

**MARK SCHEME for the May/June 2011 question paper  
for the guidance of teachers**

**9770 COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

**9770/03**

Paper 3 (Ideologies and Philosophies),  
maximum raw mark 100

This mark scheme is published as an aid to teachers and candidates, to indicate the requirements of the examination. It shows the basis on which Examiners were instructed to award marks. It does not indicate the details of the discussions that took place at an Examiners' meeting before marking began, which would have considered the acceptability of alternative answers.

Mark schemes must be read in conjunction with the question papers and the report on the examination.

- Cambridge will not enter into discussions or correspondence in connection with these mark schemes.

Cambridge is publishing the mark schemes for the May/June 2011 question papers for most IGCSE, Pre-U, GCE Advanced Level and Advanced Subsidiary Level syllabuses and some Ordinary Level syllabuses.



<b>Page 2</b>	<b>Mark Scheme: Teachers' version</b>	<b>Syllabus</b>	<b>Paper</b>
	<b>Pre-U – May/June 2011</b>	<b>9770</b>	<b>03</b>

### Generic marking descriptors for Paper 3 sub-Q (a) [short essays]

- The full range of marks will be used as a matter of course.
- Examiners will look for the 'best fit', not a 'perfect fit' in applying the Levels.
- Examiners will provisionally award the middle mark in the Level and then moderate up/down according to individual qualities within the answer.
- The ratio of marks per AO will be 1:1.
- The weighting of marks for each AO should be considered, but this is reflected in the descriptor: marking should therefore be done holistically.
- Question-specific mark schemes will be neither exhaustive nor prescriptive. Appropriate, substantiated responses will always be rewarded.

<b>Level/marks</b>	<b>Descriptors</b>
<p><b>3</b></p> <p>15–10 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS MAY NOT BE PERFECT, BUT WILL SHOW EXCELLENT UNDERSTANDING OF THE TEXT AND RELATE IT STRONGLY TO THE QUESTION.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Excellently focused response that brings out the similarities and differences in the extracts in a sustained, point-by-point comparison that understands the views being expressed, relates parts to the whole seamlessly and answers the question convincingly.</li> <li>• At the top end, uses examples from beyond the two texts under discussion to amplify the explanation/provide context.</li> <li>• Towards the bottom, may be a little unbalanced in coverage yet the answer is still comprehensively argued.</li> <li>• Excellent understanding of relevant political knowledge (processes, concepts, debates and/or theories).</li> <li>• Candidate is always in firm control of the material.</li> <li>• The answer is fluent and the grammar, punctuation and spelling are all precise.</li> </ul>
<p><b>2</b></p> <p>9–5 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW REASONABLE UNDERSTANDING OF THE TEXT, OR RELATE A SOUND UNDERSTANDING LESS STRONGLY TO THE QUESTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Explanation that makes a solid attempt to respond to the question, identifying some of the substance of the comparison, but does not make the comparison explicit (listing rather than juxtaposing points) and/or shows a limited understanding of the views.</li> <li>• No further examples and/or context are provided.</li> <li>• Limited understanding of relevant political knowledge, illustrated with limited examples from the text under discussion.</li> <li>• Unevenness in the coverage of material.</li> <li>• The writing lacks some fluency, but on the whole shows accuracy in grammar, punctuation and spelling.</li> </ul>

<b>Page 3</b>	<b>Mark Scheme: Teachers' version</b>	<b>Syllabus</b>	<b>Paper</b>
	<b>Pre-U – May/June 2011</b>	<b>9770</b>	<b>03</b>

