

Mark Scheme (Results)

Summer 2016

Pearson Edexcel GCE in Government & Politics (6GP03/3B)

Paper 3B: Political Ideologies

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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.

## Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)

Collectivism is the belief that collective human endeavour is of greater practical and moral value than individual self-striving. Socialists have supported collectivism in a variety of ways, including the following:

- a preference for the common or collective ownership of wealth through nationalisation, to the extent of supporting communism in some instances; or a stateless, classless society;
- support for trade unionism;
- support for the co-operative movement;
- support for state intervention and particularly health and welfare provision designed to assist the weak and the vulnerable;
- a rejection of competition.

Socialists have supported collectivism because of their vision of human beings as social creatures, capable of overcoming social and economic problems by drawing on the power of the community rather than simply individual effort. Human beings are therefore 'comrades', 'brothers' or 'sisters', tied to one another by the bonds of common humanity. This is expressed in the principle of fraternity, the bonds of comradeship between and amongst human beings.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

• Limited understanding of how or why socialists have supported collectivism.

- A clear understanding of collectivism.
- A clear and accurate understanding of how and why socialists have supported collectivism.

| LEVELS                      | DESCRIPTORS   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Level 3<br>(11-15<br>marks) | <ul> <li>Good to excellent:</li> <li>knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul> |
| Level 2                     | Limited to sound:   |

| (6-10<br>marks)     | <ul> <li>knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>                                     |
|---------------------|---|
| Level 1 (0-5 marks) | <ul> <li>Very poor to weak:</li> <li>knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul> |

## Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)

A social hierarchy refers to a stratification in society, in status, income, wealth or other ways, with a structure of inequality.

Traditional and One Nation Conservatives support social hierarchies as they see them as inevitable. Hierarchies are an essential feature of organic societies. Edmund Burke developed the idea of a 'natural aristocracy'. Conservatives have been strong supporters of the monarchy which embodies a 'natural' social hierarchy. Individuals have different characteristics and talents.

Social hierarchies are also desirable and they encourage duty and responsibility, such as noblesse obligé. A pursuit of social equality would be unachievable and undesirable.

Social hierarchies, through a governing class, help to maintain respect for authority and law and order. This supports social stability.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

 Limited understanding of at least one ground on which conservatives justify social hierarchy.

- A clear understanding of social hierarchy.
- A clear and accurate understanding of the grounds on which conservatives justify social hierarchy.

| LEVELS                      | DESCRIPTORS   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Level 3<br>(11-15<br>marks) | <ul> <li>Good to excellent:</li> <li>knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul> |
| Level 2                     | <ul> <li>Limited to sound:</li> <li>knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> </ul>  |

| (6-10<br>marks)     | <ul> <li>ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>  |
|---------------------|---|
| Level 1 (0-5 marks) | <ul> <li>Very poor to weak:</li> <li>knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul> |

## Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)

Rationalism is the belief that the world has a structure that can be explored and understood through the exercise of human reason, and critical inquiry. This is in contrast to empiricism.

For liberals the centrality of human reason, as part of the Enlightenment project, is a key part of freeing humanity from the bonds of superstition and ignorance.

To the extent that humans are rational and thinking creatures, they are able to define and pursue their own best interests, a key part of liberalism.

Liberals reject conservative paternalism as this perspective undermines the importance of individuals making their own, informed, moral choices. Liberals are comfortable with social inequality as long as it is based on meritocratic grounds.

Liberals are also inclined, generally, to see human history in terms of progress, the expansion of scientific knowledge and human advancement, based on the application of reason to science and society.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

• Limited understanding of the link between liberalism and rationalism.

- A clear understanding of rationalism.
- A clear and accurate understanding of the links between liberalism and rationalism.

| LEVELS                            | DESCRIPTORS   |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| Level 3<br>(11-15<br>marks)       | <ul> <li>knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul> |
| <i>Level 2</i><br>(6-10<br>marks) | <ul> <li>knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> </ul>  |

|             | ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments,<br>making some use of appropriate vocabulary.  |
|-------------|---|
| Level 1     | Very poor to weak:  |
|             | <ul> <li>knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions,</li> </ul>   |
| (0-5 marks) | <ul> <li>processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul> |

#### Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)

The state is a political association that establishes sovereign jurisdiction within defined territorial borders.

Anarchists oppose any form of state. The state is, in principle, an offence against freedom and equality. Anarchists go beyond liberal theory in viewing power in any form, but especially the political power wielded by the state, as absolutely corrupting, illustrating their belief in human 'plasticity'. Anyone who is placed in a position of power will therefore become tyrannical and abusive. All state authority is coercive, compulsory, exploitative and destructive.

