

Mark Scheme (Results) January 2011

GCE

GCE Government & Politics (6GP03) Paper 3B

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January 2011

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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.

1	Distinguish between neoliberalism and neoconservatism.
Indicative content	
<p>Neoliberalism refers to an updated version of classical political economy that is dedicated to market individualism and minimal statism. Neoliberalism is justified on the grounds of the supposed economic efficiency and responsiveness that stems from unregulated capitalism and by reference to key political principles, notably individual freedom. It is primarily reflected in a desire to ‘roll back’ economic and social intervention.</p> <p>Neoconservatism is a modern version of social conservatism that emphasises the need to restore order, return to traditional or family values or revitalise nationalism. Differences between neoliberalism and neoconservatism include the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neoliberalism derives from classical liberalism whereas neoconservatism is rooted in traditional conservatism. • The former advances an atomistic model of society while the latter is linked to organicism. • The former is libertarian while the latter is authoritarian. • The former emphasises economic dynamism while the latter prioritises social order. <p>The intellectual skills relevant to this question are as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The ability to analyse and explain differences between neoliberalism and neoconservatism. 	
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.

<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.

2	How and why has anarchism been linked to communism?
Indicative content	
<p>Communism refers to the principle of the collective ownership of wealth and, hence, the abolition of private property.</p> <p>Anarchism has been linked to communism through the anarcho-communist tradition, as espoused by Kropotkin and others. This tradition has fused a communist commitment to collectivising wealth with an anarchist belief in self-management and natural order.</p> <p>The link between anarchism and communism is based on a number of assumptions, including the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communist assumptions about human nature emphasise the capacity for sociable, cooperative and gregarious behaviour, assumptions that are key to the anarchist belief in statelessness and natural order. • The institution of common ownership is thought to have anarchic implications, in that collective wealth tends to strengthen social bonds and foster sympathy between and amongst people. Communism therefore creates conditions in which anarchist goals can be achieved. • Marxist ideas about the ‘withering away’ of the state highlight an anarchist-like preference for a stateless society. <p>The intellectual skills that are relevant to this question are as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The ability to analyse and explain the nature of links between anarchism and communism. 	

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
<p>Level 3 (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>Level 2 (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>Level 1 (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.

3	To what extent do liberals disagree over freedom?
Indicative content	
<p>All liberals believe that citizens should enjoy the maximum possible liberty consistent with a like liberty for all. No liberal, therefore, supports the principle of absolute freedom.</p> <p>The principal disagreement within liberalism over freedom is over its nature. Classical liberals believe in negative freedom, viewed as the absence of external restrictions on the individual, allowing freedom of choice. Modern liberals, by contrast, believe in positive freedom. They understand this to mean self-mastery or self-realisation: the achievement of autonomy and the development of human capacities.</p> <p>However, modern liberalism builds on a framework of negative freedom, believing that positive freedom is only justified in circumstances where citizens do not enjoy the capacity to make wise moral decisions in their own interests, usually because of social disadvantage. The desire to ‘help individuals to help themselves’ therefore embraces both negative and positive conceptions of freedom.</p> <p>The intellectual skills that are relevant to this question are as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The ability to analyse and explain the nature and extent of liberal disagreements over freedom. 	

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
Level 3 (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.
Level 2 (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.
Level 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions,

(0-5 marks)	processes, political concepts, theories or debates. <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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4	Distinguish between fundamentalist socialism and revisionist socialism.
Indicative content	
<p>Fundamentalist socialism is a form of socialism that seeks to abolish capitalism and replace it with a qualitatively different kind of society. In this view, capitalism is seen to be fundamentally corrupt or fatally flawed, stemming from the fact that it is a system of class exploitation. Socialism, in this view, is defined by the desire to abolish private property.</p> <p>Revisionist socialism, on the other hand, is a form of socialism that has revised its critique of capitalism and seeks to reconcile greater social justice with surviving capitalist forms. In this view, the goal of socialism is to reform or ‘humanise’ capitalism usually through an extension of economic and social intervention. Revisionist socialism practises the politics of social justice rather than the politics of ownership.</p> <p>The intellectual skills that are relevant to this question are as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The ability to analyse and explain key differences between fundamentalist socialism and revisionist socialism. 	

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
Level 3 (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.
Level 2 (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>Level 1 (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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5	On what grounds have conservatives supported tradition and continuity?
Indicative content	
<p>Tradition refers to ideas, practices and institutions that have endured through time and have therefore been inherited from an earlier period. Tradition thus establishes continuity between present generations, past generations and future generations.</p> <p>There are various conservative justifications for tradition and continuity. These include the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tradition has been justified on the grounds that it has been tried and tested by history, having proved its value to the larger society by its capacity to survive. In this view, traditions are more reliable than abstract theories as guides to action. • Tradition and continuity are psychologically reassuring, generating a sense of stability and belonging precisely because they are familiar. • In some cases, tradition has been justified on religious grounds, linked to the idea that inherited practices and institutions are ‘God given’. <p>The intellectual skills relevant to this question are as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The ability to analyse and explain conservative arguments in favour of tradition and continuity. 	

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
Level 3 (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.
Level 2 (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.
Level 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions,

(0-5 marks)	processes, political concepts, theories or debates. <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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6

'A fear of democracy runs throughout liberalism.' Discuss.

Indicative content

Democracy means, in simple terms, rule by the people, implying both popular participation and government in the public interest.

