



A-level
POLITICS
7152/3

Paper 3 Political Ideas

Mark scheme

June 2019

Version: 1.0 Final

Mark schemes are prepared by the Lead Assessment Writer and considered, together with the relevant questions, by a panel of subject teachers. This mark scheme includes any amendments made at the standardisation events which all associates participate in and is the scheme which was used by them in this examination. The standardisation process ensures that the mark scheme covers the students' responses to questions and that every associate understands and applies it in the same correct way. As preparation for standardisation each associate analyses a number of students' scripts. Alternative answers not already covered by the mark scheme are discussed and legislated for. If, after the standardisation process, associates encounter unusual answers which have not been raised they are required to refer these to the Lead Examiner.

It must be stressed that a mark scheme is a working document, in many cases further developed and expanded on the basis of students' reactions to a particular paper. Assumptions about future mark schemes on the basis of one year's document should be avoided; whilst the guiding principles of assessment remain constant, details will change, depending on the content of a particular examination paper.

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Level of response marking instructions

Level of response mark schemes are broken down into levels, each of which has a descriptor. The descriptor for the level shows the average performance for the level. There are marks in each level.

Before you apply the mark scheme to a student's answer read through the answer and annotate it (as instructed) to show the qualities that are being looked for. You can then apply the mark scheme.

Step 1 Determine a level

Start at the lowest level of the mark scheme and use it as a ladder to see whether the answer meets the descriptor for that level. The descriptor for the level indicates the different qualities that might be seen in the student's answer for that level. If it meets the lowest level then go to the next one and decide if it meets this level, and so on, until you have a match between the level descriptor and the answer. With practice and familiarity you will find that for better answers you will be able to quickly skip through the lower levels of the mark scheme.

When assigning a level you should look at the overall quality of the answer and not look to pick holes in small and specific parts of the answer where the student has not performed quite as well as the rest. If the answer covers different aspects of different levels of the mark scheme you should use a best fit approach for defining the level and then use the variability of the response to help decide the mark within the level, ie if the response is predominantly level 3 with a small amount of level 4 material it would be placed in level 3 but be awarded a mark near the top of the level because of the level 4 content.

Step 2 Determine a mark

Once you have assigned a level you need to decide on the mark. The descriptors on how to allocate marks can help with this. The exemplar materials used during standardisation will help. There will be an answer in the standardising materials which will correspond with each level of the mark scheme. This answer will have been awarded a mark by the Lead Examiner. You can compare the student's answer with the example to determine if it is the same standard, better or worse than the example. You can then use this to allocate a mark for the answer based on the Lead Examiner's mark on the example.

You may well need to read back through the answer as you apply the mark scheme to clarify points and assure yourself that the level and the mark are appropriate.

Indicative content in the mark scheme is provided as a guide for examiners. It is not intended to be exhaustive and you must credit other valid points. Students do not have to cover all of the points mentioned in the Indicative content to reach the highest level of the mark scheme.

An answer which contains nothing of relevance to the question must be awarded no marks.

Levels of response mark scheme for 9-mark questions

0 | 1

Socialism

Explain and analyse three ways in which different socialist thinkers have viewed capitalism.

[9 marks]

0 | 2

Liberalism

Explain and analyse three ways in which liberal ideas limit individual freedom.

[9 marks]

0 | 3

Conservatism

Explain and analyse three ways in which conservative thinkers have viewed human nature.

[9 marks]

Target AO1: 6 marks, AO2: 3 marks

Level	Marks	Descriptors
3	7–9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Detailed knowledge of relevant political concepts, institutions and processes is demonstrated and appropriate political vocabulary is used (AO1). Thorough explanations and appropriate selection of accurate supporting examples demonstrates detailed understanding of relevant political concepts, institutions and processes (AO1). Analysis of three clear points will be structured, clearly focused on the question and confidently developed in to a coherent answer (AO2).
2	4–6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Generally sound knowledge of political concepts, institutions and processes is demonstrated and generally appropriate political vocabulary is used (AO1). Some development of explanations and generally appropriate selection of supporting examples demonstrates generally accurate understanding of relevant political concepts, institutions and processes, though further detail may be required in places and some inaccuracies may be present (AO1). Analysis will be developed in most places, though some points may be descriptive or in need of further development. Answers will, for the most part, be clearly expressed and show some organisation in the presentation of material (AO2). <p>Students who only make two relevant points will be limited to this level.</p>
1	1–3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Limited knowledge of political concepts, institutions and processes is demonstrated and little or no appropriate political vocabulary is used (AO1). Limited development of explanations and selection of supporting examples demonstrates limited understanding of relevant political concepts, institutions and processes, with further detail required and inaccuracies present throughout (AO1). Analysis will take the form of description for the most part. Coherence and structure will be limited (AO2). <p>Students who only make one relevant point will be limited to this level.</p>
0	0	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nothing worthy of credit.

