



A-LEVEL

Government and Politics

GOV3B Ideologies

Mark scheme

June 2016

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 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, examiners are required to familiarise themselves with the general principles of the mark scheme as contained in the Assessment Matrix.

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 student 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 student 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. There are frequent errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar, and legibility may be a problem. A conclusion, where appropriate, may be offered but its relationship to the preceding discussion is modest or implicit.</p>
<p>Level 1 (1 mark) The 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>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)</p> <p>The student demonstrates a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them.</p> <p>A synoptic approach is fully developed, drawing appropriately on knowledge, perspectives and examples from a wide range of studies in government and politics.</p> <p>The answer fully addresses the requirements of the question and demonstrates excellent contextual awareness.</p> <p>The answer includes excellent examples to illustrate points made.</p> <p>The answer includes detailed and comprehensive interpretations or explanations, as well as accurate evidence and relevant examples, to illustrate points made.</p>	<p>Level 4 (10–12 marks)</p> <p>The 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.</p> <p>Appropriate parallels and connections are clearly identified, together with well-developed comparisons. A wide range of concepts is used and developed.</p>	<p>Level 4 (6 marks)</p> <p>The 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.</p> <p>The response should be legible, with few, if any, errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar. The answer has a clear sense of direction, culminating in a conclusion that flows from the preceding discussion.</p>
<p>Level 3 (7–9 marks)</p> <p>The student demonstrates sound knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and the relationships between them.</p> <p>A synoptic approach is well developed using a range of knowledge, perspectives and examples gained elsewhere in the study of government and politics.</p> <p>The answer clearly addresses the requirements of the question and demonstrates sound contextual awareness.</p> <p>The answer includes developed and effective interpretations or explanations and also clear evidence and good examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p>Level 3 (7–9 marks)</p> <p>The 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)</p> <p>The student communicates arguments, explanations and conclusions well. Good use is made of political vocabulary to construct clear arguments and explanations.</p> <p>The response should be legible but there may be occasional errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar.</p> <p>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)</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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)</p> <p>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>Level 2 (2–3 marks)</p> <p>The student communicates arguments and conclusions adequately, with a limited use of political vocabulary.</p> <p>There are frequent errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar and legibility may be a problem.</p> <p>A conclusion is offered but its relationship to the preceding discussion may be modest or implicit.</p>
<p>Level 1 (1–3 marks)</p> <p>The student demonstrates a slight and incomplete knowledge and understanding of political institutions and processes and a limited awareness of the relationships between them.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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)</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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)</p> <p>The answer relies upon narrative which is not fully coherent. There is little or no use of political vocabulary.</p> <p>Errors in spelling, punctuation and grammar may be intrusive and the response may not be legible.</p> <p>A conclusion, if present, is not adequately related to the preceding discussion.</p>
<p>0 marks</p> <p>No relevant response.</p>	<p>0 marks</p> <p>No relevant response.</p>	<p>0 marks</p> <p>No relevant response</p>

Topic 1 Liberalism

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 Examine the liberal view of human nature.**[10 marks]**

In order to show a basic understanding, students should be aware that liberals take an optimistic view of human nature. This may be contrasted with the pessimistic view taken by conservatives.

At Level 2, students could acknowledge that liberalism is the ideology most closely associated with the pursuit of freedom and tolerance (provided our actions do not constrain the liberty of others). Reward any relevant reference (e.g. the American Declaration of Independence, support from liberals for gay / equal marriage, etc.). Students should also be able to examine the core liberal assumption that the individual is a rational actor rather than one governed by irrational forces.

At Level 3, students are likely to be able to identify examples by which the rational view of human nature has shaped liberal policies and measures. Most of these could tend to derive from the strand of social liberalism. Examples could range from the welfare state to modern-day illustrations from the Liberal Democrats in the 2010–2015 coalition (such as their support for the Human Rights Act). Students should note that liberals view individuals as inherently good and as such they should be entrusted with as much freedom as possible. Whilst there should always be some limitation upon our freedom, the aim of liberals of all persuasions is to maximise the concepts of liberty and freedom. Better students could add that there is no group within society considered less rational than others. Expect historical and modern-day reference to liberal support for female emancipation, the rights of LGBT people, laws to prevent discrimination against ethnic minorities, the pupil premium and so on.

