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**General Certificate of Education  
June 2013**

**Government and Politics      GOV3B**

**Ideologies**

**Unit 3B**

**Final**

***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 students' 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 students' 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 students' reactions to a particular paper. Assumptions about future mark schemes on the basis of one year's document should be avoided; whilst the guiding principles of assessment remain constant, details will change, depending on the content of a particular examination paper.

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

Consistency of marking is of the essence in all public examinations. It is therefore of vital importance that 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 students 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 students may feel able bring to the discussion. Therefore the specification of requirements outlined in the mark schemes can only be indicative. Students are not expected to include all the material presented in order to access the full range of available marks. At the same time they may successfully include material from their particular studies which is not indicated in the scheme.

### Using a levels-of-response mark scheme

Good examining is about the consistent application of judgement. Mark schemes provide a framework within which examiners exercise their judgement. This is especially so in subjects like Government and Politics, which in part rely upon analysis, evaluation, argument and explanation. With this in mind, examiners should use the Assessment Matrix alongside the detailed mark scheme for each question. The Assessment Matrix provides a framework ensuring a consistent, generic source from which the detailed mark schemes are derived. This supporting framework ensures a consistent approach within which students' responses are marked according to the level of demand and context of each question.

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

In making decisions away from the middle of the Level, examiners should ask themselves questions relating to 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 student's script should be considered by asking 'Is it:

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

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

**A2 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**  
**GENERIC MARK SCHEME for questions with a total of 10 marks**

<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 student demonstrates a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The student fully addresses the requirements of the question and provides developed and effective to comprehensive interpretation. The answer also provides clear to accurate evidence and, where appropriate, good to excellent examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 4 (4 marks)</b>            The student applies an excellent range of developed concepts and uses appropriate political theory to construct a clear and cogent explanation or argument.</p>	<p><b>Levels 3–4 (2 marks)</b>            The student communicates clearly and effectively in a sustained and structured manner, using appropriate political vocabulary. There are few, if any, errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar and the response should be legible.</p>
<p><b>Level 3 (3 marks)</b>            The student demonstrates good knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The student clearly addresses the requirements of the question and provides sound interpretation and contextual awareness. The answer includes good examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 3 (3 marks)</b>            The student applies a good range of developed concepts and uses appropriate political theory to construct a clear and cogent explanation or argument.</p>	<p>The answer has a clear sense of direction, is focused on the question and, where appropriate, has a conclusion which flows from the discussion.</p>
<p><b>Level 2 (2 marks)</b>            The student demonstrates limited knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The candidate makes a limited attempt to address the requirements of the question and provides little to partial, but reasonably effective, interpretation. Answers offer limited evidence and few, or inaccurate, examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 2 (2 marks)</b>            The student applies a limited range of concepts and makes limited use of political theory or ideas in developing an explanation or argument.</p>	<p><b>Levels 1–2 (1 mark)</b>            The student communicates explanations or arguments with limited clarity and effectiveness, using limited political vocabulary. The answer may lack either a clear focus on the question or a sense of direction.</p>
<p><b>Level 1 (1 mark)</b>            The student demonstrates little knowledge and understanding of political concepts, institutions and processes. The student makes little attempt to address the requirements of the question and provides little interpretation. Answers offer little evidence and few, or inaccurate, examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 1 (1 mark)</b>            The student applies few concepts and makes little use of political theory or ideas in developing an explanation or argument.</p>	<p>There are frequent errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar and legibility may be a problem. A conclusion, where appropriate, may be offered but its relationship to the preceding discussion is modest or implicit.</p>
<p><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 student demonstrates a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them. A synoptic approach is fully developed, drawing appropriately on knowledge, perspectives and examples from a wide range of studies in government and politics. The answer fully addresses the requirements of the question and demonstrates excellent contextual awareness. The answer includes excellent examples to illustrate points made. The answer includes detailed and comprehensive interpretations or explanations, as well as accurate evidence and relevant examples, to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 4 (10–12 marks)</b> The student displays excellent awareness of the implications and demands of the question. There is an excellent and sustained focus on the specific question asked. There is clear and full evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour which displays a sophisticated awareness of differing viewpoints and recognition of issues. Appropriate parallels and connections are clearly identified, together with well-developed comparisons. A wide range of concepts is used and developed.</p>	<p><b>Level 4 (6 marks)</b> The student communicates structured and sustained arguments, explanations and conclusions with clarity. Excellent use is made of political vocabulary to construct cogent and coherent arguments and explanations. The response should be legible with few, if any, errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar. The answer has a clear sense of direction, culminating in a conclusion that flows from the preceding discussion.</p>
<p><b>Level 3 (7–9 marks)</b> The student demonstrates sound knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them. A synoptic approach is well developed using a range of knowledge, perspectives and examples gained elsewhere in the study of government and politics. The answer clearly addresses the requirements of the question and demonstrates sound contextual awareness. The answer includes developed and effective interpretations or explanations and also clear evidence and good examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 3 (7–9 marks)</b> The student displays sound awareness of the implications and demands of the question. There is a clear focus on the question. There is a sound evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour which displays good awareness of differing viewpoints and recognition of issues. There is good recognition of parallels and comparisons. Appropriate concepts are used and developed.</p>	<p><b>Level 3 (4–5 marks)</b> The student communicates arguments, explanations and conclusions well. Good use is made of political vocabulary to construct clear arguments and explanations. The response should be legible but there may be occasional errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar. The student produces an answer with a conclusion linked to the preceding discussion.</p>

