

# Politics

## Answers and commentaries A-level (7152)

### **Paper 3: Political ideologies**

Marked answers from students for questions from the June 2022 exams. Supporting commentary is provided to help you understand how marks are awarded and how students can improve performance.

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## Answers and commentaries

This resource is to be used alongside the A-level Politics Paper 3 Political ideologies June 2022 Question paper.

### Section A

Levels of response mark scheme for 9-mark questions

#### Target AO1: 6 marks, AO2: 3 marks

Level	Marks	Descriptors
3	7-9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Detailed knowledge of relevant political concepts, institutions and processes is demonstrated and appropriate political vocabulary is used (AO1)</li> <li>Thorough explanations and appropriate selection of accurate supporting examples demonstrates detailed understanding of relevant political concepts, institutions and processes (AO1)</li> <li>Analysis of three clear points will be structured, clearly focused on the question and confidently developed into a coherent answer (AO2).</li> </ul>
2	4-6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Generally sound knowledge of political concepts, institutions and processes is demonstrated and generally appropriate political vocabulary is used (AO1)</li> <li>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)</li> <li>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).</li> </ul> <p>Students who only make two relevant points will be limited to this level.</p>

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<b>1</b>	1-3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Limited knowledge of political concepts, institutions and processes is demonstrated and little or no appropriate political vocabulary is used (AO1)</li> <li>• 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)</li> <li>• Analysis will take the form of description for the most part. Coherence and structure will be limited (AO2).</li> </ul> <p>Students who only make one relevant point will be limited to this level.</p>
<b>0</b>	0	Nothing worthy of credit.

## 9 mark Socialism question

### Question 1

Explain and analyse three ways in which socialist thinkers view human nature.

[9 marks]

### Mark scheme

#### Indicative content

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

- explanation and analysis of how all socialists consider human beings equal to one another from birth, therefore rejecting hereditary rule by monarchs
- explanation and analysis of how all socialists believe that humans are malleable and responsive to their environment. They also tend to have a positive view of human nature and consider them to be rational beings, who in the right conditions tend to be co-operative and fraternal by nature
- explanation and analysis of how revolutionary socialists emphasise the corrupting influence of capitalism on human nature and how it encourages personal greed over the collective good of society, and that ultimately the overthrow of capitalism is required to allow humans to reach their full potential. Students may further develop their explanation by referring to the work of Karl Marx and concepts such as “false consciousness” or “historical materialism”
- explanation and analysis of how revisionist socialist have questioned whether revolution is also a damaging influence on human nature. Students may develop their explanations by referring to the work of Beatrice Webb, and her analysis of the aftermath of the revolution in Stalinist Russia
- explanation and analysis of the social democratic view of human nature, which suggests that capitalism needs to be harnessed rather than eliminated for humans to reach their potential. Students may expand their explanation by referring to the work of Giddens, who advocated the benefits of consumerist society for the working class and the need for public services to be well funded to provide equality of opportunity.

Students are required to consider only three ways in which socialists 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 should be credited. If a student gives only one or two examples, they will receive a maximum of three and six marks respectively.

## Student responses

## Response A

One way in which socialists view human nature is as being naturally fraternal. Socialists believe there is the innate desire to share but that people are being held back by capitalism. An example of this is Luxemburg who believed women were underpaid and mistreated as well as enslaved under capitalism. This is significant as to socialists it's all about human nature's corruption because of capitalism.

Another way in which socialists view human nature is as inherently something negative but that can be redeemed. This is ~~seen~~ the view of thinkers like Marx and Engels who believed that humans are conscious of the damage of capitalism ~~and~~ as well as trying to better themselves would be able to achieve a more positive state of human nature. Therefore, this is significant as Marx and Engels saw a problem, an inherent flaw within human nature but at the same time ~~they~~ put out a solution to this ailment.