In order to gain Level 4, students should go beyond just offering a generalisation in terms of the liberal view of human nature. For instance, liberals recognise that humans could at times act in an anti-social and criminal manner. As such, they favour laws to deal with such behaviour in order to protect individual liberty and freedom. Students may well reference the famous observation of John Locke (“where laws do not exist, man has no freedom”). It may also be noted that criminals should be rehabilitated as well as punished. In order to show an awareness of contemporary developments, reference may be given towards the controversy surrounding prisoners’ right to vote. Better students could also be aware of the liberal perspective upon the causes of crime and how it relates to an optimistic and rational view of human nature. Students at this level should also be aware that liberals reject utopianism. Unlike anarchists and to some degree Marxists, liberals believe that any change to the political structure of a society would not in itself lead to a change in human behaviour.

0 2 Discuss ways in which neo-liberalism differs from the New Right.

[30 marks]

At Level 1, students may offer a basic distinction between neo-liberalism and the New Right (such as their place along the ideological spectrum, and / or some generalised comment concerning the degree of overlap between neo-liberalism and the New Right). There may also be some link between those ideologies and the political parties that best reflect those attitudes – albeit to a fairly basic standard. The effective discriminator is “discuss the ways”.

To reach Level 2, expect students to expand upon the shared common ground between neo-liberalism and the New Right. For instance, both agree that laissez-faire capitalism is the best economic system available. This may also entail a critique of state intervention in terms of damaging economic growth. Students may also note that neo-liberalism and the New Right support policies such as privatisation and a flexible labour force. That said, it is important that students at this level should also reference some areas of divergence between these two strands.

Level 3 answers should demonstrate a degree of synoptic awareness. This may be achieved via reference to politicians, pressure groups and / or theorists that reflect these different strands of political thought. Reward examples that go beyond the UK. It is expected that most students will consider the United States (such as the Tea Party, the Republican Party and fiscal conservatives). Students at this level will also note that neo-liberalism is a relatively recent development within the ideology of liberalism (hence the prefix ‘neo’), whereas the New Right is more closely associated with conservatism. Expect some expansion upon the distinctions between liberals and conservatives in terms of their ultimate objectives. In addition, students at this level may note that both neo-liberals and those on the New Right are implacably opposed to socialism and a planned economic system. Some development of this argument is expected amongst students who gain Level 3, along with relevant evidence.

Level 4 responses may well consider issues such as foreign policy and lifestyle choices. In the US, neo-liberals tend to adopt an isolationist stance. The United States should put its own interests first as opposed to acting like the world’s ‘policeman’. In contrast, neo-conservatives seek to mobilise military resources in order to promote values such as democracy and capitalism. Reward students who use terms such as doves and hawks. In terms of lifestyle choices, liberals (including neo-liberals) adopt a position of moral relativism because it is not the role of society to dictate stifling conformity upon individuals. Expect reference to John Stuart Mill’s argument concerning “the despotism of custom”. In contrast, neo-conservatives adopt a stance of moral absolutism. To gain AO2 marks, expect a sophisticated awareness as to why neo-liberals adopt a different stance to those on the New Right. For example, neo-conservatives believe there is a clear distinction between right and wrong. This sense of morality is firmly based upon societal values which in themselves stem from religion. Equally, liberalism is centred upon the rights of the individual and is opposed to the stifling conformity of social mores. Students at this level may use terms such as cultural diversity, multiculturalism, cultural homogeneity and the tyranny of the majority.

