

# Mark Scheme (Results)

# Summer 2023

Pearson Edexcel GCE In Politics Paper 2: UK Government and Non-core Political Ideas (9PL0/02)

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Summer 2023 Question Paper P72623A Publications Code 9PL0\_02\_2023\_MS All the material in this publication is copyright © Pearson Education Ltd 2023 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.

# How to award marks when level descriptions are used

#### 1. Finding the right level

The first stage is to decide which level the answer should be placed in. To do this, use a 'best-fit' approach, deciding which level most closely describes the quality of the answer. Answers can display characteristics from more than one level, and where this happens markers must use the guidance below and their professional judgement to decide which level is most appropriate.

For example, one stronger passage at L4 would not by itself merit a L4 mark, but it might be evidence to support a high L3 mark, unless there are substantial weaknesses in other areas. Similarly, an answer that fits best in L3 but which has some characteristics of L2 might be placed at the bottom of L3. An answer displaying some characteristics of L3 and some of L1 might be placed in L2.

#### 2. Finding a mark within a level

After a level has been decided on, the next stage is to decide on the mark within the level. The instructions below tell you how to reward responses within a level. However, where a level has specific guidance about how to place an answer within a level, always follow that guidance.

#### Levels containing two marks only

Start with the presumption that the work will be at the top of the level. Move down to the lower mark if the work only just meets the requirements of the level.

#### Levels containing three or more marks

Markers should be prepared to use the full range of marks available in a level and not restrict marks to the middle. Markers should start at the middle of the level (or the upper-middle mark if there is an even number of marks) and then move the mark up or down to find the best mark. To do this, they should take into account how far the answer meets the requirements of the level:

- If it meets the requirements *fully*, markers should be prepared to award full marks within the level. The top mark in the level is used for answers that are as good as can realistically be expected within that level
- If it only *barely* meets the requirements of the level, markers should consider awarding marks at the bottom of the level. The bottom mark in the level is used for answers that are the weakest that can be expected within that level
- The middle marks of the level are used for answers that have a *reasonable* match to the descriptor. This might represent a balance between some characteristics of the level that are fully met and others that are only barely met.

# **Indicative content**

Examiners are reminded that indicative content is provided as an illustration to markers of some of the material that may be offered by students. It does not show required content and alternatives should be credited where valid.

# Paper 2: UK Government and Non-core Political Ideas mark scheme

### **Section A: UK Government**

#### **Guidelines for Marking Questions 1a and 1b**

#### AO1 (10 marks)

Marks here relate to knowledge and understanding.

They can be awarded for using the source and developing separate own knowledge.

When the rubric states that candidates should 'use knowledge and understanding to help you analyse and evaluate' it means that candidates should use only knowledge and understanding from the source. Newly introduced own knowledge cannot form the basis for AO2 and AO3 points/marks.

#### AO2 (10 marks)

Candidates should focus their comparison on analysing the different opinions in the source in terms of similarities and differences. They should look at the different approaches and views that arise from political information and show how these can form the basis for differing opinions.

#### AO3 (10 marks)

Candidates are expected to evaluate the information and arguments presented. They may rank the importance of the analysis. They should be able to make and form judgments based on the source and they should reach reasoned conclusion.

Marks for analysis (AO2) and evaluation (AO3) should *only* be awarded where they relate to information in the source.

Candidates must consider both views in their answers in a balanced way. The judgement a candidate reaches about these views should be reflected in their conclusion.

Candidates who do not undertake any comparative analysis of the source and/or have not considered both views in a balanced way cannot achieve marks beyond Level 2.

Other valid responses are acceptable.

| In AO2 a | nd AO3 p | political information means source.   |
|----------|----------|---|
| Level    | Mark     | Descriptor  |
|          | 0        | No rewardable material.   |
| Level 1  | 1–6      | • Demonstrates superficial knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and issues, with limited underpinning of analysis and evaluation (AO1).   |
|          |          | <ul> <li>Limited comparative analysis of political information with partial, logical chains of reasoning, referring to similarities and/or differences within political information, which make simplistic connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).</li> <li>Makes superficial evaluation of political information, constructing simple arguments and judgements, many of which are descriptive and lead to limited</li> </ul>   |
|          |          | unsubstantiated conclusions (AO3).  |
| Level 2  | 7–12     | Demonstrates some accurate knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and issues, some of which are selected appropriately in order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1).  |
|          |          | • Some emerging comparative analysis of political information with some focused, logical chains of reasoning, referring to similarities and/or differences within political information, which make some relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).   |
|          |          | • Constructs some relevant evaluation of political information, constructing occasionally effective arguments and judgements, some are partially substantiated and lead to generic conclusions without much justification (AO3).  |
| Level 3  | 13-18    | <ul> <li>Demonstrates mostly accurate knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and issues, many of which are selected appropriately in order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1).</li> <li>Mostly focused comparative analysis of political information with focused, logical chains of reasoning, drawing on similarities and/or differences within political information, which make mostly relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).</li> </ul> |
|          |          | <ul> <li>Constructs generally relevant evaluation of political information, constructing<br/>generally effective arguments and judgements, many of which are substantiated<br/>and lead to some focused conclusions that are sometimes justified (AO3).</li> </ul>  |
| Level 4  | 19–24    | <ul> <li>Demonstrates accurate knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and issues, which are carefully selected in order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1).</li> <li>Consistent comparative analysis of political information, with coherent, logical</li> </ul>   |
|          |          | <ul> <li>chains of reasoning, drawing on similarities and differences within political information, which make relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).</li> <li>Constructs mostly relevant evaluation of political information, constructing mostly effective arguments and judgements, which are mostly substantiated and lead to mostly focused and justified conclusions (AO3).</li> </ul>  |
| Level 5  | 25–30    | <ul> <li>Demonstrates thorough and in-depth knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and issues, which are effectively selected in order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1).</li> <li>Perceptive comparative analysis of political information, with sustained, logical chains of reasoning, drawing on similarities and differences within political information, which make cohesive and convincing connections between ideas and</li> </ul>                 |
|          |          | <ul> <li>concepts (AO2).</li> <li>Constructs fully relevant evaluation of political information, constructing fully effective arguments and judgements, which are consistently substantiated and lead to fully focused and justified conclusions (AO3).</li> </ul>  |

| Question | Indicative content  |  |  |
|----------|---|--|--|
| number   | Using the source, evaluate the view that the UK now needs an entrenched and   |  |  |
|          | codified constitution.  |  |  |
| 1(a)     | AO1 (10 marks), AO2 (10 marks), AO3 (10 marks)  |  |  |
|          |   |  |  |
|          | Candidates may demonstrate the following knowledge and understanding (AO1) in   |  |  |
|          | relation to the view that the UK now needs an entrenched and codified   |  |  |
|          | constitution.   |  |  |
|          | Agreement   |  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>The lack of clarity in the current constitution means we need a codified constitution.</li> </ul>  |  |  |
|          | • The failure to properly protect rights means we need an entrenched and codified Bill of Rights.   |  |  |
|          | • The lack of clarity over devolution is a threat to the United Kingdom, so codification and entrenchment could provide a clear set of rules.   |  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>The current constitution is not easily understandable nor was it written by the</li> </ul>   |  |  |
|          | people it governs so needs codification.  |  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Disagreement</li> <li>Codification and entrenchment will mean that the constitution becomes obsolete</li> </ul>  |  |  |
|          | with time.  |  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Codification will open up divisive questions that create new problems for UK politics.</li> </ul>  |  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>A codified and entrenched constitution would not be welcome due to the power it<br/>would give to judges.</li> </ul>   |  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>If the people are to write the constitution, this chance should be open to every</li> </ul>  |  |  |
|          | generation which is impractical and destabilising.  |  |  |
|          | Candidates may refer to the following analytical (AO2) and evaluative (AO3) points when agreeing with the view:   |  |  |
|          | • The lack of clarity has caused political problems, making recent political crises   |  |  |
|          | worse such as Brexit in relation to referenda vs parliamentary sovereignty and the  |  |  |
|          | separation of powers in the Miller cases (AO2); this suggests that the lack of clarity is hurting UK politics so codification is needed to help bring stability and a clear set of rules. |  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>The HRA is not entrenched, meaning it can be easily repealed with a majority</li> </ul>  |  |  |
|          | whilst the lack of codification does not give judges enough power to protect the  |  |  |
|          | rights of the people and allows governments to pass laws some consider to   |  |  |
|          | remove rights (Anti-terror laws, Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Act). A Bill of   |  |  |
|          | Rights would more clearly protect human rights (AO2); this suggests that the  |  |  |
|          | constitution needs codifying and entrenching to effectively protect human rights (AO3).   |  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>The lack of clarity over where power lies has led to conflict between the devolved</li> </ul>  |  |  |
|          | administrations and Westminster – i.e. over the calling a second referendum and   |  |  |
|          | where the powers coming back from the EU belong making the splitting of the UK  |  |  |
|          | more likely (AO2); this clearly shows that creating a codified and entrenched constitution with a clear federal solution to maintain the integrity of the UK is a                         |  |  |
|          | priority (AO3).   |  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>By getting the people to write the constitution and having it available in a codified</li> </ul>   |  |  |
|          | document we can increase transparency, understanding of and trust in political  |  |  |
|          | institutions at a time of low public trust in politics (AO2), which means a codified  |  |  |
|          | constitution is necessary as the rules of government should be written by and   |  |  |
|          | accessible to the people (AO3).   |  |  |
|          |   |  |  |

| Candidates may refer to the following analytical (AO2) and evaluative (AO3) points when disagreeing with the view:  |
|---|
| <ul> <li>Codification will mean that the constitution will quickly go out of date, providing new political crises for the United Kingdom whilst its current flexibility is its key benefit whilst codified constitutions are often unusable so need constant interpretation by the Courts (AO2), meaning that codification is unnecessary as it will create a set of rules that are not flexible, not usable and will become obsolete with time (AO3).</li> <li>In codifying the constitution, key political debates around issues like rights, devolution and the monarchy would be bitterly divisive and create more problems than they resolve. (AO2), suggesting that the process of codification would be hugely problematic by opening up divisive debates so there is no need for a codified and entrenched constitution (AO3).</li> </ul> |
| <ul> <li>A codified and entrenched Bill of Rights would increase the power of judicial review, increasing judicial activism by allowing judges to strike down Acts of Parliament taking judges into the role of making law and giving them too much power (AO2), reflecting the view that the UK does not need a codified and entrenched constitution as it would tilt the balance of power too far in favour of unelected judges and away from an elected House of Commons (AO3).</li> <li>If each generation was to write its own rules, the constitution would be in a constant state of flux and difficult to understand suggesting that codification is an impractical idea (AO2), reflecting the view that an ongoing process of codifying the constitution would be divisive, damaging and create confusion (AO3).</li> </ul>              |
| Accept any other valid responses.   |

