



General Certificate of Education

**Government and Politics
1151/2151**

GOV3B Ideologies

Mark Scheme

2010 examination - January series

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

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

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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 candidates are expected to demonstrate their mastery of the skills required in the context of their knowledge and understanding of Government and Politics. Mark schemes provide the necessary framework for examiners but they cannot cover all eventualities. Candidates should be given credit for partially complete answers. Where appropriate, candidates should be given credit for referring to recent and contemporary developments in Government and Politics.

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

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

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

There are no limits to the areas of knowledge that candidates may feel able bring to the discussion. Therefore the specification of requirements outlined in the mark schemes can only be indicative. Candidates 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 candidates' responses are marked according to the level of demand and context of each question.

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

In making decisions away from the middle of the Level, examiners should ask themselves questions relating to candidate attainment, including the quality of language. The more positive the answers, the higher should be the mark awarded. We want to avoid ‘bunching’ of marks. Levels mark schemes can produce regression to the mean, which should be avoided.

A candidate’s script should be considered by asking ‘Is it:

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

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

A2 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS
GENERIC MARK SCHEME for part (a) questions (Total: 10 marks)

Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
AO1	AO2	AO3
<p>Level 4 (4 marks) The candidate demonstrates a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The candidate fully addresses the requirements of the question and provides developed and effective to comprehensive interpretation. The answer also provides clear to accurate evidence and, where appropriate, good to excellent examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p>Level 4 (4 marks) The candidate 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 candidate 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. 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 3 (3 marks) The candidate demonstrates good knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The candidate clearly addresses the requirements of the question and provides sound interpretation and contextual awareness. The answer includes good examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p>Level 3 (3 marks) The candidate applies a good range of developed concepts and uses appropriate political theory to construct a clear and cogent explanation or argument.</p>	
<p>Level 2 (2 marks) The candidate 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 candidate 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 candidate communicates explanations or arguments with limited clarity and effectiveness, using limited political vocabulary. The answer may lack either a clear focus on the question or a sense of direction. 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>Level 1 (1 mark) The candidate demonstrates little knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The candidate 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.</p>	<p>Level 1 (1 mark) The candidate applies few concepts and makes little use of political theory or ideas in developing an explanation or argument.</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 part (b) questions (Total: 30 marks)**

Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
AO1	AO2	AO3
<p>Level 4 (10–12 marks)</p> <p>The candidate demonstrates a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>The answer includes excellent examples to illustrate points made. The answer includes detailed and comprehensive interpretations or explanations as well as accurate evidence and relevant examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p>Level 4 (10–12 marks)</p> <p>The candidate displays excellent awareness of the implications and demands of the question. There is an excellent and sustained focus on the specific question asked. There is clear and full evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour which displays a sophisticated awareness of differing viewpoints and recognition of issues. 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)</p> <p>The candidate 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.</p> <p>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)</p> <p>The candidate demonstrates sound knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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)</p> <p>The candidate displays sound awareness of the implications and demands of the question. There is a clear focus on the question. There is a sound evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour which displays good awareness of differing viewpoints and recognition of issues. There is good recognition of parallels and comparisons. Appropriate concepts are used and developed.</p>	<p>Level 3 (4–5 marks)</p> <p>The candidate 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 candidate produces an answer with a conclusion linked to the preceding discussion.</p>

GENERIC MARK SCHEME for part (b) questions (continued)

Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
AO1	AO2	AO3
<p>Level 2 (4–6 marks) The candidate demonstrates outline knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and some awareness of the relationships between them. The answer makes a limited attempt to address the question and demonstrates contextual awareness covering part of the question. 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 candidate displays little awareness of the implications and demands of the question, resulting in a restricted focus. There is a limited evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour which displays a partial awareness of differing viewpoints and issues. 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 candidate 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 candidate 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 sited 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 candidate displays little awareness of the implications and demands of the question and focus is lacking. Evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour is superficial. 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>

1**Total for this question: 40 marks****(a) Explain how liberals perceive equality.****(10 marks)**