0	1
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Socialism

Explain and analyse three ways in which different socialist thinkers have viewed capitalism.

[9 marks]

Indicative content

In their explanations and analysis, students may be expected to cover areas such as the following:

- explanation and analysis of how socialists have offered a critique of capitalism, which may be contrasted with the positive view taken by liberals.
- explanation and analysis of how the main critique of capitalism derives from Karl Marx who argued that Marxists view capitalism as a system in which the bourgeoisie exploit the proletariat. There is likely to be reference to concepts such as surplus value, ideological / repressive state apparatus, hegemony and false consciousness.
- explanation and analysis of divisions amongst socialists over how to create a different society. For instance, moderate socialists from the social democratic perspective such as Anthony Crosland believe that capitalism can be civilised via state intervention. The private sector would be allowed to exist within a mixed economy.
- explanation and analysis of the ways in which various socialists have viewed capitalism. For instance, Anthony Giddens argues in favour of a third way that seeks an accommodation with capitalism.

Students are required to consider only three ways that socialist thinkers view capitalism. If a student exceeds this number, reward only the best three. However, some may include relevant points not listed above and these may be credited. If a student gives only one or two examples they will receive a maximum of three and six marks respectively.

0	2
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Liberalism

Explain and analyse three ways in which liberal ideas limit individual freedom.

[9 marks]

Indicative content

In their explanations and analysis, students may be expected to cover areas such as the following;

- explanation and analysis of how liberals believe in personal freedom, but they also advocate a role for the state in order to limit personal freedom.
- explanation and analysis of John Stuart Mill's harm principle and the distinction between self-regarding and other-regarding actions. On this basis, the only limitation may be when those actions harm the freedom of others.
- explanation and analysis of the view that liberal thinkers such as T.H. Green have often justified laws on the basis of negative freedom (such as laws against discrimination, arranged marriages, defamation and FGM).
- explanation and analysis of how liberal concepts and theories (such as John Locke's contract theory and the concept of utilitarianism from Jeremy Bentham) can be used to justify limitations upon individual freedom.
- explanation and analysis of the view that liberals seek to limit freedom when it leads to the despotism of custom and the tyranny of the majority. This may be linked to liberals defending 'experiments in living' and a marketplace of ideas.

Students are required to consider only three ways that liberals limit personal individual freedom. If a student exceeds this number, reward only the best three. However, some may include relevant points not listed above and these may be credited. If a student gives only one or two examples they will receive a maximum of three and six marks respectively.

0	3
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Conservatism

Explain and analyse three ways in which conservative thinkers have viewed human nature.

[9 marks]**Indicative content**

In their explanations and analysis, students may be expected to cover areas such as the following:

- explanation and analysis of how conservatives such as Hobbes take a pessimistic view of human nature. This may be contrasted to the positive view adopted by liberals.
- explanation and analysis of how conservatives believe that human nature is fixed and immutable. Altering the basis of society (as advocated by socialists) will not change human nature. According to Oakeshott, the role of the state should be to ensure social harmony rather than creating a new utopian society.
- explanation and analysis of how conservatives view human nature as driven by baser instincts (such as protection and security) rather than higher reasoning.
- explanation and analysis of how conservatives such as Burke also reject the utopian view that human nature is perfectible. They are opposed to idealist projects and prefer pragmatism.
- explanation and analysis of how conservatives view humans as flawed and imperfect. Analysis may entail the view that conservatism is a state of mind centred upon the notion of original sin and Biblical warnings of human wickedness.

Students are required to consider only three ways that conservatives view human nature. If a student exceeds this number, reward only the best three. However, some may include relevant points not listed above and these may be credited. If a student gives only one or two examples they will receive a maximum of three and six marks respectively.