AO3 marks on this question must be awarded to reflect the extent to which an answer is clearly expressed, is well-structured, leads to a conclusion that is consistent with the preceding knowledge and analysis and uses relevant political vocabulary, including

theories and concepts, as identified in the mark scheme.

Topic 2 Socialism

0 3 Examine the extent to which socialism can be described as revolutionary.

[10 marks]

At Level 1, there may be basic definitions of the terms socialism and revolution. There should also be some indication that the student comprehends the difference between revolutionary socialism and those who support the parliamentary (or democratic) route to change.

Level 2 students should be able to locate revolutionary socialism in the context of a Marxist perspective, although this will not be elaborated upon. Expect students to expand upon the contrast between revolutionary socialism and gradualism (or incrementalism); perhaps with specific reference to the Labour movement in the UK. Historical examples of revolutionary socialism may be offered, such as Cuba and the Soviet Union.

Level 3 responses may note that the Labour movement in the UK has never been revolutionary (except for a minority on the far-left). Students may observe that the incremental approach is closer to the centre of the political spectrum and therefore more electorally viable than Marxism. Level 3 students may contextualise such observations in regards to similar centre-left parties in Europe. In order to gain AO2 marks, students may identify reasons why the Marxist prediction of a revolution led by the proletariat has not yet occurred. Students may also observe that socialism has always held an element of revolutionary thought, but in practice most socialists follow the parliamentary and democratic route.

Stronger responses may also offer an insightful argument such as movements committed to radical change are often divided between revolutionaries and reformists, or that revolutionary socialism is less prevalent in contemporary global politics. Such students will note that Marxism is a doctrine based upon a Hegelian understanding of society. It predicts the overthrow of the capitalist system after a world-wide revolution led by the proletariat. Expect sophisticated use of terms such as the dictatorship of the proletariat, class consciousness, dual consciousness (Gramsci) along with observations from Marxists such as Friedrich Engels (“when freedom exists, there will be no state”).

0 4 'The Labour movement in the UK has never been truly socialist.' Discuss.

[30 marks]

In order to show a basic level of understanding, there should be some description of socialist ideology and an awareness of what the Labour movement entails. The effective discriminator is that students should consider the extent to which the Labour movement (i.e. the Labour Party, trade unions, co-operative societies, left-wing pressure groups) meets these socialist ideals. Therefore, students should explore both sides of the argument in order to reach Level 2.

In order to support the argument that the Labour Party is a socialist party, it could be claimed that New Labour implemented a wide range of left-wing policies. Reward relevant examples such as an increase in the higher rate of income tax, an overall increase in government expenditure, welfare reform (such as welfare-to-work, the minimum wage and Sure Start) and so on. By way of a counter-argument, there should be evidence that the Labour Party had abandoned socialism. Examples include replacing the 'old' Clause 4, the marketisation of the welfare state, a continuation of Thatcherite policies (such as league tables in education, flexible labour markets, etc.) and little or no progress towards a more even distribution of wealth. Some students may also include relevant quotes (such as Peter Mandelson's comment about being "intensely relaxed about people becoming filthy rich").

Level 3 students might refer to specific policies or comments made under Ed Miliband (such as the proposed Mansion Tax, a pledge to stabilise energy prices, plans to raise the top rate of income tax back to 50p, an extension in the level of paternity leave and so on). They may also consider trade unions, the co-op movement and / or left-wing pressure groups; rather than just the Labour Party itself. For AO2 marks, there may be an awareness of the 'third way' and a consideration as to what extent it represents a modified version of social democracy against those who see the third way as a means by which 'new' Labour abandoned many or all of its socialist goals. Expect students to highlight the manner in which the third way was applied in a highly selective manner to justify measures that are inconsistent with socialism. Students may also refer to the third way in the context of centre-left European parties; provided they do not go off on a tangent.