<p>1</p> <p>4–0 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW LITTLE UNDERSTANDING OF THE TEXT AND LITTLE ATTEMPT TO RELATE TO THE QUESTION.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Only the most basic comparison between the passages and the most basic understanding of the similarities/differences. There is little or no engagement with the question.</li> <li>• Little if any engagement with the material. The answer may paraphrase the passages and/or compare the factual material in them rather than the views that they offer.</li> <li>• Little or no awareness of relevant political knowledge, with no sign of understanding.</li> <li>• The answer shows significant weaknesses in the accuracy of grammar, punctuation and spelling.</li> </ul>
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<b>Page 4</b>	<b>Mark Scheme: Teachers' version</b>	<b>Syllabus</b>	<b>Paper</b>
	<b>Pre-U – May/June 2011</b>	<b>9770</b>	<b>03</b>

### Generic marking descriptors for Paper 3 sub-Q(b) [full essays]

- The full range of marks will be used as a matter of course.
- Examiners will look for the 'best fit', not a 'perfect fit' in applying the Levels.
- Examiners will provisionally award the middle mark in the Level and then moderate up/down according to individual qualities within the answer.
- The ratio of marks per AO will be 1:3.
- The weighting of marks for each AO should be considered, but this is reflected in the descriptor: marking should therefore be done holistically.
- Question-specific mark schemes will be neither exhaustive nor prescriptive. Appropriate, substantiated responses will always be rewarded.
- NB Answers are required to make critical use of political ideas and texts studied during the course. Responses which fail to enter into critical discussion of ideas and texts are very unlikely to attain a mark above Level 1.
- Evaluation refers to the argued weighing up/assessment of factors in relation to their significance in explaining an issue or in explaining linkages between different factors.

<b>Level/marks</b>	<b>Descriptors</b>
<p>5</p> <p>35–29 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS MAY NOT BE PERFECT, BUT WILL SHOW SOPHISTICATED UNDERSTANDING OF THE QUESTION AND DRAW COMPREHENSIVELY FROM THE IDEAS AND TEXTS STUDIED IN THEIR RESPONSES.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Excellent focused critical analysis and full evaluation of ideas and texts that answers the question convincingly.</li> <li>• Excellent sustained argument throughout with an excellent sense of direction that is strongly substantiated by an excellent range of supported examples. Excellent substantiated conclusions.</li> <li>• Excellent understanding of relevant political knowledge (processes, concepts, debates and/or theories).</li> <li>• Towards the bottom, may be a little unbalanced in coverage yet the answer is still comprehensively argued.</li> <li>• Candidate is always in firm control of the material.</li> <li>• The answer is fluent and the grammar, punctuation and spelling are all precise.</li> </ul>
<p>4</p> <p>28–22 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW MANY FEATURES OF LEVEL 5, BUT THE QUALITY WILL BE UNEVEN ACROSS THE ANSWER.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A determined response to the question with clear critical analysis and evaluation of ideas and texts across most but not all of the answer.</li> <li>• Argument is strong and sustained, showing clear awareness/understanding, but parts are underdeveloped and/or the range of substantiating evidence is not even across the answer. Strong conclusions adequately substantiated. Description is avoided.</li> <li>• Good understanding of relevant political knowledge.</li> <li>• For the most part, the answer is fluent and shows accuracy in grammar, punctuation and spelling.</li> </ul>

<b>Page 5</b>	<b>Mark Scheme: Teachers' version</b>	<b>Syllabus</b>	<b>Paper</b>
	<b>Pre-U – May/June 2011</b>	<b>9770</b>	<b>03</b>