| Question | Indicative content   |  |  |
|----------|--|--|--|
| number   | Using the source, evaluate the view that power lies mainly with the Prime Minister   |  |  |
|          | rather than Cabinet.   |  |  |
| 1(b)     | AO1 (10 marks), AO2 (10 marks), AO3 (10 marks)<br>Candidates may demonstrate the following knowledge and understanding (AO1) in<br>relation to the view that power lies mainly with the Prime Minister rather than<br>Cabinet:   |  |  |
|          |  |  |  |
|          |  |  |  |
|          | Agreement <ul> <li>Key decisions are now taken beyond Cabinet.</li> </ul>  |  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Prime Ministers can use the power of patronage to promote politicians who are<br/>loyal and share their ideological preferences.</li> <li>Collective ministerial responsibility can be used to keep ministers in line.</li> </ul>   |  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Collective ministerial responsibility can be used to keep ministers in line.</li> <li>There is a general view that Cabinet rubber stamps decisions already made by key ministers, but this depends on the PM.</li> </ul>  |  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Disagreement</li> <li>Prime Ministers rely on the support of Cabinet to get their policies delivered and ultimately for their job.</li> </ul>   |  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Unpopular prime ministers, with divided parties, need to maintain a balanced<br/>Cabinet and keep ministers onside.</li> </ul>  |  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Cabinet resignations and leaks from ministers to the press can all damage the<br/>power of the PM.</li> </ul>   |  |  |
|          | Patronage can be used to reinforce discipline, but can backfire.   |  |  |
|          | Candidates may refer to the following analytical (AO2) and evaluative (AO3) points when agreeing with the view:  |  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Key decisions are taken outside of Cabinet, in Inner Cabinets (Wilson/Cameron),<br/>Cabinet Committees (May, Johnson) and bilateral meetings (Blair) where the PM<br/>has far greater power and influence over decision making (AO2) showing that<br/>power lies with the PM as they are choosing to use alternatives to Cabinet to<br/>make key decisions (AO3).</li> </ul>  |  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>PMs can control Cabinet through their use of patronage to shape the Cabinet in<br/>their own image, rewarding loyalty, especially where they are popular and have<br/>won elections handsomely (Thatcher/Blair/Johnson) (AO2), showing that PMs can<br/>use patronage to shape Cabinet to be loyal or reflect their ideology making it<br/>easier to dominate.</li> </ul>   |  |  |
|          | • The doctrine of collective ministerial responsibility allows the PM to keep the<br>Cabinet in line, limiting public criticism of their policy choices, especially as key<br>decisions have been taken without consulting Cabinet (Thatcher, Blair and<br>Johnson and social care/national insurance rise) (AO2), meaning that collective<br>responsibility is a powerful tool for the PM and can be used to dominate Cabinet |  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>(AO3).</li> <li>The PM has the ability to set the agenda, chair Cabinet and shape the minutes.<br/>Dominant PMs can use this power to limit discussion and the ability of the Cabinet to challenge decisions taken elsewhere (Wilson/Thatcher/Blair and Johnson) (AO2), which shows the PM can choose to exercise their powers to limit discussion in Cabinet and its influence over key decisions. (AO3).</li> </ul> |  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Candidates may refer to the following analytical (AO2) and evaluative (AO3) points when disagreeing with the view:</li> <li>Ultimately, policies have to be delivered by government departments, headed by Ministers, so the PM remains reliant on Cabinet so cannot bypass it whilst</li> </ul>  |  |  |

| <ul> <li>resignations and leaks can severely limit the powers of the PM (AO3).</li> <li>Patronage appears to shift the balance of power to the PM, but Ministers can refuse to accept demotions, asking the PM to back them or sack them (Brown and Darling/May and Hunt), only accept a job on certain conditions (Truss and Hunt) and sackings can create enemies who use their public profile to weaken the PM (May and Osborne) (AO2), suggesting that patronage has to be used very carefully by the PM, reflecting that power does remain balanced between the PM and their Cabinet (A03).</li> <li>Accept any other valid responses.</li> </ul> | • | Patronage appears to shift the balance of power to the PM, but Ministers can<br>refuse to accept demotions, asking the PM to back them or sack them (Brown and<br>Darling/May and Hunt), only accept a job on certain conditions (Truss and Hunt)<br>and sackings can create enemies who use their public profile to weaken the PM<br>(May and Osborne) (AO2), suggesting that patronage has to be used very carefully |
|--|---|--|
|--|---|--|

# Guidelines for Marking Questions 2a and 2b

#### AO1 (10 marks)

Marks here relate to knowledge and understanding. It should be used to underpin analysis (AO2) and evaluation (AO3).

#### AO2 (10 marks)

Candidates should form analytical views which support and reject the view presented by the question.

#### AO3 (10 marks)

Candidates are expected to evaluate the information and arguments presented. They may rank the importance of the prior analysis. They should be able to make and form judgments and they should reach reasoned conclusion.

Candidates must consider both views in their answers in a balanced way.

The judgement a candidate reaches about these views should be reflected in their conclusions.

Candidates who have not considered both views in a balanced way cannot achieve marks beyond Level 2.

Candidates who do not make any synoptic points cannot enter Level 5

Other valid responses are acceptable.

| Level   | Mark  | Descriptor  |
|---------|-------|---|
|         | 0     | No rewardable material.   |
| Level 1 | 1-6   | <ul> <li>Demonstrates superficial knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and issues, with limited underpinning of analysis and evaluation. Makes limited synoptic points (AO1).</li> <li>Limited analysis of aspects of politics with partial, logical chains of reasoning, which makes simplistic connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).</li> <li>Makes superficial evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing simple arguments and judgements, many which are descriptive and lead to limited unsubstantiated conclusions (AO3).</li> </ul>   |
| Level 2 | 7–12  | <ul> <li>Demonstrates some accurate knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and issues, some of which are selected appropriately in order to underpin analysis and evaluation. Makes some relevant synoptic points (AO1).</li> <li>Some emerging analysis of aspects of politics with some focused, logical chains of reasoning, which make some relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).</li> <li>Constructs some relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing occasionally effective arguments and judgements, some are partially substantiated and lead to generic conclusions without much justification (AO3).</li> </ul>                   |
| Level 3 | 13-18 | <ul> <li>Demonstrates mostly accurate knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and issues, many of which are selected appropriately in order to underpin analysis and evaluation. Makes generally relevant synoptic points (AO1).</li> <li>Mostly focused analysis of aspects of politics with focused, logical chains of reasoning, which make mostly relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).</li> <li>Constructs generally relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing generally effective arguments and judgements, many of which are substantiated and lead to some focused conclusions that are sometimes justified (AO3).</li> </ul>      |
| Level 4 | 19-24 | <ul> <li>Demonstrates accurate knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and issues, which are carefully selected in order to underpin analysis and evaluation. Makes relevant and focused synoptic points (AO1).</li> <li>Consistent analysis of aspects of politics, with coherent logical chains of reasoning, which make relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).</li> <li>Constructs mostly relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing mostly effective arguments and judgements, which are mostly substantiated and lead to mostly focused, justified conclusions (AO3).</li> </ul>  |
| Level 5 | 25-30 | <ul> <li>Demonstrates thorough and in-depth knowledge and understanding of political institutions, processes, concepts, theories and issues, which are effectively selected in order to underpin analysis and evaluation. Makes convincing and cohesive synoptic points (AO1).</li> <li>Perceptive analysis of aspects of politics, with sustained, logical chains of reasoning, which make cohesive and convincing connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).</li> <li>Constructs fully relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing fully effective substantiated arguments and judgements, which are consistently substantiated and lead to fully focused and justified conclusions (AO3).</li> </ul> |

| Question | Indicative content   |  |  |
|----------|--|--|--|
| number   | Evaluate the view that when it comes to fulfilling their respective functions, the   |  |  |
|          | House of Lords can be seen as more successful than the House of Commons.   |  |  |
| 2(a)     | AO1 (10 marks), AO2 (10 marks), AO3 (10 marks)   |  |  |
|          | Candidates may demonstrate the following knowledge and understanding (AO1) in  |  |  |
|          | relation to the view that when it comes to fulfilling their respective functions, the  |  |  |
|          | House of Lords can be seen as more successful than the House of Commons.   |  |  |
|          |  |  |  |
|          | Agreement  |  |  |
|          | The House of Lords is more successful than the House of Commons in scrutinising  |  |  |
|          | <ul><li>legislation.</li><li>The House of Lords is more successful in its legislative role of debating and voting</li></ul>                                  |  |  |
|          | against legislation.   |  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>The House of Lords is more successful at providing scrutiny of the government.</li> </ul>   |  |  |
|          | • The House of Lords, whilst unelected, plays a key role with its expertise and ability  |  |  |
|          | to represent issues that are important but not electorally popular.  |  |  |
|          |  |  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Disagreement</li> <li>Ultimately, the Commons has the power to reject amendments from the Lords</li> </ul>  |  |  |
|          | and it is more likely that pressure from backbench MPs will trigger amendments   |  |  |
|          | to legislation.  |  |  |
|          | • The Commons is more successful at debating and voting on legislation due to the  |  |  |
|          | different powers of the two Houses.  |  |  |
|          | • The Commons is more successful at the scrutiny function than the House of Lords  |  |  |
|          | due to their contrasting powers.   |  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>The representation function is far more successfully carried out by the Commons<br/>than the Lords.</li> </ul>                                      |  |  |
|          |  |  |  |
|          | Candidates may refer to the following analytical (AO2) and evaluative (AO3) points   |  |  |
|          | when agreeing with the view:   |  |  |
|          | • The more independent and specialist House of Lords, especially since the Blair   |  |  |
|          | reforms, with more time for scrutiny, has become increasingly successful in their  |  |  |
|          | main role as a revising chamber (Environment Act 2021, Policing, Crime and Sentencing Act) whilst the weakness of public bill committees and the strength of |  |  |
|          | the whip system mean that nearly all amendments made in the Commons come   |  |  |
|          | from Ministers not backbenchers (AO2), making it clear that Lords is more  |  |  |
|          | successful than the House of Commons in its key role as a revising chamber (A03).  |  |  |
|          | • The Lords greater specialism and independence than the Commons, in addition to   |  |  |
|          | its ability to delay legislation by one year, means that the Lords is more able to   |  |  |
|          | challenge government (2019–21 session – 114 government defeats) and force  |  |  |
|          | reconsideration and compromise (AO2) so the Lords acts more successfully to  |  |  |
|          | challenge government legislation to force reconsideration and compromise on legislation (AO3).   |  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>The Lords is more successful in this role due to its less partisan approach, with</li> </ul>  |  |  |
|          | crossbenchers playing a key role, due to increased time available as there is no   |  |  |
|          | constituency work and has wide ranging select committees populated with  |  |  |
|          | specialists (AO2), meaning that the Lords is more successful than the Commons at   |  |  |
|          | fulfilling its role of scrutinising the government and holding it to account (AO3).  |  |  |
|          | Many Peers represent their area of expertise – Lord Best and Housing to great  |  |  |
|          | effect in the chamber whilst the number of human rights lawyers and freedom  |  |  |
|          | from electoral constraints allows Peers to defend the rights and interests of  |  |  |