Levels of response mark scheme for 25-mark extract-based essay

0 4 Analyse, evaluate and compare the arguments being made in the above extracts as to the significance of social class within socialism. In your answer, you may refer to the thinkers you have studied.

[25 marks]**Target AO1: 5 marks, AO2: 10 marks, AO3: 10 marks**

Level	Marks	Descriptors
5	21–25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Detailed and accurate knowledge and understanding of relevant political concepts, institutions and processes are used to support analysis of the issue under discussion (AO1). Analysis of the extract is balanced and confidently developed. Evaluation of the above leads to well-substantiated conclusions that are consistent with the preceding discussion (AO3). Relevant perspectives and/or the status of the extract are successfully evaluated in the process of constructing arguments (AO3). The answer is well organised, coherent and has a sustained analytical focus on the question (AO2).
4	16–20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Accurate knowledge and understanding of relevant political concepts, institutions and processes are used to support analysis of the issue under discussion, though further detail may be required in places (AO1). Analysis of the extract is balanced and developed, though some elements of the analysis could be expanded and/or developed further. Evaluation of the above leads to conclusions that show some substantiation and are consistent with the preceding discussion (AO3). Relevant perspectives and/or the status of the extract are evaluated in constructing arguments, although in some places there could be further development of the evaluation (AO3). The answer is well organised, analytical in style and is focused on the question as set.
3	11–15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Generally sound knowledge and understanding of relevant political concepts, institutions and processes are used to support points made, though inaccuracies will be present (AO1). Analytical points relating to the extract are made and developed in places, showing some balance, though some points are descriptive rather than analytical. (AO2). Evaluation of the above leads to conclusions that are consistent with the preceding discussion, but that lack substantiation (AO3). Relevant perspectives and/or the status of the extract are commented on in constructing arguments, though evaluation is lacking depth (AO3). The answer is organised, occasionally analytical and focused on the question as set.
2	6–10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some knowledge and understanding of relevant political concepts, institutions and processes are used to support points made, though these contain inaccuracies and irrelevant material (AO1). Analysis of the extract takes the form of description in most places, with some attempt at balance, though many points are unsupported assertions (AO2). Some attempt to draw conclusions is made, but these lack depth and clear

		development from the preceding discussion (AO3).
1	1–5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Limited knowledge and understanding of relevant political concepts, institutions and processes, with inaccuracies and irrelevant material present throughout (AO1). Analysis of the extract takes the form of description and assertion, with little or no attempt made at balance (AO2). Conclusions, when offered, are asserted and have an implicit relationship to the preceding discussion (AO3). Little or no evaluation of relevant perspectives and the status of the extract is present (AO3). The answer shows little organisation and does not address the question (AO2).
0	0	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nothing worthy of credit.

0 4 Analyse, evaluate and compare the arguments being made in the above extracts as to the significance of social class within socialism. In your answer, you may refer to the thinkers you have studied.

[25 marks]

Indicative content

In the analysis and evaluation of the significance of social class within socialism, as made in the extract, students may be expected to cover areas such as the following:

- explanation and analysis of why social class is of fundamental importance within socialism.
- a comparison of how the various strands of socialist thought view social class. Amongst socialists, social class is of most significance within the Marxist perspective. Students may evaluate the significance of social class towards Marxist concepts such as class struggle, the means of production and dialectical materialism.
- explanation and analysis of how one of the extracts emphasises revolution and class conflict whereas the other emphasises social mobility and fairness.
- explanation and analysis of how the main contrast within socialism is that of revolution based on “class struggles” against attempts by the centre-left to modify (or humanise) capitalism. The means to achieve socialism derive from a fundamentally distinct way of viewing social class.
- students may also identify recent developments in the importance of social class amongst socialists.
- explanation and analysis of the lack of emphasis upon social class under New Labour (and other centre-left parties) during the 1990s. For instance, Giddens looks at the importance of inequality in relation to social class and social justice.
- The analysis and evaluation of any political information is affected by:
 - Who the author is – their position or role.
 - The type of publication – newspaper, academic journal, electronic media.
 - The overt or implicit purpose of the author – to inform, persuade or influence.
 - The relevance of the extracts to a political issue or concern, and how representative the extracts are of a particular viewpoint. Students will be expected to address some of these factors in their analysis and evaluation of the extracts.
- In relation to the extracts for this question, reference should be made to when they were published and that the intention was to persuade and influence.

