.

## **Question 1**

A common weakness in responses to this question was to take revisionist socialism to be interchangeable with evolutionary socialism, leading to a discussion of socialist 'means' rather than socialist 'ends'. A commitment to gradualism, or the democratic 'road', is certainly one of the features of revisionist socialism, but the key idea it is associated with is the notion of reforming, or 'taming', capitalism, rather than abolishing capitalism and replacing it with a qualitatively different social system. Candidates therefore significantly under-performed if their remarks were restricted just to the theme of evolution versus revolution. The very strongest responses discussed not only how revisionists proposed to reform capitalism, but also addressed both their revised critique of capitalism and their revised model of socialism (based on relative equality rather than collectivism).

Typically, a threshold Level 2 response exhibited the following features:

- awareness of the nature of revisionist socialism
- limited knowledge of at least one idea associated with revisionist socialism.

A threshold Level 3 response typically exhibited the following features:

- sound understanding of the nature of revisionist socialism
- clear explanation of at least two ideas associated with revisionist socialism.

Revisionist socialism is defined by its commitment to relative equality, the reform of capitalism and the state, which is achieved through a democratic and gradual pace rather than through violent revolution.

Revisionists sought to reform the state by giving more power and resources to the working class. This was done through strengthening trade unionism, enacting labour laws such as the minimum wage and creating a welfare state, which redistributed the wealth from the top to the bottom of society, their aim being to reduce the inequalities between working and middle class people to achieve a more harmonious society. Capitalism and its inherent inequalities were also addressed via the nationalisation of key industries to create a mixed economy of public and private enterprise, as well as Keynesian economic policies, manipulating demand in order to create jobs during recessions and to ~~make sure~~ limit the impact of economic downturns on ordinary people.



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Examiner Comments

This response highlights a wide range of ideas that are relevant to revisionist socialism. It shows clear and comprehensive understanding, but the points made could have been further developed and, sometimes, more fully explained. It received 12 marks out of 15.

## Question 2

Most candidates who attempted this question showed at least a reasonable understanding of the nature of paternalism. However, in some cases, paternalism was mistaken for authority or hierarchy, in which case the caring or compassionate aspects of paternalism were ignored in favour of a discussion of law and order. Many effective responses focused on the features of the One Nation conservative tradition, and in some cases the Christian democrat tradition, recognising that conservatives have advanced a mixture of pragmatic and principled justifications for paternalism; although some responses turned into little more than a descriptive account of One Nation views. Strong responses were sometimes able to discuss the implications of social position being largely determined by the accident of birth, implying both that social obligation is the price of privilege and that the poor are 'deserving' of support.

Typically, a threshold Level 2 response exhibited the following features:

- accurate, but possibly implicit, awareness of the nature of paternalism
- limited knowledge of at least one conservative argument in favour of paternalism.

A typical threshold Level 3 response exhibited the following features:

- sound, but possibly implicit, understanding of the nature of paternalism
- clear explanation of at least two conservative arguments in favour of paternalism.

Paternalism can be traced back to the works of Edmund Burke, whereby those in charge act in a fatherly fashion and rule with the intention of conferring benefit to the population. Conservatives have supported paternalism for two main reasons, being pragmatic and moral ones.

Pragmatism is the act of being cautious when making decisions, as Edmund wrote 'the wise conservative travels light.' In essence for conservative policies to appeal to all they have to be willing to change. Paternalism was supported as poverty and unemployment grew, this can be viewed as the seeds for revolution. Therefore it is through pragmatism that conservatives support paternalism, making concessions that ultimately aid the government.

An example is the franchising act of 1867, allowing more to vote.

Secondly, conservatives have supported

paternalism morally, the basis for the theory is that wisdom and experience is unequally dealt; thus the elite should make the decisions on behalf of the less educated. It relates to the feudal principle of noblesse oblige, furthermore paternalism ties in with the core values of conservatism, mainly authority, hierarchy and human imperfection.

Firstly, authority is believed to be deep rooted within society, in contrast to the liberal belief of it being man-made for individuals benefit, conservatives view it as natural. Authority provides security, guidance and discipline all necessary for the imperfectible beings we are. Conservatives further this by describing humans as psychologically limited, according to this ideology we seek security and a sense of belonging. Paternalism provides this through making decisions on the population's behalf.