<p>3</p> <p>21–15 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A SOUND UNDERSTANDING OF THE QUESTION AND DRAW FROM THE TEXTS STUDIED IN THEIR RESPONSES.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Engages with the question although analysis and evaluation of ideas and texts is patchy and, at the lower end, of limited quality.</li> <li>Tries to argue and draw conclusions, but not well sustained and supporting evidence is patchy. There may be significant sections of description.</li> <li>Reasonable understanding of relevant political knowledge.</li> <li>The writing lacks some fluency, but on the whole shows accuracy in grammar, punctuation and spelling.</li> </ul>
<p>2</p> <p>14–8 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A LIMITED UNDERSTANDING OF THE QUESTION AND A LIMITED USE OF/REFERENCE TO TEXTS STUDIED.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Some engagement with the question, but analysis and evaluation of ideas and texts are limited/thin.</li> <li>Limited argument within an essentially descriptive response. Irrelevance may characterise parts of the answer. Conclusions are limited/thin.</li> <li>Understanding of relevant political knowledge is limited and/or uneven.</li> <li>The answer shows some accuracy in grammar, punctuation and spelling, but contains frequent errors.</li> </ul>
<p>1</p> <p>7–0 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW LITTLE UNDERSTANDING OF THE TEXT AND LITTLE ATTEMPT TO RESPOND TO THE QUESTION.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Little or no engagement with the question. Little or no analysis or evaluation of ideas and texts.</li> <li>Little or no argument. Assertions are unsupported and/or of limited relevance. Any conclusions are very weak.</li> <li>Little or no relevant political knowledge.</li> <li>The answer shows significant weaknesses in the accuracy of grammar, punctuation and spelling.</li> </ul>

<b>Page 6</b>	<b>Mark Scheme: Teachers' version</b>	<b>Syllabus</b>	<b>Paper</b>
	<b>Pre-U – May/June 2011</b>	<b>9770</b>	<b>03</b>

## **1 Liberalism and the Individual**

### **(a) Compare these two views on consent and the limits to government power.**

#### **General**

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected, but the question asks candidates to compare and answers in levels 2 and 3 needs to show evidence of genuine comparison of the similarities and differences between the two passages. Answers might use matters of provenance, date and context to aid their comparison. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the comparison. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

#### **Specific**

In Passage A Locke rejects the idea of any form of government established without the expressed consent of the people. This was a revolutionary idea at the time he was writing. Locke expressed the need for a real contract between people and the government, not merely a notional device and this contract would have to be constantly confirmed. Passage B supports Locke's view that government must be by consent and makes the contract that Locke hints at a reality. Passage B develops the ideas of Locke and establishes the rights of individuals, and therefore, by implication, asserts the appropriate limits to government power. The last phrase in Passage B implies that individuals are the only judge of what is best for them. Both passages mention the right of liberty and turn individuals into citizens with rights, rather than just subjects who had only obligations to obey. The passages also enable people to accept that it was possible to hold different beliefs without threatening public order and security. Passage B puts greater emphasis on the freedom of the individual to find their own place in society and the idea that we are born fundamentally equal and inherit equal rights, which limit the powers of government.

<b>Page 7</b>	<b>Mark Scheme: Teachers' version</b>	<b>Syllabus</b>	<b>Paper</b>
	<b>Pre-U – May/June 2011</b>	<b>9770</b>	<b>03</b>

**(b) Assess the importance of toleration in liberal beliefs.**

**General**

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No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What is important is the quality of the critical analysis and degree of evaluation. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question. Further, they are required to refer to specific theorists to support their answer. Any answer that fails to do so cannot be given a mark above level 3.

**Specific**

Toleration is a key feature of liberal philosophy and it follows directly from Mill's principles of individual liberty. However, it can also be argued that his view was predated by Locke, although his concerns were primarily with religious toleration. There may be some reference to his dictum 'That every man may enjoy the same rights that are granted to others.' Although the question of religious toleration was an important issue in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it was Mill who widened the area of debate and concerned himself with every sphere of life. Liberalism came to be concerned with freedom of expression and the toleration of other people's beliefs, values, thoughts and faiths and their rights to express them openly.

In the twentieth century liberal groups have given attention towards minority groups, such as homosexuals, ethnic and religious groups. They have opposed all forms of censorship in the media and the arts.

Liberals have been associated with the toleration of different beliefs and views, however it should also be noted that there is a limit to toleration. This is most noticeable where the security of the state or the freedom of the individual is threatened, or if people are being encouraged to commit crimes, act in a violent way or discriminate against any group, then freedom of expression should be curtailed. This attitude links back to Mill's view of freedom, that we should be free as long as our actions are self-regarding and do not do harm to others.

