

A-LEVEL

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

GOV3B - Ideologies
Mark scheme

June 2014

Version: 1.0 Final

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

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.

Further copies of this Mark scheme are available from aqa.org.uk

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

Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
AO1	AO2	AO3
<p>Level 4 (4 marks) 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>Level 4 (4 marks) 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>Levels 3–4 (2 marks) 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. 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 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>Level 3 (3 marks) 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>Level 2 (2 marks) 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>Level 2 (2 marks) 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>Levels 1–2 (1 mark) 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>Level 1 (1 mark) 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>Level 1 (1 mark) 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>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 questions with a total of 30 marks**

Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
AO1	AO2	AO3
<p>Level 4 (10–12 marks) 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>Level 4 (10–12 marks) 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>Level 4 (6 marks) 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>Level 3 (7–9 marks) 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>Level 3 (7–9 marks) 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>Level 3 (4–5 marks) 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)

Knowledge and Understanding: Recall, Select & Deploy	Skills: Analysis & Evaluation	Communication
AO1	AO2	AO3
<p>Level 2 (4–6 marks) 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>Level 2 (4–6 marks) 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. 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 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>Level 1 (1–3 marks) 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>Level 1 (1–3 marks) 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. 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>

Topic 1 Liberalism**Total for this topic: 40 marks**

(01) Explain how liberals perceive the differences between positive and negative freedoms. **[10 marks]**

Students could well begin their answers by providing an explanation of what the term ‘freedom’ means (AO1) before describing the differences between the two types of freedom presented in the question (AO1 and AO2). Broadly speaking, freedom exists when individuals are permitted to think or act as they wish. The description could be extended to include a social group or even a nation.

More specifically, negative freedom refers to freedom of choice. These freedoms exist where constraints and restrictions on individual behaviour are absent; the government and state refrains from interfering in people’s lives other than in safeguarding law, order and security. In contrast, positive freedom involves self-realisation, ie the actualised freedom to achieve one’s own potential and personal development. Where necessary, this could require state help and intervention.

High-level answers would be likely to associate negative liberty with Isaiah Berlin, who coined the term. For Berlin, negative freedom represents the areas within which man can act unobstructed by others. Responses at Levels 3 and 4 could take the explanations further by associating the concept of positive freedom with T H Green who rejected the view of society being made up largely of self-interested individuals. Green favoured the idea of an ‘organic’ society in which citizens were interdependent as well as independent. In such societies, individuals would achieve self-fulfilment not merely through pursuing their own happiness, but also by pursuing social goals such as the welfare of others.

The best answers could well claim that in the modern world this view of freedom is closely associated with equality of opportunity and the policies needed to achieve it. At Level 3 and above, policy examples could well figure in the answers. High marks could nevertheless be awarded to answers where the focus tended to be on key thinkers. Lower-level responses would be likely to discuss the different perceptions of positive and negative freedoms without necessarily referring to such thinkers and more complex concepts.

AO1: 4

AO2: 4

AO3: 2

(02) ‘Liberalism is now the dominant ideology in British politics.’ Discuss.

[30 marks]

The question requires students to explain the core ideas and values associated with liberalism (AO1) and to evaluate the claim that liberalism is now the dominant ideology in British politics (AO1 and AO2).

At its most basic level, liberalism should be described as a political philosophy which is closely associated with liberty, freedom, constitutional reform and the free market. More sophisticated answers (Level 3 and above) would be expected to refer to the different perspectives on liberalism, by contrasting the ideas held by the original classical liberals with the progressive school who advocated New Liberalism. Essentially, analysis and evaluation should compare and contrast views on the roles and responsibilities of the state, particularly in the economic and social spheres.

When assessing the validity of the claim in the question, students would need to compare the influence which liberalism has and does wield over British politics with the influence wielded by other political philosophies. Most evaluations are likely to centre on liberalism’s battle with socialism and conservatism in the realm of political ideas and their influence on political practice. Some might also extend their analysis to incorporate Marxism and fascism as well. High marks could nevertheless be achieved even if analysis is restricted to the three main political ideologies. At the very highest levels, liberalism’s impact on the British political culture might also be included.