Barke wrote 'a state without the means of change is without the means of its conservation'; paternalism provides this means and acknowledges the need.

However its support for this has dwindled, particularly since the 1980s and the rise of Thatcher. The New Right took on an individualist view of society and so encouraged

self-reliance, privatisation and other policies; not associated with paternalism. As Harold MacMillan said Thatcher was 'selling off the family silver'

Following the Thatcherite era a return to paternalism can be seen, however not to the same degree. Cameron's recognition of the need of welfare and NHS improvements reflect this, furthermore his support for gay marriage and female bishops shows pragmatism in an attempt to appeal to all of society.



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### Examiner Comments

This response contains a reasonable initial definition of paternalism. It also highlights two conservative arguments in favour of paternalism, the first based on pragmatic considerations, and the second on the fact that wisdom and experience are unequally distributed in society. However, the first point is explained more clearly and fully than the second. The final four paragraphs contribute little of relevance to the answer. The response received 10 marks out of 15.



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### Examiner Tip

Make sure that the entire response is question-targeted, and do not let answers drift 'away from the question'.



### **Question 3**

This question was generally well answered, with very few candidates having either no basic grasp of the nature of constitutionalism or little sense of its link to liberalism. However, a major discriminator was between responses that merely stated that liberals supported constitutionalism because they believe that government power must be limited or constrained, and ones that explained why liberals are concerned about government power in the first place and why they believe that government should be limited. If responses did the latter, and preferably did so by doing more than simply quoting Acton (who, as ever, did good service in this question), they were able to show why liberals in particular support constitutionalism. A further discriminator was between responses that were able to demonstrate an understanding of the principle of constitutionalism, as opposed to those that merely defined a constitution or, sometimes, a codified constitution.

Typically, a threshold Level 2 response exhibited the following features:

- awareness, but possibly implicit, of the nature of constitutionalism
- limited knowledge of the link between liberalism and constitutionalism.

A typical threshold Level 3 response exhibited the following features:

- sound understanding of the nature of constitutionalism
- clear explanation of the link between liberalism and constitutionalism.

The core theme within liberalism is the notion of the sovereign individual.\* classical liberals have endorsed negative freedom, lack of constraints on the individual, allowing them to live freely and autonomously. Liberals, however, see the threat of government power as dangerous and therefore seek a number of checks and balances to protect individuals from governmental tyranny. one of the main checks ~~on~~ on government power is a constitution.

A constitution ~~is~~ sets out the rules for which the government must adhere to in order to govern. It serves to protect individual liberty for all citizens against dictatorial power and the tyranny of government. The first advantage of constitutionalism is holding government and state institutions accountable for their actions. classical liberals argued riots and rebellion were legitimate in the case of government breaking constitutional promises. Liberal societies, particularly in the west, endorse written constitutions to set out the rights and limits of government as a means of protection.

It could be argued that liberalism is partly characterised by its fear to the

infringement of liberty. Liberal governments and democracies exist, for example, due to individuals seeking to protect themselves from other individuals that may abuse their freedom. In the case of government, liberals need further protection from governmental tyranny and thus endorse a constitution in order to preserve liberty and protect the belief at the heart of the ideology, a commitment to the individual.

\* Individualism is the belief in the supreme importance of the individual over any other collective group or body.



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Examiner Comments

This response clearly recognises that liberals view government power as dangerous, and see a constitution as an important means of constraining government and so protecting individual liberty. However, it suggests that these liberal views stem from a belief in individualism, and especially from the need for individuals to be protected from the encroachments of other individuals, thereby failing properly to address the issue of the corrupting nature of power. It received 10 marks out of 15.

## **Question 4**

The main discriminator in this question was the extent to which candidates dealt with the anarchist view of the state, rather than just pointing out that anarchists view the state as evil because it infringes upon individual freedom. In some cases, effective responses were constructed on the basis of the features of state authority, from an anarchist perspective, pointing out how and why anarchists view the state as compulsory, coercive, destructive and so on. Stronger responses, however, went further in exploring the origins of the oppressive tendencies that reside within the state. This was often done by reflecting on the anarchist view of human nature, but in too many cases anarchists were made to sound like liberals. Acton's warnings about power are distinctively liberal in character, in that they acknowledge different levels of corruption (only absolute power corrupts absolutely) thereby creating the possibility that corruption can be constrained (through the establishment of constitutional and democratic government). Only the strongest responses explained how and why anarchists, on the other hand, believe that all systems of rule, and all states, are absolutely and equally corrupt.