| г <u> </u> |  |
|------------|--|
|            | groups such as prisoners and asylum seekers that are not necessarily electorally popular (AO2), so the Lords is more successful than the Commons in representing   |
|            | a whole range of functional interests and the rights and interests of marginalised   |
|            | groups (AO3).  |
|            |  |
|            | Candidates may refer to the following analytical (AO2) and evaluative (AO3) points   |
|            | when disagreeing with the view:  |
|            | Ultimately whilst the Lords may add amendments, these can be rejected by the     Commons (Dubs Amondment to Dravit Pill) and it is pressure from backbanch         |
|            | Commons (Dubs Amendment to Brexit Bill) and it is pressure from backbench<br>MPs that normally encourages the government to propose and support                    |
|            | amendments to its own legislation (AO2), so now the Commons is at least as   |
|            | successful, if not more successful, than the Lords at scrutinising and amending  |
|            | legislation (AO3).   |
|            | • The Lords, due to its unelected nature, is constrained by the Salisbury Convention,  |
|            | Financial Privilege and the Parliament Acts, so only the Commons can veto  |
|            | legislation. The threat of exercising this power can force the government to   |
|            | withdraw or amend legislation (May and Brexit legislation, Cameron and House of  |
|            | Lords reform) (AO2), suggesting the Commons is at least as successful, if not more   |
|            | successful, than the Lords at debating and voting on legislation (AO3).  |
|            | PMQs takes place in the Commons and is widely televised and Departmental   |
|            | Select Committees that only operate in the Commons, provide the greatest level of scrutiny and accountability of government ministers, especially since the Wright |
|            | reforms (AO2), so the Commons is more successful than the Lords in scrutinising  |
|            | the government and holding them to account (AO3).  |
|            | <ul> <li>The Lords, whilst providing some limited representation, is not elected whilst the</li> </ul>   |
|            | elected Commons is with MPs playing the key role of representing their   |
|            | constituents' interests (AO2), suggesting that the Commons is more successful  |
|            | than the Lords at fulfilling the representation function (AO3).  |
|            |  |
|            | Candidates may refer to the following synoptic points:   |
|            | <ul><li>The elected nature of the House of Commons.</li><li>The link between elections and legitimacy.</li></ul>   |
|            | <ul> <li>The role of the media in focussing on the Commons rather than the House of</li> </ul>   |
|            | Lords in its political coverage.   |
|            | <ul> <li>The unelected nature of the House of Lords.</li> </ul>  |
|            | The role of the Lords in protecting human rights.  |
|            |  |
|            | Accept any other valid responses.  |

| Question | Indicative content   |  |  |
|----------|--|--|--|
| number   | Evaluate the view that select committees are the most effective way for the House  |  |  |
| 2(6)     | of Commons to hold the Executive to account.<br>AO1 (10 marks), AO2 (10 marks), AO3 (10 marks)   |  |  |
| 2(b)     | AOT (TO Marks), AO2 (TO Marks), AO3 (TO Marks)   |  |  |
|          | Candidates may demonstrate the following knowledge and understanding (AO1) in relation to the view that select committees are the most effective way for the House of Commons to hold the Executive to account.  |  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Agreement <ul> <li>Select Committees have the power to set up inquiries, produce reports and request persons, papers and records and often operate in a bipartisan manner making them effective.</li> <li>Since the Wright Reforms, Select Committees have become even more significant.</li> <li>The Official Opposition is not as influential as Select Committees in general in holding the government to account.</li> <li>PMQs, Ministers' Questions and Urgent Questions do not have the ability to shine the light on government decision making to the same extent as committees.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>  |  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Disagreement <ul> <li>Select Committees have no enforcement powers and limited time and resources, reducing their effectiveness.</li> <li>Select Committees need to operate in a bipartisan manner to be successful and this is not easy to achieve, whilst they are generally investigating issues only after they have occurred.</li> <li>The Official Opposition is provided with both funding and a privileged position in parliament to hold the government to account.</li> <li>PMQs, in particular, gains huge media attention whilst there has been an increase in the number of Urgent Questions used in parliament.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>  |  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Candidates may refer to the following analytical (AO2) and evaluative (AO3) points when agreeing with the view:</li> <li>The power of Select Committees to investigate government departments allows them to carry out detailed scrutiny, exposing issues in government policy and gaining significant media coverage – Amber Rudd and Windrush (AO2), meaning Select Committees are the most powerful way to hold the executive to account as they possess significant powers and receive a high level of media coverage (AO3).</li> <li>Committee members tend to be more independently minded, chairs are elected and paid additional salary attracting high profile politicians (Jeremy Hunt, Yvette Cooper) whilst the Committee members build up significant expertise increasing the effectiveness. (AO2), so it is clear that the reforms have increased the expertise, profile and independence of Committees making them even more able to hold the government to account. (AO3).</li> <li>This is particularly the case where the government has a large majority (Thatcher/Blair), a divided opposition (Corbyn) or weak opposition leader (Duncan Smith) (AO2), showing that the nature of the majority system means that the Official Opposition is weaker than Select Committees (AO3).</li> <li>In particular PMQs and Ministers' Questions are so partisan and adversarial that there is only limited scrutiny and accountability. There is more heat than light whilst it is not widely watched by the public (AO2) so unlike Select Committees, questions are dealt with in a highly partisan manner and so are a very limited way to hold the government to account (AO3).</li> </ul> |  |  |

|   | Candidates may refer to the following analytical (AO2) and evaluative (AO3) points  |
|---|---|
|   | when disagreeing with the view:   |
|   | <ul> <li>Whilst governments have to respond to reports, they do not have to act on them and many reports do not get the media coverage that would bring real accountability to government (AO2), and so the lack of powers of Select Committees means that actually the reports make limited impact suggesting it is not the most effective mechanism (AO3).</li> <li>The make-up of Committees means they work well when bipartisan, but party politics still influences what they can and do investigate, the questioning of witnesses and the level of criticism in reports (AO2) and so party politics still influences select Committees, and this often means some topics are left</li> </ul>   |
|   | untouched and reports are not as critical as they may be limiting their influence   |
|   | <ul> <li>(AO3).</li> <li>The Official Opposition gets additional funding, a key role in PMQs etc and in Opposition days to allow them to hold the government to account and with an effective leader and united party can be very effective – Blair up to 97, Cameron in the Brown years (AO2), meaning that the Official Opposition can be more effective than Committees due to its powers especially with an effective Leader of the Opposition. (AO3).</li> <li>The rise in urgent questions and the fact that PMQs in particular, but Ministers' Questions as well get lots of media coverage gives the Commons a real chance to hold the government to account (Starmer v Johnson over Partygate) (AO2), and so the high level of media interest is crucial here, turning this method into the most effective way to hold the government to account (A03).</li> </ul> |
|   | Candidates may refer to the following synoptic points:  |
|   | The role of the media.  |
|   | • The role of FPTP.   |
|   | The role of party leaders and their personality.  |
|   | United and divided parties.   |
|   | Party funding.  |
|   | Accept any other valid responses.   |
| L |   |

# Section B: Non-core Political Ideas

#### Anarchism

#### **Guidelines for Marking Questions 3a-3b**

### AO1 (8 marks)

Marks here relate to knowledge and understanding. It should be used to underpin analysis (AO2) and evaluation (AO3).

#### AO2 (8 marks)

Candidates should form analytical views which support and reject the view presented by the question.

#### AO3 (8 marks)

Candidates are expected to evaluate the information and arguments presented. They may rank the importance of the prior analysis. They should be able to make and form judgments and they should reach reasoned conclusions.

Candidates must consider both sides presented in the question.

The judgement a candidate reaches about these sides should be reflected in their conclusion.

