Mark Scheme (Standardisation)
Summer 2008

GCE Government & Politics (Unit 4B/6497)

General Marking Guidance

- All candidates must receive the same treatment. Examiners must mark the first candidate in exactly the same way as they mark the last.

- Mark schemes should be applied positively. Candidates must be rewarded for what they have shown they can do rather than penalised for omissions.

- Examiners should mark according to the mark scheme not according to their perception of where the grade boundaries may lie.

- There is no ceiling on achievement. All marks on the mark scheme should be used appropriately.

- All the marks on the mark scheme are designed to be awarded. Examiners should always award full marks if deserved, i.e. if the answer matches the mark scheme. Examiners should also be prepared to award zero marks if the candidate's response is not worthy of credit according to the mark scheme.

- Where some judgement is required, mark schemes will provide the principles by which marks will be awarded and exemplification may be limited.

- When examiners are in doubt regarding the application of the mark scheme to a candidate's response, the team leader must be consulted.

- Crossed out work should be marked UNLESS the candidate has replaced it with an alternative response.

Question Number	Indicative content
1	Liberals have warned against the dangers of democracy for a number of reasons. These include the following. First, democracy may clash with individualism. The central liberal concern has been that democracy can become the enemy of individual liberty. This arises from the fact that 'the people' are not a single entity but rather a collection of individuals and groups, possessing different opinions and opposing interests. Second, democracy may lead to a majoritarian tyranny. This happens because the 'democratic solution' to conflict is a recourse to the application of majority rule. Democracy thus comes down to rule by the 51 per cent, or the 'tyranny of the majority', threatening minority and individual rights. Third, this concern about majoritarianism has been heightened by the make-up of the majority in modern, industrial societies. As the majority consists of people with limited education and inadequate political wisdom, democracy can end up operating as a form of mob rule. Some liberals have therefore argued that the rights of the educated and propertied minority need to be protected from the untutored instincts of the masses. Fourth, political democracy may conflict with economic efficiency. Classical liberals in particular have linked democracy to state intervention, arguing that although welfare and economic management may be electorally popular, they threaten to upset the vigour and balance of a market economy.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-6	An awareness of liberal concerns about democracy, but not supported by adequate argument or evidence.
Level 2	7-12	A sound understanding of one liberal argument against democracy or a limited awareness of more than one argument.
Level 3	13-20	A good or better understanding of at least two liberal arguments against democracy.

Question Number	Indicative content
2	Negative freedom refers to the absence of external restrictions or constraints on the individual, allowing freedom of choice. In this view, the principal threats to freedom arise through law and the use of force. Negative freedom is therefore upheld primarily through checks on government power, such a codified constitutions and bills of rights. Examples of negative freedom include civil liberties, such as freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, freedom of movement and freedom of religious worship. It is also evident in freedom from (excessive) taxation. Positive freedom refers to self-mastery or self-realisation, the achievement of autonomy and the development of human capacities. Instead of being 'left alone', the individual is able to develop skills and talents, broaden his or her understanding, and gain fulfilment. In this view, the principal constraints on freedom include poverty and social deprivation. Positive freedom is therefore often portrayed as freedom from the social evils that may cripple individual existence. Expressions of positive freedom can be found in freedom from ignorance (the right to education), disease (the right to health care) and want (the right to a social minimum.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-6	A weak understanding of both negative and positive freedom or a basic understanding of one conception and an inadequate conception of the other.
Level 2	7-12	A limited to sound understanding of both conceptions of freedom with adequate examples but distinction largely implicit rather than explicit.
Level 3	13-20	A good or better understanding of both conceptions of freedom supported by clear and accurate examples. Distinctions made explicit in the best responses.