There are other aspects of liberal toleration that candidates might consider. Liberals are sympathetic to the idea that individuals are influenced by their social and economic circumstances and are therefore not always responsible for their own actions. It might therefore be argued that those involved in anti-social behaviour may do so because of social consequences beyond their control. Liberals are therefore more likely to be more tolerant in their outlook and propose measures to help individuals reform their behaviour, rather than simply punish them.

Liberals are also more likely to be more tolerant over issues of personal morality. Consideration might be given to issues such as sexual behaviour, abortion, homosexuality, same sex-marriage. Liberals may take the view that these are personal matters and are not the concern of the state or others.

<b>Page 8</b>	<b>Mark Scheme: Teachers' version</b>	<b>Syllabus</b>	<b>Paper</b>
	<b>Pre-U – May/June 2011</b>	<b>9770</b>	<b>03</b>

## 2 Conservatism and the Nation

### (a) Compare the views that these two extracts offer on New Right Conservatism.

#### General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected, but the question asks candidates to compare and answers in levels 2 and 3 needs to show evidence of genuine comparison of the similarities and differences between the two passages. Answers might use matters of provenance, date and context to aid their comparison. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the comparison. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

#### Specific

In Passage B there are clear features associated with New Right Conservatism; answers should recognise limited government and individual freedom, and these are reflected in Passage A where Thatcher talks about the limited role of the state and a greater degree of personal responsibility. In Passage A Thatcher views society more as a collection of individuals, not as an organic whole and calls for greater freedom which she believed was necessary for wealth creation. She wants to see more individual incentives. However, the ideas in Passage B do show some of the distinctions between the US brand of conservatism, as represented by thinkers such as Buchanan, and the UK and the rest of Europe. Some candidates might point out that US new right ideology also focuses on the issue of religion, which is not mentioned in A. For writers such as Buchanan, religion cannot be separated from politics, and morality is strictly based on a traditional brand of fundamentalist Christianity.

Where the two passages also differ is in Passage B's inclusion of National Sovereignty and economic patriotism. National Sovereignty, in Passage B, suggests that US new right thinking is determined to protect US interests and might even be seen as arguing for isolationism, denying that the US has any global responsibilities or that it should be influenced by any other power or organisation. Candidates might suggest that to some extent this is supported by Thatcher's view on British interests and her relationship with the EU. The mention in Passage B of economic patriotism is closely linked to the idea of national sovereignty. It argues that the US should be concerned only with its own economic interests. There is no consideration of the benefits of world trade and that the first duty of the government is to protect US industry from competition through subsidies or tariffs. Some candidates might argue that this contradicts the free market economics espoused by Thatcher. However, it might also be suggested that Buchanan's views are supported by those in the UK who were opposed to further European economic integration. Passage B also argues for American values and might therefore be seen to oppose multiculturalism, arguing that there should be one dominant culture in the US and that all citizens should adopt it. Candidates might argue that this position is similar to the right wing of the Conservative party in the UK.



<b>Page 9</b>	<b>Mark Scheme: Teachers' version</b>	<b>Syllabus</b>	<b>Paper</b>
	<b>Pre-U – May/June 2011</b>	<b>9770</b>	<b>03</b>

**(b) How far has neo-conservatism adopted traditional conservative ideology?**

**General**

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No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What is important is the quality of the critical analysis and degree of evaluation. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question. Further, they are required to refer to specific theorists to support their answer. Any answer that fails to do so cannot be given a mark above level 3.

**Specific**

Candidates will need to display a clear understanding of the key conservative beliefs and are likely to compare these with neo-conservatism. They may suggest that there are different strands to neo-conservatism and point to the ideas of the New Right, which contain both neo-liberal and neo-conservative views. However, divisions within new right thinking have created a challenge for conservatism. Although the new right was suspicious of the growth in state power it was also concerned with potential social disorder resulting from increased freedom, permissiveness, lack of social responsibility and challenges to authority. Therefore neo-conservatives have adapted aspects of the origins of conservatism, and this explains the term neo-conservatism, to the modern world.