Candidates who *do not* refer to specific thinkers from the relevant section of the specification in the question raised and/or only consider one side cannot achieve beyond Level 2.

| Level   | Mark  | Descriptor  |
|---------|-------|---|
|         | 0     | No rewardable material.   |
| Level 1 | 1-4   | <ul> <li>Demonstrates superficial knowledge and understanding of political concepts, theories and issues, with limited underpinning of analysis and evaluation (AO1).</li> <li>Limited comparative analysis of aspects of politics with partial, logical chains</li> </ul>  |
|         |       | of reasoning, referring to similarities and/or differences, making simplistic connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).   |
|         |       | <ul> <li>Makes superficial evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing simple<br/>arguments and judgements, many which are descriptive and lead to limited<br/>unsubstantiated conclusions (AO3).</li> </ul>  |
| Level 2 | 5–9   | <ul> <li>Demonstrates some accurate knowledge and understanding of political<br/>concepts, theories and issues, some of which are selected appropriately in<br/>order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1).</li> </ul>   |
|         |       | <ul> <li>Some emerging comparative analysis of aspects of politics with some focused<br/>logical chains of reasoning, referring to similarities and/or differences, making<br/>some relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).</li> <li>Constructs some relevant evaluation of aspects of polities, constructing</li> </ul> |
| 1       | 10.14 | Constructs some relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing occasionally effective arguments and judgements, some are partially substantiated and lead to generic conclusions (AO3).   |
| Level 3 | 10–14 | • Demonstrates mostly accurate knowledge and understanding of political concepts, theories and issues, many of which are selected appropriately in order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1).   |
|         |       | <ul> <li>Mostly focused comparative analysis of aspects of politics with focused, logical<br/>chains of reasoning, drawing on similarities and/or differences, making mostly<br/>relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).</li> </ul>  |
|         |       | <ul> <li>Constructs generally relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing<br/>generally effective arguments and judgements, many of which are<br/>substantiated and lead to some focused conclusions that are sometimes<br/>justified (AO3).</li> </ul>  |
| Level 4 | 15–19 | • Demonstrates accurate knowledge and understanding of political concepts, theories and issues, which are carefully selected in order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1).  |
|         |       | • Consistent comparative analysis of aspects of politics, with coherent, logical chains of reasoning, drawing on similarities and differences, making relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).  |
|         |       | <ul> <li>Constructs mostly relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing<br/>mostly effective arguments and judgements, which are mostly substantiated<br/>and lead to mostly focused, justified conclusions (AO3).</li> </ul>   |
| Level 5 | 20-24 | • Demonstrates thorough and in-depth knowledge and understanding of political concepts, theories and issues, which are selected effectively in order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1).   |
|         |       | • Perceptive comparative analysis of aspects of politics, with sustained, logical chains of reasoning, drawing on similarities and differences, making cohesive and convincing connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).  |
|         |       | • Constructs fully relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing fully effective substantiated arguments and judgements, which are consistently substantiated and lead to fully focused and justified conclusions (AO3).   |

| Question | Indicative content   |  |  |
|----------|--|--|--|
| number   | To what extent is anarchism united in its view of the state?   |  |  |
| 3(a)     | AO1 (8 marks), AO2 (8 marks), AO3 (8 marks)  |  |  |
|          | Candidates may demonstrate the following knowledge and understanding (AO1) in relation to the extent that anarchism is united in its view of the state.  |  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Agreement <ul> <li>Rejection of the state and all coercive relationships unites all anarchists.</li> <li>All anarchists are united in their view that a society without a state will be one of natural order and harmony.</li> <li>All anarchists are united in their view that anarchy, the absence of the state, brings freedom, and from this freedom, order emerges and that the existing state destroys liberty.</li> </ul> </li> <li>Disagreement <ul> <li>There is a clear division between individualist and collectivists over human nature and how order will spontaneously emerge from it when the state is rejected.</li> <li>Anarchists are not consistent in their view of what the order of future society without the state looks like – there is no one blueprint for the future society.</li> <li>Whilst collective anarchists and individualist anarchists are united in their belief that anarchy, the absence of the state, creates the liberty needed for order, they disagree over what liberty entails.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>  |  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Candidates may refer to the following analytical (AO2) and evaluative (AO3) points when reviewing the extent of the agreement: <ul> <li>All anarchists agree that any form of state is unjust, controlling, and coercive and corrupting (Goldman) so it is the state and all coercive relationships based on models of hierarchy and authority that create disorder. These relationships shape human nature (Bakunin), which is socially determined, to make humanity selfish, anti-social and competitive (AO2), reflecting that all anarchists are united in their rejection of the state and that order can only exist without it (AO3).</li> <li>All anarchists favour a stateless society as they believe that "anarchy is order" (Proudhon); anarchy will allow a natural order and harmony to emerge due to their optimistic view of the potential of human nature, when released from coercive relationships (AO2), showing all anarchists are united in their belief in a peaceful, stable stateless society where anarchy is order. (AO3).</li> <li>All anarchists are committed to liberty, and removing all forms of political authority and hierarchy showing their views are consistent in their support for the principle that anarchy is order. Liberty is the mother not the daughter of order (Proudhon) (AO2) showing that anarchists are consistent in their view that anarchy creates freedom which is the prerequisite of order (AO3).</li> </ul> </li> </ul> |  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Candidates may refer to the following analytical (AO2) and evaluative (AO3) points when reviewing the extent of the disagreement:</li> <li>Individualist anarchists see the individual as rational and self-seeking leading to voluntary associations based on self-interest (Stirner) whilst collectivists argue order will emerge due to the social nature of humanity through cooperation (Bakunin) (AO2), showing that individualist and collectivist anarchists' views are not united in their view of how order spontaneously emerges from human nature in the absence of the state (AO3).</li> <li>Individualist anarchists favour the free association of liberated individuals, a Union of Egoists (Stirner) whilst collectivists favour self-managing communes organised around mutualism (Proudhon) or mutual aid (Kropotkin) (AO2),</li> </ul>  |  |  |

| <ul> <li>showing that collectivist and individualist anarchism is not united in its view of the order of the stateless society (AO3).</li> <li>Whilst collectivist anarchists support a view that liberty should be unlimited, it can only be achieved through work and the collective (<b>Bakunin</b>) whilst liberty for individualists means autonomy to make decisions in one's own personal interest (<b>Stirner</b>) unimpeded by the common good. (AO2), reflecting that there is inconsistency in their views over the nature of liberty central to anarchy is order (AO3).</li> </ul> |
|--|
| Accept any other valid responses.  |

| Question | Indicative content   |
|----------|--|
| number   | To what extent do collectivist anarchism and individualist anarchism disagree on   |
|          | economic freedom?  |
| 3(b)     | AO1 (8 marks), AO2 (8 marks), AO3 (8 marks)  |
|          | Candidates may demonstrate the following knowledge and understanding (AO1) in relation to the extent that collectivist anarchism and individualist anarchism disagree on economic freedom:   |
|          | <ul> <li>Agreement</li> <li>For anarchism, economic freedom is a central plank of the liberty of the individual.</li> </ul>  |
|          | <ul><li>Most anarchists see capitalism and private property as exploitative.</li><li>Anarchists agree that economic freedom is only possible without the state.</li></ul>  |
|          | <ul> <li>Disagreement</li> <li>There is disagreement between anarcho-capitalists and collectivists over the relationship between economic freedom and capitalism and private property</li> <li>There is disagreement with collectivist anarchism about the conditions necessary for economic freedom.</li> </ul> |
|          | • Disagreement between anarcho-capitalists and the rest of anarchism, over whether freedom can exist without equality.   |
|          | Candidates may refer to the following analytical (AO2) and evaluative (AO3) points when reviewing the extent of the agreement:   |
|          | • Most anarchists agree that liberty is the mother of order ( <b>Proudhon</b> ) so economic freedom is central to the individual and the peaceful, stateless society AO2), so most anarchists agree that economic freedom is central to liberty and natural order (AO3).   |
|          | • Most anarchists believe that private property and capitalism in their current guise create relations that are coercive and exploitative ( <b>Kropotkin</b> ) undermining economic freedom (AO2), so most anarchists see capitalism and private property as undermining economic freedom (AO3).                 |
|          | • Anarchists believe that economic freedom is only possible without the existence of the state ( <b>Bakunin</b> ) (AO2), so that there is more agreement than disagreement within collectivist anarchism over the view that the state must be destroyed for economic freedom to be achieved (AO3).               |
|          | Candidates may refer to the following analytical (AO2) and evaluative (AO3) points   |
|          | when reviewing the extent of the disagreement:   |
|          | • Anarcho-capitalists support private property and the free market at the central components of economic freedom, whilst collectivists see them as the root cause  |

| <ul> <li>of exploitation (<b>Proudhon</b>) (AO2), reflecting that individualist and collectivist anarchists clearly disagree over the relationship between capitalism, private property and economic freedom (AO3).</li> <li>Mutualism (<b>Proudhon</b>) supports possession, based on use, and workers retaining the fruits of their labour whilst anarcho-communism supports common ownership (<b>Kropotkin</b>). (AO2), showing that there is disagreement within collectivist anarchism over whether mutualism or common ownership offers the basis for economic freedom (AO3).</li> <li>Without equality, there can be no freedom for many individualist anarchists (<b>Stirner</b>) for voluntary associations to be entered into and for collectivists, inequality is the key cause of conflict and oppression in society (<b>Bakunin</b>) whilst the basis for freedom for anarcho-capitalism is a free market and private property (AO2), reflecting there is clear disagreement between anarcho-capitalists and the rest of anarchism over whether freedom can exist without equality.</li> </ul> |
|---|
| Accept any other valid responses.   |

#### Ecologism

#### **Guidelines for Marking Questions 4a-4b**

#### AO1 (8 marks)

Marks here relate to knowledge and understanding. It should be used to underpin analysis (AO2) and evaluation (AO3).

#### AO2 (8 marks)

Candidates should form analytical views which support and reject the view presented by the question.

#### AO3 (8 marks)

Candidates are expected to evaluate the information and arguments presented. They may rank the importance of the prior analysis. They should be able to make and form judgments and they should reach reasoned conclusions.

Candidates must consider both sides presented in the question.

The judgement a candidate reaches about these sides should be reflected in their conclusion.

