



A-LEVEL

Government and Politics

GOV3B Ideologies

Mark scheme

2150
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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>	

GENERIC MARK SCHEME for questions with a total of 10 marks (continued)

0 marks No relevant response.	0 marks No relevant response.	0 marks No relevant response.
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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. 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</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</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</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 3 (7–9 marks) (continued) demonstrates sound contextual awareness. The answer includes developed and effective interpretations or explanations and also clear evidence and good examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p>Level 3 (7–9 marks) (continued) recognition of parallels and comparisons. Appropriate concepts are used and developed.</p>	<p>Level 3 (4–5 marks) (continued) to the preceding discussion.</p>
<p>Level 2 (4–6 marks) The student demonstrates outline knowledge and understanding of political concepts/theories/institutions and processes and some awareness of the relationships between them. The answer makes a limited attempt to address the question and demonstrates contextual awareness covering part of the question. An attempt to develop a synoptic approach is made, using a limited range of knowledge, perspectives and examples gained more broadly in the study of government and politics. The answer includes a partial and reasonably effective attempt at interpretation or explanation with some examples to illustrate points made.</p>	<p>Level 2 (4–6 marks) The student displays little awareness of the implications and demands of the question, resulting in a restricted focus. There is a limited evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour which displays a partial awareness of differing viewpoints and issues. There is some recognition of basic parallels and comparisons. Arguments and explanations are undeveloped, with a limited use of concepts.</p>	<p>Level 2 (2–3 marks) The student communicates arguments and conclusions adequately, with a limited use of political vocabulary. There are frequent errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar and legibility may be a problem. A conclusion is offered but its relationship to the preceding discussion may be modest or implicit.</p>
<p>Level 1 (1–3 marks) The student demonstrates a slight and incomplete knowledge and understanding of political institutions and processes and a limited awareness of the relationships between them. A very limited attempt at synopticity is made, sometimes using superficial or inaccurate knowledge, perspectives and examples cited from elsewhere in their study of government and politics. There is little attempt to address the</p>	<p>Level 1 (1–3 marks) The student displays little awareness of the implications and demands of the question, and focus is lacking. Evaluation of political institutions, processes and behaviour is superficial. Analysis shows little</p>	<p>Level 1 (1 mark) The answer relies upon narrative which is not fully coherent. There is little or no use of political vocabulary. Errors in spelling, punctuation and grammar may be intrusive and the response may not be legible. A conclusion, if present, is not adequately related to the preceding discussion.</p>

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 1 (1–3 marks) (continued) 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) (continued) awareness of differing viewpoints and issues. There is little, if any, recognition of parallels and comparisons. Arguments, explanations and use of concepts are superficial and naïve.</p>	
<p>0 marks No relevant response.</p>	<p>0 marks No relevant response.</p>	<p>0 marks No relevant response</p>

Topic 1 Liberalism

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 Explain how liberals are divided over freedom.**[10 marks]**

In order to reach Level 1, students could be able to identify that the main objective of liberalism is to maximise individual freedom. Expect a basic definition of freedom (perhaps along the lines of the ability to do something without restraint or limitation). At Level 2, students should be able to recognise the divisions amongst the various strands of liberal thought over freedom. At this level, the distinction will centre upon that between negative liberty and positive liberty. The former is associated with classical liberalism whereas positive liberty is linked to social (or new/progressive) liberalism. At this level, it is expected that students will locate both strands correctly along the political spectrum.

Those at Level 3 will recognise that the divisions amongst liberals are one of means, not ends. This is primarily focused upon the role of the state over welfare policy. Expect appropriate terminology such as *laissez-faire* economics. Students should also be able to note a degree of overlap between the classical liberal view of freedom and that shared by the New Right over economic freedom. Similarly, the view taken by social liberals over freedom prescribes a mixed economy and therefore shares similar ground with social democrats. Reward any reference to theorists or policies to illustrate the distinction, such as ‘the freer the market, the freer the people’ and “human beings should be free to form opinions and to express their opinions without reserve” (John Stuart Mill).