Neo-conservatives support the free market as a way of allocating resources, but they have argued that this must be balanced against the need for authority and social order. In the same way that Burke stressed the need for good order and took a paternalistic view of the role of the state, so too has the New Right. Neo-conservative thinkers, such as Bell, have argued that there has been a decline in personal responsibility and respect for authority and that this needs to be addressed as, if not, it could lead to a decline in the work ethic needed to sustain the dynamism of the capitalist system and that western societies need moral renewal. Neo-conservatives have therefore advocated a return to traditional values of diligence, religiosity and the traditional structure of the nuclear family. It has resulted in an emphasis on duty, obligation and communal identity, much of which were features of traditional conservatism. There are also similarities in the strong stance taken on law and order issues, attempts to restore traditional values and morality. In order to combat the forces unleashed by market forces and neo-liberals commitment to self interest neo-conservatives have emphasised the need for authoritarian measures. Candidates might make reference to Conservative law and order policies in the 1990s to support this assertion. Concern for respect for authority was a strong element in traditional conservative thought and this was reinforced in neo-conservative thinking with an emphasis on prisons as a means of solving anti-social behaviour. Neo-conservatives also have adopted a firm position on national security. There may also be mention of issues such as a heavy emphasis on national self-interest and patriotism, opposition to excessive immigration and cultural diversity and opposition to European political integration.

Some candidates might suggest that within the USA there are other strands to neo-conservatism such as a strong religious element to moral and social issues and an insistence on protection for US industry from foreign competition.

Some may suggest that it is a combination of neo-liberal views on the economy and welfare and neo-conservative views on law and order, moral values and national security.

<b>Page 10</b>	<b>Mark Scheme: Teachers' version</b>	<b>Syllabus</b>	<b>Paper</b>
	<b>Pre-U – May/June 2011</b>	<b>9770</b>	<b>03</b>

### 3 Socialism and the Common Good

#### (a) Compare the views of Socialism expressed in the two passages.

##### General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected, but the question asks candidates to compare and answers in levels 2 and 3 needs to show evidence of genuine comparison of the similarities and differences between the two passages. Answers might use matters of provenance, date and context to aid their comparison. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the comparison. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

##### Specific

There is a great deal in these two passages and candidates should not be expected to discuss all aspects in detail in order to achieve the top level, what matters is the quality of analysis. Passage A from Castro is a clear statement of belief that socialism can still be applied to an economically developed world. Castro calls for a high degree of economic equality, whereas Blair accepts inequality. Passage B, unlike A, accepts that we see ourselves as individuals, pursuing our own goals. The extract from Blair's speech upholds the ideas of communitarianism and attempts to balance the idea that society is largely individualistic with the obligation to maintain the integrity of the community as a social entity. In Passage B individuals are expected to take responsibility for maintaining the community, whereas in Passage A the role falls to the state. In Passage B the individual will play an active role in the political process, promoting the community spirit, caring for those less fortunate and caring for the environment. However, in Passage A the role will be played by the state as man is selfish and will not put community interests first. Passage A calls for the destruction of capitalism, whereas Passage B acknowledges the development of a new 'opportunity' society. Passage A adopts a traditional socialist outlook, which is largely a thing of the past in developed countries and Passage B represents the attempts of socialism to adapt to new circumstances.

<b>Page 11</b>	<b>Mark Scheme: Teachers' version</b>	<b>Syllabus</b>	<b>Paper</b>
	<b>Pre-U – May/June 2011</b>	<b>9770</b>	<b>03</b>

**(b) To what extent is communitarianism a rejection of liberal ideas?**

**General**

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What is important is the quality of the critical analysis and degree of evaluation. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question. Further, they are required to refer to specific theorists to support their answer. Any answer that fails to do so cannot be given a mark above level 3.

