

Mark Scheme (Results) January 2010

GCE

GCE Government & Politics (6GP03) Paper 3B Introducing Political Ideologies

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January 2010

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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.

No. 1	On what grounds have liberals defended democracy?
Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)	
<p>Liberals have defended democracy on a variety of grounds:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Liberals have justified democracy on the grounds of consent, and the idea that citizens must have a means of protecting themselves from the encroachment of government. This is sometimes seen as protective democracy, and it, for example, allows tax-payers to protect their property by controlling the composition of the tax-making body - hence the principle of 'no taxation without representation'. Utilitarians have also linked democracy to the ability of individuals to advance or defend their interests, meaning that political democracy promotes 'the greatest happiness for the greatest number'. • Democracy has also been endorsed on the grounds that political participation has educational advantages. By participating in political life, citizens enhance their understanding, strengthen their sensibilities and achieve a higher level of personal development. This is sometimes called developmental democracy. • A more modern liberal defence of democracy draws on pluralist ideas in arguing that democracy is the best means of maintaining equilibrium within complex and fluid modern societies. As democracy gives competing groups a political voice, it binds them to the political system and so maintains political stability. 	
LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
<p><i>Level 3</i> (11-15 marks)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • Good or better ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
<p><i>Level 2</i> (6-10 marks)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • Sound ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.
<p><i>Level 1</i> (0-5 marks)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • Poor ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. •

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.
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No. 2	Explain the link between anarchism and collectivism.
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Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)

- Collectivism is, broadly, the belief that collective human endeavour is of greater practical and moral value than individual self-striving. It reflects the idea that human nature has a social core, and implies that social groups, whether social classes, nations, races or whatever, are meaningful political entities.
- Collectivism has provided the basis for a particular school of anarchism, commonly called collectivist anarchism or social anarchism. This form of anarchism takes socialist collectivism to its logical extreme, and provides the basis for a belief in a stateless society.
- Collectivism has attracted anarchists because it stresses the human capacity for social solidarity, or what Kropotkin termed 'mutual aid'. Human beings are, at heart, sociable, gregarious and co-operative creatures, the relationship between and amongst them being one of sympathy, affection and harmony. When people are linked together by the recognition of a common humanity, they have no need to be regulated or controlled by government. Not only is government unnecessary but, in replacing freedom with oppression, it also makes social solidarity impossible. Collectivism has influenced mutualism, anarcho-syndicalism and anarcho-communism.

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
<i>Level 3</i> (11-15 marks)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. Good or better ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
<i>Level 2</i> (6-10 marks)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. Sound ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.
<i>Level 1</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Limited knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.

(0-5 marks)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.
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No. 3	Why have democratic socialists believed in the 'inevitability of gradualism'?
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Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)

- The idea of the 'inevitability of gradualism' was advocated by Fabian socialists in the UK, but its broad principles were accepted by Eduard Bernstein and other early democratic socialists who supported the 'parliamentary' road to socialism.
- Gradualism is the belief that progress is brought about by gradual, piecemeal improvements, rather than dramatic upheavals. It implies that change occurs through a legal and peaceful process of reform.
- The idea that gradualism is inevitable was based on a series of assumptions, widely held by early democratic socialists. First, the progressive extension of the franchise would eventually lead to the establishment of universal adult suffrage, and therefore of political equality. Second, political equality worked in the interests of the working class, easily the most numerous class in any industrial society. Third, as socialism is the natural 'home' of the working class, working class voters will support socialist parties, bringing them to power. Fourth, once in power, socialist parties would be able to carry out a fundamental transformation of society through a process of social reform. The working class could thus use the ballot box to introduce socialism, allowing socialism to become an evolutionary outgrowth of capitalism.

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
<i>Level 3</i> (11-15 marks)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • Good or better ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
<i>Level 2</i> (6-10 marks)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • Sound ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.

<p><i>Level 1</i> (0-5 marks)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • Poor ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.
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<p>No. 4</p>	<p>To what extent do the traditional conservative and the New Right views of society differ?</p>
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Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)

- Traditional conservatives adopt an organic view of society. This implies that society works like a living thing, an organism, which is sustained by a fragile set of relationships between and amongst its parts. The whole is therefore more than just its individual parts. This implies that the individual cannot be separated from society, but is part of the social groups that nurture him or her, reflecting the dependent and security-seeking tendencies within human nature. Organic societies are fashioned ultimately by natural necessity, and therefore cannot be 'improved' by reform or revolution. Indeed, reform or revolution is likely to destroy the delicate fabric of society, creating the possibility of radical social breakdown.
- The liberal New Right, by contrast, adopts an atomistic view of society that is based on the assumption that human beings are self-seeking and largely self-reliant creatures. This view differs substantially from the organicist view, as society consists only of a collection of independent individuals and their families, implying that 'there is no such thing as society'. Such 'rugged' individualism implies that society should afford individuals the greatest possible scope to make their own moral decisions and accept their consequences.
- However, the conservative New Right remains essentially faithful to the organic model. Its emphasis on the importance of authority, established values and national identity is based on organic assumptions.