Typically, a threshold Level 2 response exhibited the following features:

- awareness that the state is evil because it restricts freedom
- limited knowledge of the sources of state oppression, from an anarchist perspective.

A threshold Level 3 response typically exhibited the following features:

- clear understanding of the implications of the state for freedom
- clear explanation of the sources of state oppression, from an anarchist perspective.

Chosen Question Number:

why do it's view the state as inherently evil/oppressive  
with in natural order

Question 1

Question 2

Question 3

corrupting  
actor

Question 4

Question 5

coercive - didn't choose to be member  
compulsory - punished  
exploit - taxes

Anarchists can be seen to hold the most highly optimistic view of human nature ~~as~~ in comparison to the other ideologies, in particular Conservatism, which ~~is~~ can be labelled a 'philosophy of human imperfection' in that human nature is seen as imperfect and ~~is~~ imperfectable. Anarchists however, view humans as sociable and gregarious beings. Despite this, ~~they~~ ~~take~~ ~~Anarchists~~ ~~take~~ they hold a strong view of the state as ~~is~~ inherently evil and oppressive.

Anarchism rejects <sup>authority</sup> ~~power~~ in all of its forms, ~~as~~ ~~is~~ and anti-statism is a key and defining principle of the anarchist ideology.

Anarchism firstly view the state as destructive, in ~~the~~ ~~idea~~ that its citizens are forced to go to war to defend the state - they must either kill or be killed, which opposes the anarchist view of human nature as being sociable and gregarious.

The state is also seen as coercive and compulsory: compulsory in the sense that citizens are not given the freedom of choice to become a member, and coercive in the sense that the state is able to punish citizens who do not conform to its rules. The state is also seen as exploitative by anarchists

since it extracts from its citizens wealth in the form of taxes, which was earned by their own labour

Furthermore, anarchists view the state as corrupt, subscribing to a form of Actonism. ~~They~~ Anarchists ~~have~~ support the idea that 'power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely'. Power should not be given to some over others as this will lead others to suffer as a result of ~~the~~ corruption and greed from the hands of those with power.

The state can be seen as oppressive, since as Goldman stated, the ~~bad~~ government is symbolised by 'the club, ~~the handcuffs the prison or the gun~~ the handcuffs and the prison'.



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Examiner Comments

This response begins with some generalised comments about anarchism, which do not go very far in answering the question. It does, then, discuss the characteristics of the state, from the anarchist viewpoint, and recognises that the evil and oppressive character of the state derives from 'a form of Actonism'. However, this analysis of corruption fails to highlight a specifically anarchist position, and so is not sophisticated enough to access middle or high Level 3 marks. The response received 11 marks out of 15.

## Question 5

This was clearly a two-part question. Attempts to reflect on why Marx believed that capitalism is doomed to collapse generally (and reasonably) focused on class conflicts between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. However, only stronger responses demonstrated a deeper level of understanding, by, for instance, showing an awareness of dialectical contradictions in all class societies, or by showing why Marx believed that capitalism amounted to a system of class oppression, based, necessarily, on exploitation. Similarly, while few responses failed to acknowledge that Marx believed that capitalism would collapse as a result of a proletarian revolution, the candidates who were able to explain the circumstances in which the proletariat would be brought to revolutionary class consciousness were in a minority. Weaker responses often simply pointed out that the proletariat would rise up in revolution because it is oppressed, without explaining when and how this would occur.

Typically, a threshold Level 2 response exhibited the following features:

- limited knowledge of why Marx believed that capitalism is doomed to collapse
- limited knowledge of how Marx believed the collapse of capitalism would occur.

A threshold Level 3 response typically exhibited the following features:

- clear explanation of why Marx believed that capitalism is doomed to collapse
- clear explanation of how Marx believed the collapse of capitalism would occur.