**Specific**

Although it is clearly at odds with liberal individualism, it has a variety of political forms and answers might consider these. Left-wing communitarianism holds that the community demands unrestricted freedom and social equality, as seen in anarchism. Centrist communitarianism believes that the community is grounded in an acknowledgement of reciprocal rights and responsibilities as seen in both social democracy and Tory paternalism. Right wing communitarianism argues that the community requires respect for authority and established values as put forward by the new right. Some might argue that it is not simply a rejection of liberal ideas but is a continuation of the socialist stress upon fraternity and co-operation. It might be seen as building on the socialist view of the community, seeing it as a means of strengthening social responsibility and harnessing collective energies. It might also be seen as following from Marx's stress upon a classless society or the conservative belief in society as an organic whole. There may even be some mention of the link with Fascist commitment to the indivisible national community.

However, many are likely to focus on its emergence in the 1980s and 1990s as a critique of liberalism, highlighting the damage that had been done by the emphasis on individual rights and liberties over the needs of the whole community. There might be reference to the stress on the importance of common or collective interests. It can be argued that communitarianism emphasises that the self is bedded in the community, that each individual is an embodiment of the society that has shaped his desires, values or purposes. This may be contrasted with the liberal view that the individual is rational. The communitarian view is also important when considering the issue of justice; liberal theories of justice are based upon assumptions about personal choice and individual behaviour, but communitarians argue that these make no sense because they apply to a disembodied subject.

Communitarians argue that they are trying to redress an imbalance in society in which individuals, unrestrained by social and moral responsibility, have been allowed to take account only of their own interests and rights. As a result, society disintegrates: communitarianism stops this and attempts to restore to society its moral voice. However, some may argue that this is not a rejection of liberal thought, but a return to the ideas of Aristotle and his concern for 'politics in the common good.'

It might be argued that because communitarianism has conservative and authoritarian implications it might also be seen as a rejection of liberal ideas. They might argue that it defends existing social structures and moral codes. They might also point to the emphasis on the duties and responsibilities of the individual over his rights or entitlements.

<b>Page 12</b>	<b>Mark Scheme: Teachers' version</b>	<b>Syllabus</b>	<b>Paper</b>
	<b>Pre-U – May/June 2011</b>	<b>9770</b>	<b>03</b>

If candidates consider the development of the concept under Fascists they may link it to a rejection of liberal ideas of individual rights and liberties and show how these were violated. There might be mention of it being the very antithesis of individualism as experienced in Nazi Germany with the development of the 'national community.' Although this may be a grotesque misrepresentation of the socialist idea of voluntary cooperation, extreme individualists have warned that any stress upon the collective has oppressive implications and can downgrade the importance of the individual.

<b>Page 13</b>	<b>Mark Scheme: Teachers' version</b>	<b>Syllabus</b>	<b>Paper</b>
	<b>Pre-U – May/June 2011</b>	<b>9770</b>	<b>03</b>

#### **4 Democracy and its critics**

##### **(a) Compare the views of the two passages on the origins of absolutism.**

###### **General**

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What is important is the quality of the critical analysis and degree of evaluation. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question. Further, they are required to refer to specific theorists to support their answer. Any answer that fails to do so cannot be given a mark above level 3.