Whilst the question refers to ‘now’, many students could well approach the question from a broader historical perspective in an attempt to explain how and why liberalism has come to be viewed by many experts as the dominant ideology in the UK and elsewhere. At Level 3 and above, expect discussions of the influence of key liberal thinkers such as Keynes and Beveridge on economic and social policy in the UK. References to the influence of the New Right on Thatcher’s neo-liberal brand of conservatism should also be expected. The best students should refer to the influence wielded by such British scholars as Adam Smith and Samuel Smiles and foreign scholars such as Hayek and Friedman.

Much of the analysis could well centre on the influence of liberalism on New Labour thinking and action and on its impact on thinking in the Conservative Party post-Thatcher. With regards to the former, students could well argue that progressive liberalism exerted more influence over Blair and Brown than orthodox socialism did. Marks should also be duly awarded to analysis of the impact of liberal thinking on the policies advocated by Major in government and by Hague, Duncan-Smith and Howard in opposition. Analysis of the Cameron era is likely to emphasise the extent to which the Conservative Party, when in opposition, attempted to portray itself as being socially liberal and supportive of strong government, in the fields of education and health in particular. In government, the Conservatives have, since 2010, tended to place more emphasis on individual responsibility and the desire to reward ‘achievers’. The best answers might also refer to the influences of the two schools of liberalism on Conservative thinking and actions here. The Liberal Democrats obviously see themselves as the champions of liberalism and all that this ideology stands for.

Students are likely to conclude that liberalism has indeed won the battle of ideas; it is practised irrespective of the party in power. The very best students could well support this claim by including Fukuyama's contention that ‘we are all liberals now’.

The marks awarded for AO3 should reflect the quality of language and the sophistication of terminology utilised by students over the course of the answer.

AO1: 12

AO2: 12

AO3: 6

Topic 2 Socialism**Total for this topic: 40 marks****(03)** What is meant by utopian socialism?**[10 marks]**

Whilst, at lower levels, markers should not expect students to appreciate that the term utopia derives from the Greek 'eutopia', students should nevertheless be able to appreciate that it is usually understood to mean an ideal or perfect society. However, top-level answers could well refer to Thomas More's 'Utopia' published in 1516.

Students would be expected to explain that early socialists desired to transform the highly industrialised and urbanised societies which characterised much of western Europe in the 19th century because they tended to be socially and economically divided and troubled by squalor, ill health and ignorance. They desired to create more equitable societies, free from the ravages of capitalism and associated institutions, and capable of ameliorating base human drives and instincts. Such idealistic viewpoints championed by the likes of Robert Owen, Fourier and William Morris represent a form of socialism based on a very optimistic view of man and a firm belief in the efficacy of relatively small scale co-operative communities as opposed to the state as a vehicle for achieving socialism.

Higher-level answers would also be likely to point out that Marxists rejected utopian socialism as a romantic ideal that could not bring about fundamental change. In their view, capitalism would have to be destroyed if genuine socialism was to be achieved. Conservatives simply viewed utopian socialism as absurd. In their view, crime and anti-social behaviour reflected the natural evil in man, a state of being which socialists failed or were unwilling to accept. Nevertheless, most students would be expected to appreciate that utopian thinking clearly did inspire many critics of capitalism in the 19th century.

AO1 marks for this question should be awarded in accordance with the range and quality of concepts and knowledge utilised to explain this variant of socialism. AO2 marks should reflect an awareness of how utopian socialism was very much linked to core socialist values and the desire to achieve a better world. At the highest levels, students could well claim that left-wing critics of utopian socialism have argued that it could not claim to be scientific and that it did not propose a realistic means to achieve such an idealistic goal.

AO1: 4

AO2: 4

AO3: 2

(04) ‘The concept of social class is less important in the ideology of the Labour Party today than when it was founded in the early 20th century.’ Discuss. **[30 marks]**

Students would be expected to point out that when the Labour Party was founded in 1900, it was created to serve as the political representative of the British working-class movement in Parliament, with the aim of achieving democratic socialism. Students would also be expected to appreciate that, unlike Marxist movements, it was always suspicious of the doctrine of class war. At all but the lowest levels, students should recognise that Labour could thus be described as being moderate in its class outlook given its view that the interests of the working class and the ruling class could be reconciled over time within the democratic process without recourse to violent revolution.