Question Number	Indicative content
3	Marx believed that capitalism was doomed to collapse because it was based on a fundamental contradiction. This contradiction is rooted in the institution of private property, giving rise to a system of irreconcilable class conflict. Capitalism is therefore essentially a system of class exploitation, operating in the interests of the bourgeoisie, the owners of productive wealth. The property-less proletariat is systematically exploited through the extraction of what Marx called 'surplus value'. As the proletariat could not be reconciled with capitalism, Marx argued that the capitalist system was inevitably doomed. Marx believed that capitalism would be overthrown by a proletarian revolution. This would occur as the proletariat achieved class consciousness, becoming a class-for-itself rather than a class-in-itself. The proletariat would be brought to class consciousness by progressive immiseration, the product of the deepening and inevitable crises of the capitalist system. Revolution would therefore be a spontaneous act on the part of a class-conscious proletariat, providing its own leadership and guidance.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-6	A weak understanding of the flaws of the capitalist system with a lack of clarity about how capitalism will be overthrown.
Level 2	7-12	A limited to sound explanation of capitalism's flaws and some understanding of the circumstances in which proletarian revolution will take place.
Level 3	13-20	A good or better explanation of the flaws of the capitalist system, with at least a sound explanation of how and when proletarian revolution will occur.

Question Number	Indicative content
4	Traditional conservatives have objected to social equality on the grounds that society is naturally hierarchical. Social equality is therefore undesirable and unachievable, as power, status and property are always unequally distributed. Hierarchy is an inevitable feature of an organic society, not merely a consequence of individual differences. Society is composed of a collection of different groups, bodies and institutions, each with its own role and purpose, just as the body is composed of a collection of different and 'unequal' organs. One Nation conservatives have further argued that the natural inequality of wealth and social position is justified by a corresponding inequality of social responsibilities, as the wealthy and prosperous have a social duty to look after the less well-off. The liberal New Right, however, has embraced an essentially liberal critique of social equality. This accepts the principle of equality of opportunity (an absurd idea for traditional conservatives), but stresses that individuals should be able to realise their unequal talents and capacity to work. Social equality is therefore rejected on the grounds that it is a form of 'levelling' that treats unalike people alike and damages the economy by removing incentives to work and enterprise.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-6	A weak understanding of both organicist and individualist arguments.
Level 2	7-12	A limited to sound understanding of both arguments, or a good or better understanding of just one argument.
Level 3	13-20	A good or better understanding of both lines of argument, or a very good understanding of the organicist position and an awareness of the individualist position.

Question Number	Indicative content
5	Communism and social democracy represent very different forms of socialism, and offer starkly different models of a socialist society. Communism is based on the idea of the collective ownership of wealth. It is a form of fundamentalist socialism that looks to overthrow and replace the capitalist system. Communists have thus embraced revolution and called for qualitative economic and social change. For Marx, full communism referred to a society that was both classless and stateless. In the absence of class antagonism, the state would 'wither away' and people would be able to manage their own affairs peacefully and co-operatively. A very high level of social equality would reign, as the distribution of wealth would be strictly based on need. The orthodox communist societies of the twentieth century, however, translated this image into a form of state collectivisation, usually operating through a system of central planning. Such societies became politically repressive and failed to realise the promise of liberating humankind from material hardship.

Social democracy, by contrast, represents a revisionist form of socialism. It aims to reform the capitalist system, not abolish it. Accepting that capitalism and market competition are the best ways of generating wealth, social democrats looked instead to ensuring that wealth is distributed in line with moral, rather than material, principles. Whereas communism was orientated around the politics of ownership, social democracy was committed to the politics of social justice, the desire to narrow distributive inequalities in society. Abandoning wholesale collectivisation, the principle themes within social democracy were a commitment to the mixed economy and selective nationalisation, a belief in economic management using Keynesian techniques and a commitment to a welfare state, seen as a mechanism for redistributing wealth. Social democracy also usually operated within a liberal-democratic political framework. |

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-19	A weak or inadequate understanding of both communism and social democracy.
Level 2	20-39	A limited to sound understanding of communism and social democracy, or a good or better understanding of one tradition and a weak understanding of the other.
Level 3	40-60	A good or better understanding of both traditions, or a very good

		understanding of one tradition and a sound understanding of the other. Reliable and explicit distinctions are made.