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
<p><i>Level 3</i> (11-15 marks)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • Good or better ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
<p><i>Level 2</i> (6-10 marks)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • Sound ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.

<p>No. 5</p>	<p>Why have anarchists viewed the state as inherently evil and oppressive?</p>
<p>Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The basis of the anarchist critique of the state lies in its belief in the corruptibility of human nature. People who would otherwise be co-operative, sympathetic and sociable, become nothing less than oppressive tyrants when raised up above others by power, privilege or wealth. This extends the liberal belief that ‘power tends to corrupt’ into the more radical idea that power in any shape or form will corrupt absolutely. Political authority in whatever form, but especially in the form of state power, is thus inherently evil and oppressive. • The anarchist belief that the state is oppressive is supported by the fact that state authority is sovereign, compulsory, coercive and destructive. As a sovereign body, the authority of the state is absolute and unlimited: law can interfere with any aspect of personal or social existence. The compulsory authority of the state means that citizens in no sense consent to be governed; state authority is simply imposed on them. The coercive effect of state authority derives from the fact that the state rules through punishment, fining, imprisoning or even, in some circumstances, killing those who transgress its laws. The state is also exploitative, in that it robs individuals of their property through a system of taxation. Finally, the state is destructive as it requires individuals to fight, kill and die in wars that are inevitably precipitated by a quest for territorial expansion or national glory by one state at the expense of others. 	

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
<p><i>Level 3</i> (11-15 marks)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • Good or better ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
<p><i>Level 2</i> (6-10 marks)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • Sound ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.
<p><i>Level 1</i> (0-5 marks)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. • Poor ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations. • Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.

No. 6	'Conservatism favours pragmatism over principle.' Discuss.
Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pragmatism is the belief that behaviour should be shaped in accordance with practical circumstances and goals rather than principles, beliefs or ideological objectives. Traditional conservatives have undoubtedly favoured pragmatism over principle. The basis for this position is the belief that human beings are intellectually limited. The world is simply too complicated for human reason to fully grasp, hence the belief that the political world is 'boundless and bottomless'. Traditional conservatives are therefore suspicious of abstract ideas and systems of thought that claim to understand what is simply incomprehensible. They prefer to ground their ideas in tradition, experience and history, adopting a cautious, moderate and above all pragmatic approach to the world, and avoiding, if at all possible, doctrinaire or dogmatic beliefs. Principles such as 'rights of man', 'equality' and 'social justice' are fraught with danger because they provide a blueprint for the reform or remodelling of the world, and all such blueprints are unreliable. Pragmatism thus ensures that 'the cure is not worse than the disease'. This emphasis on pragmatism can be illustrated by the development of the One Nation tradition. As deepening social inequality contains the seeds of revolution, conservatives came to recognise that prudent social reform was the best protection against the danger of popular insurrection. A pragmatic concern to alleviate poverty is therefore in the interests of the rich and prosperous. However, the rise of the liberal New Right challenges this emphasis on pragmatism. The liberal New Right adopts a principled belief in economic liberty and the free market, borne out of a commitment to economic liberalism and thus a rationally-based approach to politics. This, in turn, significantly altered the conservative approach to change, New Right conservatives being much more inclined to endorse radical reform on the basis of the ideological blueprint that had been provided by free-market economics. This was evident in attempts by conservatives since the 1980s to 'roll back the state'. Some, nevertheless, explain this anti-statist turn in conservative politics in terms of pragmatism, seeing it as partly motivated by the failure of economic and social intervention to deliver sustained economic growth. 	
AO1	Knowledge and understanding
<i>Level 3</i> (9-12 marks)	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<i>Level 2</i> (5-8 marks)	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates

A02	Intellectual skills
<p>The skills that are relevant to this question are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ability to analyse and explain conservative belief in pragmatism and principle • Ability to evaluate the extent to which conservative believe in pragmatism and principle 	
<i>Level 3</i> (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<i>Level 2</i> (5-8 marks)	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<i>Level 1</i> (0-4 marks)	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
A02	Synoptic skills
<i>Level 3</i> (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and clear insight into how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
<i>Level 2</i> (5-8 marks)	Sound ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and a reliable awareness of how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
<i>Level 1</i> (0-4 marks)	Limited ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and a little awareness of how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
A03	Communication and coherence
<i>Level 3</i> (7-9 marks)	Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
<i>Level 2</i> (4-6 marks)	Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary

<i>Level 1</i> (0-3 marks)	Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary
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No. 7	To what extent does modern liberalism depart from the ideas of classical liberalism?
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Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)