Students are required to analyse and evaluate the arguments presented in the article. Students who identify which arguments support which of the different views may be awarded marks for analysis (AO2).

The analysis and evaluation must clearly focus on the arguments presented in the article. Students would not need to cover each and every one of the above points to gain high marks; equally, some may introduce further relevant points and these may be credited. The conclusion may clearly focus on the issue in question. In their evaluation, it does not matter what views students reach. However, their position must be supported by their arguments and examples.

Students who fail to focus their discussion on the arguments in the article, however complete their answer may otherwise be, cannot achieve above Level 2.

Levels of response mark scheme for 25-mark extract-based essay

0 | 5

Nationalism

‘Nationalism is compatible with democracy.’ Analyse and evaluate this statement with reference to the nationalist thinkers that you have studied.

[25 marks]

0 | 6

Feminism

With reference to the feminist thinkers that you have studied, analyse and evaluate the extent to which feminism is compatible with equality.

[25 marks]

0 | 7

Multiculturalism

‘Multiculturalists are divided over how to achieve integration.’ Analyse and evaluate this statement with reference to the multiculturalist thinkers that you have studied.

[25 marks]

0 | 8

Anarchism

With reference to the anarchist thinkers that you have studied, analyse and evaluate the anarchist position on the use of violence to further political ends.

[25 marks]

0 | 9

Ecologism

‘Ecologists are divided over the means to achieve a greener society.’ Analyse and evaluate this statement with reference to the ecologist thinkers that you have studied.

[25 marks]

Target AO1: 5 marks, AO2: 10 marks, AO3: 10 marks

Level	Marks	Descriptors
5	21–25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Detailed and accurate knowledge and understanding of relevant political concepts, institutions and processes are used to support analysis of the issue under discussion (AO1). Analysis is balanced and confidently developed (AO2). Synoptic links are well explained, are focussed on the question and fully supported with relevant and developed examples (AO2). Evaluation of the above leads to well-substantiated conclusions that are consistent with the preceding discussion (AO3). Relevant perspectives are successfully evaluated in the process of constructing arguments (AO3). The answer is well organised, coherent and has a sustained analytical focus on the question (AO2).
4	16–20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Accurate knowledge and understanding of relevant political concepts, institutions and processes are used to support analysis of the issue under discussion, though further detail may be required in places (AO1). Analysis is balanced developed, though some elements of the analysis could be expanded and/or developed further.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Synoptic links are relevant to the questions as set, and supported with examples. (AO2). • Evaluation of the above leads to conclusions that show some substantiation and consistency with the preceding discussion (AO3). • Relevant perspectives are evaluated in the process of constructing arguments, although in some places there could be further development of the evaluation (AO3). • The answer is well organised, analytical in style and is focused on the question as set.
3	11–15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Generally sound knowledge and understanding of relevant political concepts, institutions and processes are used to support points made, though inaccuracies will be present (AO1). • Analytical points are made and developed in places, showing some balance, though some points are descriptive rather than analytical. • Synoptic links will be made, may be supported by examples, though explanation will lack depth (AO2). • Evaluation of the above leads to conclusions that are consistent with the preceding discussion, but that lack substantiation (AO3). • Relevant perspectives are commented on in the process of constructing arguments, though evaluation is lacking depth. (AO3). • The answer is organised, occasionally analytical and focused on the question as set.
2	6–10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some knowledge and understanding of relevant political concepts, institutions and processes are used to support points made, though these contain inaccuracies and irrelevant material (AO1). • Analysis takes the form of description in most places, with some attempt at balance, though many points are unsupported assertions (AO2). • Synoptic links tend to be limited and undeveloped (AO2). • Some attempt to draw conclusions is made, but these lack depth and clear development from the preceding discussion (AO3). • Relevant perspectives are identified, though evaluation will be superficial (AO3). • The answer shows some organisation and makes some attempt to address the question (AO2).
1	1–5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited knowledge and understanding of relevant political concepts, institutions and processes, with inaccuracies and irrelevant material present throughout (AO1). • Analysis takes the form of description and assertion, with little or no attempt made at balance (AO2). • Few if any synoptic links are offered (AO2). • Conclusions, when offered, are asserted and have an implicit relationship to the preceding discussion (AO3). • Little or no evaluation of relevant perspectives is present (AO3). • The answer shows little organisation and does not address the question (AO2).
0	0	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nothing worthy of credit.