Karl Marx is the father of socialism. He believed that capitalism is doomed to collapse and this would be caused by a revolt of the proletariat (the oppressed). Marx's theory was that ~~Capitalism would cause a deep recession.~~ there is a ~~deep~~ large class conflict between the Proletariat and the Bourgeoisie. As the proletariat were suffering badly and were seeking equal wage while the Bourgeoisie were becoming richer and richer. Marx believed that Capitalism was doomed as it would cause a deep recession in the economy. Marx thought that due to the recession the proletariat would become class conscious and see how <sup>economically</sup> well the Bourgeoisie were doing during the recession, in comparison to their suffering. Marx thought

that due to the Proletariat's realisation of the unfair circumstances they would revolt and cause an uprising. He believed that through this uprising Capitalism would collapse and be destroyed. He believed that this revolution would then cause a temporary state of Proletariat dominance before eventually evolving in to Communism. This is how he thought that Capitalism would collapse and why it was doomed.



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Examiner Comments

This response correctly identifies class conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat as the core source of capitalism's demise, but it fails to explain this clearly or to place this class struggle within a larger historical context. The need for the proletariat to achieve class consciousness is acknowledged, with some insight being demonstrated into the economic circumstance in which this would occur. However, this also does not amount to a clear explanation of the process (note references of 'deep recession', as opposed to deepening crises to over-production, and 'unfair circumstance'), meaning that the response does not reach Level 3. It was awarded 10 marks out of 15.



## **Question 6**

Very few responses to this question failed to demonstrate at least a basic understanding of how and why conservatives support tradition and continuity. In strong responses, awareness was often demonstrated of a range of conservative arguments, covering religion-based arguments, pragmatic arguments that take tradition to be the most reliable guide to present action, and arguments that portray tradition as a source of identity and security. Only the strongest responses, however, linked the conservative stress on tradition to the idea of intellectual imperfection (we rely on tradition because reason is destined to fail us). The most common weaknesses in responses to this question tended to stem from a failure to recognise the other side of the argument, or to deal with it in a limited or flawed fashion. Only a minority of candidates addressed the liberal New Right's critique of tradition with real insight, emphasising that the source of the New Right's radicalism is that its faith in reason, theory and principle undermines its reliance on tradition. When candidates produced largely descriptive accounts of conservative arguments in favour of tradition and continuity with few or no balancing points, they achieved poor outcomes in terms of synopticity.

Typically, a threshold Level 2 response exhibited the following features:

- awareness of the nature of tradition and continuity
- limited knowledge of why conservatives support tradition and continuity
- limited knowledge of where and why conservatives depart from traditionalist views.

Typically, a threshold Level 3 response exhibited the following features:

- sound understanding of the nature of tradition and continuity
- clear explanation of conservative arguments in favour of tradition and continuity
- clear explanation of where and why Conservatives depart from traditionalist views, including an account of liberal New Right thinking.

Tradition and continuity is a very important feature in terms of the conservatives ideology. In acknowledgement to the Princeton definition of conservatism; it states that ~~tradition~~ - conservatism is a political orientation or attitude that preserves what is best in society or opposing radical changes. This is why some commentators regard conservatism; of being a negative philosophy - meaning its preaching of preservation in society.

Tradition for conservatives is values, institutions and practices that have endured through time ~~and~~ past to future generations.

Tradition Conversely, tradition and continuity relies on conservatives belief in terms of religion; conservatives believe that certain traditions were brought by God - who fashioned the world. Therefore they dispute humans watering down tradition; as you are tampering with God's law; hence pre-democratic conservative Burke, who is also acknowledge as the founding father of conservatism in -

states tradition is English speaking countries "law of our creator" "natural law". Although; due to the rate of historical acceleration there are many features in our society that are man-made which are uncooperated into tradition; so for conservatives, they acknowledge that the religious explanation and defence for tradition; is ever evolving.

Subsequently, conservatives acknowledges that tradition and continuity enables people in society to feel a sense of identity & rootedness to the past. For instance the quote again from Edmund Burke [Society] is a partnership "between those who are dead, living and those who are born". The following explanation also lies in conservative view of human nature; because they believe humans are both psychologically dependent & reliant creatures. Tradition and continuity can provide people with a sense of belonging in the path of the unknown.

On the other hand, tradition and continuity also lies on conservatives believe of the organicism; they believe traditions are vital in order to keep the harmony and consensus of society. This is why the family is an established and important

feature; for conservatives - as they believe the family; especially the conventional nuclear family is the main means for providing tradition and maintaining the so called 'moral fabric' and 'natural equilibrium' within society.