In order to gain Level 4, students should offer a degree of insight. This can entail any number of arguments such as 'the Labour movement has never been truly socialist' or that 'the parliamentary Labour movement has never been socialist'. It is crucial that students show a critical awareness of, for example, the need to appeal to a wide section of the electorate, to placate powerful business interests, to ensure the support of media moguls such as Murdoch, etc. Some students at this level may even use a Marxist analysis of the manner in which the Labour Party should acquiesce to capitalist forces. It is important that students refer to the factors and reasoning behind such moves and relate those to socialism. These students could also be aware of a perceived shift towards the left under Miliband. Expect supporting evidence that goes beyond mere tabloid labels of 'Red Ed'. For instance, an insightful contrast would be the previous Labour government's introduction of tuition fees against Miliband's proposal to reduce them. Equally, students should be aware that Miliband sought to fight off socialist influences within the party from the trade unions. His desire to maintain some elements of the government's austerity programme could also be referenced. It should be noted that the trade union movement and pressure groups provide evidence for both sides of the

argument. It is important that students differentiate between trade unions and left-wing pressure groups (some of which are moderate, and some of which are more left-wing) to reach this level.

AO3 marks on this question must be awarded to reflect the extent to which an answer is clearly expressed, is well-structured, leads to a conclusion that is consistent with the preceding knowledge and analysis and uses relevant political vocabulary, including theories and concepts, as identified in the mark scheme.

Topic 3 Conservatism

0 5 Consider the view that conservatism is opposed to equality.

[10 marks]

At the basic level, students might refer to hierarchy and elitism in terms of the conservative critique of equality. Students may make reference to support given by conservatives for institutions that are hierarchical and elitist (such as the Army and the Monarchy). In order to gain Level 2, further elaboration should be offered. For instance, conservatives claim that the goal of equality is motivated by the politics of envy and is based upon abstract utopian notions. Moreover, the high rates of taxation and government spending required to achieve a more even distribution of wealth could undermine economic growth and create an excessive level of government borrowing.

In order to reach Level 3, students may comprehend that the question asks for a consideration of the role of the state alongside the two main strands of conservatism. The one-nation school of thought favours a limited redistribution of wealth and the provision of a safety net in order to maintain social stability. Terms such as paternalism and the noblesse oblige may be used. That said; it falls well short of an equal distribution of wealth. The New Right however believe that the welfare state has contributed to a dependency culture in which benefits are seen as an entitlement and claimants often receive something for nothing. The welfare state also undermines personal responsibility and has contributed to a broken society. Credit should be awarded for those who recognise attempts by conservatives that are contrary to the goal of equality within society (such as the welfare cap on families and the privatisation of publically-owned industries). Reward students who place this argument into a broader electoral context, those who use contemporary examples (such as the Tories support for electorally significant groups like the elderly) and those who recognise the role of pragmatism.

Students cannot achieve the highest marks for this question without recognising the intellectual debate within conservatism over the issue of equality. Expect reference to libertarian figures such as Ayn Rand and Robert Nozick alongside mainstream theorists such as Edmund Burke. Any relevant argument should be rewarded (such as Burke's view that we should "love the little platoon in society to which we belong" and the traditional Tory philosophy that inequality holds divine providence). Students may also note that conservatives both accept the need for equal opportunities whilst taking the view that society is hierarchal and unequal. For conservatives, state intervention can only be justified if it ensures social order as opposed to the social goal of equality. Discussion of Conservative support for the third sector could be used to gain AO2 marks, provided students show that the activities of the third sector can serve to help those who are less able to fend for themselves.

0 6 Assess ways in which conservatives view the role of the state.

[30 marks]

As a basic level of understanding, students need to differentiate between the two main strands of conservative thought along the political spectrum. There may be some basic examples offered in relation to the state. The effective discriminator of this question centres upon an assessment of the ways in which conservatives are divided.