Marxists reject the state under capitalism as an agent of class oppression and look forward to a socialist future where the state has 'withered away'. However, Marxists view the state as a necessary tool in the transition from capitalism to socialism. The working class must take control of the state and use it to resist counter revolution and to establish the conditions for socialism (and in turn for the state to 'wither away').

However in principle both Anarchists and Marxists believe in a future stateless society.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

• Limited understanding of at least one way in which anarchists and Marxists differ on the role of the state.

A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:

• Clear and accurate understanding of the reasons why anarchists and Marxists differ on the role of the state.

| LEVELS           | DESCRIPTORS   |
|------------------|---|
|                  | Good to excellent:  |
| Level 3          |   |
| (11-15<br>marks) | <ul> <li>knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul> |

| <i>Level 2</i><br>(6-10<br>marks) | <ul> <li>knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>                                     |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| Level 1 (0-5 marks)               | <ul> <li>Very poor to weak:</li> <li>knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul> |

## Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)

Many socialists have supported an evolutionary (rather than revolutionary) 'road' to socialism for a number of reasons, including the following:

- The spread of political democracy (especially universal suffrage) effectively places power in the hands of the working class, traditionally the numerically dominant class in any industrial society.
- Working class voters will 'naturally' support socialist parties, as socialism reflects working-class interests, reflected in its commitment to eradicate poverty, promote redistribution, and so on.
- Once in power, socialist parties will be able, over time and constitutionally, to carry out far reaching reforms, transforming capitalism and creating a more equal and socially just society. This is based on the belief that the state is a neutral umpire in society.
- The alternative approach, revolutionary socialism, may lead to violence and an authoritarian state which suppresses dissent in support of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat'.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

• Limited, understanding of at least one reason why some socialists have supported an evolutionary 'road' to socialism.

A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:

• Clear and accurate understanding of the reasons why some socialists have supported an evolutionary 'road' to socialism.

| LEVELS                      | DESCRIPTORS   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Level 3<br>(11-15<br>marks) | <ul> <li>knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul> |
| Level 2                     | Limited to sound:   |

| (6-10<br>marks)     | <ul> <li>knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul>                                     |
|---------------------|---|
| Level 1 (0-5 marks) | <ul> <li>Very poor to weak:</li> <li>knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.</li> <li>ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations.</li> <li>ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.</li> </ul> |

#### Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)

At the heart of anarchism lies a belief in the unlimited possibilities of human and social development. Human beings are not perfect, but they are perfectible: in appropriate social conditions, spontaneous harmony or natural order are realisable, either because of people's propensity for sociability and cooperation or for principled and rational conduct. Anarchists argue that an anarchist society would embody true freedom and is therefore the most desirable way of organising human affairs.

For collectivist anarchists, such propensities are fostered by conditions of statelessness and common ownership, while for individualist anarchists they are achieved through individual freedom in an atomistic society. For anarcho-capitalists this is achieved through unregulated capitalism. An anarchist society is possible because it is based on human nature, allowing it to be expressed fully.

Critics argue that the absence of a state is not desirable as it may lead to chaos and a lack of respect for private property. Such a society will be inevitably dysfunctional as it is based on a utopian view of human nature which conflicts with reality. Conservatives, for example, emphasise that human beings are imperfect and imperfectable, rejecting the idea that human nature is socially malleable. Liberals, for their part, argue that natural order is impossible because egoism will always lead to instability and strife. Most socialists would also have some criticism of anarchism.

The idea that an anarchist society is not possible relates to the utopianism that lies at the heart of anarchist ideology. It has never been achieved and is in conflict with conservative or liberal views of human nature.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

• Limited understanding that an anarchist society is or is not desirable or possible.

- Clear and accurate understanding that an anarchist society is desirable and possible.
- Clear and accurate understanding that an anarchist society is not desirable and not possible.

| AO1                        | Knowledge and understanding  |
|----------------------------|--|
| Level 3<br>(9-12<br>marks) | Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. |

| Level 2<br>(5-8 marks)     | Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.  |
|----------------------------|---|
| Level 1<br>(0-4 marks)     | Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.  |
| AO2                        | Intellectual skills   |
| Level 3<br>(9-12<br>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.  |
| Level 1<br>(0-4 marks)     | Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations.  |
| AO2                        | Synoptic skills   |
| Level 3<br>(9-12<br>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. |
| Level 2<br>(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.     |
| Level 1<br>(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   |
| Level 3<br>(7-9 marks)     | Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.   |
| Level 2<br>(4-6 marks)     | Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.  |

# Level 1 (0-3 marks)

Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.