0 5 **Nationalism**

‘Nationalism is compatible with democracy.’ Analyse and evaluate this statement with reference to the nationalist thinkers that you have studied.

[25 marks]**Indicative content**

In the analysis and evaluation of the statement, students may be expected to cover areas such as the following:

- explanation and analysis of the view that nationalism has democratic elements. Nationalism is compatible with democracy when it expresses the will of the people. Nationalism can also provide the basis for the right to national self-determination, and can also lead to calls from the people for greater autonomy on the basis of a referendum.
- explanation and analysis of the view that nationalism can also unite a country on the basis of democratic values (as advocated by liberal nationalists). In addition, the anti-colonialist movement has been (and continues to be) driven by nationalist ideology. Such an answer may refer to Marcus Garvey’s view that pan-nationalism can unite a diaspora under a common home.
- An evaluation of the extent to which nationalism has been the basis for undemocratic policies (such as imperialism). Evaluation could consider the anti-democratic character of integral nationalism (Charles Maurras). Nation-states built upon integral nationalism are totalitarian and characterised by expansionist militarism.
- explanation and analysis of the view that nationalist leaders have utilised such feelings in order to acted in an undemocratic way. This can lead to political extremism, prejudice and discrimination against minority groups. An emphasis upon national sovereignty can at times prevent the spread of universalist democratic principles.
- explanation and analysis of the view that nationalism can be inclusive as well as exclusive (such as the importance of language and culture expressed by von Herder). Nationalism played a key role in the Enlightenment *and* the counter-Enlightenment.
- An evaluation of how tactics used by nationalist parties and groups can be undemocratic when faced with a political process that denies them their objective, with some nationalist movements combining both elections and paramilitary activities.
- explanation and analysis of the view that certain theorists reflect the inherent contradiction within nationalist ideology (such as the concept of the general will from Jean Jacques Rousseau, and the ‘thought and action’ notion of Mazzini). Such an answer could reference Giuseppe Mazzini’s endorsement of popular democracy within a republican state. Students may also observe his opposition to the Enlightenment because an emphasis upon individualism is contrary to the goal of creating a coherent national identity.

Students who make no reference to thinkers must not be rewarded marks above Level 2.

Synoptic links may be found in areas such as democracy, electoral behaviour, interest groups, media, party policies and programmes, and political agenda. Any response that does not include synoptic points cannot achieve above Level 4.

Students would not need to cover each and every one of the above points to gain high marks; equally, some may introduce further relevant points and these may be credited. The conclusion may clearly focus on the issue in question. In their evaluation, it does not matter what views students reach. However, their position must be supported by their arguments and examples.

0 6 **Feminism**

With reference to the feminist thinkers that you have studied, analyse and evaluate the extent to which feminism is compatible with equality.

[25 marks]

Indicative content

In the analysis and evaluation of the arguments, students may be expected to cover areas such as the following:

- explanation and analysis of the view that all feminists claim that a patriarchal society prevents the emancipation of women. That said, feminists are divided over their understanding of equality. Liberal feminists favour equality of opportunity whereas socialist feminists advocate a more egalitarian approach.
- An evaluation of the extent to which feminists differ over the actual basis of equality. Liberal feminists favour legal / political equality on the basis of quotas and laws to prevent gender discrimination. whereas socialist feminists view equality in terms of a more equitable distribution of wealth. They also differ over the significance of equality, with socialist feminists the more committed towards the goal. Such an answer could make reference to Sheila Rowbotham and the link between the oppression of women and the working-class.
- explanation and analysis of the view that radical feminists wish to free women from all instruments of patriarchy. They believe that female values are superior, and women may therefore disassociate themselves from men (e.g. via the abolition of marriage).
- explanation and analysis of Kate Millett's view that relationships between men and women may be based upon androgyny. Her argument reflects the 'politics of sameness.' In contrast, essentialists feminists celebrate the 'politics of difference.' The goal of the former is personhood, whereas the latter is associated with the goal of womanhood.
- An evaluation of how a small number of post-feminists have questioned the whole assumption behind biological differences. Some women may choose not to have children, perform the role of a surrogate or may not be attracted to men.
- explanation and analysis of Charlotte Gilman's support for a more equal division of domestic labour. Such observations may be contextualised alongside the politics of sameness / the politics of difference. Students may also make reference to bell hooks and her insights into intersectionality.
- An evaluation of the historical context in relation to the various waves of feminist thought, and the changing focus of the women's movement.