One final way in which socialists view is as corrupted by capitalism. Some socialists, if not most think the biggest problem within human nature is the selfishness and greed that a corrupt system of capitalism has brought about. An example of this is Webb a democratic/gradualist socialist who believed that throughout the dismantling of capitalism through time human nature would eventually improve to a better state. This is significant as it has got a different approach to (change) through time and slowly instead of radically and abruptly.

**This is a Level 2 response**

The student demonstrates some knowledge by correctly identifying three key thinkers, however this is not always fully developed with an accurate and detailed use of the key thinkers' ideas to illustrate the point. The answer is also repetitive as it makes the point that capitalism is corrupting on more than one occasion, this therefore means that the answer does not answer the requirement in the question to identify three ways socialist thinkers view human nature. The student therefore achieved 4 marks, the lowest mark in Level 2.

**4 marks**



## Response B

Marx & Engels view human nature ~~as~~ positively but framed by the society they live in. Historical materialism with the bourgeoisie controlling the means of production meant workers were unfulfilled, and could not thrive in a society in which they were controlled by the ruling elite. Therefore in order to draw upon the fraternity of humans capitalism will inevitably be overthrown as class consciousness will motivate humans to realise their exploitation and replace with a society based upon common ownership, reflecting the workers fraternal and co-operative nature. Therefore Marx & Engels <sup>as revolutionaries</sup> see the scientific approach to create an ideal society that humans could thrive in based on egalitarianism, which was not possible with ~~an~~ existence of capitalism.

Webb views human nature, as malleable, capable of replacing capitalism gradually with their fraternal nature. Webb similarly to Marx saw how capitalism corrupted human nature as it was the root of 'crippling inequality'. However as a deeply religious woman she saw the means of revolution that Marx advocated for ~~as~~ to replace capitalism, not a reflection of the positive view of human nature, ~~idea~~. Instead she believed humans were drawn gradually together to overthrow capitalism via the parliamentary route, in the age of



universal suffrage, <sup>with co-operation of</sup> ~~by which the~~ ~~media~~ humans, replacing capitalist structures with common ownership, drawing upon human fraternal nature, as a <sup>human, like</sup> democratic approach to an ideal society without the violence of revolution.

Finally, Giddens viewed humans positively, capable to thrive in a capitalist environment, dissimilar to revolutionary socialists. Instead he emphasised how capitalism promoted entrepreneurship, an environment where the individual could prosper, given that they would be taxed. However too, he focused on the importance of communities, in which had come undone during ~~de~~-industrialisation, so sought to protect these communities as they drew upon positive aspects of co-operation. Giddens as a revisionist socialist <sup>in contrast</sup> ~~emphasised~~ <sup>(not compatible with)</sup> ~~more positive~~ view of human individuality, however still emphasised fraternal nature like democrat.

### This is a Level 3 response

The response is well organised and clearly illustrates three different points about human nature accurately identifying three key thinkers, and their ideas, to develop points further. The accurate use of key concepts such as fraternity, gradualism, entrepreneurship, and de-industrialisation are impressively deployed in order to demonstrate excellent knowledge and understanding (AO1) to enhance analysis (AO2). This student achieved the highest possible mark on the question.

**9 marks**

## 9 mark Conservatism question

### Question 3

Explain and analyse three ways in which conservative thinkers view tradition.

[9 marks]

### Mark scheme

Use [Level of response table on pages 3 and 4](#).

#### Indicative content

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

- explanation and analysis of how conservatism was a response to the enlightenment ideas of political thinkers in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries in order to defend the existing order against revolutions as in France. Students may go further by explaining that conservatives have therefore often been advocates of preserving tradition and long-standing institutions. Students may expand their explanation by referring to the work of Edmund Burke
- explanation and analysis of how early conservative thinkers tend to view human beings as imperfect and therefore respect for long standing institutions of the state and church is a rational restriction of individual liberty to prevent violent anarchy of the state of nature. Students may develop their arguments by referring to the work of Thomas Hobbes
- explanation and analysis of early conservative thinkers who are not opposed to any change to tradition but are very sceptical of radical change. The idea that reform should be gradual and, where possible, to existing institutions. Students may refer to the work of Oakeshott to further develop their arguments
- explanation and analysis of how thinkers from the new right are sceptical about the value of tradition, instead arguing that the state and society should be organised to maximise individual freedom based upon legally enforceable rights. Students may develop their argument further suggesting that this often poses a threat to long-established institutions such as the church and monarchy, and also encourages a lack of deference to authority. Students may reference the work of Rand and/or Nozick to develop their answers.

