



**General Certificate of Education  
January 2011**

**Government and Politics      GOV3B**

**Ideologies**

**Unit 3B**

***Mark Scheme***

Mark schemes are prepared by the Principal Examiner and considered, together with the relevant questions, by a panel of subject teachers. This mark scheme includes any amendments made at the standardisation meeting attended by all examiners and is the scheme which was used by them in this examination. The standardisation meeting ensures that the mark scheme covers the 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.

At A2, generally speaking, there is no unambiguously 'right' or 'wrong' answer to the 30-mark questions. Answers will be judged on factors such as quality of the argument, depth of knowledge and understanding, a synoptic grasp of the subject, appropriateness of the examples and internal logic of the discussion. Where 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 questions with a total of 10 marks**

<b>Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select &amp; Deploy</b>	<b>Skills: Analysis &amp; Evaluation</b>	<b>Communication</b>
<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
<p><b>Level 4 (4 marks)</b>            The 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><b>Level 4 (4 marks)</b>            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><b>Levels 3–4 (2 marks)</b>            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.</p>
<p><b>Level 3 (3 marks)</b>            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><b>Level 3 (3 marks)</b>            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>The answer has a clear sense of direction, is focused on the question and, where appropriate, has a conclusion which flows from the discussion.</p>
<p><b>Level 2 (2 marks)</b>            The 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><b>Level 2 (2 marks)</b>            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><b>Levels 1–2 (1 mark)</b>            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.</p>
<p><b>Level 1 (1 mark)</b>            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 made.</p>	<p><b>Level 1 (1 mark)</b>            The candidate applies few concepts and makes little use of political theory or ideas in developing an explanation or argument.</p>	<p>There are frequent errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar and legibility may be a problem. A conclusion, where appropriate, may be offered but its relationship to the preceding discussion is modest or implicit.</p>
<p><b>0 marks</b>            No relevant response.</p>	<p><b>0 marks</b>            No relevant response.</p>	<p><b>0 marks</b>            No relevant response.</p>

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

<b>Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select &amp; Deploy</b>	<b>Skills: Analysis &amp; Evaluation</b>	<b>Communication</b>
<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
<p><b>Level 4 (10–12 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them. A synoptic approach is fully developed, drawing appropriately on knowledge, perspectives and examples from a wide range of studies in government and politics. The answer fully addresses the requirements of the question and demonstrates excellent contextual awareness. The answer includes excellent examples to illustrate points made. The answer includes detailed and comprehensive interpretations or explanations, as well as accurate evidence and relevant examples, to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 4 (10–12 marks)</b> The 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><b>Level 4 (6 marks)</b> 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. The response should be legible with few, if any, errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar. The answer has a clear sense of direction, culminating in a conclusion that flows from the preceding discussion.</p>
<p><b>Level 3 (7–9 marks)</b> The candidate demonstrates sound knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them. A synoptic approach is well developed using a range of knowledge, perspectives and examples gained elsewhere in the study of government and politics. The answer clearly addresses the requirements of the question and demonstrates sound contextual awareness. The answer includes developed and effective interpretations or explanations and also clear evidence and good examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 3 (7–9 marks)</b> The 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><b>Level 3 (4–5 marks)</b> 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 questions with a total of 30 marks (continued)**

<b>Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select &amp; Deploy</b>	<b>Skills: Analysis &amp; Evaluation</b>	<b>Communication</b>
<b>AO1</b>	<b>AO2</b>	<b>AO3</b>
<p><b>Level 2 (4–6 marks)</b> The 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><b>Level 2 (4–6 marks)</b> 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.</p> <p>There is some recognition of basic parallels and comparisons. Arguments and explanations are undeveloped, with a limited use of concepts.</p>	<p><b>Level 2 (2–3 marks)</b> The 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><b>Level 1 (1–3 marks)</b> 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 cited from elsewhere in their study of government and politics. There is little attempt to address the requirements of the question. There is only superficial awareness, if any, of the context of the question, with little interpretation and few, if any, examples often inaccurately reported or inappropriately used.</p>	<p><b>Level 1 (1–3 marks)</b> The 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.</p> <p>Analysis shows little awareness of differing viewpoints and issues. There is little, if any, recognition of parallels and comparisons. Arguments, explanations and use of concepts are superficial and naïve.</p>	<p><b>Level 1 (1 mark)</b> The answer relies upon narrative which is not fully coherent. There is little or no use of political vocabulary. Errors in spelling, punctuation and grammar may be intrusive and the response may not be legible. A conclusion, if present, is not adequately related to the preceding discussion.</p>
<p><b>0 marks</b> No relevant response.</p>	<p><b>0 marks</b> No relevant response.</p>	<p><b>0 marks</b> No relevant response.</p>