Students who make no reference to thinkers must not be rewarded marks above Level 2.

Synoptic links may be found in areas such as democracy, electoral behaviour, interest groups, media, party policies and programmes, and political agenda. Any response that does not include synoptic points cannot achieve above Level 4.

Students would not need to cover each and every one of the above points to gain high marks; equally, some may introduce further relevant points and these may be credited. The conclusion may clearly focus on the issue in question. In their evaluation, it does not matter what views students reach. However, their position must be supported by their arguments and examples.

0 7

Multiculturalism

'Multiculturalists are divided over how to achieve integration.' Analyse and evaluate this statement with reference to the multiculturalist thinkers that you have studied.

[25 marks]**Indicative content**

In their explanations and analysis and explanation of the statement, students may be expected to cover areas such as the following:

- explanation and analysis of how integration is a two-way process in which minority groups accept the laws and conventions of wider society without surrendering their own cultural traditions.
- explanation and analysis of how integration can be defined in three ways (individualist, multicultural and cosmopolitan). The former operates on the individual level, whereas multicultural integration refers to a social group. The latter may entail the protection of minority rights from possible domination from the cultural and ethnic majority. Such an answer could make reference to Will Kymlicka and his concept of group-differentiated rights.
- explanation and analysis that cosmopolitan integration claims that we all belong to a single community with shared values. Unlike individualist and multicultural integration, cosmopolitan integration claims that we may forge relationships on the basis of mutual respect. Citizens may be treated the same based upon moral universalism. They also embrace the process of globalisation and the end of the nation-state.
- An evaluation of how the various strands of multiculturalism offer different ways of achieving integration. For instance, liberal multiculturalism favours laws to prevent the tyranny of the majority. They also advocate a hyphenated national identity.
- explanation and analysis of how pluralist multiculturalism views all cultures as equal, even if they do not adhere to liberal values. Pluralist multiculturalism seeks to avoid the liberal multiculturalist bias towards cultural imperialism. Such an answer could make reference to Isaiah Berlin's concept of value pluralism and how it permits the peaceful co-existence of different cultures and associated lifestyles.
- explanation and analysis of how cosmopolitan multiculturalism adopts a 'pick and mix' approach that champions cultural hybridity, multiple identities and a global citizenship. Some students may employ terminology such as soft v. hard multiculturalism, and the politics of difference (liberal multiculturalism) v. the politics of indifference (pluralist multiculturalism).
- Analysis of the practical problems with integration. For instance, Tariq Modood is opposed to those policies that force a secular identity upon religious minorities. Radical secularism cannot be secured without illiberal measures from the state. Students may also consider the problem of how to reconcile minority rights that are contrary to the broader values of society (as in France with Muslim groups and the ethos of laïcité).
- Analysis of any relevant contribution from multiculturalist theorists (such as Charles Taylor's insights into the politics of recognition). Taylor argued that a multicultural society may be based on an accommodation of plurality.

Students who make no reference to thinkers must not be rewarded marks above Level 2.

Synoptic links may be found in areas such as democracy, electoral behaviour, interest groups, media, party policies and programmes, and political agenda. Any response that does not include synoptic points cannot achieve above Level 4.

Students would not need to cover each and every one of the above points to gain high marks; equally, some may introduce further relevant points and these may be credited. The conclusion may clearly focus on the issue in question. In their evaluation, it does not matter what views students reach. However, their position must be supported by their arguments and examples.

0 8**Anarchism**

With reference to the anarchist thinkers that you have studied, analyse and evaluate the anarchist position on the use of violence to further political ends.