**GENERIC MARK SCHEME for questions with a total of 30 marks (continued)**

<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 student demonstrates outline knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and some awareness of the relationships between them. The answer makes a limited attempt to address the question and demonstrates contextual awareness covering part of the question. An attempt to develop a synoptic approach is made, using a limited range of knowledge, perspectives and examples gained more broadly in the study of government and politics. The answer includes a partial and reasonably effective attempt at interpretation or explanation with some examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p><b>Level 2 (4–6 marks)</b> The student displays little awareness of the implications and demands of the question, resulting in a restricted focus. There is a limited evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour which displays a partial awareness of differing viewpoints and issues.</p> <p>There is some recognition of basic parallels and comparisons. Arguments and explanations are undeveloped, with a limited use of concepts.</p>	<p><b>Level 2 (2–3 marks)</b> The student communicates arguments and conclusions adequately, with a limited use of political vocabulary. There are frequent errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar and legibility may be a problem. A conclusion is offered but its relationship to the preceding discussion may be modest or implicit.</p>
<p><b>Level 1 (1–3 marks)</b> The student demonstrates a slight and incomplete knowledge and understanding of political institutions and processes and a limited awareness of the relationships between them. A very limited attempt at synopticity is made, sometimes using superficial or inaccurate knowledge, perspectives and examples cited from elsewhere in their study of government and politics. There is little attempt to address the requirements of the question. There is only superficial awareness, if any, of the context of the question, with little interpretation and few, if any, examples often inaccurately reported or inappropriately used.</p>	<p><b>Level 1 (1–3 marks)</b> The student displays little awareness of the implications and demands of the question, and focus is lacking. Evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour is superficial.</p> <p>Analysis shows little awareness of differing viewpoints and issues. There is little, if any, recognition of parallels and comparisons. Arguments, explanations and use of concepts are superficial and naïve.</p>	<p><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) Why is tolerance so important to liberals?****(10 marks)**

Most students are likely to claim that liberals always have and still do favour toleration and respect for the opinions of others and that they reject prejudice and intolerance. Furthermore, liberals are willing to accept views or actions which they themselves might disagree with (Voltaire – “I detest what you say, but will defend to the death your right to say it”).

Tolerance is so important to liberals because it is one of the key values associated with this political philosophy. Without tolerance, pluralism, in its moral, cultural and political forms, could not exist and prosper. It is also necessary to ensure the vigour and health of society (J S Mill). It could also be argued that tolerance serves to guarantee individual freedom – another core liberal value. Markers should note that high marks can be awarded without direct reference to specific political philosophers and their works.