Students should nevertheless not underestimate the significance of social class and the class-based analysis of politics in Labour Party thinking in its early years. Indeed, the party’s very name emphasises its commitment to this form of socialist analysis (AO1 and AO2) and answers at Level 3 and above should note this. In assessing the importance of social class to the Labour Party in more recent decades, students are likely to claim that it has declined and continues to decline as a defining element of democratic socialism in the United Kingdom. The evidence for this (AO2) exists in both the analysis of socialist scholarship and in the evaluation of the Labour Party’s rhetoric and political practice. Again, at the upper levels, students would be expected to reveal knowledge and understanding of the changing importance attached to social class by socialist theoreticians and political scientists since the 1950s, particularly with regard to the ‘embourgeoisment’ thesis of the 1960s and the dealignment theories of the 1970s which focused on the shrinkage of the old working class, which was entrenched in class-based politics, and the rise of the new working class and expanding middle class which were less partisan and more instrumental in their political behaviour. Students should also point out how these theories brought about changes in the Labour Party itself with regard to class analysis.

The higher-level responses could well contain references to the fundamentalist/revisionist battles in the 1950s over the direction which the party should take and of the move towards a more socially democratic rather than a democratic socialist approach to politics from the 1960s onwards so as to illustrate Labour’s changing direction away from class-based politics to a strategy more based on consensus and cross-class appeal. Whilst Labour could not ignore its core constituency in the old working class, it clearly appreciated that elections could not be won without the support of what Crewe called ‘the new working class’ and those middle-class voters who did not feel a partisan attachment to the Conservative Party.

Much of the analysis is likely to focus on New Labour and the rhetoric and practice of Blair and Brown as evidenced in the party’s determination to win over and keep the support of ‘Middle England’. Students should also discuss those New Labour policies which further illustrated the shift from class-based politics, most notably in the party’s support for market economics and a thriving private sector, its acceptance of inequality and its advocacy of policies intended to reduce divisions and barriers to social mobility based on race, gender, age and physical ability rather than social class. Such knowledge and evaluation would lend validity to the statement presented in the quotation and there is little to glean from the Miliband years to indicate that Labour has returned to the class-based politics of old. Note references to the ‘squeezed middle’ and the perceived ‘cost of living crisis’ in much of Labour’s rhetoric under Miliband. Lower-level answers should recognise the changes that were taking place in the UK, but responses at these levels are likely to be conceptually weaker and less evidence-based.

As is always the case with essays at A2, the marks awarded for knowledge, skill and communication ought to reflect the depth and quality of the evidence presented and the sophistication of argument used to arrive at a reasoned conclusion.

AO1: 12

AO2: 12

AO3: 6

Topic 3 Conservatism**Total for this topic: 40 marks****(05)** How have conservatives traditionally viewed human nature?**[10 marks]**

Students ought to be aware that conservatives hold a sceptical or even pessimistic view of human nature. They are perceived as being amoral, untrustworthy and predatory creatures who are more interested in their own welfare than that of the community as a whole and because of these traits conservatives believe that humans need firm government. Higher-level answers could well relate such view points to the Biblical view of mankind: a fallen race cast out of Eden by a vengeful God.

They might also recognise Burke's contribution to the debate about human nature and of the traditional view of the need for a relationship between the government and the people akin to that which exists between parent and child.

At Level 3 and above, comparisons are also likely to be made with the views held by liberals and socialists of human nature which are more optimistic and deterministic. At these high levels, students would appreciate that conservatives reject the view that consciousness can be manipulated through social conditioning to produce ideal human beings. They view humans as lacking the capacity to overcome economic, psychological and cultural constraints on their development on the grounds that individuals are not driven by reason but by basic appetites.

AO1: 4

AO2: 4

AO3: 2

(06) ‘The Conservative Party in Britain has always lacked ideological cohesion.’ Discuss.