For modern conservatives; they believe in the social Darwinistic explanation for tradition and continuity; they believe that institutions and practices that have been established is because they have endured and stood the test of time.

In terms of ~~contemporary society~~ because of ~~the~~ traditional conservatives - they emphasise <sup>preservation</sup> for monarchy - as it is a feature of historical and cultural identification.  
<sup>Furthermore</sup> in ~~conclusions~~ conclusions, because of conservative strong hold on tradition and continuity, this has revived and maintained its significance and has attracted religious fundamentalism; Conservatives emphasise on tradition because they have been critical of the flourishing nature of the liberal ideology and the watering down of fundamental values in society - the cult of the individual; politically correct definition of permissiveness, has led to a decline in family and so

has led conservatives such as neo conservatives a strict read ~~to~~ what Margaret Thatcher - identified as 'Victorian values' (return).

For instance; social scientist Ronald Inglehart - recognised that political values are ever being watered down at the expense of the individual and also quality of life. He coined the term 'post-materialism' - in his famous work "Changing values of political system in western <sup>public</sup> ~~national~~ [silent revolution].

In conclusions, tradition and continuity is a very important feature to conservatives and in an ever cosmopolitan society; conservatives aim to enforce this through; for example David Cameron's big society - programme; enforcing the family and -

tradition. Conservatives do believe that it is important to maintain the values of our previous ancestors as G. K Chesterton acknowledged; tradition is 'the democracy of the dead'; and for conservatives it is important to maintain the accumulated wisdom of the past, to future generations. For instance the institution of the family.



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**Examiner Comments**

This response demonstrates an accurate understanding of conservative arguments in favour of tradition and continuity, with a comprehensive range of arguments being addressed. However, its main flaw is a failure to address the issue of 'extent' by considering conservative ideas or beliefs that depart from traditionalism. The comments on neoconservatism and the point about post-materialism do not suffice in this respect, and the liberal New Right is not addressed at all. This failure, affects the AO1 marks, has greater impact on AO2 (particularly the lack of evaluation), but it has its greatest impact on the synopticity mark, as, effectively, the response contains no relevant synopticity. The mark allocated for this response was 19 (8, 6, 0 and 5).



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**Examiner Tip**

Remember that all essay questions are invitations to candidates to debate and discuss issues. This should be made clear in the introduction, but, more importantly, the essay should be structured around the competing viewpoints. If candidates are not aware of a relevant competing viewpoint, they should attempt another question.

## **Question 7**

There were at least two legitimate approaches to this question. The most common approach was to examine the links between anarchism and socialist collectivism and then to consider forms of anarchism that have quite different roots and so clash with socialist collectivism. This invariably led to a discussion of the hybrid nature of anarchism, acknowledging that it can be thought of as both a form of ultra-socialism and a form of ultra-liberalism. The second approach was, after examining links between anarchism and socialist collectivism, to consider how, when and why collectivist anarchism differs from socialist collectivism. Such an approach often led to a discussion of how, in anarchism, collectivism has anti-statist implications, while in socialism it has often been used to endorse statism. Some very strong candidates highlighted both forms of synopticity, but it was not necessary to do so to access high Level 3 marks. Weak responses to this question tended to be descriptive rather than analytical, and often focused over-heavily on an account of the rivalry between anarcho-communism and anarcho-capitalism, without linking this effectively to the question set.

Typically, a threshold Level 2 response exhibited the following features:

- awareness, but possibly implicit, of the nature of socialist collectivism
- limited knowledge of links between anarchism and socialist collectivism
- limited knowledge of forms of anarchism that are unrelated to socialist collectivism.

Typically, a threshold Level 3 response exhibited the following features:

- sound understanding of the nature of socialist collectivism
- clear explanation of links between anarchism and socialist collectivism
- clear explanation of forms of anarchism that are unrelated to socialist collectivism.

collectivism broadly refers to the belief that human beings are social animals and are better suited to working together collectively as a group. Anarchism is argued to draw many theories from socialist beliefs regarding cooperation and the human capacity to care for others and be socially gregarious creatures. These ideas are most clearly defined in the Anarcho-communist, collectivist Anarchist and Anarcho-syndicalist traditions; all of which are based on beliefs regarding common humanity and the strength of collective human endeavour. Conversely, ~~are~~ the rival anarchist wings; ~~the~~ Anarcho-capitalists, individualist anarchists and libertarians, focus on a more liberal notion of the individual and atomism.