A few students might assert that even liberals recognise the limits of toleration, particularly in the need to protect toleration from the intolerant. Such claims are clearly deserving of credit.

**(02) ‘Contemporary liberalism owes more to progressive liberalism than it does to classical liberalism.’ Discuss.****(30 marks)**

Before evaluating/assessing the validity of this claim, students should explain the key beliefs and values associated with these two schools of liberalism. For AO1, the following points are relevant.

Classical Liberalism

This dates from the Enlightenment period of the eighteenth century and predates progressive (new) liberalism. It is associated with the following beliefs and values:

- human nature is rational
- it asserts the primacy of the individual
- it views the state as inherently oppressive. Yet it is also a necessary evil to safeguard law, order and security. Its role should be limited (John Locke’s ‘nightwatchman state’). Such states should exist only to protect life, liberty and property
- in the economic sphere, a free market controlled only by the laws of supply and demand should operate (Adam Smith, ‘The Wealth of Nations’).

## Progressive Liberalism

This evolved in the second part of the nineteenth century as a reaction against the 'evils' created by the Industrial Revolution. Progressive liberals believed/believe that:

- negative freedoms penalise many individuals who, through no fault of their own, lack(ed) the health, education or skill to survive and prosper if left unaided. In such circumstances, equality of opportunity cannot readily be achieved and nor can social justice, economic efficiency and social harmony
- positive freedoms are more important than negative freedoms, ie the actualised freedom to achieve full individual potential and personal development, albeit with state help and intervention where/when necessary (T H Green)
- the state needs to perform a positive and empowering role in the economic domain.

High marks should only be awarded if coverage of these points is comprehensive and accurate. Lower-level AO1 responses will tend to be more basic. Discussions of the key features of classical liberalism are unlikely to venture beyond free-market economics and limited government. Discussions of progressive liberalism will probably only focus on this school's desire to improve society through greater state involvement in the social and economic policy spheres. Low-level responses are unlikely to refer to great works and relevant theoreticians.

For AO2 marks, students will need to assess the influence of these two liberal perspectives on contemporary liberalism. In doing so, students are likely to focus on liberalism as advocated in the UK by the Liberal Democrats. Where evaluation includes analysis of liberalism as practised/ advocated by parties and movements outside the United Kingdom, marks should be awarded in line with the accuracy and relevance of the information provided. Top-level marks can be awarded for AO2 even if the analysis is Anglocentric.

High-level responses are likely to claim that contemporary liberalism is essentially a synthesis of both classical and progressive thinking. Expect students to support such propositions by pointing out that the Liberal Democrats have advocated policies intended to prevent centralisation and 'big' government, whilst at the same time promoting the role of the state as an institution capable of safeguarding and improving rights and combating discrimination. Given the expected dominance of answers which are UK focused, expect students to point out that, with regards to economics, the progressives have wielded more influence over policy than classical liberals have. Students should refer to the continued influence of Keynes and the party's on-going support for demand management. They should also recognise that not all Liberal Democrats are ardent interventionists and that those who favour a more 'market' approach to economic management have published their case in the 'Orange Book'.

Most students are likely to claim that by being in the coalition, government policies and views have had to be altered, adjusted and tempered so that an accommodation with Conservatives can be achieved. The best students will provide evidence of compromises which have been arrived at which have annoyed many grassroots liberals whose values and beliefs derive from both the classical and progressive liberal camps.

Some students are likely to conclude that of the two schools, progressive rather than classical liberalism has been the most dominant and influential force in recent decades. Others may also point out that since the 1970s, classical liberal ideas have reappeared in the guise of neo-liberalism and that its influence has been greater on right-wing conservatives and the New Right than it has been on the Liberal Democrats themselves. The best students may make a distinction between the social and economic dimensions of the question.