**Topic 1 Liberalism****Total for this topic: 40 marks****01** Explain why liberalism is pluralist.*(10 marks)*

Candidates need to define pluralism. They would be expected to point out the following:

- belief in diversity of opinion and freedom of choice
- a society made up of many competing groups; in this society power should be widely dispersed and not concentrated in the hands of an elite or ruling class
- under pluralism the state functions as a neutral institution which does not operate in favour of single groups; it acts as a referee between competing groups and individuals.

Such political pluralism is widely regarded as the key feature of a liberal democracy in that it both allows electors to express independent views and gives them a mechanism through which they can remove unpopular governments. The diversity which exists in such pluralist systems is healthy and desirable in itself because it usually safeguards individual freedom and promotes debate, argument and understanding.

In making these points and in identifying such political characteristics, candidates would be constructing a sound and reasoned explanation as to why liberalism is so closely associated with pluralism.

Most candidates are likely to possess a sound appreciation of the term; the best candidates could well discuss the concept in a broader context within the lexicon of political sociology and power theories, perhaps contrasting it with elitism. Full marks could nevertheless be awarded without the comparison being made.

**02** 'Liberalism is closely associated with the protection of human rights and the promotion of constitutional reform.' Discuss. *(30 marks)*

The protection of individual liberties and the desire to bring about political reforms have long been associated with both liberalism as a political philosophy and with Liberal Party politics in the UK, and this tradition has been maintained by the Liberal Democrats in recent decades. So as to support and illustrate these claims candidates would be expected to point out the following:

Human Rights

- Liberalism's historical philosophical association with liberty, freedom and rights. The best candidates would be expected to refer to both the great thinkers on these themes and also to the policies proposed (and pursued) by Liberal politicians in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.
- In more recent years, Liberal Democrats have claimed that they have 'the protection of Civil Liberties at the heart of our purpose and philosophy'. The evidence to be included to support this claim should include policies to extend the rights of both individuals and groups:
  - (i) 2001 – calls for extended protection for religious groups proposed by Labour to be extended to lesbian women and gay men
  - (ii) Liberal Democrats the first party to propose civil partnerships in the UK
  - (iii) making incitement to homophobic hatred an offence
  - (iv) wanting to end all differences in the laws on pensions between same and mixed sex marriages



- (v) opposition to Labour's ID cards and the party's authoritarian anti-terror laws, particularly with regard to detention without trial
- (vi) outlawing age discrimination
- (vii) stopping the government from permanently storing the DNA of innocent people without their consent
- (viii) the decriminalising of recreational drugs
- (ix) renegotiating the 'unfair' extradition treaty with the USA so that British people cannot be extradited without 'proper' evidence
- (x) pro the extension of both worker and consumer rights in the face of the growing economic power wielded by big business corporations.

### Constitutional Reform

With regards to constitutional reform, candidates need to point out that both the philosophy and political practice have long been associated with a keen desire to control state power and to enhance popular democracy. The best answers will include both historical and recent/current evidence to support and illustrate these points. Historical evidence could be liberalism's/the Liberal Party's support for Irish Home Rule, extension of the franchise, reform of the House of Lords, proportional representation and decentralisation.

More recent evidence could include the Liberal Democrats' support for Labour's Human Rights Act. Level 4 answers would be likely to point out the party's desire to see this supported by a written constitution and a bill of rights. One would expect the best answers to include examples of some of the specific reforms proposed by the Liberal Democrats in recent years. These could be drawn from the following:

- making the UK into a Federal State of constituent countries with greater powers for devolved assemblies and parliaments
- giving the people of England the choice of having directly elected regional assemblies
- replacing the House of Lords with an elected second chamber utilising STV for electing one third of its members every four years for a non-renewable term of 12 years
- extending Parliament's oversight of the executive to increase accountability
- electing future MPs using STV and reducing their numbers by 150
- capping donations to parties to a maximum of £25 000 and setting a £10 million annual party spending limit
- forcing by-elections on all MPs who break the parliamentary rules.