The anarchist thinker Kropotkin coined the term 'mutual aid', which thus led to a belief in mutualism. Kropotkin rejected the Darwinian theory of evolution and argued that the human species had not been so successful due to its ability to fight and be selfish, but because humans have a natural propensity for 'mutual aid'. This belief links to the optimistic view of human nature, that individuals are inherently gregarious,

sympathetic and caring creatures. ~~THE~~  
This ultimately leads to the argument that humans are bound together by a common humanity and create relationships on the basis of affection and care. Kropotkin's theory of mutualism was put into practice by Swiss watch makers who created an exchange that was non-profiteering and purely sought to exchange materials in a non-exploitative way. From this perspective, ~~Anarchist~~ collectivist Anarchists are similar to socialists as they hold an extreme view of the ability for individuals to be cooperative and work together. ~~The core~~ such anarchists hold social solidarity and collective effort as a key to living in a balanced, harmonious society. This was famously proclaimed by Bakunin, 'social solidarity is the first human law and freedom is the second law.'

conversely, Anarcho-capitalist and individualist Anarchists, such as Ayn Rand and Rothbard argue that society is atomistic and formed of self-sufficient and self-reliant individuals. such ideas are argued to be a form of extreme classical liberalism, enforcing the notion that the individual is sovereign. whilst Anarcho-communists endorse ~~an equal~~ a society based on mutual aid, Anarcho-



capitalists endorse ~~the~~ unregulated market competition as a replacement of the state. This would allow individuals to manage their own affairs autonomously and only



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Examiner Comments

This response demonstrates, at the outset, a very clear understanding of the nature of collectivism and of its link to anarchism, whilst also acknowledging forms of anarchism that derive more from the liberal ideas of individualism and atomism. This is then developed by an examination of Kropotkin's idea of mutual aid and how it supports anti-statism by providing the basis for social solidarity. Differences between collectivist anarchism and individualist anarchism, particularly anarcho-capitalism, are highlighted, but not with sufficient development and the theoretical sophistication necessary to get consistently into Level 3. This response received 32 marks (9, 9, 7 and 7).

## Question 8

This was a very popular question, and responses to it were often of a very high calibre. Very few candidates failed to recognise at least the key features of modern liberalism and classical liberalism. In weaker responses, a largely descriptive approach was adopted, which failed consistently to highlight similarities and differences between the two traditions. Many, nevertheless, were able to discuss continuities and discontinuities between classical and modern liberalism with confidence and insight. In the strongest responses, an awareness was sometimes demonstrated of disagreements amongst classical and modern liberals about the level of continuity between the two traditions, classical liberals, for example, being inclined to believe that modern liberals have abandoned the 'true' faith. Many candidates were also able to discuss how disagreements over the role of the state in economic and social life stem from deeper and more philosophical differences over matters such as freedom and the nature of happiness.

Typically, a threshold Level 2 response exhibited the following features:

- limited knowledge of modern liberalism
- limited knowledge of ideas of classical liberalism.

A threshold Level 3 response typically exhibited the following features:

- clear understanding of modern liberalism
- clear explanation of areas of continuity and discontinuity between classical and modern liberalism.

In many ways modern liberals have departed from classical liberal ideas, to the extent that classical liberals have criticised modern liberal for betraying their traditional liberal beliefs. However modern liberals have rejected this criticism and stated that they have actually built ~~to~~ on the early liberal ideas rather than departed from them.

One way in which modern liberals have departed from classical liberal ideas is their view on freedom. This is ~~sub~~ the distinction between negative and positive freedom, a theory created by Isaiah Berlin. He stated there are two types of freedom, negative freedom which he described

as "the freedom to be one's own master" and positive freedom which promotes ideas of human development and self-realisation. Modern liberals had moved away from this support of negative freedom and looked to promote positively free individuals. They have supported this because of their idea that to be truly free one must achieve a state of self-realisation.

This leads on to a difference of opinion on equality. Traditionally liberals had believed that formal equality & equality of opportunity was the realist form of equality. Modern liberals had criticized this as promoting meritocracy and as T.H. Green stated, about negative freedom & equality of opportunity, "the freedom to starve". ~~John Rawls~~ Therefore modern liberals have supported a form of welfarism which would allow individuals in the lower classes of society to achieve a higher level of development regardless of their social circumstances. This modern liberal stance on equality can be supported through John Rawls' theory on the 'difference principle'. Simply put this puts forward the idea that, as stated by Rawls, "economic inequalities are only justifiable if they work to the benefit of the poorest in society".