Candidates who *do not* refer to specific thinkers from the relevant section of the specification in the question raised and/or only consider one side cannot achieve beyond Level 2.

| Level   | Mark  | Descriptor  |
|---------|-------|---|
|         | 0     | No rewardable material.   |
| Level 1 | 1–4   | • Demonstrates superficial knowledge and understanding of political concepts, theories and issues, with limited underpinning of analysis and evaluation (AO1).  |
|         |       | • Limited comparative analysis of aspects of politics with partial, logical chains of reasoning, referring to similarities and/or differences, making simplistic connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).  |
|         |       | <ul> <li>Makes superficial evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing simple<br/>arguments and judgements, many which are descriptive and lead to limited<br/>unsubstantiated conclusions (AO3).</li> </ul>  |
| Level 2 | 5–9   | • Demonstrates some accurate knowledge and understanding of political concepts, theories and issues, some of which are selected appropriately in order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1).   |
|         |       | <ul> <li>Some emerging comparative analysis of aspects of politics with some focused<br/>logical chains of reasoning, referring to similarities and/or differences, making<br/>some relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).</li> <li>Constructs some relevant evaluation of aspects of polities, constructing</li> </ul> |
| 1       | 10.14 | Constructs some relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing occasionally effective arguments and judgements, some are partially substantiated and lead to generic conclusions (AO3).   |
| Level 3 | 10–14 | <ul> <li>Demonstrates mostly accurate knowledge and understanding of political<br/>concepts, theories and issues, many of which are selected appropriately in<br/>order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1).</li> </ul>   |
|         |       | <ul> <li>Mostly focused comparative analysis of aspects of politics with focused, logical<br/>chains of reasoning, drawing on similarities and/or differences, making mostly<br/>relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).</li> </ul>  |
|         |       | <ul> <li>Constructs generally relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing<br/>generally effective arguments and judgements, many of which are<br/>substantiated and lead to some focused conclusions that are sometimes<br/>justified (AO3).</li> </ul>  |
| Level 4 | 15–19 | • Demonstrates accurate knowledge and understanding of political concepts, theories and issues, which are carefully selected in order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1).  |
|         |       | • Consistent comparative analysis of aspects of politics, with coherent, logical chains of reasoning, drawing on similarities and differences, making relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).  |
|         |       | <ul> <li>Constructs mostly relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing<br/>mostly effective arguments and judgements, which are mostly substantiated<br/>and lead to mostly focused, justified conclusions (AO3).</li> </ul>   |
| Level 5 | 20-24 | • Demonstrates thorough and in-depth knowledge and understanding of political concepts, theories and issues, which are selected effectively in order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1).   |
|         |       | • Perceptive comparative analysis of aspects of politics, with sustained, logical chains of reasoning, drawing on similarities and differences, making cohesive and convincing connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).  |
|         |       | <ul> <li>Constructs fully relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing fully effective substantiated arguments and judgements, which are consistently substantiated and lead to fully focused and justified conclusions (AO3).</li> </ul>   |

| Question | Indicative content  |  |
|----------|---|--|
| number   | To what extent is ecologism united in the need for radical change?  |  |
| 4(a)     | AO1 (8 marks), AO2 (8 marks), AO3 (8 marks)   |  |
|          |   |  |
|          | Candidates may demonstrate the following knowledge and understanding (AO1) in relation to the extent that ecologism is united in the need for radical change:   |  |
|          | Agreement   |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Deep greens and social ecology both reject existing economic models, which are based on industrialism, seeing them as incompatible with ecologism.</li> <li>Deep Greens and social ecology reject the nature of existing states' structures.</li> <li>All ecologists reject existing societal values to some extent.</li> </ul>  |  |
|          | Disagreement  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Shallow greens disagree with deep greens and social ecology about whether ecological issues can be solved without a fundamental shift in societal values.</li> <li>Shallow greens disagree with deep and social ecology, arguing that the existing state can be used to solve ecological problems</li> <li>Shallow greens take a reformist approach to capitalism whilst deep greens/social ecology rejects capitalism.</li> </ul>   |  |
|          | Candidates may refer to the following analytical (AO2) and evaluative (AO3) points when reviewing the extent of the agreement:  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Both deep green thinking and social ecology reject capitalism, and industrialism, as it is based on the principle of growth (<b>Bookchin</b>) and gigantism (<b>Schumacher</b>) which is impossible as all production is destruction (AO2), so agree that both deep greens and social ecology are radical in their desire to overthrow capitalism to replace it with living economies (AO3).</li> <li>Both deep greens and social ecology seeing the existing state structures as part of</li> </ul> |  |
|          | • Both deep greens and social ecology seeing the existing state structures as part of<br>the problem and wish to replace the state with decentralised communities<br>( <b>Bookchin</b> ) built around bioregions, which are built around social and<br>environmental justice rather than an obsession with GDP, economic growth and<br>exploitative relationships (AO2), so that deep greens and social ecology see the<br>need for a radical overthrow of existing state structures (AO3).                   |  |
|          | • All ecologists reject anthropocentrism, consumerism, materialism and the mechanistic world view ( <b>Merchant</b> ) to some extent and wish to change humanity's relationship to the natural world (AO2) showing that ecologists wish to change the existing societal values so are radical in their approach although the deep greens and social ecology are far more radical than shallow greens (AO3).   |  |
|          | Candidates may refer to the following analytical (AO2) and evaluative (AO3) points  |  |
|          | when reviewing the extent of the disagreement:  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Shallow greens argue for a move to limited holism rather than radical holism, and<br/>a shift to enlightened anthropocentrism rather than a rejection of<br/>anthropocentrism (<b>Leopold</b>) showing that there is clear disagreement within<br/>ecologism over whether solving ecological problems requires a reform of societal<br/>values or a radical overhaul (AO3).</li> </ul>   |  |
|          | • Shallow greens believe the existing state can be used to sustainably manage resources ( <b>Carson</b> ) by promoting reform through managerialism or green capitalism whilst deep greens/social ecology wish to radically overhaul existing state structures ( <b>Bookchin</b> ) (AO2), reflecting a clear disagreement within ecologism over whether a radical or reformist approach to the state is needed. (AO3).  |  |
|          | Shallow greens believe smarter, slower and greener growth that is sustainable is  |  |

| possible with reforms to capitalism whilst deep greens/social ecology reject<br>capitalism ( <b>Bookchin</b> ) outright favouring steady state economies based on strong<br>sustainability (AO2), showing that there is clear disagreement over whether<br>ecologism requires a reform of capitalism or a radical overthrow of capitalism<br>(AO3). |
|---|
| Accept any other valid responses.   |

| Question<br>number | Indicative content<br>To what extent is ecologism divided in its view of the state?  |
|--------------------|--|
| 4(b)               | AO1 (8 marks), AO2 (8 marks), AO3 (8 marks)  |
|                    | Candidates may demonstrate the following knowledge and understanding (AO1) in relation to the extent that ecologism is divided in its views on the state:<br>Agreement   |
|                    | <ul> <li>Deep greens/social ecology sees the state as part of the problem and favour decentralised political forms based around bioregionalism.</li> <li>All greens take the view that the existing state structure needs to accept there are</li> </ul>   |
|                    | <ul> <li>limits to growth and must promote sustainability.</li> <li>Deep greens and social ecology see the existing state's faith in technology and sustainable development as misunderstanding the nature of ecological issues and the limits to growth.</li> <li>Disagreement</li> </ul>   |
|                    | • Shallow greens believe the existing state can be an agent of change, whilst deep greens/social ecology does not.   |
|                    | • Shallow greens see the state as part of the solution due to their faith in technology whilst deep greens/social ecology do not.  |
|                    | • The shallow green view sees the state as able to promote sustainable development and intergenerational equity to solve ecological issues whilst deep greens/social ecology opposes this view.  |
|                    | Candidates may refer to the following analytical (AO2) and evaluative (AO3) points when reviewing the extent of the agreement:   |
|                    | <ul> <li>Deep greens/social ecology favour decentralised, interdependent communities<br/>built around anarchist principles (<b>Bookchin</b>) where decisions are taken locally and<br/>closely tied to the needs to local communities and their natural environment<br/>(AO2) so it is clear that deep greens and social ecology agree that the state must<br/>be replaced by a decentralised federation of communes that rejects traditional<br/>state structures (AO3).</li> </ul> |
|                    | <ul> <li>The existing state support traditional economic models based on GDP         (Schumacher) due to their anthropocentric world view (AO2), showing that that         all greens believe in the need to the state to move away from anthropocentrism,         recognise limits to growth and use the state to promote sustainability (AO3).</li> <li>This faith in new technology and sustainable development means the state</li> </ul>  |
|                    | models its approach on a faith in greener growth and is not willing to tackling the underlying issues of anthropocentrism ( <b>Leopold</b> ), the mechanistic world view,  |

| consumerism and materialism (AO2), showing that deep greens and social ecology agree that the existing state is part of the problem as it proposes solutions that will not work as they do not challenge the underlying problem (AO3).  |
|---|
| Candidates may refer to the following analytical (AO2) and evaluative (AO3) points when reviewing the extent of the disagreement:   |
| <ul> <li>Shallow greens can tackle ecological problems by promoting green capitalism or managerialism whilst deep greens/social ecology would replace the state with local communes based around bioregions (Bookchin) (AO2), showing there is clear disagreement about whether the state is part of the problem or part of the solution to ecological issues (AO3).</li> <li>The state can tackle ecological problems in isolation using technology for shallow greens whilst deep greens/social ecology see this approach as unworkable without a radical overhaul of societal values (AO2), showing different views of technology lead to different conclusions about whether the state is part of the problem or part of the solution. (AO3).</li> <li>Shallow greens believe the existing state can manage resources sustainably within capitalism (Carson) to prevent ecological crisis whilst deep greens/social ecology see the existing state as rooted in anthropocentrism, industrialism and capitalism and so unable to tackle ecological issues. (AO2), showing there is a clear disagreement over whether the state is part of the problem or part of the solution based on their view as to whether ecological issues can be tackled within existing economic and societal views (AO3).</li> </ul> |
| Accept any other valid responses.   |

#### Feminism

#### **Guidelines for Marking Questions 5a-5b**

#### AO1 (8 marks)

Marks here relate to knowledge and understanding. It should be used to underpin analysis (AO2) and evaluation (AO3).

#### AO2 (8 marks)

Candidates should form analytical views which support and reject the view presented by the question.

#### AO3 (8 marks)

Candidates are expected to evaluate the information and arguments presented. They may rank the importance of the prior analysis. They should be able to make and form judgments and they should reach reasoned conclusions.

Candidates must consider both sides presented in the question.

The judgement a candidate reaches about these sides should be reflected in their conclusion.