[25 marks]**Indicative content**

In their explanations and analysis and explanation of the statement, students may be expected to cover areas such as the following:

- explanation and analysis of how anarchists are divided over the use of violence to achieve a stateless society. Students may note that the division between pacifists and revolutionaries cut across the two main strands of anarchist thought - individualist anarchists (such as Max Stirner) and collectivist anarchists (such as Proudhon).
- explanation and analysis of the view that for pacifists, the killing of another (except in self-defence) is authoritarian and therefore incompatible with anarchism. Most anarchists are pacifists, and one of the most important moral arguments in favour of anarchism is the eradication of (state-imposed) violence.
- Analysis of the view that anarchists who advocate violence to further political ends use terms such as the propaganda of the deed and reference to the syndicalist movement. Such an answer could make reference to Mikhail Bakunin's argument that anarchists must destroy the state in order to create a better society based on spontaneous order. Also expect reference to Emma Goldman's view that violence is a legitimate tactic towards the revolutionary struggle.
- An evaluation of the apparent contradiction between anarchism and the use of violence to further political ends. Students may note Proudhon's opposition to violent revolution with his view that anarchy is "order without power."
- explanation and analysis of the view that a number of anarchists believe that propaganda of the deed is required before we can abolish the state. Anarchists who support the use of violence to further political ends insist that the social condition of humanity must be vastly improved by revolutionary change before the state can be completely abolished.
- explanation and analysis of the view that many anarchists claim that the various agents of the state are unlikely to disappear voluntarily. As such, violence against the state is justified in order to make people conscious of the truly repressive nature of the state itself.

Students who make no reference to thinkers must not be rewarded marks above Level 2.

Synoptic links may be found in areas such as democracy, electoral behaviour, interest groups, media, party policies and programmes, and political agenda. Any response that does not include synoptic points cannot achieve above Level 4.

Students would not need to cover each and every one of the above points to gain high marks; equally, some may introduce further relevant points and these may be credited. The conclusion may clearly focus on the issue in question. In their evaluation, it does not matter what views students reach. However, their position must be supported by their arguments and examples.

0 9

Ecologism

'Ecologists are divided over the means to achieve a greener society.' Analyse and evaluate this statement with reference to the ecologist thinkers that you have studied.

[25 marks]**Indicative content**

In their explanations and analysis and explanation of the statement, students may be expected to cover areas such as the following:

- explanation and analysis of terms such anthropocentrism and ecocentrism. The main division between these two schools of thought centers upon their view of human beings and the political process.
- explanation and analysis that according to anthropocentrism, the goals of the green movement are achievable via engagement within the conventional political process. In addition, capitalism enables consumers to make informed decisions that protect the environment. Economic growth is fully compatible with the desire to create a more environmentally-friendly society.
- An evaluation of how capitalism and liberal democracy are barriers towards the creation of a better greener society. Their preference is for a zero rate of economic growth; and they are more critical of human beings. According to Aldo Leopold, humans are merely "plain citizens" with no more rights than any other part of the ecosystem.
- Analysis of terms such as light greens and dark greens. Light greens such as Rachel Carson offer practical solutions (such as sustainable management of resources) whereas dark greens adopt a more philosophical approach characterised by deep ecologism (e.g. the Gaia hypothesis of James Lovelock).
- explanation and analysis of Murray Bookchin and his stance of social ecology. Expect terms such as communalism, libertarian municipalism and assembly democracy. This may be compared to other thinkers within the ideology of ecologism (such as Schumacher and his support for small-scale production and empowerment of the people).
- An evaluation of minor strands of thought amongst ecologists (such as eco-socialism, eco-feminism, eco-anarchism) provided the candidates answer is relevant to the question set.
- explanation and analysis of the differences between the smaller strands of thought are upon how they identify the source of the problem, and their solution (such as the abolition of the state amongst eco-anarchists). Expect reference to relevant theorists (e.g. the eco-feminist Carolyn Merchant and the mechanistic view of nature adopted by men).
- An evaluation of the relationship between ecologism and the political process. Such an answer could reference the Green Party, environmental pressure groups and those organisations who advocate direct action. These may be supported within an ideological context.

Students who make no reference to thinkers must not be rewarded marks above level 2.

Synoptic links may be found in areas such as democracy, electoral behaviour, interest groups, media, party policies and programmes, and political agenda. Any response that does not include synoptic points cannot achieve above level 4.

Students would not need to cover each and every one of the above points to gain high marks; equally, some may introduce further relevant points and these may be credited. The conclusion may clearly focus on the issue in question. In their evaluation, it does not matter what views students reach. However, their position must be supported by their arguments and examples.