As will be pointed out in the mark schemes on the other ideologies, the best candidates are likely to include information from the 2010 manifesto to provide additional evidence on liberalism's long-standing association with, and the Liberal Democratic Party's commitment to, further development of the protection of human rights and continued/ongoing constitutional reform.

With the coalition, the Lib Dems have pressed for AV for elections and a reduction in the number of MPs.

**Topic 2 Socialism****Total for this topic: 40 marks****03** Why might socialism be described as 'utopian'?*(10 marks)*

The term derives from the Greek word '*eutopia*' meaning good place. In the modern lexicon of political terms and concepts, it is usually understood to mean an ideal or perfect society. At the very top end of the range, candidates could well point out that the term 'utopia' was coined by Thomas More in his book of the same name produced in 1516.

- Utopians provide a critique of existing orders by constructing models of ideal or perfect alternatives. This, in turn, involves the rejection of the status quo and a desire for root and branch change.
- Utopians also highlight the potential for human self-development, based either upon highly optimistic assumptions about human nature or optimistic assumptions about the capacity of economic, social and political institutions to ameliorate base human drives and instincts.

Socialism could therefore be described as utopian because:

- socialists contend that a good society is possible as long as capitalism can be significantly modified or even replaced by new political structures based on socialist values, namely collective property ownership, social cooperation and egalitarianism
- socialists hold a highly optimistic view of mankind – mankind is perfectible by its own efforts
- in this new socialist world, the evils of war, crime, ignorance, unemployment, poverty and ill health would be eradicated as these are seen by socialist utopians as being the products of capitalist economics, and the social and political structures and institutions which emanate from this base.

Most candidates ought to be familiar with the term in its basic sense, ie as an ideology which strives to create an ideal or perfect society. For the highest marks, however, discussion needs to be broader, linking the concept to the innate goodness of human beings and the limitations of capitalism. The best candidates could well assert that the term is more closely associated with socialist rhetoric than it is with political practice.

**04** 'The Labour Party's agenda since the mid-1990s has owed little to traditional socialism.'  
Discuss. (30 marks)

First, candidates need to discuss the values and policies associated with traditional socialism. In doing so, they would be expected to cite the following:

- the view that equality of outcome is more important than individual liberty
- the belief in the need for an extensive welfare state
- the belief in state ownership
- the strong emphasis on collective working class organisations such as trade unions
- the desire to redistribute wealth and end the class system and those institutions where membership is linked to birth and privilege.

New Labour has clearly desired to create a fairer, more inclusive society based on social justice, but many of its key policies, it could be argued, owe more to social democracy and liberalism than they do to traditional socialism. It could even be argued that the New Labour agenda was also influenced by aspects of Thatcherism. Policies and programmes which could be utilised to support these claims would include:

- the acceptance of a market economy and the championing of an enterprise culture
- the willingness to accept private money to help influence public programmes
- the distancing of the party from the trade union movement
- the promotion of policies more suited to promoting a meritocracy rather than a truly egalitarian society
- the utilisation of policies deliberately intended to reduce people's dependency on benefits
- the pursuance of authoritarian law and order policies.

It should be noted, however, that New Labour did not completely break from its traditions. The party has been committed to a minimum wage, it has adopted the European Social Chapter and, prior to the recent recession, it was committed to spending record sums of money on health and education.

Much of the discussion is likely to focus on New Labour under Blair's leadership, but one would also expect some coverage of the Brown years. Discussion of economic policy and social policy since 2007 should figure in the analysis undertaken and the programmes and policies presented in the manifesto and election campaign of 2010. Such material will provide further information to enable candidates to establish the extent to which socialism still influences the contemporary Labour Party.