Candidates who *do not* refer to specific thinkers from the relevant section of the specification in the question raised and/or only consider one side cannot achieve beyond Level 2.

| Level   | Mark  | Descriptor  |
|---------|-------|---|
|         | 0     | No rewardable material.   |
| Level 1 | 1-4   | <ul> <li>Demonstrates superficial knowledge and understanding of political concepts, theories and issues, with limited underpinning of analysis and evaluation (AO1).</li> <li>Limited comparative analysis of aspects of politics with partial, logical chains</li> </ul>  |
|         |       | of reasoning, referring to similarities and/or differences, making simplistic connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).   |
|         |       | <ul> <li>Makes superficial evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing simple<br/>arguments and judgements, many which are descriptive and lead to limited<br/>unsubstantiated conclusions (AO3).</li> </ul>  |
| Level 2 | 5–9   | <ul> <li>Demonstrates some accurate knowledge and understanding of political<br/>concepts, theories and issues, some of which are selected appropriately in<br/>order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1).</li> </ul>   |
|         |       | <ul> <li>Some emerging comparative analysis of aspects of politics with some focused<br/>logical chains of reasoning, referring to similarities and/or differences, making<br/>some relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).</li> <li>Constructs some relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing</li> </ul> |
| 1       | 10.14 | Constructs some relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing occasionally effective arguments and judgements, some are partially substantiated and lead to generic conclusions (AO3).   |
| Level 3 | 10–14 | • Demonstrates mostly accurate knowledge and understanding of political concepts, theories and issues, many of which are selected appropriately in order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1).   |
|         |       | <ul> <li>Mostly focused comparative analysis of aspects of politics with focused, logical<br/>chains of reasoning, drawing on similarities and/or differences, making mostly<br/>relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).</li> </ul>  |
|         |       | <ul> <li>Constructs generally relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing<br/>generally effective arguments and judgements, many of which are<br/>substantiated and lead to some focused conclusions that are sometimes<br/>justified (AO3).</li> </ul>  |
| Level 4 | 15–19 | • Demonstrates accurate knowledge and understanding of political concepts,<br>theories and issues, which are carefully selected in order to underpin analysis<br>and evaluation (AO1).  |
|         |       | • Consistent comparative analysis of aspects of politics, with coherent, logical chains of reasoning, drawing on similarities and differences, making relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).  |
|         |       | <ul> <li>Constructs mostly relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing<br/>mostly effective arguments and judgements, which are mostly substantiated<br/>and lead to mostly focused, justified conclusions (AO3).</li> </ul>   |
| Level 5 | 20-24 | • Demonstrates thorough and in-depth knowledge and understanding of political concepts, theories and issues, which are selected effectively in order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1).   |
|         |       | • Perceptive comparative analysis of aspects of politics, with sustained, logical chains of reasoning, drawing on similarities and differences, making cohesive and convincing connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).  |
|         |       | • Constructs fully relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing fully effective substantiated arguments and judgements, which are consistently substantiated and lead to fully focused and justified conclusions (AO3).   |

| Question | Indicative content  |  |
|----------|---|--|
| number   | To what extent is there more agreement than disagreement within feminism on                               |  |
| number   | the economy?  |  |
| 5(a)     | AO1 (8 marks), AO2 (8 marks), AO3 (8 marks)   |  |
|          |   |  |
|          | Candidates may demonstrate the following knowledge and understanding (AO1) in                             |  |
|          | relation to the extent that feminism is more agreement than disagreement within                           |  |
|          | feminism on the economy:  |  |
|          | Agreement   |  |
|          | Feminists agree that the economy discriminates against women although in                                  |  |
|          | different ways.   |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Most feminists agree that gender equality in the economy needs to be achieved.</li> </ul>        |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Most feminists agree that gender stereotypes play a key role in setting the</li> </ul>           |  |
|          | economic role of women.   |  |
|          | Disagreement  |  |
|          | There are disagreements between liberal feminists and socialist feminists over the                        |  |
|          | root of discrimination in the economy and how to achieve equality.  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Socialist feminists see the root cause in capitalism whilst radical feminists see the</li> </ul> |  |
|          | root cause in the patriarchy.   |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Post-modern feminists disagree with other strands of feminism by arguing that</li> </ul>         |  |
|          | other factors such as class and race impact on inequality in the economy.                                 |  |
|          | other factors such as class and face impact of inequality in the economy.                                 |  |
|          | Candidates may refer to the following analytical (AO2) and evaluative (AO3) points                        |  |
|          | when reviewing the extent of the agreement:   |  |
|          | Feminists are united in their approach that women are discriminated against in                            |  |
|          | the economic sphere ( <b>Perkins Gilman, Rowbotham)</b> leading to clear inequality                       |  |
|          | (AO2), showing feminism is united in its approach to the existing economy (AO3).                          |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Most feminists agree that gender equality in the economy needs to be achieved</li> </ul>         |  |
|          | via real change as part of the wider transformation of society ( <b>Rowbotham, de</b>                     |  |
|          | <b>Beauvoir</b> ) (AO2), so most feminists are united in their desire to promote gender                   |  |
|          | equality in the economy (AO3).  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Most feminists agree that gender stereotypes shape the role of women in the</li> </ul>           |  |
|          | economy ( <b>Perkins Gilman, de Beauvoir</b> ) and these stereotypes need to be                           |  |
|          | challenged as human nature is androgynous (AO2), showing a clear agreement in                             |  |
|          | their critique of the existing economy (AO3).   |  |
|          |   |  |
|          | Candidates may refer to the following analytical (AO2) and evaluative (AO3) points                        |  |
|          | when reviewing the extent of the disagreement:  |  |
|          | • Liberal feminists argue for legal and political equality to achieve gender equality in                  |  |
|          | the public sphere of the economy rather than the private sphere, whereas                                  |  |
|          | socialist feminists disagree, arguing that capitalism is the root cause of female                         |  |
|          | oppression, and that economic equality is vital to female emancipation                                    |  |
|          | ( <b>Rowbotham</b> ) (AO2), reflecting a clear division within feminism over the nature of                |  |
|          | the economy (AO3).  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Post-modern feminists disagree with other feminists arguing that additional</li> </ul>           |  |
|          | factors like race and class are part of the intersectionality of imperialist white                        |  |
|          | supremacist capitalist patriarchy ( <b>bell hooks</b> ) that affects women's position in the              |  |
|          | economy (AO2), showing a strong division over the factors that drive gender                               |  |
|          | inequality in the economy (AO3).  |  |
|          | Socialist feminists argue that patriarchy is rooted in capitalism which must be                           |  |
|          | removed ( <b>Rowbotham</b> ) whereas radical feminists ( <b>Millett</b> ) argue that patriarchy           |  |
|          | is the root cause of oppression and it is patriarchy that must be overthrown (AO2)                        |  |
|          | showing a very a strong division between the strands of feminism on the                                   |  |
| L        |   |  |

| economy (A03).                    |
|-----------------------------------|
| Accept any other valid responses. |
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|                                   |

| Question              | Indicative content   |
|-----------------------|--|
| number                | To what extent is there more agreement than disagreement in feminism that the  |
| <b>F</b> ( <b>b</b> ) | personal is the political?   |
| 5(b)                  | AO1 (8 marks), AO2 (8 marks), AO3 (8 marks)  |
|                       | Candidates may demonstrate the following knowledge and understanding (AO1) in  |
|                       | relation to the extent that there is more agreement than disagreement in feminism  |
|                       | that the personal is the political:  |
|                       | Agreement  |
|                       | • Most feminists agree that oppression operates in both the public and the private sphere.   |
|                       | <ul> <li>Most feminists see the conditioning in the family as a key root of patriarchal oppression.</li> </ul>   |
|                       | <ul> <li>Most feminists agree that the personal is political and this informs the political<br/>action that is needed</li> </ul>   |
|                       | Disagreement   |
|                       | <ul> <li>Liberal feminism tends to focus on gender inequalities emanating from the legal sphere, while radical feminists see patriarchy as the root cause of oppression.</li> <li>Differences over whether the personal is the political lead to very different conclusions over the action that is needed.</li> </ul> |
|                       | • There are disagreements within second and third wave feminism over the role played by the family in the private realm.   |
|                       | Candidates may refer to the following analytical (AO2) and evaluative (AO3) points when reviewing the extent of the agreement:   |

| <ul> <li>Most feminists agree that all relationships between men and women, not just those in the public sphere are based on power and dominance (bell hooks, Millett) (AO2), showing that there is agreement between most second and third wave feminists that the personal is the political (AO3).</li> <li>Most feminists argue that the family plays several roles in perpetuating oppression through the process of conditioning, the distribution of housework, and socialisation into artificial gender roles (de Beauvoir). (AO2), showing that there is agreement between most strands of feminism that the gender roles in a patriarchal society are part of a system of oppression (AO3).</li> <li>Most feminists agree that revolutionary action is needed that would include the overthrow of patriarchy to ensure equality (Millet, bell hooks, Rowbotham) (AO2), showing that that there is agreement between most second and third wave feminists that their understanding of the personal is political helps define their political action and view of how to achieve a fairer society (AO3).</li> </ul> |
|---|
|   |
| Candidates may refer to the following analytical (AO2) and evaluative (AO3) points  |
| when reviewing the extent of the disagreement:  |
| Liberal feminism is therefore orientated around the goal of equal access for  |
| women and men to the public realm and ensuring political and legal equality,  |
| rather than the radical transformation of the private realm ( <b>Millett</b> ) (AO2),   |
| showing there is disagreement over whether feminists should distinguish   |
| between the public and the private realm in understanding the subjugation of women (AO3).   |
| • Liberal feminists argue for gradual reforms to secure legal and political equality  |
| and by changing attitudes over time while radical (Millett), socialist (Rowbotham)  |
| and postmodern feminists ( <b>bell hooks</b> ) argue for a revolution to overthrow  |
| patriarchy. (AO2), showing disagreements within feminism about whether the  |
| personal is political lead to very different solutions for political action (AO3).  |
| • Socialist feminists argue that the family in capitalism confines women to the role  |
| of unpaid reproductive labour ( <b>Rowbotham</b> ) whilst radical feminists see the   |
| family as the primary source of patriarchal oppression (Millet) and post-modern   |
| feminism sees the family as teaching the dominator values of imperialist white  |
| supremacist capitalist patriarchy ( <b>bell hooks</b> ) (AO2), showing that there is a  |
| disagreement within second and third wave feminism over the role of   |
| family/private sphere in shaping oppression (AO3).  |
| Accept any other valid responses.   |

#### Multiculturalism

#### **Guidelines for Marking Questions 6a-6b**

#### AO1 (8 marks)

Marks here relate to knowledge and understanding. It should be used to underpin analysis (AO2) and evaluation (AO3).

#### AO2 (8 marks)

Candidates should form analytical views which support and reject the view presented by the question.

#### AO3 (8 marks)

Candidates are expected to evaluate the information and arguments presented. They may rank the importance of the prior analysis. They should be able to make and form judgments and they should reach reasoned conclusions.

Candidates must consider both sides presented in the question.

The judgement a candidate reaches about these sides should be reflected in their conclusion.