###### **Specific**

The passages offer two different perspectives on absolutist theory; Passage B offers a theological version and Passage A a rational version of the theory. Theological theories of absolutism are based on the doctrine of divine right. This is shown in Passage B where the absolute power that a monarch exercises over his subjects derives from, and is analogous to, the power of God over his creation. In Passage B the analogy of the rule of the father over his family is made, but what is important in Passage B is that absolute rule is divinely ordained and upheld in the commandments. Monarchical power is therefore unchallengeable because it is the temporal expression of God's authority. This might be contrasted with Hobbes who argued that the governing body could be replaced if it lost its ability to guarantee security and stability. However, in Passage A the basis of absolute power is a covenant or social contract formed among individuals. According to Hobbes this is undertaken as the only way of ensuring peace and stability. Therefore in Passage A the absolute is a creation of man to ensure stability and order and is the only way it can be achieved, whereas in B it is divinely ordained. Passage B also suggests that this power cannot be divided but must be fixed on one person, whereas A argues that absolute power can be bestowed on an assembly. Both writers would agree that divided sovereignty or challengeable power would be a recipe for chaos and disorder.

<b>Page 14</b>	<b>Mark Scheme: Teachers' version</b>	<b>Syllabus</b>	<b>Paper</b>
	<b>Pre-U – May/June 2011</b>	<b>9770</b>	<b>03</b>

**(b) To what extent is nationalism illiberal and intolerant?**

**General**

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No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What is important is the quality of the critical analysis and degree of evaluation. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question. Further, they are required to refer to specific theorists to support their answer. Any answer that fails to do so cannot be given a mark above level 3.

**Specific**

This is certainly true of some forms of nationalism, particularly when nationhood is defined in narrow or exclusive terms. This creates a sharp divide between those who are members of a nation and those who are alien to it. This exclusive nationalism is usually found when a nation is under threat from within or without. This often provokes a sense of unity and is expressed in terms of hostility or resentment. In response to these challenges nationalism offers an ordered, secure and cohesive community, but it usually rejects liberal democratic principles and is often associated with authoritarian creeds. Candidates may use examples from the instances of fascism, which put forward a militant form of nationalism. In this instance, nationalism demands the utter subordination of the individual to the nation. Candidates might mention the work of Charles Maurras in considering this issue. At its extreme, this form of nationalism is upheld by pseudo-scientific doctrines, as was seen in Nazi Germany.

It is also intolerant towards outsiders and will have implications for foreign relations. Within the nation outsiders and immigrants are seen as alien and the same will apply to foreigners outside the nation. It is likely that this will manifest itself in xenophobia and in these instances candidates can argue that it becomes chauvinistic, aggressive and expansionist. Candidates might link these ideas to the outbreak of the two World Wars.

However, candidates can contrast this with the nationalism put forward by liberal democratic theorists. Liberals have argued that nationalism is tolerant and democratic, reconcilable with peace and cosmopolitanism. They argue that a stable and peaceful world will occur as sovereign nations cooperate for mutual benefit. Liberals have developed this idea further and argued that if the central goal of nationalism is achieved, with each nation becoming a self governing entity, the main cause of conflict will have been removed. Liberals also argue that nationalism does not lead to intolerance, but cultural and ethnic diversity enriches society.

<b>Page 15</b>	<b>Mark Scheme: Teachers' version</b>	<b>Syllabus</b>	<b>Paper</b>
	<b>Pre-U – May/June 2011</b>	<b>9770</b>	<b>03</b>

## 5 Current Ideological Debates

- (a) Compare the views of the two passages on the nature and reasons for the development of religious fundamentalism.

### General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What is important is the quality of the critical analysis and degree of evaluation. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question. Further, they are required to refer to specific theorists to support their answer. Any answer that fails to do so cannot be given a mark above level 3.