[30 marks]

Students would need to explain the term ‘ideological cohesion’ (AO1). Having done so, they could then proceed to test the claim in the question by utilising their knowledge and understanding of conservative ideas in their attempt to assess the extent to which a solid core of beliefs and values has been consistently evident in the rhetoric, policies and actions advocated by the Conservative Party in Britain since its conception in the 1830s (AO2).

The best answers should point out that conservatism can be traced back to a reaction to the 18th century Enlightenment and the French Revolution. At Levels 3 and 4, students would also be expected to recognise that there are different nuances within conservatism. Even the most basic answers, however, should provide an outline of the broad themes which are central to the political philosophy of conservatism – a belief that politics is of limited relevance to human affairs and a view of society as being unique and organic. Furthermore, students would also be expected to appreciate the strong emphasis which conservatives put on values such as patriotism and the support which they reveal for traditional institutions. In addition, all students would be expected to recognise the Conservative belief in the need for strong law and order to safeguard private property and to curb the excesses of anti-social behaviour.

Most students would also be expected to appreciate the importance attached to pragmatism by conservatives. Indeed, given their rejection of ideological blueprints as devices for problem-solving, it is not surprising that ideological coherence appears not to be a strong feature of the conservative philosophy, nor does it seem to define the essential nature of the Conservative Party itself, a party which has tended to eschew ideology in favour of common sense. Indeed, such an approach to problem-solving has characterised the party’s approach to political and economic policy-making for most of its life. Its very survival and success over the centuries is largely attributable to its capacity to embrace new ideas in the face of changing circumstances. Evidence which could be utilised to illustrate this could include its embracing of free trade over economic protectionism, its changing attitudes towards the extension of the franchise and its acceptance of a growing role for the state in the overall management of the economy and in the provision of welfare.

In the post-war period, clear divisions over immigration policy, membership of the EU, social policy and economic policy serve to illustrate the diversity of views which were evident in the Conservative Party, as did the divisions between One Nation Tories and those who supported the New Right agenda during the Thatcher years. Analysis of internal divisions and oscillations of policy under Major, Hague, Duncan-Smith and Howard would further reveal a party which appeared to lack ideological cohesion. The Cameron years can also be utilised to show how the party has failed to maintain a clear ideological identity. Whilst the party sought to appear more compassionate, inclusive and greener in the build-up to the 2010 Election than it had for much of the post-Thatcher era (as well as giving clear support to the public sector in the fields of health and education), in government it has appeared to be far more authoritarian and right wing in its approach to economic management and in its support for the private sector.

However, during its time in government the party has had to compromise on many policies as a consequence of its coalition with the Liberal Democrats. It has also needed to respond to the nation’s economic problems by utilising methods which reflect the complexities of managing economies where the forces of globalisation are often greater than the capacity of governments to act independently and in accordance with recognised ideological agendas. The emergence of groups such as ‘Conservative Voice’, Cornerstone and the Free Enterprise Group illustrate the disenchantment of the Conservative Party’s

right wing with Cameron's policies and approach to governing the United Kingdom. In contrast, groups such as the 2020 Group and the 301 Group articulate centre left thinking and support Cameron's views and policies. The existences of such bodies would indeed tend to lend credence to the view that the party does indeed lack ideological coherence.

Students, therefore, might well contend that conservatism does indeed lack the universal scope and ideological coherence of other ideologies and that the party itself is ideologically inconsistent. Yet it would also be sensible to argue that the Conservative Party always has possessed and still does cohere to certain fundamental values and beliefs. The best answers would appreciate this apparent paradox. The weaker answers would be more likely to agree basically with the claim made in the question. Once again, marks should be awarded in line with the quality of the analysis presented and the depth, accuracy and relevance of knowledge used to support claims and refute arguments. For AO3, marks should reflect the sophistication of language and style evident in the answer.

AO1: 12

AO2: 12

AO3: 6

Topic 4 Fascism**Total for this topic: 40 marks****(07)** Why are myths so important to fascists?**[10 marks]**

The essential explanation here relates to the firm conviction held by fascists that reasoned arguments and rational theories do not inspire people to create revolutions and to transform society; instead myths are required. These are important because they provide the people with a vision of what the future could hold and they also serve to inspire them. Most students should be aware of these points and answers at the higher levels could well state that such views were largely derived from George Sorel.