Candidates who *do not* refer to specific thinkers from the relevant section of the specification in the question raised and/or only consider one side cannot achieve beyond Level 2.

| Level   | Mark  | Descriptor  |
|---------|-------|---|
|         | 0     | No rewardable material.   |
| Level 1 | 1–4   | <ul> <li>Demonstrates superficial knowledge and understanding of political concepts, theories and issues, with limited underpinning of analysis and evaluation (AO1).</li> <li>Limited comparative analysis of aspects of politics with partial, logical chains</li> </ul>  |
|         |       | of reasoning, referring to similarities and/or differences, making simplistic connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).   |
|         |       | • Makes superficial evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing simple arguments and judgements, many which are descriptive and lead to limited unsubstantiated conclusions (AO3).  |
| Level 2 | 5–9   | • Demonstrates some accurate knowledge and understanding of political concepts, theories and issues, some of which are selected appropriately in order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1).   |
|         |       | <ul> <li>Some emerging comparative analysis of aspects of politics with some focused<br/>logical chains of reasoning, referring to similarities and/or differences, making<br/>some relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).</li> <li>Constructs some relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing</li> </ul> |
| 1       | 10.14 | Constructs some relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing occasionally effective arguments and judgements, some are partially substantiated and lead to generic conclusions (AO3).   |
| Level 3 | 10–14 | • Demonstrates mostly accurate knowledge and understanding of political concepts, theories and issues, many of which are selected appropriately in order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1).   |
|         |       | <ul> <li>Mostly focused comparative analysis of aspects of politics with focused, logical<br/>chains of reasoning, drawing on similarities and/or differences, making mostly<br/>relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).</li> </ul>  |
|         |       | <ul> <li>Constructs generally relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing<br/>generally effective arguments and judgements, many of which are<br/>substantiated and lead to some focused conclusions that are sometimes<br/>justified (AO3).</li> </ul>  |
| Level 4 | 15–19 | • Demonstrates accurate knowledge and understanding of political concepts,<br>theories and issues, which are carefully selected in order to underpin analysis<br>and evaluation (AO1).  |
|         |       | • Consistent comparative analysis of aspects of politics, with coherent, logical chains of reasoning, drawing on similarities and differences, making relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).  |
|         |       | <ul> <li>Constructs mostly relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing<br/>mostly effective arguments and judgements, which are mostly substantiated<br/>and lead to mostly focused, justified conclusions (AO3).</li> </ul>   |
| Level 5 | 20-24 | • Demonstrates thorough and in-depth knowledge and understanding of political concepts, theories and issues, which are selected effectively in order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1).   |
|         |       | • Perceptive comparative analysis of aspects of politics, with sustained, logical chains of reasoning, drawing on similarities and differences, making cohesive and convincing connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).  |
|         |       | • Constructs fully relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing fully effective substantiated arguments and judgements, which are consistently substantiated and lead to fully focused and justified conclusions (AO3).   |

| Question | Indicative content  |  |
|----------|---|--|
| number   | To what extent is there more agreement than disagreement within   |  |
|          | multiculturalism?   |  |
| 6(a)     | AO1 (8 marks), AO2 (8 marks), AO3 (8 marks)   |  |
|          | Candidates may demonstrate the following knowledge and understanding (AO1) in relation to the extent that there is more agreement than disagreement within multiculturalism:  |  |
|          | Agreement   |  |
|          | <ul> <li>There is agreement that the individual does not exist before or outside of society.</li> <li>Assimilation should be rejected.</li> <li>Society should be both diverse and televant.</li> </ul>   |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Society should be both diverse and tolerant.</li> <li>Disagreement</li> </ul>  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>There is no consistent view of how far diversity should extend between liberal,<br/>pluralist and cosmopolitan multiculturalists.</li> </ul>   |  |
|          | • Disagreements over diversity mean that there is no consistent view over tolerance and whether it must exist in a liberal framework.   |  |
|          | • Disagreements over the support for minority rights and cultural recognition mean there is more disagreement than agreement.   |  |
|          | Candidates may refer to the following analytical (AO2) and evaluative (AO3) points when reviewing the extent of the agreement:  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Most multiculturalists agree that the individual does not exist outside of or before society (<b>Taylor</b>) and therefore that human identity is bound up in culture - culture as a context of choice (<b>Kymlicka</b>) and humans are culturally embedded (<b>Parekh</b>) (AO2), showing that there is some agreement around the relationship between the individual and society within multiculturalism (AO3).</li> </ul>   |  |
|          | • There is agreement that assimilation ignores the importance of culture, and cultural belonging, so will alienate individuals and minority cultures from society breeding tension and conflict ( <b>Taylor</b> ) (AO2), showing there is clear agreement between multiculturalists in their rejection of assimilation (AO3).   |  |
|          | • There is clear agreement in support for the politics of recognition ( <b>Taylor</b> ) and group differentiated rights ( <b>Kymlicka</b> ) to meet the needs of all cultures in society. Diverse societies which are enriched by the different cultures that co-exist within them (AO2), showing that there is clear agreement that society should be both diverse and tolerant (AO3).   |  |
|          | Candidates may refer to the following analytical (AO2) and evaluative (AO3) points when reviewing the extent of the disagreement:   |  |
|          | • Whilst liberal multiculturalists support a form of shallow diversity, pluralist multiculturalists support value pluralism ( <b>Berlin</b> ) or deep diversity, where the starting point should be that all cultures must have some worth and see diversity as a good in itself ( <b>Parekh</b> ) while cosmopolitan multiculturalists support diversity to allow for the transformation to a single, global community based on shared morality (AO2), showing that there is clear disagreement between liberal and pluralist multiculturalists over the extent of diversity within society (AO3). |  |
|          | <ul> <li>While liberal multiculturalists do not extend tolerance to values/beliefs that are intolerant or oppressive (Kymlicka) or oppose liberal democracy as this clashes with autonomy, pluralist multiculturalism opposes liberal universalism (Parekh) (AO2), showing that there is clear disagreement about whether tolerance can only exist within a liberal framework (AO3).</li> </ul>   |  |
|          | Liberal multiculturalists put more emphasis on creating societies that support minority rights to ensure autonomy, justice and individualism ( <b>Kymlicka</b> ) whilst   |  |

| pluralist multiculturalists support cultural recognition as the basis for civic<br>participation and creating a deep sense of belonging ( <b>Parekh/Modood</b> ) whilst<br>cosmopolitan multiculturalists support minority rights to help in the<br>transformation to a single, global community (AO2), showing there is clear<br>disagreement between multiculturalists as the reason to support minority rights<br>and cultural recognition (AO3). |
|--|
| Accept any other valid responses.  |

| Question       | Indicative content  |
|----------------|---|
| number<br>6(b) | To what extent does multiculturalism agree on tolerance?<br>AO1 (8 marks), AO2 (8 marks), AO3 (8 marks)   |
| 0(0)           | AOT (o marks), AO2 (o marks), AO3 (o marks)   |
|                | Candidates may demonstrate the following knowledge and understanding (AO1) in relation to the extent that multiculturalism agrees on tolerance:   |
|                | <ul> <li>Agreement</li> <li>Multiculturalists support tolerance, willingness to accept values, customs and<br/>beliefs with which one disagrees, as culture is seen as critical to identity and<br/>human nature.</li> </ul>  |
|                | <ul> <li>Most multiculturalists support tolerance as diversity is seen as positive for society.</li> <li>Multiculturalism supports tolerance and strongly rejects assimilation as a one-way process which flattens out cultural differences and undermines a person's sense of who they are.</li> </ul>   |
|                | Disagreement  |
|                | There is no clear agreement over the limits of tolerance.   |
|                | <ul> <li>Disagreements over diversity mean that there is no consistent view over<br/>tolerance.</li> </ul>  |
|                | The conservative criticism of multiculturalism promotes assimilation, not   |
|                | integration, suggesting a very different approach to diversity and tolerance.   |
|                | Candidates may refer to the following analytical (AO2) and evaluative (AO3) points when reviewing the extent of the agreement:  |
|                | <ul> <li>Multiculturalism supports tolerance as it aims to protect minority cultures: the identity of humans is bound up in their cultures as the individual does not exist before or outside of society (Taylor/Parekh) or as culture provides the context of choice within which individuals exercise autonomy (Kymlicka) (AO2), showing that tolerance is a vital component of a multicultural society (AO3).</li> <li>Most multiculturalists agree that diversity brings vibrancy to society, bringing progress and promoting cross-cultural toleration and understanding (Modood) (AO2), showing clear agreement over the importance of tolerance in society (AO3).</li> <li>Multiculturalists oppose assimilation as it is intolerant by forcing minorities to adopt the majority culture (Taylor), leading to alienation, inequality and injustice that undermine the unity of society (AO2), demonstrating clear agreement over their support for tolerance (AO3).</li> </ul> |
|                | Candidates may refer to the following analytical (AO2) and evaluative (AO3) points when reviewing the extent of the disagreement:   |

| <ul> <li>While liberal multiculturalists do not extend tolerance to values/beliefs that are intolerant (<b>Kymlicka</b>) or oppose liberal democracy, pluralist multiculturalism opposes liberal universalism (<b>Parekh</b>) (AO2), so there is clear disagreement within multiculturalism over the extent of tolerance (AO3).</li> <li>Liberal multiculturalists support tolerance based on the idea of shallow diversity and are not hospitable to illiberal cultural practices which impact on the autonomy of the individual (<b>Kymlicka</b>), whilst pluralist multiculturalists support tolerance based on deep diversity, starting from the principle that all cultures have some worth (<b>Parekh</b>) or from the idea of value pluralism (<b>Berlin</b>) and cosmopolitan multiculturalism supports tolerance and diversity to support global mixing leading to the creation of one global, cosmopolitan culture (AO2), so there is clear disagreement within multiculturalism argues there can be no diversity within unity promoting assimilation rather than tolerance and integration (AO2), showing a clear criticism of the role of tolerance in society (AO3).</li> </ul> |
|--|
| Accept any other valid responses.  |

#### Nationalism

#### **Guidelines for Marking Questions 7a-7b**

#### AO1 (8 marks)

Marks here relate to knowledge and understanding. It should be used to underpin analysis (AO2) and evaluation (AO3).

#### AO2 (8 marks)

Candidates should form analytical views which support and reject the view presented by the question.

#### AO3 (8 marks)

Candidates are expected to evaluate the information and arguments presented. They may rank the importance of the prior analysis. They should be able to make and form judgments and they should reach reasoned conclusions.