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

## Student responses

## Response A

One way conservative thinkers view traditions is that we should change to conserve ~~the~~ <sup>our history</sup> system we currently have, that by looking back at how ~~the~~ ~~historical~~ a new monarch is crowned or Parliamentary institutions have stood up acted in certain times. This based on Rand's Change to Conserve approach.

A second way conservative thinkers view traditions is with a great need of change to conserve, these believe is we should not abolish ~~out~~ outright institutions such as UK monarchy rather make slow changes to how they are presented, a view held by Rand we should change <sup>slowly</sup> ~~as~~ needed rather than fully.

Final way conservative thinkers view traditions, that we should stop immigration keeping the culture we already have preserving it.

**This is a Level 1 response**

The student does identify a relevant concept "change to conserve". However there are several inaccuracies which do not receive credit, for example in the use of Rand as a key thinker. The points that are made lack meaningful development. The answer is therefore limited, and it is a mid-level 1 response.

**2 marks**



## Response B

All conservatives justify tradition to some extent to promote order.

Hobbes views tradition through the form of hierarchical institutions such as the church and monarch. This is due to his highly sceptical view of <sup>human</sup> nature, that without a strong authority to restrain the individual there would be war against every man. This stems from Hobbes being a fierce critic of the English revolution, seeing traditional institutions, such as the monarch vital in providing order because humans otherwise would be in chaos. Therefore, the supreme authority that should be vested in traditional institutions should be nurtured as they provided order; similarly to how neo-conservatives have traditional moral codes to provide order and stability in human life.

Burke viewed tradition as through a paternalistic approach, what nurtured humans. He saw the individual as fallible but species as wise, saw little platoons, or as important communities to nurture humans and prevent them from going astray. As Burke was profoundly against the abstract ideals the French revolution promoted, he advocated for the contract to protect living and dead as traditions allowed society to develop organically and needed to be protected to prevent disorder, fearing exactly the same as

Hobbes.

Finally, Oakeshott took the pragmatic response to tradition. Oakeshott was fiercely against abstract ideals, suggested humans prefer known to unknown therefore routine and tradition were important to guide the individual as they were the empirical approach. Oakeshott also saw the need for change to conserve in order to protect traditional institutions that could be undone with revolutionary sentiment. therefore reforms such as ~~1872~~ Disraeli's 1875 Public Health Act prevented working class revolting doing untold damage to society, therefore Oakeshott viewed paternalistic responsibility to nurture traditions as they provided order which ~~without~~ <sup>the destruction of</sup> would create chaos.

### This is a Level 3 response

This answer accurately uses three key thinkers correctly from the specification. The use of ideas is generally good, it correctly identifies the link between the Hobbesian view of human nature and the need for a strong state of existing institutions to preserve order, Burke's critique of the French revolution and Oakeshott's advocacy of pragmatism. This means that the answer scores well for knowledge (AO1). the analysis (AO2) could at times be better developed as the ideas discussed were not always developed well, for example pragmatism is explained as a defence of traditional institutions rather than the "tried over the untried" and "known over the unknown". The answer was a good response and achieved 7 marks.

**7 marks**

## Section B

25 mark Extract-based essay

### Question 4

Analyse, evaluate and compare the arguments made in the above extracts on the role of the state. In your answer you should refer to the thinkers you have studied.