In order to reach Level 2, students should be able to place their argument into a broader context. For instance, expect a distinction between social / welfare policy, economic policy and / or social order. In each case, there should be a clear explanation as to what ways conservatives are divided. Students should note that this division is more prevalent in the realm of social / welfare policy. Students may recognise the role which prominent one-nation figures have played in the development of the welfare state. Students at this level should also be able to understand the importance of a safety net amongst one-nation Tories based on paternalism. The state should also intervene in order to mitigate the problems associated with market failure, and protect those institutions that have proved their worth from one generation to the next. In addition, all conservatives believe that the state should be strong enough to maintain the conservative goal of social order and that the state should be a neutral arbitrator within society.

At Level 3, students should be aware that the New Right shares much common ideological ground with classical liberals in their support for laissez-faire economics. Expect reference to academic figures, pressure groups and relevant policies. Examples may derive from any number of countries to show a synoptic awareness. At this level, students may also note that the New Right is both liberal and authoritarian. In terms of the welfare state, expect students to note the desire amongst figures from the New Right to reduce the role of the welfare state and their argument that the welfare state is often the problem rather than the solution. One-nation figures however, view the welfare state in pragmatic terms.

At Level 4, students may expand upon the New Right critique of the welfare state. For instance, they might note that the welfare state fails to discriminate in favour of those families who stick together and accept their joint responsibility in terms of raising children. Also expect reference to the relationship between the welfare state and the creation of an underclass or broken society, and the manner in which the welfare state upholds permissive values and moral relativism. AO2 marks can also be gained from recognising a desire to restore a sense of moral vigour and individual responsibility within conservative circles. It may also be recognised that there is little or no division over the role of the state in terms of maintaining law and order. Expect reference to the Hobbesian argument that “covenants, without the sword, are but words” and / or generous levels of resources allocated to the police and armed forces. There may also be reference to the pessimistic view conservatives hold about human nature and the brutish character of a state of nature. However, it should also be noted that there remains tension within conservatism over the need to uphold civil liberties against an authoritarian state. Students at this level should demonstrate a sound internal logic throughout, along with correct use of ideological terms (such as budget hawks, economic liberty and the religious right) and relevant developments (such as the Big Society which aims to limit the role of the state). They could also place their observations into an insightful context; perhaps via a historical awareness of the size and scope of the state at that point.

AO3 marks on this question must be awarded to reflect the extent to which an answer is clearly expressed, is well-structured, leads to a conclusion that is consistent with the preceding knowledge and analysis and uses relevant political vocabulary, including theories and concepts, as identified in the mark scheme.

Topic 4 Fascism**0 7** Why do fascists support totalitarianism?**[10 marks]**

In order to show a basic level of understanding, students need to recognise that fascism is deeply authoritarian in terms of the role of the state. There is no room within a fascist society for liberal notions such as individual rights and freedoms. Instead, fascism prescribes a police state and a dictatorial approach to politics.

At Level 2, students could recognise that totalitarianism is not exclusively fascist. In order to gain AO2 marks, students could recognise that the state seeks to direct the masses towards fascist goals. The individual should be subservient to a totalitarian state to the extent that nothing is outside the realm of the official authorities. This even extends to the private realm of life and death. Expect examples ranging from the practice of eugenics to the crime of impeding the fertility of the Italian people under Mussolini. There is an attempt by a fascist state to totally control every aspect of existence. Better students within Level 2 could offer relevant observations about the totalitarian reach of a fascist state. This may entail Giovanni Gentile's quote ("everything for the state, nothing against the state; nothing outside the state"), Mussolini's observation that "the state is absolute, individuals and groups are relative" and / or repression of those who do not conform to the expected ideal (such as homosexuals, ethnic minorities and infidels in the context of 'Islamofascism').

At Level 3, students could note that the role of the state differs from one fascist regime to the next. Expect a contrast between the vessel notion of the German Nazis and the role of the state towards achieving the goals of the futurist movement under the Italian fascists (perhaps with reference to Marinetti). Students are also likely to note the role played by the state within the realm of economic management, usually with specific reference to corporatism or industrialisation. In addition, students may also note the importance of propaganda in terms of maintaining the fascist regime, in which the 'truth' is presented via the prism of a totalitarian state.