Expect most candidates to emphasise the Blair period of leadership but, to secure marks in the highest band, candidates would need to include information and undertake analysis of the economic and social policies advocated and pursued during Brown's leadership. The best answers should also include information relating to Labour's 2010 election manifesto so as to take their analysis up to and, if pertinent, beyond the 2010 election.

Some candidates might refer to Miliband as leader, but to date no policy statements of note have been made which could be utilised in this question.

**Topic 3 Conservatism****Total for this topic: 40 marks**

<b>05</b>	Explain why conservatives generally oppose change.	<i>(10 marks)</i>
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Conservatism tends to be pessimistic about progress, particularly regarding rapid change, as such change need not improve society for the best. Such attitudes reflect the belief that the results of revolution cannot be known in advance to be an improvement; by contrast, knowledge of the past and the present is immune from such uncertainties.

- These ideas were clearly articulated by Burke, who asserted that existing social and political forms have special virtue because they have been honed and refined over time to meet the needs of the host society; they have been built on the accumulated wisdom of past generations. Hence, Burke's deliberated defence of tradition against the iconoclasm of the French Revolution.
- Conservatives therefore assert that when institutions have proved useful in promoting order and stability in the past they should be preserved; it is irresponsible to reject them for the sake of ideological principle or new theories.
- Some candidates could well point out, however, that conservatism is not always supportive of tradition and locked into the status quo. Thatcher's brand of conservatism in the 1980s embraced new theories, eg monetarism and opposition to the dependency culture, and challenged some venerated institutions such as the Church of England and the Civil Service.
- Self-interest.

The word 'generally' serves as the effective discriminator in this question. To get marks in the top band candidates would need to point out that whilst conservatives certainly do 'generally' oppose change, this is not always so. This assertion would need to be supported with hard evidence/factual illustration.

<b>06</b>	'State control in the social sphere, free enterprise in the economic sphere.' Discuss with reference to the Conservative Party's values and policies since the mid-1970s.	<i>(30 marks)</i>
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Candidates would be expected to point out that whilst conservatism has tended to be more authoritarian than liberalism and socialism with regard to social policy, liberalism rather than conservatism is the ideology most associated with free enterprise and market economics. They could also point out that during the Age of Consensus, 1951–1975, the Conservatives practised economic policies which were essentially Keynesian and corporatist. Changes in attitudes and policies since then would appear to lend credence to the claims presented in the quotation. The evidence likely to be utilised by candidates to support this viewpoint should include:

The Social Sphere

The development of programmes and policies influenced by neo-conservative political perspectives which were/are essentially authoritarian, pro a strong state, critical of permissive behaviour and pro family values. The Conservative Party since the mid-1970s has taken a tough line on law and order, has attacked the 'nanny' state and the dependency culture and has tended to reveal a general preference for traditional family structures and an abhorrence of 'deviant' life styles. The influence of such thinking can be seen in a variety of policies. Candidates should be able to draw from the following examples to support and illustrate their claims:

- the revision of the Official Secrets Act
- the granting of the police increased powers through the 1984, 1988 and 1994 Criminal Justice Acts
- the reduction of the legal rights of accused individuals
- the reduction of the rights of groups to assemble and demonstrate
- Section 28 of the Local Government Act that forbade the 'promotion' of homosexuality in schools
- the increase in the State's powers over 'rebel' local councils who defied government policy
- the introduction of tighter immigration controls.

Credit for discussion of differences over penal policy.

### The Economic Sphere

Here, the focus should be on the influence of neo-liberal thinking on the Conservative Party's economic policies and programmes. References are likely to be made to classical economics and the more recent theories propounded by the likes of Hayek and Friedman on the connections between free markets and democratic systems, and on monetarism as a strategy for combating inflation. Candidates would also be expected to discuss the influence of the New Right and Thatcher's rejection of Keynesianism in favour of Supply Side Economics as the macro theory to facilitate the creation and operation of a dynamic market economy and a thriving enterprise culture. Answers should discuss the policies pursued to 'roll back the frontiers of the State' and to advance privatisation and popular capitalism, eg reduced taxation, the sale of council houses, deregulation, compulsory competitive tendering, the extension of share ownership.

Cameron's statements and sound-bites to date would seem to indicate that the contemporary Conservative Party is less socially authoritarian than his predecessors were and, until the recent recession, his economic statements and proposals did not appear to be as strongly neo-liberal as those of Thatcher and those who came after her.