Question Number	Indicative content
6	Tradition refers to values, practices and institutions that have endured through time and, usually, have been passed down from one generation to the next. Tradition thus represents continuity with the past. Conservatives have supported tradition and continuity on a number of grounds. First, some conservatives have defended tradition on grounds of religious faith. If social customs and practices are regarded as 'God given', human beings should not question or challenge them. Second, the most significant of conservative arguments in favour of tradition is that it reflects the accumulated wisdom of the past. Customs, institutions and practices that have been 'tested by time' have been proved to work. They have survived by benefiting past generations and should be preserved for the benefit of present and future generations. Chesterton described this as a 'democracy of the dead'. Third, tradition helps to uphold social stability, generating a sense of identity for both society and the individual. In this view, the benefit of tradition is that it is familiar and reassuring. For the individual it generates 'rootedness' and belonging; for society it generates cohesion and a common culture.
	Neoliberal trends within modern conservatism have departed from traditionalism, however. Neoliberals have supported radical change, in line with their desire to 'roll back' economic and social intervention in the name of the free market and self-sufficient individualism. In a sense, they place reason above tradition in being guided by abstract economic theory rather than a desire for continuity with the past. This may, nevertheless, be a form of reactionary radicalism, as it reflects a desire to 'turn the clock back' to the alleged economic vigour of the *laissez-faire* nineteenth century. On the other hand, neoconservatives have placed renewed emphasis on tradition, particularly in the defence of so-called 'traditional values', needed to give society a clearer moral identity. This is also reflected in a defence of the so-called 'traditional family'.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-19	A weak understanding of conservative views on tradition and continuity with little attention given to the extent to which conservatives remain traditionalists.
Level 2	20-39	A limited to sound understanding of conservative traditionalism with an awareness of the New Right position.

| Level 3 | 40-60 | A good or better understanding of conservative traditionalism taking full account of the New Right position. |

Question Number	Indicative content
7	Liberals have supported diversity in a variety of forms including political, social and cultural pluralism (multiculturalism). This has usually been done on the grounds of toleration, although toleration only provides a qualified justification for diversity. Toleration means forbearance, a willingness to accept the views or actions with which one is in disagreement. Liberals support toleration for a variety of reasons. First, it reflects their belief in rationalism and acknowledges that rational individuals should be allowed to determine 'truth' as each understands it. Second, and most fundamentally, toleration reflects a belief in autonomy. Respect for the individual as a self-determining creature implies that constraints on the individual should be minimal, perhaps restricted to the prevention of 'harm to others'. This is particularly important in order to promote individuality and personal development. Third, toleration benefits society at large. This happens because it ensures that ideas, theories and values are constantly tested against rival ideas and values. A 'free market of ideas' therefore promotes ongoing debate that contributes to the growth of understanding and therefore social progress. Restrictions on argument and debate will therefore lead to social stagnation. Some Liberals have gone further in supporting diversity by embracing the idea of neutrality or even value pluralism.

However, a belief in toleration does not endorse unlimited political, social or cultural diversity. The basic limit to toleration, from a liberal perspective is that it is difficult to extend toleration to actions or practices that are in themselves intolerant or illiberal. This may apply to expressions of race hatred, the political activities of fascist groups, or cultural practices such as female circumcision or the exclusion of women from education and public life. In this sense, toleration has to be protected from the intolerant. Liberals also believe that diversity should operate within an 'overlapping consensus' that establishes a deeper harmony or balance amongst competing interests and groups. This consensus is usually based on the maintenance of essentially liberal values, such as autonomy and equality. The maintenance of liberal-democratic structures that ensure government based on consent and guarantees for openness and individual freedom are therefore not negotiable from a liberal perspective. Liberals may thus not be prepared to 'tolerate' attempts to overthrow free political competition in the name of a single source of |

unchallengeable authority (be it a fascist state or an absolutist theocracy). There is also debate about the extent to which liberals can embrace neutrality and/or value pluralism.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
Level 1	0-19	A weak or inadequate account of liberal views on toleration and diversity.
Level 2	20-39	A limited to sound understanding of liberal views on toleration and diversity, which shows an awareness of the dangers of 'excessive' toleration.
Level 3	40-60	A good or better understanding of liberal views on toleration and diversity with a clear grasp of their dangers.