Students who reach level 4 may note that there is actually much that liberals agree upon. For instance, all liberals strongly support the freedom of the individual and advocate measures to ensure equality amongst minority groups (as in the case of same-sex marriage). Crucially, all liberals believe that state intervention should only be used to enhance liberty (eg via the provision of a welfare state or to ensure that contracts are upheld). The best students will also note that liberal support for freedom is qualified, in that it should be restrained to some degree. Expect evidence such as John Stuart Mill’s ‘harm principle,’ laws against incitement to racial hatred, etc.

0 2 Discuss the extent to which liberals support equality.

[30 marks]

At the basic level, students should be able to offer a basic definition of equality and liberalism. They may also recognise that liberalism – unlike socialism – is not readily linked to equality. For instance, there may be reference to Milton Friedman’s observation that a society can have either liberty or equality but not both. The effective discriminator is a discussion of the extent to which liberals endorse equality.

At Level 2, students should recognise that liberty and equality are not necessarily conflicting goals. Expect students to support this argument with reference to historical examples. In order to gain AO2 marks, students should be aware that liberals favour equality of opportunity rather than the socialist goal of equality of outcome. Better students will note that liberty is the defining goal of liberalism, whereas equality is the fundamental objective of socialism. There may be examples used to illustrate the point, such as liberalism’s support for private property and their opposition to common ownership.

To reach Level 3, students should be aware of the various strands of liberalism and how they view equality. Classical liberals belong on the right-libertarian side of the political spectrum and claim that the unfettered marketplace offers the best means by which to provide opportunities for all. In contrast, social liberals argue that the state needs to play an enabling role in order to ensure a more level playing field. Expect reference to programmes designed to ensure universal health care, laws against discrimination in the workplace and so on. Students should however be aware that the scope and scale of government intervention advocated by social liberals is more limited than that favoured by socialists. All liberals believe that the state poses a considerable threat to the individual and there should be some exploration of this point. Moreover, all liberals believe that capitalism is the economic system most compatible with equality of opportunity. Students should be awarded for correct terminology such as *laissez-faire* economics, night-watchman state and a mixed economy. Students should also understand that liberals seek to promote laws and measures that ensure equal treatment regardless of their sexual preference or ethnic origin (such as liberal support for gay marriage and affirmative action).

To reach Level 4, students should show that they fully comprehend the tension between liberalism and equality. Students should also be expected to make a meaningful comparison with other ideologies. Expect students to comment upon the liberal critique of a socialist society and of the conservative stance on hierarchy and inherited titles. Students may reference liberal figures when arguing in terms of the positive effects of competition. Expect some reference to the goal amongst liberals in terms of levelling up as opposed to what they see as the process of levelling down under socialism. Reward students who demonstrate synoptic awareness of appropriate political groups (such as the Tea Party in the US), intellectual movements (such as the Austrian school of economists of the mid-20th century) and/or theorists (with examples ranging from Nozick to Rand). Students at this level should also be aware that all liberals view inequality of outcome as a natural and inevitable feature of a capitalist system. Workers command different wage levels within the marketplace and it is inconsistent with the ideology of liberalism to significantly limit those. Reward students who recognise the overlap between classical liberals and the New Right over the role of the state within the economic realm. Candidates also need to understand that some level of wealth distribution is considered necessary in order to ensure equality of opportunity. Even classical liberals such as Adam Smith favour a degree of progressive taxation. For liberals, an unequal distribution of wealth within society is the obvious consequence of a free society.

Topic 2 Socialism

0 3 Explain why socialists support wealth redistribution.

[10 marks]

In order to demonstrate a basic understanding of the question, students need to show that socialism seeks to redistribute wealth and resources in order to achieve left-wing goals such as equality and social justice. All strands of socialism view the state as the means by which to transfer wealth from the rich to the poor.

In order to reach Level 2, students should be able to demonstrate an understanding of divisions amongst socialists over the means towards achieving a more even distribution of wealth within society. Social democrats for instance advocate a modest redistribution of wealth. Expect students to reference theorists and pressure groups from the social democrat tradition (such as Anthony Crosland and the Fabian Society). Policies associated with the social democratic school of thought may also be mentioned.