Liberals have been ambivalent about the benefits of democracy. Very few liberals, and none in the modern period, reject democracy out of hand, on the other hand, no liberals accept democracy uncritically. Amongst the benefits of democracy, from a liberal perspective, are the following:

- Democracy defends freedom, by ensuring public accountability and allowing citizens to protect themselves against tyrannical government and unpopular policies. This is an argument that has been particularly stressed by classical liberals.
- By broadening and deepening popular participation, democracy has educational benefits, serving the needs of self-development and creating a better informed and more politically engaged citizenry. This argument has been popular particularly amongst modern liberals.
- Democracy has the benefit that, in giving a political voice to all groups and interests in society, it tends to promote consensus and thereby underpins political stability.

Liberals have nevertheless feared 'excessive' democracy for a number of reasons. These include the following:

- Democracy may lead to the 'tyranny of the majority', in that the principle of majority rule may either lead to the suppression of minority rights or individual freedom, or may create a culture of dull conformism, based on the unfounded assumption that the majority is always right.
- Democracy is necessarily collectivist, in that it places political authority in the hands of 'the people', thereby ignoring the needs and interests of individual citizens.
- Democratic systems that widen access to political influence tend to be characterised by a growth in interventionism and the problem of over-government. such interventionism may weaken the efficiency of market capitalism, disadvantaging the mass of citizens in the long run.

The intellectual skills relevant to this question are as follows:

- The ability to analyse and explain liberal arguments for and against democracy.
- The ability to evaluate liberal arguments related to democracy.

Synopticity in this question refers to the following:

- The ability to recognise that liberal ideology has been deeply divided over the issue of freedom, recognising both its benefits and its dangers, although these divisions do not neatly fit into the divide between classical liberalism and modern liberalism.

A01	Knowledge and understanding
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
A02	Intellectual skills
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
A02	Synoptic skills
Level 3 (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
Level 2 (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 (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
Level 3 (7-9 marks)	Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 2 (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

Q7	To what extent have socialists disagreed about the means of achieving socialism?
Indicative content	
<p>Major divisions have long existed within socialism over the means through which it can, and should, be achieved. In simple terms, this relates to rival revolutionary and reformist ‘roads to socialism’.</p> <p>The revolutionary road to socialism envisages an abrupt and complete break with established, usually brought about through a mass uprising and the exercise of political violence. Socialists opted for revolution on a variety of grounds, including the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Before political democracy had arrived, revolution was the only practicable way of bringing about political change. • Because it was believed that the state responds only to the interests of the economically dominant class, a peaceful and constitutional transition to socialism through reform is impossible. • Revolution allowed all vestiges of the capitalist system, and its supporters, to be removed. <p>The alternative ‘democratic’ road to socialism has been supported by socialists for a variety of reasons. These include the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The arrival of political democracy led to the certain victory of social democracy, because the working class constituted the majority in society. • The working class would vote for socialist parties because socialism is in their interests. • Once elected, socialist parties would bring about a gradual, peaceful and perhaps inevitable transition from capitalism to socialism.. <p>However, socialist disagreements about the means of achieving socialism have largely been abandoned. Revolution has had declining significance within socialism since the late nineteenth century, particularly in more developed capitalist societies. After 1945, the revolutionary road was widely considered to be unviable, which led Marxist parties towards Eurocommunism. The collapse of communism in the revolutions of 1989-91 effectively led to the demise of revolutionary communism, meaning that socialists have largely ceased to disagree about the issue of means. The advent of anti-capitalist activism has nevertheless sometimes been seen to indicate revived interest in radical or even revolutionary political strategies.</p> <p>The intellectual skills that are relevant to this question are as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The ability to analyse and explain socialist views about the means of achieving socialism. • The ability to evaluate the viability of revolutionary and reformist means. <p>Synopticity in this question refers to the following:</p>	

- The ability to recognise the nature and significance of differences between revolutionary socialism and reformist socialism, and an awareness of the declining significance of these differences.

AO1	Knowledge and understanding
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
AO2	Intellectual skills
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations

AO2	Synoptic skills
Level 3 (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
Level 2 (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 (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 (7-9 marks)	Sophisticated ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary
Level 2 (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

8

‘Anarchism is merely free market liberalism taken to its extreme.’ Discuss.

Indicative content

Free market liberalism is the belief that the economy works best when left alone by government. This allows for very limited social and economic intervention, based on the assumption that unregulated capitalism tends toward long-run equilibrium and general prosperity.

Anarchism can be seen to be linked to free market liberalism, through individualist anarchism in general and anarcho-capitalism in particular. Individualist anarchism generally uses liberal arguments related to the implications of market exchange to explain how the anarchist society of the future would work. Anarcho-capitalism resembles free market liberalism in that it embraces the same economic theories and very similar political principles, merely taking these one step further by applying them to all goods and services including those that would be covered by the liberal minimal state.

On the other hand, anarchism does not resemble free market liberalism in two respects:

- Free market liberalism highlights the need for a minimal state and recognises the problem of market failure, neither of which are accepted by anarcho-capitalists.
- Supporters of collectivist anarchism fundamentally reject the free market and all forms of capitalist organisation but especially the institution of private property.

The intellectual skills that are relevant to this question are as follows:

- The ability to analyse and explain the ideas of free market liberalism and the relevant anarchist traditions.
- The ability to evaluate the extent to which anarchism resembles and also differs from free market liberalism.

Synopticity in this question refers to the following:

- The ability to recognise competing traditions within anarchism and their very different relationship to free market liberalism.

A01	Knowledge and understanding
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Full and developed knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Satisfactory knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Poor knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates
A02	Intellectual skills
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good or better ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Limited ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations
A02	Synoptic skills
Level 3 (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
Level 2 (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 (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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