- Fundamentally, liberals believe that humans are naturally unequal. Therefore, in a free society people are 'free to be unequal'. The Classical Liberals of the 19th century proposed a society in which individuals were largely free from restraint. As a consequence, some would succeed, others would fail.
- By the end of the 19th century Modern/Progressive Liberals recognised that some individuals were born with disadvantages which could not be overcome by their own efforts. These individuals should nevertheless be entitled to equal life-chances. To overcome such inequalities all individuals should be provided with EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES to succeed by the state removing obstacles which hold some individuals back – mainly through education, improved health care and other social welfare policies.
- It is this commitment to opportunity which characterises modern liberal perceptions of equality, alongside a firm commitment to egalitarianism with its emphasis on all individuals being treated equally in society irrespective of social class, age, ethnicity, gender and disability.
- This notion of equality contrasts with the socialist view which is essentially concerned with EQUALITY OF OUTCOME.

(b) 'Core liberal beliefs and values continue to have an influence on the Liberal Democrat Party's policies and programmes'. Discuss.**(30 marks)**

Candidates would be expected to cover the core beliefs and values which are traditionally associated with liberalism and show the extent to which these have and do influence policies and programmes, namely:

- Commitments to liberty, freedom, equality and tolerance. These beliefs are evident in the policies advocated by the Liberal Democrats in areas such as gay rights, prisoners' rights, women's rights and ethnic minority rights, as well as in the tolerance shown towards immigrants and asylum seekers. Also in social policies relating to health, welfare and education.
- The championing of constitutional reform. Seen in policies and programmes related to proportional representation, a written Bill of Rights for the UK, reform of the House of Lords, decentralisation of government and devolution.
- A belief in internationalism as evident in support for such organisations as the UN and the EU.

Candidates would also be expected to point out that many Liberal Democrat policies owe more to Progressive Liberalism than to the core beliefs and values associated with Classical Liberalism. Examples could include:

- Campaigns to extend both worker and consumer rights in recognition of the dangers of excessive economic power wielded by big business corporations.
- Efforts to reduce the causes of crime rather than simply relying on punishment.

- Emphasis on state management of the economy to maintain high levels of employment which would not be in accord with the free market policies advocated by Classical Liberals.
- Green policies and programmes also do not fit easily alongside unfettered capitalism.

Overview

Liberal philosophy clearly remains at the heart of the Liberal Democrat Party. The Liberal Democrats undoubtedly place more stress on state intervention to create social and economic equality than the Classical Liberals did.

Similarly, the emphasis on social justice in the form of redistribution of income from the rich to the poor owes more to Progressive Liberalism than it does to Classical Liberalism. Crucially, the commitment to individual liberty and tolerance which are essential liberal values continues to form the party's central philosophy – a key point which should be noted.

Credit should be given for recognising the social democratic ideas brought to the new party by the former Labour Party members who had quit Labour in 1981 to form the Social Democratic Party.

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

(a) Explain why socialists reject individualism in favour of collectivism. (10 marks)
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Individualism – Essentially, the belief in the supreme importance of the individual over any social group or collective body. Human beings are regarded as self-seeking, self-reliant, rational and capable of self-improvement. Given that humans are rational beings, individuals are most capable of judging their own self-interest.

- The individual is of central importance and is above any other social group or collective body.
- Society should be constructed so that the individual has the greatest possible opportunity to satisfy his/her own interests and fulfil his/her potential.

Collectivism – Socialists reject this focus on the individual because they believe that human endeavour is of greater practical and moral value than individual self-seeking. Humans are social creatures who are able to overcome problems far more effectively by working collectively rather than individually.

- This collective is essentially a brotherhood or FRATERNITY based on the sharing of a common humanity which binds people together and transcends nationality, race, class and gender. Such co-operation enables people to harness their collective energies and strengthen the bond of community.
- In contrast, competitive individualism divides humans and helps to breed resentment, conflict and hostility.

(b) ‘An ideological battle between social democracy and democratic socialism.’ Discuss with reference to the policies and programmes pursued by the Labour Party. (30 marks)
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In the first instance candidates would be expected to explain/define the two key terms.