Students at Level 3 could be aware of the emergence of the third way; perhaps with reference to the changes made to Clause 4 and the emergence of new Labour. Better students may also locate this debate with reference to various countries – such as those in Scandinavia where social democracy has been electorally popular. Democratic socialists such as Tony Benn favour a more interventionist role for the state in terms of redistributing wealth. Expect students to be aware that democratic socialists favour a large-scale programme of nationalisation via parliamentary means. Democratic socialists also reject the social democrat position that capitalism can be ‘humanised.’ Revolutionary socialists however advocate revolutionary change based on Marxism.

In order to gain Level 4, students need to show sound awareness of the terminology such as class conflict and the proletariat as the gravediggers of capitalism along with an awareness of internal debates within the Labour movement. The distinction between social democracy and social liberals should be explored, along with a contrast between incrementalism of the centre-left against those who advocate a world-wide revolution led by the proletariat. As an appropriate conclusion, students might recognise that all socialists believe in the redistribution of wealth, albeit to different degrees.

0 4 Analyse the ways in which socialists are divided over the methods of achieving socialism
[30 marks]

At a basic level of understanding, students will be able to define socialism and be aware of the various strands of socialism. There should also be some basic examples provided in order to illustrate left-wing policies and strands of thought. The effective discriminator in this question is the ways in which socialists are divided over the means to secure a more equal and fairer society.

At Level 2, expect students to give an accurate description of each strand of socialism (social democracy, democratic socialism and revolutionary socialism or Marxism). Students should also identify the distinct character of each strand. For instance, Marxism prescribes an overhaul of the capitalist system in favour of a communist system. This is a utopian view in which class conflict will come to an end and the state will wither away. There may also be some elaboration as to the speed of change, with those on the centre-left of the political spectrum advocate incrementalism. AO2 marks will be allocated to those who offer a relevant explanation, such as electoral considerations. There may also be reference to what Sidney and Beatrice Webb called “the inevitability of gradualness.”

Students at Level 3 should be able to identify the common themes that divide socialists, namely their attitude towards capitalism and the manner in which social change will occur. Candidates will also note that socialism holds certain similarities regardless of the strand in question. For example, all strands of socialism offer a critique of laissez-faire capitalism. However, social democrats seek to humanise capitalism via progressive taxation, a welfare state based on universal benefits and a mixed economy whereas revolutionary socialists argue that the proletariat will fulfil their historical role as the gravediggers of capitalism. In contrast, democratic socialists believe that the state must control the commanding heights of the economy in order to allocate resources on a fairer and more efficient basis than is the case under capitalism. Students at Level 3 need to demonstrate a synoptic awareness, perhaps via an understanding of Communism in practice. There may also be an awareness of the third way, perhaps in the context of new Labour and social democratic parties within Europe.

Students at the highest level should be able to offer some level of insight. As an illustration, it could be argued that the extent to which socialists are divided is considerably greater than either liberalism or conservatism. From another angle, it could be argued that Marxism should be considered separately to the other strands of socialism because its entire world-view is so very different. Throughout history, the divisions amongst socialists have been far greater than all other mainstream ideologies – and that these divisions remain in the contemporary era. Students at this level may also incorporate other ideologies; such as eco-socialism, collectivist anarchism and socialist/Marxist feminists. At this level, there should also be a sophisticated command of relevant language and awareness (such as the dictatorship of the proletariat, class consciousness, revisionism, false consciousness, means of production and so on). There will also be some development as to the critiques offered by the various strands of socialism towards the other strands of socialism – such as the Marxist view that social democracy represents a betrayal of socialist ideals.

Topic 3 Conservatism**0 5** What is the conservative view on social order?**[10 marks]**

In order to reach Level 1, students should be able to identify that conservatives are supportive of social order. Students should also make a link between authority and hierarchy in terms of meeting the principal objective of conservatism (that of social order); and that the Tories have been portrayed as the party of law and order. At Level 2, students should be aware that the conservative stance upon authority differs to some extent upon the basis of social order. For instance, conservatives are more supportive of those institutions in which authority is derived from tradition and less supportive of those institutions whose authority derives from abstract goals such as 'an ever closer union.' Also expect some explanation as to why conservatives support authority; such as a mind-set which recognises that authority ensures a degree of social order which protects that which is most precious to us.