Credit can be given to answers that refer to the impact of these two schools of liberal thinking on liberalism as perceived and practised in the USA and in other liberal democracies.

As is always the case, AO3 marks should reflect the quality of the language and political vocabulary used to arrive at a reasoned conclusion.

**Topic 2 Socialism****Total for this topic: 40 marks**

(03) Explain why socialists support collectivism.

(10 marks)

Most students ought to possess a sound appreciation of the term 'socialist' and what is meant by collectivism. The explanation would point out that collectivism has always been a core socialist value, even though this might be more in theory than in practice.

In answering this question, students would need to point out that socialists believe that human beings naturally possess the capacity for collective action; collective human endeavour is of greater practical and moral value than individual self-striving. Such views are based on the belief that there is a social core to human nature, ie humans are essentially social creatures bound together by common humanity. Collectivism thus strengthens social bonds and promotes co-operation, benefitting both the individual and society. The socialist case for collectivism is both moral and economic. Morally, collective endeavour in the form of co-operation fosters social solidarity and a responsibility for fellow humans based upon common humanity. Economically, collectivism enables the collective energies of society to be harnessed in a rational and efficient fashion, in contrast with self-striving which results in wasteful competition. This emphasis upon collectivism is evident in the traditional socialist belief in and a commitment to equality, welfare and common-ownership.

Weak students might provide a very simplistic description of the two concepts and analysis is likely to be limited. Such students are likely to rely more on the institutional means of promoting collectivism (trade unions, welfare systems, etc) and may reverse the argument – as socialists support these institutions, they therefore support collectivism.

The most able students will appreciate the variety of socialist types which exist within the polity and provide a clear description of the term 'collectivism', recognising its significance to socialists and making explicit reference to human nature. They are also likely to appreciate how, in recent decades, it has become less of a shibboleth as society has become more individualistic.

<p>(04) 'The Left in Britain has always been more committed to social democracy than to socialism.' Discuss. <span style="float: right;">(30 marks)</span></p>
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The question invites students to focus on socialism as advocated and practised (or not) by left-of-centre political parties and movements in the United Kingdom.

Top-level answers will recognise that the left incorporated parties and movements which range from democratic socialist bodies such as the Labour Party, at least in its formative years, to various Stalinist and Trotskyist parties and movements on the communist extreme of the political spectrum. Whilst the highest marks should only be awarded to students who recognise the variety of socialist bodies in the UK, Level 3 marks ought to be awarded to students who basically tackle the question from a Labour Party perspective as long as their answers reveal comprehensive knowledge and sound understanding. High-level responses which are Labour-focused should cover the material in the following paragraphs.

The Labour Party was effectively formed in 1900 as the Labour Representation Committee from an alliance between some trade unions seeking parliamentary representation to protect trade union rights and interests and three small socialist societies – the Social Democratic Federation (which was Marxist-inspired and which left within a year), the Fabian Society which was committed to gradual, evolutionary, parliamentary state-sponsored socialism and the Independent Labour Party. This group preached a quasi-religious ethical socialism based on the Universal Brotherhood of Man, rather than the revolution arising from inevitable class conflict taught by Marxists.

Before evaluating the claims made in the quotation, students would also be expected to point out how social democracy differed from socialism. The essential points here are that social democracy sought to modify capitalism, largely by redistributing wealth through progressive taxation and via the creation of a welfare state. In contrast – whilst, like social democracy, socialism was concerned with tackling the social, economic and political inequalities created by capitalism – socialists nevertheless originally asserted that capitalism was incapable of, and indeed had no desire to facilitate, radical reform.

Thus, democratic socialists (unlike their revolutionary counterparts) sought to transform the structure of society by democratic means. The very best students could well claim that at the time of the Labour Party's birth, its initial inspiration was not socialism but 'labourism', the promotion of the interests of the working class by vigorous trade union action. However, it could be argued that by including Clause IV in the Party constitution of 1918, Labour was avowedly socialist, even though the exact form of socialism was somewhat unclear.