#### Question 7

## Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)

Liberalism is deeply divided over the role of the state. Classical liberals believe that the state is at best a necessary evil and should therefore fulfil only a minimal role. This means that the state should merely lay down the conditions for orderly existence and leave other issues in the hands of private individuals and businesses. The minimal, or 'night watchmen' state should thus maintain social order, enforce contracts and provide defence against external attack, but it should not interfere in economic and social life. Such thinking is underpinned by strong support for individual responsibility and free-market economics and negative freedom or liberty (freedom from interference).

However, modern liberals believe in an enabling state rather than a minimal state. This state should intervene in both social and economic life. Modern liberals thus defend welfare and redistribution on the basis of equality of opportunity, arguing that if individuals and groups are disadvantaged by their social circumstances, the state has a social responsibility to reduce or remove these disadvantages. Modern liberals support positive freedom or liberty (the freedom to do something).

Modern liberals have supported economic management on Keynesian grounds, arguing that the image of a self-regulating free market is a myth, and that only government intervention can ensure that market economies deliver sustainable growth and keep unemployment low.

Nevertheless, modern liberals also recognise the need to limit social and economic intervention. They believe that the state should help individuals to help themselves and that although economic management may be necessary, the economy should basically operate according to market principles, sometimes referring to a 'hand up' rather than a 'hand out'.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

• Limited understanding of the division within liberalism over the role of the state.

- Clear and accurate understanding of the divisions within liberalism over the role of the state.
- Clear and accurate understanding of modern liberal arguments in favour of some form of state intervention.

| AO1                        | Knowledge and understanding   |
|----------------------------|---|
| Level 3<br>(9-12<br>marks) | Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.  |
| Level 2<br>(5-8 marks)     | Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.  |
| Level 1<br>(0-4 marks)     | Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.  |
| AO2                        | Intellectual skills   |
| Level 3<br>(9-12<br>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.  |
| Level 1<br>(0-4 marks)     | Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations.  |
| AO2                        | Synoptic skills   |
| Level 3<br>(9-12<br>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. |
| Level 2<br>(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.     |
| Level 1<br>(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   |
|------------------------|---|
| Level 3<br>(7-9 marks) | Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary. |
| Level 2<br>(4-6 marks) | Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.      |
| Level 1<br>(0-3 marks) | Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.  |

# Indicative content (this is not an exhaustive account of relevant points)

Both the liberal New Right and the conservative New Right do hold things in common such as their support for private property, justification for inequality, suspicion of welfare, the necessity for a strong state to provide defence and law and order. Thatcherism can be viewed as an amalgam of economic liberalism and a New Right support for 'Victorian values'.

The New Right can be seen as a combination of 'two contrasting' ideological traditions in a number of ways, due to the fact that the liberal New Right draws inspiration essentially from classical liberalism, while the conservative New Right draws inspiration from traditional conservatism, specifically pre-Disraelian conservatism. This leads to deep tensions in relation to their views of human nature, society and morality.

The liberal New Right believes in egoistical individualism, an atomistic model of society and the values of competition and personal self-striving. The conservative New Right believes in the psychological, moral and intellectual imperfection of human beings, embraces an organic model of society and emphasises values such as discipline, authority, deference and national allegiance.

Nevertheless, the New Right can be seen to be united in a political sense and in terms of the compatibility of its goals. All members of the New Right are capable of accepting a strong but minimal state, even though the grounds on which they support a minimal state or a strong state may diverge. For instance, supporters of the liberal New Right emphasise the dynamism of a market economy and its tendency towards equilibrium, while supporters of the conservative New Right see the market economy as a vital source of social discipline.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

• Limited understanding of at least one feature that unites or divides the New Right.

A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:

Clear and accurate understanding of the features that unites and divides New Right.

| AO1                        | Knowledge and understanding  |
|----------------------------|--|
| Level 3<br>(9-12<br>marks) | Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates. |

| Level 2<br>(5-8 marks)      | Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.  |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Level 1<br>(0-4 marks)      | Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.  |
| AO2                         | Intellectual skills   |
| <i>Level 3</i> (9-12 marks) | Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations.   |
| Level 2<br>(5-8 marks)      | Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations.  |
| Level 1<br>(0-4 marks)      | Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations.  |
| AO2                         | Synoptic skills   |
| Level 3<br>(9-12<br>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. |
| Level 2<br>(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.     |
| Level 1<br>(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   |
| Level 3<br>(7-9 marks)      | Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.   |
| Level 2<br>(4-6 marks)      | Adequate ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.  |

Level 1 (0-3 marks) Weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.