At Level 3 students might identify an overlap with other ideologies such as the common ground between conservatives and liberals over their support for the basis of authority within a liberal democracy. Reward those students who use terms such as paternalism, traditional authority in the Weberian sense and noblesse oblige. Also expect mention of specific policies and programmes from the Conservative Party (such as Major's 'back to basics' campaign).

At Level 4, students need to be aware of the differences between one-nation Tories and the New Right over law and order. The former adopted a pragmatic stance (such as the austerity measures against the Police Force). In contrast, the New Right is more authoritarian. Evidence includes Michael Howard's soundbite that "prison works" and via the increase in police pay and numbers during the 80s and 90s. Another contrast could be made between mobilising the police force for 'political' ends under Thatcher to the greater emphasis upon police accountability under Cameron. Reward any relevant reference to recent policies and to those students who recognise that conservatives have traditionally sought to ensure that those who exercise power are held to account. Expect quotes from Edmund Burke such as "the greater the power the more dangerous the abuse"; or even Lord Acton's observation that "all power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely."

0 6 'Conservatism is a state of mind rather than an ideology.' Discuss.

[30 marks]

At Level 1, expect students to offer a brief description of ideology along the lines of a reasonably consistent set of beliefs that aim to conceptualise the political world. Students may offer a basic exploration of the argument that conservatives seek to represent common sense ideas and the accumulated wisdom of previous generations. The effective discriminator throughout is the contrast between a mind-set and an ideology.

At Level 2, students may note that conservatism is unique within those ideologies considered during the course in that many of its followers claim that they are not ideological. Expect reference to Lord Hailsham's argument that conservatism is "a state of mind, rather than an ideology." There will be development of basic tenants of conservatism such as their preference for traditional values, support for the status quo, law and order and a pessimistic view of human nature. Students may also note that conservatives are generally pragmatic, rather than ideological. This is particularly the case with one-nation conservatives.

Students at Level 3 should demonstrate a degree of synoptic awareness via a reference to various intellectual theorists (such as Edmund Burke), conservative movements (such as the Tea Party) alongside strands of conservative thought and conservative figures from any number of countries. It is expected that students will note the more practical mind-set adapted by those conservatives closer to the centre of the political spectrum. Students should also expand upon the conservative critique of utopian projects driven by ideologues from all aspects of the political spectrum. Students may expand upon this argument with reference to conservatism's implacable opposition to communism, fascism and the stateless society advocated by anarchists. In essence, students should note that conservatism entails a complete rejection of idealism and a preference for traditional values. Historically, it emerged as a response to the fanaticism associated with the French Revolution. This partly explains why conservatism could be depicted as a reactionary state of mind rather than an ideology with a consistent set of beliefs. There may be reference to Russell Kirk's description of conservatism as "the negation of ideology" or the Burkean argument for the wisdom of unlettered men – perhaps alongside its preference for pragmatism rather than policies and strategies that are 'ideological.'

Students at Level 4 should note that whilst conservatives reject grandiose projects aimed at creating a brave new world, they can at times adopt a bold approach in order to advance conservative values. Evidence may be provided from politicians such as Reagan and Thatcher. Students may note that figures further to the right of conservatism may be depicted as ideological in their opposition to certain issues (such as European integration and the federal goal of a United States of Europe). This may be developed by the pragmatic stance adopted by other conservatives in regards to European integration, state intervention, co-operation with the trade unions and the welfare state. Expect students at this level to cite the Burkean argument that "a state without the means of change is without the means of its own conservation." There should be some relevant conclusion based on the internal logic of the previous argument, such as 'conservatism appears as much like a coherent ideology as a mind-set' or 'conservatism is a mind-set that differs to other ideologies.' There is scope here for some original insight, and examiners should be prepared to use the whole range of marks.