At Level 3 and above, students could take their analysis and explanations further by pointing out that fascists present myths as versions of the truth. They produce particularist views of history which are highly selective and which tend to emphasise heroism and legends from past civilisations. These are often exaggerated or even fabricated. Again, at Level 3 and above, students could develop this theme by discussing the myths created by Mussolini and Hitler. In the case of the former, a mythology based on the glories of the Roman Empire and, in the latter, highly spurious theories of racial supremacy based on the idea of an Aryan warrior race which, like the Teutonic Knights in the Middle Ages, would rise up against alien bodies who sought to undermine the Christian North European heritage and culture.

Students might also note that this mythology is also highly evident in contemporary European and North American far-right movements which often incorporate the word 'Aryan' into their name. In essence, such myths are important because they serve to represent key virtues which fascist leaders hope to promote among their people, instead of emphasising historical truths which might hold back a fascist revolution. At Levels 1 and 2, the depth of knowledge revealed will be less comprehensive and the arguments made and explanations presented will be more basic.

AO1: 4

AO2: 4

AO3: 2

(08) 'National struggle and an obsession with warfare are central features of both traditional and contemporary fascism.' Discuss. **[30 marks]**

Students would be expected to recognise the centrality of war and national struggle as essential tenets of fascism. The best answers would be aware of the antecedents of Italian Fascism and German National Socialism, particularly Nietzsche's ideas associated with the 'will to power' which granted leaders the 'right' to cut through complexity, bureaucracy and human frailty so as to create better and more noble political and social national structures than the weak and degenerate systems associated with liberal democracy.

High-level answers could also refer to 'scientific' theories such as Social Darwinism to explain and justify the power acquired by and accorded to elites and 'superior' nations. Students would also be expected to recognise the importance of warfare to fascists as an opportunity to demonstrate courage and racial superiority over 'inferior' nations. Violent struggle can also be utilised against decadent and alien groups within the nation in the crusade to create a pure and purposeful superstate. The fixation with warfare and struggle also helps to explain the cause of national expansion as evidenced in Mussolini's Abyssinia campaign and Hitler's quest for 'lebensraum' at the expense of 'inferior' Slavic nations. For fascists, warfare and struggle provides the ultimate expression of the virtues of heroism and self-sacrifice for the greater national good (AO1 and AO2).

Some students would be likely to argue that fascism constitutes more than just national struggle and warfare. The ideology also places strong emphasis on contempt for intellectualism and cosmopolitanism, support for economic corporatism and on the family as an agent for the production of individuals who would make up the master race. References could also be made to authoritarian leadership structures and to totalitarian political systems.

Discussion of contemporary fascism should focus on the far right's continued adherence to many of traditional fascism's core values. British, Continental, East European, American and Australian neo-fascist movements continue to share a number of these traditional values such as contempt for liberal democracy and equality, a belief in racial supremacy, support for strong leadership and an emphasis on military or quasi-military values. A high premium is also placed on obedience, loyalty, order, hierarchy and the cult of violence and physical strength. Symbolism is also highly evident in these movements. The enemy today is essentially the enemy of old – those who seek to manipulate society through their control of the banks and other financial institutions, the law and the media, institutions often claimed by the extreme right to be dominated by the Jews. Although virulent anti-Semitism is perhaps less evident today than in the past, it is still a feature of contemporary far-right thinking.

Globalism and supra-nationalism continue to be reviled but the struggle also now includes the 'crusade' against the forces of Islam who are now perceived by fascists to be the major threat to western Christian society and its associated values. The struggle today is often focused on the enemy within and it could be argued that contemporary fascists place much less emphasis on warfare as a mode of conflict against other nations than traditional fascists did.

The marks for AO1 and AO2 should reflect the levels of knowledge and understanding revealed in the answers and in the quality of arguments utilised to support or refute the claims presented in the question. AO3 marks will be awarded in line with the sophistication of language used and the communication skills apparent in the answer.

AO1: 12
AO2: 12
AO3: 6

ASSESSMENT OBJECTIVE GRID

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