Democratic Socialism

- Belief that socialism can be secured by peaceful means through the ballot box/parliamentary system.
- Belief in state ownership and the need for an extensive welfare state.
- Strong emphasis on collective working-class organisations such as the trade unions.
- The desire to redistribute wealth and end the class system and those institutions where membership is linked to birth and privilege.
- The belief that equality of outcome is more important than individual liberty.

Social Democracy

- Scepticism towards/rejection of ideological blueprints.
- Commitment to equality of opportunity.
- Freedom and fairness being seen as more important than equality of outcome.
- The acceptance of a mixed, largely private economy with some state intervention/and regulation.

Candidates might also point out that this battle has raged throughout the party’s history and can be seen in the divisions over policy during the MacDonald era in the 1930s, the ‘keep

left' group's criticisms of Attlee's policies, clashes between the fundamentalists and revisionists in the 1950s and early 1960s. Reference could also be made to the left's critique of Wilson's economic and industrial policies and his support for the USA in Vietnam.

Discussions of party directions in the 1970s and early 1980s could cover Callaghan and Healey's clashes with Benn, and Foot and Kinnock's problems with the Militant Tendency.

It would appear that under Kinnock, Smith and more particularly Blair and Brown, the Social Democrats have won the ideological battle as is evident in New Labour's:

- Acceptance of a market economy and the championing of an enterprise culture.
- Willingness to accept private money to help influence public programmes.
- Distancing of the party from the Trade Union Movement.
- Promotion of policies more suited to producing a meritocracy than a truly egalitarian society.

It should not be forgotten, however, that aspects of democratic socialism are still evident in aspects of the New Labour agenda, most notably in the party's desire to create a fairer, more inclusive society based on social justice.

3

Total for this question: 40 marks

(a) Explain the term 'One Nation Conservatism'.

(10 marks)

- A brand of Conservatism first outlined by Disraeli in the mid-19th century which attempted to broaden support for the Conservative Party by uniting the British people who were clearly divided by class differences.
- It contended that the more privileged members of society had a duty to look after those in need if growing social inequality was to be reduced.
- This would make Conservatives popular with the masses and prevent violent uprisings like those which had taken place in Continental Europe.
- Reform would therefore protect the long-term interests of the wealthy by ensuring that revolution was avoided.
- Reform was also necessary on moral grounds: those at the top of the hierarchy have an obligation to alleviate the suffering experienced by those at the bottom.
- The slogan 'One Nation Conservatism' refers to Disraeli's emphasis on unity between classes.
- At the time, holders of such views were seen as progressives.
- In the 20th and 21st centuries this philosophy has been evident in the Conservative Party of the post-war period, which accepted many aspects of the policies and programmes pursued and practised during the 'Era of Consensus', particularly the importance of a safety net to deal with poverty as well as support for a limited redistribution of wealth and income, and government intervention in the economy to regulate markets so as to bolster high employment. Some of Cameron's policies are also indebted to this tradition – give credit for relevant examples.

(b) 'The modern Conservative Party is pragmatic rather than ideological.' Discuss.

(30 marks)

The term 'modern' is open to interpretation. Some candidates could well argue that modern Conservatism came into being with the extension of the franchise in the 19th century. Others could see modern as being essentially contemporaneous. Both interpretations are acceptable.

Pragmatism – a world view which emphasises common-sense judgement and everyday human experience in preference to abstract theories. These are to be distrusted as they fail to recognise the limitations of human rationality. Instead, faith should be placed in experience, history and common-sense solutions to problems. Action should be shaped by practical circumstances and practical goals, ie by 'what works'.

Ideological – implies a commitment to blueprints and dogma; allowing actions to be determined by a guiding set of core political, economic and social beliefs and values.

Having defined these terms, candidates could well provide a brief discussion of early evidence of pragmatism in the Conservative Party before focusing on the contemporary period, eg:

- Disraeli's policies and calls for One Nation Conservatism.
- The Butskellite/consensus policies in the 1950s and 1960s.
- Heath's U-turns following the difficulties with the right-wing Selsdon programme.
- Major's Maastricht concessions which reconciled the Eurosceptics and Europhiles.