Top-level responses would need to point out that Marxist-Leninist movements of whatever line have always rejected compromises with and accommodation alongside capitalism; they have been firm in their desire to destroy capitalism and the political institutions structured on this economic base in their quest to create an egalitarian, classless society. Outstanding students might refer to the Militant Tendency's acceptance of 'entryism' as a political tactic in the 1970s and 1980s and of the Communist Party's drift from rigid Stalinism from 1968 onwards and more particularly since the collapse of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s. Such information is, however, likely to be rare. Level 1 and 2 answers are likely to be limited as to both conceptual knowledge and awareness of the variety of left-wing parties and movements, both historically and contemporaneously.

The AO2 marks are to be awarded in line with the quality and accuracy of the analysis utilised in evaluating the validity of the claim made in the question. In order to do this, students would need to examine the policies and actions of left-wing parties and movements from the late nineteenth century to the present day. Such answers are likely to assert that the Labour Party, in the first half

of the twentieth century, largely pursued what were viewed as radical, left wing, democratic socialist objectives to be achieved through extensive state ownership, wealth redistribution and welfarism alongside the acceptance of some private ownership. Expect the best students to point out that the hard left at this time were critical of Labour's claims to being a socialist party. Top-level answers are also likely to point out that, in direct contrast, the Conservative Party and the right-wing press openly described Labour as being a socialist party. Furthermore, they viewed most of the Attlee government's policies and programmes as extreme left-wing and alien to the British tradition. At this time, left wingers, both inside and outside the Labour Party, thought that Attlee's programmes and reforms essentially amounted to a compromise with capitalism and the perpetuation of the class system.

In the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, with the exception of the Foot/Benn years of leadership and influence between 1979 and 1983, Labour basically pursued an agenda which owed more to social democracy than it did to socialism, as evident in its commitment to Keynesian economics and to social justice redefined as moderate redistribution and welfare in a mixed, mainly private, economy.

The best students could well claim that such positioning was a pragmatic response to the Cold War climate and the increasing 'embourgeoisification' of the working class in a capitalist hegemony. At the very top level, expect (brief) references to the policies and programmes advocated and pursued by Gaitskell, Wilson, Callaghan and Kinnock.

Much of the analysis and evaluation is likely to focus on New Labour's policies and achievements. Students are likely to contend that under Blair's leadership in particular, social democracy did appear to exert greater influence on these things than socialism did. Such claims need to be backed up by policy evidence, eg the revised Clause IV 1995, the promotion of the Third Way and Communitarianism and the stress on 'equality of opportunity'. Also expect discussion of Labour's constitutionalism reforms, which owed more to liberalism than to socialism, and the party's distancing of itself from the trade union movement alongside its clear lack of desire to fundamentally redistribute wealth.

Expect most students to argue that since the mid-1990s, much of Labour's behaviour and activity has amounted to a pragmatic response to the New Right's influence in the 1980s and the changing economic structures of the 1990s, and that in responding to the post-Thatcherite hegemony Labour has embraced social democracy rather than socialism.

Those students who do extend their analysis to cover the far left are likely to contend that they all prefer to champion orthodox (however defined and interpreted) socialism and are critical and contemptuous of social democracy, supporting such claims with examples of the far left's long established critique of the Labour Party's claims to be a socialist movement.

As is always the case, the AO3 marks should be awarded in accordance with the quality of the language and concepts utilised by each student in an attempt to produce stylish, well-structured and clearly argued essays.

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

(05) Explain why conservatism can be seen as authoritarian.

(10 marks)

Conservatives traditionally place a strong emphasis on order and the institutions and values associated with order. They also tend to believe that strong central authority imposed from above by political, social and economic elites helps to establish and maintain such order.

Conservatives hold in low regard the liberal belief that authority arises out of a contract made by free individuals for their own benefit. In contrast, they believe that authority, like society, develops naturally, and that such authority is a fundamental prerequisite to efficient and functional societies. Furthermore, conservatives are authoritarian in the sense that they believe that authority is both necessary and beneficial, given that everyone needs guidance, support and a sense of social location. Authority therefore serves to counter rootlessness and anomie. This also fits in with the conservative emphasis on leadership and discipline.