- There is significant debate within liberalism about the relationship between classical and modern liberal ideas. Classical liberals have tended to regard modern liberalism as a radical departure from core or orthodox liberal thinking, whereas modern liberals tend to argue that their ideas are merely a development within liberalism and remain faithful to core beliefs.
- Classical liberals have based a strong emphasis on egoistical individualism, highlighting the fact that human beings are largely self-reliant creatures. This is reflected in a belief in negative freedom, understood as the absence of external constraints upon the individual. Such thinking implies that, as a necessary evil, the state should have a minimal role in society, acting only as a 'nightwatchman'. This is reflected in a belief in economic liberalism, particularly illustrated by a belief in the free market, individual responsibility and merely safety-net welfare provision. In this light, modern liberalism has moved a long way from these core beliefs, possibly through the influence of socialism and collectivist ideas. In particular, modern liberals have revised their view of the state, accepting both social and economic intervention. This has been done through revising their idea of individualism (moving away from self-help and self-reliance) and freedom (shifting from positive freedom to negative freedom).
- However, modern liberals have emphasised the extent to which they have merely applied classical liberal ideas to changed economic and social circumstances. As capitalism has generated new patterns of social disadvantage rather than equality of opportunity, the state needs to step in and rectify these injustices. Economic and social intervention is therefore only justified in order to rectify social injustice and uphold equal opportunities and meritocracy. Although modern liberals favour an enabling state, their ultimate preference remains for individuals to make their own moral choices and for the economy to be structured by the market rather than the state.

AO1	Knowledge and understanding
<i>Level 3</i> (9-12 marks)	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<i>Level 2</i> (5-8 marks)	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<i>Level 1</i> (0-4 marks)	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
AO2	Intellectual skills
<p>The skills that are relevant to this question are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ability to analyse and explain classical and modern liberal ideas and theories • Ability to evaluate the extent of differences between classical and modern liberalism 	
<i>Level 3</i> (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<i>Level 2</i> (5-8 marks)	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<i>Level 1</i> (0-4 marks)	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
AO2	Synoptic skills
<i>Level 3</i> (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and clear insight into how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
<i>Level 2</i> (5-8 marks)	Sound ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and a reliable awareness of how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
<i>Level 1</i> (0-4 marks)	Limited ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and a little awareness of how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions

AO3	Communication and coherence
<i>Level 3</i> (7-9 marks)	Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
<i>Level 2</i> (4-6 marks)	Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary
<i>Level 1</i> (0-3 marks)	Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary

No. 8	'Socialism is defined by its opposition to capitalism.' Discuss.
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Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)

- The relationship between socialism and capitalism is one that has opened up divisions within socialism itself. While fundamentalist forms of socialism can be said to be defined by their opposition to capitalism, revisionist socialism has sought instead to reconcile socialism with capitalism.
- Fundamentalist socialists, as Marxists or communists, have viewed capitalism as fundamentally flawed and irredeemable. Socialism is therefore defined by the attempts to overthrow capitalism and replace it by a qualitatively different social system. In this view, capitalism is associated with class oppression or systematic economic exploitation. For Marxists, this is reflected in irreconcilable class conflict between the bourgeoisie, as the owners of private property, and the proletariat, who subsist only through the sale of their labour power. Exploitation is explained in terms of surplus value and the fact that profit is only made through the expropriation of labour power. Capitalism cannot therefore be reformed or improved; it must be completely removed and replaced by a system founded on common ownership. Marxists, indeed, believed that this process was inevitable, as it stems from the inherent contradictions of capitalist society.
- However, revisionist socialists or social democrats have revised their analysis of capitalism. Instead of viewing it as inherently flawed, they accept the market as the only reliable mechanism for generating wealth. In this view, the problem with capitalism is its tendency to distribute wealth unjustly and unequally, a tendency that can be contained by economic and social reform. Social democrats therefore believe in reformed capitalism or 'humanised' capitalism. This form of socialism is not defined by its opposition to capitalism, but by its quest for social justice and distributive equality within a capitalist system.

AO1	Knowledge and understanding
<i>Level 3</i> (9-12 marks)	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<i>Level 2</i> (5-8 marks)	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
<i>Level 1</i> (0-4 marks)	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
AO2	Intellectual skills
<p>The skills that are relevant to this question are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ability to analyse and explain socialist arguments against capitalism • Ability to evaluate the extent to which socialists reject capitalism 	
<i>Level 3</i> (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<i>Level 2</i> (5-8 marks)	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
<i>Level 1</i> (0-4 marks)	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
AO2	Synoptic skills
<i>Level 3</i> (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and clear insight into how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
<i>Level 2</i> (5-8 marks)	Sound ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and a reliable awareness of how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions

<i>Level 1</i> (0-4 marks)	Limited ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and a little awareness of how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions
A03	Communication and coherence
<i>Level 3</i> (7-9 marks)	Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
<i>Level 2</i> (4-6 marks)	Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary
<i>Level 1</i> (0-3 marks)	Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary

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