In contrast, it could be agreed that Thatcher's advocacy of politics and programmes being rooted firmly in the ideology of the New Right represents a break with this tradition, particularly given her trenchant criticism of the policies and values associated with the post-war consensus.

Since Thatcher's removal from office in 1990, evidence of pragmatism can be found in:

- Major's replacement of the Community Charge with the Council Tax.
- Hague's and Duncan-Smith's projects to create both an inclusive party and an inclusive society.
- Howard's opposition to increased tuition fees for students.
- More recently, Cameron's pronouncements and policy proposals regarding tax, welfare, environmentalism, health, law and order and the need for government intervention in the financial sector from late 2007 onwards. Credit will be given for policies and statements which would support/refute the claims made in the quotation as long as they are accurate.

Some candidates could well argue that remnants of Thatcherism are still to be seen in Conservative policies and programmes. This is an acceptable proposition as long as it is supported by actual policy evidence.

4

Total for this question: 40 marks

(a) Explain why fascists view the state as being more important than the individual.

(10 marks)

- Fascism rejects the selfish individualism that is associated with liberal democracies and capitalism which are seen to be weak and socially divided.
- A core theme which runs throughout fascism is the image of an organically unified national community organised via a totalitarian state which creates 'strength through unity'. The individual alone is nothing. Individual identity must be entirely absorbed into that of the community, ie the state.
- This is seen as the only organisation capable of producing the 'new man' – a hero motivated by duty, honour and self-sacrifice who gives unquestioning obedience to a supreme leader.
- So the fascist state serves the collective will of the people, not the demands of individuals or groups.

(b) 'Fascism is largely defined by what it opposes.' Discuss.

(30 marks)

- In many ways fascism can be defined in terms of its opposition to the exercise of rationalism in politics. Rationalism is associated with liberalism, the dominant political philosophy of the 19th century. For fascists, liberalism's economic creed, capitalism, produced an economic depression in the 1920s and 1930s, a crisis which the liberal democratic state could not rectify as it was too impotent and directionless to do so. Dynamic action, fascists would argue, is seldom the product of reason but of individual activity inspired by heroic myths and a sense of destiny. Furthermore, people's allegiances to nation and race are not rational ideas but intensely romantic and even quasi-religious.
- A belief in and commitment to equality is flawed and dangerous – people are inherently unequal. For fascists, the political process can only be dynamic and healthy if it is based on unequal powers. Those with superior attributes should prevail and deserve to do so. The progress of civilisation depends upon inequality since it guarantees that those who possess higher qualities will control and lead the masses.
- All traditional forms of democracy are to be opposed. Traditional democracy recognises diversity in society. This gives rise to political parties whose aim is often to further the interests of a particular class or group. Fascists abhor this style of politics since their concern is to unite a people, not encourage divisions.
- Fascism is anti-socialist. Whilst fascism historically revered groups such as miners, engineers and farm workers who fought to bend nature to the needs of the whole community, fascists nevertheless reject socialism on the grounds that it pursues the interests of only one section of society (the working class) and in doing so denies the concept of the national community.
- Fascists reject internationalism and the socialist critique of nationalism as a form of false consciousness that has been employed to disguise the true nature of capitalism, and which prevents the working class from transcending national boundaries in their struggle to overthrow the capitalist state. For fascists the nation-state is a necessary, positive structure serving the needs of the nation's particular (racial) community. With Nazis, the combination of nationalism and racialism provided the bedrock upon which the collective identity of the people depended.

Thus, values such as rationalism, progress, freedom and equality are overturned in the name of struggle, leadership, power, heroism and war.

In this sense, fascism has an 'anti-character'. It is basically defined by what it opposes.

ASSESSMENT OBJECTIVE GRID

A2 Assessment Objective	Marks allocated by Assessment Objective Part (a) question	Marks allocated by Assessment Objective Part (b) question	Total Marks by Assessment Objective
AO1	4	12	16
AO2	4	12	16
AO3	2	6	8
Total	10	30	40