To secure marks which will take candidates into the top band, candidates will need not only to reveal impressive knowledge of the values held and policies pursued by the party in the economic and social spheres from Thatcher's leadership onwards, but they will also be expected to include information from the 2010 party manifesto and evidence of programmes and policies pursued by the Conservative-Lib Dem coalition. It goes without saying that the analysis needs to be just as strong as the subject content.

Coalition: could discuss cuts and changes to taxes eg increase in VAT.

**Topic 4 Fascism****Total for this topic: 40 marks****07** Why is fascism often associated with populism?*(10 marks)*

Populism is essentially the belief that the instincts of the people provide the principal legitimate guide to political action. Populist movements or parties are characterised by their claim to support the common people in the face of 'corrupt' economic or political elites who claim to know what is best for the common people and good for the state as a whole. Populist politicians thus make a direct appeal to the people and claim to give expression to their deepest hopes and fears; they articulate (so they argue) the genuine interests of the people. Populist leaders distrust all intermediary institutions.

These features are clearly evident in fascism:

- In Nazi Germany, emphasis on the 'Volk', the white Aryan population, and in Italy on the true heirs of the Roman Empire. These groupings of people were regarded as noble, spiritual and creative, unlike the alien races and peoples who sought to undermine or failed to recognise such glorious heritages.
- Distrust of the ruling classes on the basis of their being cosmopolitan, detached and elitist, in addition to being intellectually arrogant and ignorant/uncaring of the needs and aspirations of the 'ordinary' people.
- Mussolini and Hitler's direct appeals to 'the people', emphasising solidarity and collective action as correctives to failing bourgeois liberal democratic regimes.
- In recent decades, the appeals made by extreme right wing movements to the 'native' peoples of Western Europe and the USA to challenge the destruction of superior cultures and formerly healthy economies by non-white and non-Christian immigrants (both old and modern).

Weak students are unlikely to say much more than that populism relates to what is popular with the public. The best candidates are likely to demonstrate a fuller understanding of the term, recognising its significance, not just to fascist movements in the inter-war years, but to contemporary far right movements and organisations as well.

**08** 'Obedience to the leader and obedience to the state are central elements of fascist belief.' Discuss.*(30 marks)*

Candidates would be expected to recognise that fascist ideology and practice reject the liberal concept of government based on constitutionalism and consent in favour of authoritarian leadership and a strong nation state.

The arguments and explanations likely to be utilised to explain the preference for strong leadership by the obedient masses should include the following:

- Strong leadership simplifies political decision making.
- The inequality which exists among individuals is a plain fact of nature, hence the need for powerful and authoritarian rulers who are capable of guiding failing nations to renewal and glory via the exercise of their superior judgement.
- Fascist leaders relate to their people in an almost mystical way, personifying and articulating their aspirations whilst addressing their concerns and anxieties.

- Hitler and Mussolini could be used as classic examples of leaders who claimed to embody higher ideals than the ordinary people and who possessed a determination to improve the lot of the masses. In order for such improvements to be achieved, individuals would need to acquire a shared identity across all classes so as to prevent dangerous and unpatriotic social divisions undermining the common good.
- The ideal institution for the creation and preservation of such unity and purpose is, according to fascists, the nation state. This is essentially the only organisation capable of creating a sense of identification and belonging in a group of people who have been shaped by a common culture, history and language. As such, this fascist state is an exclusive unit which is both morally and politically superior to the individual(s) who comprise(d) it. The single leader serves to embody the collective will of the people in such regimes and the nation functions as the ultimate source of all legitimacy and the object of absolute allegiance.
- Candidates are likely to conclude that all fascist political cultures reveal uncritical support for such institutions and almost total obedience towards charismatic totalitarian leaders.
- The best answers could well claim that other elements are just as central or even more significant to fascism than are obedience to the leader and state. In making this assertion they might refer to the importance of race and corporatism, for example. Such claims are worthy of reward if they are substantiated to good effect. High marks can be awarded to those candidates who, nevertheless, focus just on the leader and the state.

**ASSESSMENT OBJECTIVE GRID**

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