Candidates must consider both sides presented in the question.

The judgement a candidate reaches about these sides should be reflected in their conclusion.

Candidates who *do not* refer to specific thinkers from the relevant section of the specification in the question raised and/or only consider one side cannot achieve beyond Level 2.

| Level   | Mark  | Descriptor  |
|---------|-------|---|
|         | 0     | No rewardable material.   |
| Level 1 | 1–4   | <ul> <li>Demonstrates superficial knowledge and understanding of political concepts, theories and issues, with limited underpinning of analysis and evaluation (AO1).</li> <li>Limited comparative analysis of aspects of politics with partial, logical chains</li> </ul>  |
|         |       | of reasoning, referring to similarities and/or differences, making simplistic connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).   |
|         |       | <ul> <li>Makes superficial evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing simple<br/>arguments and judgements, many which are descriptive and lead to limited<br/>unsubstantiated conclusions (AO3).</li> </ul>  |
| Level 2 | 5–9   | <ul> <li>Demonstrates some accurate knowledge and understanding of political<br/>concepts, theories and issues, some of which are selected appropriately in<br/>order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1).</li> </ul>   |
|         |       | <ul> <li>Some emerging comparative analysis of aspects of politics with some focused<br/>logical chains of reasoning, referring to similarities and/or differences, making<br/>some relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).</li> <li>Constructs some relevant evaluation of aspects of polities, constructing</li> </ul> |
|         | 10.14 | Constructs some relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing occasionally effective arguments and judgements, some are partially substantiated and lead to generic conclusions (AO3).   |
| Level 3 | 10–14 | Demonstrates mostly accurate knowledge and understanding of political concepts, theories and issues, many of which are selected appropriately in order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1).   |
|         |       | <ul> <li>Mostly focused comparative analysis of aspects of politics with focused, logical<br/>chains of reasoning, drawing on similarities and/or differences, making mostly<br/>relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).</li> </ul>  |
|         |       | <ul> <li>Constructs generally relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing<br/>generally effective arguments and judgements, many of which are<br/>substantiated and lead to some focused conclusions that are sometimes<br/>justified (AO3).</li> </ul>  |
| Level 4 | 15–19 | • Demonstrates accurate knowledge and understanding of political concepts,<br>theories and issues, which are carefully selected in order to underpin analysis<br>and evaluation (AO1).  |
|         |       | • Consistent comparative analysis of aspects of politics, with coherent, logical chains of reasoning, drawing on similarities and differences, making relevant connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).  |
|         |       | <ul> <li>Constructs mostly relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing<br/>mostly effective arguments and judgements, which are mostly substantiated<br/>and lead to mostly focused, justified conclusions (AO3).</li> </ul>   |
| Level 5 | 20-24 | • Demonstrates thorough and in-depth knowledge and understanding of political concepts, theories and issues, which are selected effectively in order to underpin analysis and evaluation (AO1).   |
|         |       | • Perceptive comparative analysis of aspects of politics, with sustained, logical chains of reasoning, drawing on similarities and differences, making cohesive and convincing connections between ideas and concepts (AO2).  |
|         |       | • Constructs fully relevant evaluation of aspects of politics, constructing fully effective substantiated arguments and judgements, which are consistently substantiated and lead to fully focused and justified conclusions (AO3).   |

| Question | Indicative content  |  |
|----------|---|--|
| number   | To what extent is nationalism united in its views on society?   |  |
| 7(a)     | AO1 (8 marks), AO2 (8 marks), AO3 (8 marks)   |  |
|          | Candidates may demonstrate the following knowledge and understanding (AO1) in relation to the extent that nationalism is united in its view on society:   |  |
|          | Agreement   |  |
|          | Conservative nationalism and expansionist nationalism offer an exclusive view of society.   |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Nationalists believe that society is characterised by shared values and beliefs.</li> <li>Expansionist nationalism and conservative nationalism are opposed to any form of nationalism, like civic nationalism, which allows for the respect for ethnic and cultural diversity within society.</li> </ul>  |  |
|          | Disagreement  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Whilst expansionist and conservative nationalism have an exclusive approach to<br/>society, liberal and anti/post colonialism is more closely associated with an<br/>inclusive approach.</li> </ul>  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Liberal and anti/post colonialism hold an inclusive, rational view of the society.</li> <li>Liberal nationalism in particular is inclusive in that it allows for diversity in society.</li> </ul>  |  |
|          | Candidates may refer to the following analytical (AO2) and evaluative (AO3) points when reviewing the extent of the agreement:  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Conservative nationalism seeks to defend, for example, a language, religion, set of traditions or a national 'way of life' (von Herder) whilst expansionist nationalism sees society as unique, special and based on common ancestry (Maurras) (AO2), reflecting that conservative and expansionist nationalism offer an exclusive view of society (AO3).</li> <li>All nationalists believe that society is characterised by shared values and beliefs,</li> </ul>   |  |
|          | <ul> <li>ultimately rooted in a common national identity (AO2), so there is clearly a common view amongst nationalists in regard to society (AO3).</li> <li>Both expansionist and conservative nationalism is based around an emotional, mystical and regressive view of the nation and society so opposes civic nationalism. Expansionist nationalism is more exclusive as it claims superiority over other groups and nations (<b>Maurras</b>) (AO2), so there is a consistent view among some nationalists that ethnic and cultural diversity within the society should be opposed (AO3).</li> </ul> |  |
|          | Candidates may refer to the following analytical (AO2) and evaluative (AO3) points when reviewing the extent of the disagreement:   |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Conservative nationalists view society as based on the nation as a people with a common linguistic and cultural heritage (von Herder) whereas liberal nationalism and to an extent anti/post-colonial nationalism focusses on civic nationalism (Rousseau) (AO2), reflecting there are clear divisions within nationalism between its exclusive and inclusive forms (AO3).</li> </ul>  |  |
|          | <ul> <li>Nationalism is open and voluntary (Rousseau); if you sign up to the values of the society, you are welcomed and acceptance is not limited by identity related restrictions like culture (von Herder), language or ethnicity (AO2), showing liberal and anti/post-colonial nationalism is largely inclusive as nationalism is open and voluntary. (AO2).</li> </ul>   |  |
|          | • Liberal nationalism allows respect for cultural and ethnic diversity within society, provided that does not challenge the core civic values (i.e. democratic values) unlike conservative nationalism which supports assimilation within society, (AO2), showing that liberal nationalism in particular is inclusive of different cultures and   |  |

| ethnicities rather than exclusive (AO3). |
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| Accept any other valid responses.        |
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| Question<br>number | Indicative content<br>To what extent is nationalism progressive?  |
|--------------------|---|
| 7(b)               | AO1 (8 marks), AO2 (8 marks), AO3 (8 marks)   |
|                    |   |
|                    | Candidates may demonstrate the following knowledge and understanding (AO1) in relation to the extent that nationalism is progressive:<br>Agreement  |
|                    | <ul> <li>Largely liberal and anti/post-colonial nationalism are rational and progressive in<br/>their support for civic nationalism.</li> </ul>   |
|                    | • Largely liberal and anti/post-colonial nationalism are rational and progressive in their support for self-determination.  |
|                    | • Liberal nationalism and anti/post-colonialism both seek international harmony believing nation-states should be regulated by international law.   |
|                    | Disagreement  |
|                    | • Conservative nationalism and expansionist nationalism is built on a mystical or romantic rather than a progressive and rational view of the nation.   |
|                    | <ul> <li>There is not a common view within nationalism over whether each nation has the<br/>right to self-determination, considered a key element of nationalism as<br/>progressive.</li> </ul>   |
|                    | <ul> <li>Some types of expansionist nationalism breed feelings of intense patriotism and<br/>are considered chauvinistic, often leading to war and conquest (Maurras)</li> </ul>  |
|                    | Candidates may refer to the following analytical (AO2) and evaluative (AO3) points when reviewing the extent of the agreement:  |
|                    | • Civic nationalism, drawing on the liberal view that people are rational individuals with natural rights, is built on the principle that individuals should voluntarily choose their own governing authority ( <b>Rousseau</b> ) and that nationalism is   |
|                    | inclusive, open and voluntary (AO2), showing that there is a largely consistent view amongst liberal and anti/post-colonial nationalists in a rational and progressive support for civic nationalism (AO3).   |
|                    | • Built on the liberal, rational view of individuals is the idea that nations are equal, sovereign and autonomous units with certain rights - most importantly self-determination and opposition to imperialism. A world of independent, equal nation states will be progressive (AO2), reflecting that there are key strands of nationalism built around the rational and progressive argument for self-determination (AO3). |

| • Largely liberal and anti/post-colonial nationalism sees itself as rational and progressive as it sees society advancing and improving in the future, promoting freedom and protecting the rights of people whilst being the basis for peace in the world (AO2), so there is a common view that liberal and anti/post-colonial nationalism perceives itself as rational and progressive (A03).   |
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| Candidates may refer to the following analytical (AO2) and evaluative (AO3) points  |
| when reviewing the extent of the disagreement:  |
| <ul> <li>Conservative nationalists view the nation as a people with a common linguistic and cultural heritage (von Herder), with expansionist nationalism focussing on a romantic view of common ancestry, both of which are considered regressive, whereas liberal nationalism focusses on civic nationalism (Rousseau) (AO2), showing there is no common view between conservative and liberal nationalism over whether the nation is a rational, progressive or romantic, regressive concept. (AO3).</li> <li>Expansionist nationalism rejects the right of all nations to self-determination whilst liberal and anti/post- colonial nationalists are concerned with the rights of all nations (Mazzini) to self-determination (AO2), showing that expansionist nationalism is opposed to the progressive view of self-determination constructed by liberal nationalism (AO3).</li> <li>Conservative nationalism is seen as essentially backward-looking and seeks to maintain traditions of the past (von Herder) whilst expansionist nationalism seeks to return aspects of society to a glorious, prior position (Maurras), often restricting or removing rights of people which are seen as a key element of the rational, liberal view of the individual and the state. Expansionist nationalism is often associated with imperialism/colonialism and militarism (AO2), so it can be seen that the more rational strands of nationalism consider themselves to be progressive whilst the more irrational/romantic strands of nationalism are seen as regressive (AO3).</li> </ul> |
|   |
| Accept any other valid responses.   |