To reach Level 4, students may offer deeper analysis, such as authority within a fascist society derives from the 'will to power' rather than gaining a mandate from the people via free and fair multi-party elections. Expect students to make a link between the state and the 'cult of personality,' which fosters the concentration of power into the hands of an elite / dictator. Students at the very top-end may note that the fascist notion of the state takes inspiration from the Hegelian argument that individuals express their collective will and consciousness via the state. The best students may also note that fascism presents itself as monistic, explore how the state promotes fascism as a quasi-religion and / or how fascism tends to emerge in those societies where the state under a liberal democracy has 'failed'.

0 8 'Anti-rationalism is the most important feature of fascism.' Discuss.

[30 marks]

At Level 1, students should be able to offer a basic contrast between fascism and rationalism. Students may also note that fascism holds a number of characteristics that differ from rationalist ideologies, but without any elaboration. It should be noted that the effective discriminator throughout is that fascism is not just defined by what it opposes.

For Level 2 there should be some contextual analysis alongside a few examples to support the following arguments. For instance, the fascist critique of rationalism may be included. There are two elements to this. Firstly, it is argued that rationalism ultimately divides a nation / race. Rationalist ideologies such as feminism and socialism separate people on the basis of gender and social class. Secondly, rationalist assumptions allow for the application of human rights on a universal basis which is contrary to the Darwinian view fascists hold. Universality is incompatible with fascist ideology.

To reach Level 3, students should be aware of the quasi-religious or spiritual dimension of fascism. Unlike rationalist ideologies (particularly liberalism), fascism seeks to endow divine-like qualities upon its leader. Fascism also seeks to replace or distort religious institutions and teachings due to its totalitarian goals. Examples may range from the religious undertones of the Swastika to 'Islamofascism' since the Iranian Revolution (with its notion of a jihad). There may also be a consideration of how fascism denies or seeks to suppress women's rights in order to maintain an ultra-traditional view of gender roles. Students may well describe rationalism as based upon reason and the search for evidence (i.e. empiricism) whereas fascism centres upon romanticism and offers a critique of rationalism. Students at this level will also note that fascism glories in military and physical strength rather than intellectual prowess. Expect evidence ranging from the 'will to power', the overt celebration of success on the battlefield and a rejection of Enlightenment values. Students may also cite relevant quotes such as Mussolini's comment that "war is to men what maternity is to women". To gain AO2 marks, students should note that what differences exist amongst fascists derive from different circumstances within that society and the different strategies adopted by the leader. Students should go beyond the expected contrast between Italian fascism and German Nazism (such as the former's modernist zest against the latter's celebration of Germanic culture). Other fascist movements could include Spain under Franco, Golden Dawn in Greece and so on. Students should also be rewarded for accurate reflection and reference upon modern-day fascist movements.

At Level 4, students should show insight in their argument. Reward original observations provided they are supported by a logical argument (such as reference to Johan Goldberg's notion of 'liberal fascism'). Students should note that fascism is fundamentally distinct on almost every level to rationalism. For AO2 marks, it could be noted that the paucity of intellectual debate amongst fascists derives from the absence of the norms and practices associated with rationalism. More than any other ideology, fascism is driven by the world-view of its leader, who in Weberian discourse holds charismatic rather than rational-legal authority. Discussion and questioning is quashed and replaced by submission to the Fuhrer, Il Duce, Generalissimo, etc. As a consequence, fascism provides a great deal of scope for the leader to adopt policies associated with realpolitik, and is driven by the struggle for power in which an übermensch emerges. That said, there are fascist theorists and intellectuals who may be mentioned at this level, such as Mazzini, Garibaldi, Nietzsche and Gentile.

AO3 marks on this question must be awarded to reflect the extent to which an answer is clearly expressed, is well-structured, leads to a conclusion that is consistent with the preceding knowledge and analysis and uses relevant political vocabulary, including theories and concepts, as identified in the mark scheme.