### Specific

Both passages suggest that a major reason for the growth in fundamentalism has been the social, economic and political problems facing those who feel marginalised from society. Candidates may express surprise that the focus is on the ability to appeal in these areas rather than on religious grounds. However, Passage B does suggest that the breakdown of traditional religious values may explain the growth and this is also hinted at in Passage A where Heywood talks of fundamentalism offering solutions to perplexing problems facing mankind. Therefore candidates may conclude that the development of fundamentalism is a reflection of the need to reassert cultural identity and formal religious observation, restoring traditional family values and morals and, as Passage B states, rejecting corrupt western values. Passage A places greater emphasis on the psychological appeal of fundamentalism, whereas it could be argued that B stresses the link between modernisation and the growth of fundamentalism. It might be argued that one strength of fundamentalism is its ability to offer certainty in a world that is changing rapidly and appears to be rejecting traditional values and some candidates might suggest that this is reflected in the development of Christian fundamentalism and other fundamentalist movements. It can be argued that fundamentalism offers a secure identity and a secure social order in a changing world. However, some candidates might go on to argue that once fundamentalists are in power they have had to borrow ideas from other political traditions and that there is no economic fundamentalism that they can employ. They might therefore suggest that it is ironic that the movements have gained support because of poor economic conditions, but have no blueprint to deal with the problems once they come into power.

<b>Page 16</b>	<b>Mark Scheme: Teachers' version</b>	<b>Syllabus</b>	<b>Paper</b>
	<b>Pre-U – May/June 2011</b>	<b>9770</b>	<b>03</b>

**(b) Is anarchism merely an extreme form of liberalism?**

**General**

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What is important is the quality of the critical analysis and degree of evaluation. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question. Further, they are required to refer to specific theorists to support their answer. Any answer that fails to do so cannot be given a mark above level 3.

**Specific**

Both liberalism and anarchism share a fear of the power of the state. Candidates may consider how liberalism and anarchism view liberty, the state and the kind of society they propose to replace the existing order.

Liberals argue that the most important kind of liberty is the absence of external restraint, this is negative liberty. Anarchists agree that this kind of liberty is essential, but liberals argue that there must be laws and limitations on the individual to ensure that his or her freedom does not interfere with the freedom of others, anarchists argue that this is not necessary. According to anarchists in their perfectly moral society each individual will exercise internal restraint, often called 'private judgement.' This might suggest that anarchism is an extreme form of liberalism as there is a greater degree of freedom in the anarchist world. However, anarchism countenances no laws as they insist it is incompatible with freedom, while liberals argue we need laws. However, on positive liberty there is more agreement. Both argue that the societies they propose would maximise individualism and the fulfilment of personal progress and creativity. The freedom they promote would liberate individuals from the restraints of societies which restrict choice and opportunity. Liberation has a positive outcome and the anarchist aim of creating total liberation goes much further than liberalism.

As with freedom, there appears to be a great affinity in their attitudes towards the state. Both are opposed to excessive state power and see the state as a potential enemy. However, there is a vital difference as Liberals see the state as essential to the preservation of liberty as it protects individuals; however anarchists insist that all forms of state are unacceptable. They argue that the state will exercise the power of the few over the many. The state may use force against its citizens and anarchists reject all forms of power and force, even if the state claims they are used for good ends. This is a fundamental distinction. Liberals accept the existence of a limited state, but anarchists will never support any kind of state. Anarchists argue that even a limited state will eventually become powerful.



<b>Page 17</b>	<b>Mark Scheme: Teachers' version</b>	<b>Syllabus</b>	<b>Paper</b>
	<b>Pre-U – May/June 2011</b>	<b>9770</b>	<b>03</b>

Anarchists and liberals share a desire to see society as free as it possibly can be. Classical liberals share with anarchists the view that every individual can only reach full potential in a free society. They believe that the freedom of the individual should stand above social constraints. However, anarchists hope that individuals will use their freedom for good ends; liberals accept that individuals may use their freedom for self interest. However, it might be argued that some liberals envisage a society close to an anarchist world of autonomous individuals motivated by egoism. But if collectivist forms of anarchism are considered there are distinctions between the ideologies. The liberal community comes about by an agreement among the people, but for anarchists communities must be totally voluntary and therefore natural. The use of force will not be needed as the community comes about naturally. There is also a distinction about private property. Liberals see the existence of property as a right enjoyed by all individuals, whereas anarchists oppose the preservation of private property. They argue that it creates injustice, inequality and corruption and results in power relationships.