The best students might refer to Thatcherism as a form of authoritarian populism, with its strong emphasis on law and order and on institutions such as schools, religious organisations and the family as key agents in establishing discipline and social order and control. The authoritarian right argued that these had been undermined by the liberal permissiveness of the 1960s.

Given that the desire to achieve disciplined, ordered society is so clearly evident in much of conservative thinking and rhetoric, and taking into account the strong support accorded to agencies and institutions which produce such societies, with their associated social values, it would indeed be reasonable to claim that, for the greater part, conservatives and conservatism are authoritarian.

The best students could also justifiably claim, however, that some conservatives hold strong libertarian beliefs and viewpoints, which stand in stark contrast to the beliefs and values held by conservative authoritarians.

(06) 'Contemporary conservatism continues to promote traditional values.' Discuss. (30 marks)

For AO1, students would be expected to outline (Levels 1 and 2) and expand upon (Levels 3 and 4) the core values and beliefs associated with traditional conservatism. Markers should expect Level 3 and 4 responses to include the following:

- belief in hierarchies and organic social and political change
- belief that humans are imperfect
- reverence for traditional institutions should here stand the test of time
- belief in authority as the basis of social cohesion
- belief in private property, as it gives people security and a measure of independence from government and also encourages them to respect the law and property of others
- belief in patriotism
- belief in the Rule of Law as the basis of all freedom
- belief that liberty is the highest political end – individuals need to develop their own personalities and pursue their destinies. Essentially freedom from oppression. It should not embrace the levelling of wealth
- historically, protectionist economies to protect national interests
- the eschewing of ideology in favour of pragmatism.

AO2 marks should be awarded according to the quality of the analysis and evaluation evident in the answers. Whilst the question refers to contemporary conservatism and invites responses beyond the United Kingdom, the majority of students are, however, likely to assess the validity of the quotation from a British perspective, utilising the Conservative Party as the political vehicle for the championing of conservative beliefs and values. Credit should nevertheless be given to answers which are not Anglocentric, as long as the points made in them are accurate and relevant.

Where the focus of analysis is UK-based, markers should nevertheless expect some discussion of Thatcherism's deviation from a number of traditional conservative beliefs and values in favour of the neo-liberal ones advocated by the New Right. Much of the contemporary analysis is likely to focus on conservatism as practised by Cameron's Conservative Party in recent years. Such analysis is likely to recognise those policies and programmes which are very much in the 'Tory' tradition. These are likely to include a strong emphasis on patriotism and the attributes of the British character (conference speech November 2011), support for traditional institutions such as the Royal Family, putting the nation's interests before those of supranational organisations (challenges to the EU, reluctance to join the Euro), emphasising the need for stronger law and order (broken Britain/responses to the summer riots of 2011) and dislike of the human rights acts/European Convention of Human Rights. Students might also refer to the clear parallels between One-Nation Conservatism and the compassionate/caring conservatism which the party has been advocating in recent years and to its attempts to make itself more inclusive and less exclusive.

Some aspects of the party's policies and programmes are certainly not steeped in traditional conservative beliefs and values. Economically, the Conservatives are not protectionists and the free-marketeters, in accepting 'liberalised' trading hours, are clearly out of step with the traditionalists who have opposed such developments as Sunday trading and extended opening hours for licensed premises on the grounds that they run counter to the Christian tradition and family life. Similarly, non-traditional attitudes are evident in relation to the consumption/legalisation of recreational drugs. Such libertarianism is also evident in Cameron's support for gay marriage and diversity in family structures. Traditional support for Unionism has declined – note the party's acceptance of devolution, and devotion to traditional political systems, such as first past the post for elections, might be seen as less strong than it once was, given the referendum on AV.

Where analysis and evaluation transcends the UK, it is likely to be based on American or European conservatism or even practised/perceived in former parts of the Empire, but all relevant national examples should be awarded marks in line with the points made previously.