~~And~~ There is also divisions in the <sup>the role</sup> view of the state between modern & classical liberals. ~~The~~ The classical view of the state

is ~~scared~~ summed up nicely by "John Locke's description of the 'nightwatchman' state. This pushes forward the idea that the only justifiable

situation in which the state may intervene against an individual's wishes is to protect the freedom of others. Modern Liberals had built on this idea by, as previously stated, promoting the 'enabling' state which includes economic interventionism + redistribution of wealth. This also leads to a ~~&~~ modern liberal departure from economic liberalist ideas to more support for economic management.

Modern liberal and classical liberal divide ~~is embodied~~ on economic policy is embodied in the conflict <sup>of theories</sup> between Adam Smith and John Maynard Keynes. Adam Smith endorsed the idea of economic liberalism with minimal state intervention believing the 'invisible hand' of the market will promote general benefit. Adam Smith's idea that "the ~~do not~~ benevolence of the butcher, baker and the brewer is not how we except our evening meal but from their regard to their own interests", this phrase ~~is~~ is the general idea of economic liberalism that the market is self-regulating, this is even taken further by ~~the neoliberals~~ neoliberals and social Darwinists who support market fundamentalism, which basically means an ideological commitment to the market.

Modern liberals have rejected these ideas in support for economic management and Keynesian economic policies. These include economic interventionism, increased government spending and an increase in taxes. This is all supported on the idea of improving the lower classes' chances of development & self-realisation.

Lastly, classical liberals and modern liberals have been a different view on individualism. The traditional view being egotistical individualism with more modern views being developmental individualism. This means that modern liberals have a more positive view of human & nature.

Having said all this, it is easy to assume that there is a significant divide between modern liberal and classical liberal views. However modern liberals would argue this is untrue and put forward the argument they have not departed from these ideas rather built on them.

They still place significant emphasis on freedom and individualism however they just have different views on how individuals can be free and the means of doing so. In general it could be said that modern liberals at the beginning ~~is~~ <sup>had</sup> witnessed the social circumstances that economic liberalism and negative freedom had created, ~~and~~ noting that many individuals lacked the

The necessary conditions to be positively free. Therefore, while still emphasising freedom and individualism, suggested that the state lend a helping hand to get people on their way to self-realisation. As Bill Clinton put it "a hand up, not a hand out", although he would be classified as a 'third-way' socialist. However the phrase can also be used to justify the modern liberal stance of the role of the state.

In Conclusion, the fact that the modern liberal ~~to~~ will stand up for his or her belief that they are still a traditional liberal, shows that this drift away from classical liberalism is a way of improving liberalism to promote the core ideals and beliefs of ~~liberalism~~ liberalism in a modern society.



**ResultsPlus**

**Examiner Comments**

This response starts with a strong opening paragraph, which succinctly sums up the terms of the debate to be addressed. It then goes on to review a series of issues, highlighting, in each case, areas of continuity and discontinuity between modern and classical liberalism. Freedom is considered, followed by equality, the role of the state, the economy and individualism. The knowledge and understanding is accurate, comprehensive and insightful. Good analytical and evaluative skills are demonstrated throughout. The synoptic skills employed are sophisticated and very effective, and the overall argument is clearly developed and coherently structured. This adds up to an excellent response. It received 45 marks out of 45 (12, 12, 12, 9).

## Paper Summary

Based on their performance in this paper, teachers and candidates should note the following advice.

- Make sure that all answers are relevant to the specific question set. Generalised knowledge, however impressive it may be, cannot gain any marks if it does not address the question.
- In particular, be aware of the danger of answers that 'drift away from' the question, through an attempt to write a little bit more or to use knowledge simply because it has been revised.
- Make sure that conceptual understanding is regularly stressed and tested.
- Remember that all essays are an invitation to debate or discuss an issue, and structure answers around these debates. If synopticity is strong, AO2 and AO3 marks will also tend to be strong.

## **Grade Boundaries**

Grade boundaries for this, and all other papers, can be found on the website on this link:

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