Topic 4 Fascism**0 7** What is the fascist view of equality?**[10 marks]**

At Level 1, students should be aware that fascism is opposed to equality in all its forms. Fascists are also hostile towards egalitarian measures of any kind. Fascism is strongly associated with inequality; particularly in terms of racial groups. At Level 2, students need to show an awareness that fascism is opposed to any ideology that divides a nation in the name of equality (such as socialism in the context of class, feminism in relation to sex/gender and liberalism in regard to equal respect and tolerance for different cultures). Fascism is also implacably opposed to any measure that seeks to enhance equality on behalf of minorities.

For Level 3, students need to be aware that fascism rejects the Enlightenment view that we are born with inalienable human rights. According to fascists, there is therefore no 'right' to be treated as an equal. Moreover, the emphasis of fascist discourse centres upon duty and sacrifice. Better students may note that the use of overtly macho language and physical strength reflects a mind-set in which the genders are not viewed as equal. Expect quotes such as Mussolini's "war is to men what maternity is to women" or Kevin Passmore's description of fascism as a "manly revolution" alongside relevant illustrations ranging from the imagery of a bundle of rods to a focus upon sporting success and military prowess.

At Level 4, expect specific reference to quasi-scientific justification for racial inequality from theorists such as Chamberlain and Gobineau. This could be placed alongside an awareness of a Darwinian struggle for survival. Also expect reference to Nietzsche's view of an übermensch rising above all others. Students at this standard will note that the logical consequence of a fascist mind-set is the emergence of a man of destiny to save the nation from 'liberal' notions such as equality and democracy. Reward any reference to recent developments where relevant (such as the emergence of ISIS and their desire to impose an Islamo-fascist entity superior to 'Western' decadence).

0 8 Discuss the relationship between fascism and democracy.

[30 marks]

At Level 1, students should be able to demonstrate a basic understanding of democracy and to identify that fascism offers a critique of democracy. There should be some expansion upon this, such as the fascist argument that democracy leads to weak and feeble leadership from corrupt elites. The effective discriminator throughout is a discussion of the relationship between fascism and democracy.

At Level 2, students should be able to identify that fascism represents a rejection of rationalist notions such as democracy. The emphasis of fascism is romanticist rather than rationalist. Students should also expand upon fascist opposition to the various elements of liberal democracy such as limited government, free speech, minority rights, internationalism and so on. There may also be some contrast with the fascist preference for a totalitarian state and their desire to 'politicise' all aspects of life including that of sexual reproduction against the emphasis within a democratic society upon protecting the rights and privacy of the individual.

At Level 3 expect students to identify that fascism celebrates the will to power and military strength in contrast to democracy's emphasis upon mutual debate and living in peace with other nations. Another aspect to be aware of is that legitimacy derived from the will to power rather than the consent of the governed. There may be expansion upon this point in terms of legitimacy being enhanced via military victory (such as the Blitzkrieg) or undermined via military defeat (as in the case of Galtieri over the Falkland Islands). Better students might note that fascists believe theirs is a better alternative to democracy – such as the contrast between moral vigour to liberal democracy's association with decadent behaviour. Also expect students to be aware of fascism's rejection of so-called people's democracies as existed in Communist regimes. There could also be a useful contrast to be made in the use of referendums, which were used in Nazi Germany to deliberately persecute minorities.

At the highest Level, students should be fully aware of recent developments such as the emergence of ISIS as a force for 'Islamofascism' and show synoptic awareness that goes beyond Hitler and Mussolini. For instance, it could also be noted that modern fascist movements (some of whom have described themselves as post-fascist) have managed to reach an accommodation with democracy in order to gain power (such as Gianfranco Fini). Students should also show a degree of insight at this standard, such as the argument that fascism has traditionally been associated with the 'failure' of democratic regimes. Another possible insight to consider would be that fascism offers a complete rejection of Enlightenment thinking from the Italian fascist slogan that "1789 is dead" to Islamofascism's rejection of 'Western imperialism.' Also expect an awareness of fascism's appeal to those anxious about the spread of liberal values such as political equality and gender equality. Further insights include the observation that party membership within a fascist regime serves a similar purpose to citizenship within a liberal democracy.