As is always the case, the marks awarded will be based on the quality and relevance of the knowledge presented and the skills utilised to arrive at a reasoned conclusion.

**Topic 4 Fascism****Total for this topic: 40 marks**

(07) Explain the term 'corporate state'.

(10 marks)

The term refers to a way of organising the state that was first developed by Mussolini in Italy and then copied by Franco in Spain.

In explaining the term, students would be expected to point out that that, for fascists, the national community stood above all other organisations. They should also be able to explain that this national community could be undermined by both organised labour from the left and capitalist business groups on the right, each of whom possessed their own self-interested agenda. For fascists, organised labour placed excessive emphasis on class struggle which they, the fascists, viewed as being socially divisive and an impediment to the creation of a single national identity. Free-market capitalism was associated with the unrestrained pursuit of profit by individuals, rather than being seen as an economic force which would improve the nation as a whole. Under the auspices of a fascist ruling party, however, these two groups would be obliged to work together to strengthen the national community, rather than competing with each other for ascendancy. This arrangement would be achieved via the corporate state in which the government would act as a broker in a tripartite structure. Originally, this arrangement was intended to provide an alternative to state nationalisation and free-market capitalism and, as such, it was a new form of economic organisation.

Most students ought to be able to recognise the term's fascist origins and appreciate its economic as well as political significance. Some students offering weaker responses might struggle with this concept, failing to appreciate its fascist origins and confusing it with the corporatism practised by both Labour and Conservative governments during the Age of Consensus.

The best answers should demonstrate a full understanding of the term, recognising the concept as an idea straddling the middle ground politically and economically between free-market liberal democracies and command economies. An appropriate historical perspective should be developed in the course of explaining its meaning. Outstanding answers might even argue that the corporate state was little more than an ideological slogan, corporatism in practice amounting to little more than an instrument through which the fascist state controlled major economic interests through the intimidation of private businesses and the destruction of labour movements. High marks could be achieved without such a critique of the concept.

(08) 'Fascism has an anti-character; it is defined by what it opposes.' Discuss. (30 marks)

Markers should expect that all the students who opt for this question would appreciate the fact that fascism constituted a revolt against the ideas and values that had dominated western political thought since the French Revolution. Fascists particularly objected to the beliefs most closely associated with liberalism, which emerged from the Enlightenment. They particularly despised rationalism, progress, freedom and the belief in equality, which they sought to overturn in the name of struggle, leadership, heroism and war (AO1). On these grounds it could indeed be claimed that fascism possesses 'an anti-character' and that it is 'defined by what it opposes' (AO2).

Students could also, rightly, assert that fascism stridently opposes socialism. All types of fascism are hostile to socialism's commitment to the creation of egalitarian societies which are socially inclusive and where the means of production, distribution and exchange are owned and controlled by the state. As ardent nationalists, fascists are also contemptuous of socialism's commitment to internationalism (AO1). Such points add further credence to the claim presented in the question (AO2).

Yet to claim that fascism is totally bereft of its own key values is too simplistic. Fascists would contend that they possess a set of values and beliefs which does make it a coherent practical philosophy in its own right. For example, a core theme that runs through fascism is the image of an organically unified national community. This is reflected in a belief in 'strength and unity', where the individual is entirely subsumed into the national community. Fascists also championed the idea of the 'new man', a hero motivated by duty, honour and self-sacrifice, prepared to dedicate his life to the glory of the nation or race and to give unquestioning obedience to a supreme leader. Passing references could also be made to fascist economics, although discussion here should be limited, given the nature of question 07 (AO1 and AO2).

Yet, even allowing for these values and beliefs, which are unique to fascism, most students are likely to conclude that, for the greater part, fascism is little more than a negative challenge to 'modernist' ideas which places greater emphasis on 'myth and magic' than it does on rationalism and logic. It is indeed essentially defined by 'what it opposes' (AO2 and AO3).

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**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>