**[25 marks]**

### Mark scheme

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

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

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



### Indicative content

In the analysis and evaluation of the significance of the nature of the state as made in the extracts, students should be expected to cover areas such as the following:

- analysis and evaluation of the importance of the state to conservative thinkers.
- comparison of how both Oakeshott and Rand argue that the state is needed to preserve order in society. For Oakeshott (Extract 2), students may consider the suggestion that “The enterprise is to keep afloat on an even keel.” Students may analyse and evaluate Oakeshott's view of human nature suggesting that it is the state that is required to enforce rules that otherwise individuals would be inclined to disregard. For Rand (Extract 1), students may consider that the point of the state is “to protect him from physical violence. A proper government is only a policeman, acting as an agent of man’s self-defence.” Students may analyse and evaluate this further by considering how this is both a justification of the state and a limitation of its scope.
- comparison of what both Oakeshott and Rand consider to be justification for the state. For Oakeshott (Extract 2), students may cite “men sail a boundless and bottomless sea; there is neither harbour for shelter nor floor for anchorage, neither starting-place nor appointed destination.” Students may analyse and evaluate this further by discussing how this argument suggests there is no inherent “state of nature” and that society is constantly evolving and therefore the role of the state is to adapt to these constantly changing circumstances. For Rand (Extract 1), students may cite “The only proper purpose of a government is to protect man’s rights”. Students may go on to analyse that Rand, like many other neo-conservative thinkers, draws on the idea of natural rights that focus of property and the absence of restraint on individual action. Students may develop their answers further by suggesting that therefore the state should be organised around a logical set of principles that may require radical reform of institutions.
- comparison of the nature of the state and its purpose as suggested by Oakeshott and Rand. For Oakeshott (Extract 2), students may cite “the seamanship consists in using the resources of a traditional manner of behaviour in order to make a friend of every hostile occasion.” Students may analyse and evaluate this further by discussing the need for pragmatism in government in the face of a constantly evolving society, and that for Oakeshott this meant acceptance of increased state intervention and the welfare state as a result of the events and changes to society in the 20th century. For Rand (Extract 1), students may cite “The only proper functions of a government are: the police, to protect you from criminals; the army, to protect you from foreign invaders; and the courts, to protect your property and contracts from breach or fraud by others, to settle disputes by rational rules, according to objective law”. Students may further analyse and evaluate this by suggesting neo-conservatives advocate a minimal state designed to protect property rights primarily. Students may further develop their argument by suggesting that from the 1970s onwards neo-conservatives advocated a significant reduction role in the state, and of state ownership and the provision of welfare in particular.

The analysis and evaluation of any political information is affected by:

- who the authors are – Oakeshott and Rand are famous and influential political thinkers
- the type of publication – philosophical texts aimed primarily at politically engaged readers
- the overt or implicit purpose of the author – to educate and persuade the reader
- the relevance of the extracts to a political issue or concern, and how representative the extracts are of a viewpoint. Students will be expected to address some of these factors in their analysis and evaluation of the extracts.

Students will be expected to address some of these factors in their analysis and evaluation of the extract.

In relation to the extracts for this question, students may also consider the context in which both Oakeshott and Rand wrote their theories and how this may have affected them. Both are 20th century thinkers and contemporaries of one another. Oakeshott's most prominent writing was in the post war period of the 20th century in Britain and was in response to the growth of the welfare state in Britain and the rise to prominence of social democracy as ideology in the UK and the Keynesian political consensus that had emerged between the major political parties. In contrast Rand was an American citizen who had fled Russia, and her work was heavily influenced by the threat, she perceived, that communism and other forms of socialism posed to individual liberty and the free market democracies of Western Europe and North America.

Students are required to analyse and evaluate the arguments presented in the articles.

Students who identify which arguments support which of the different views may be awarded marks for analysis (AO2). To gain marks for evaluation (AO3) students must assess the relative strengths of the differing arguments.

The analysis and evaluation must clearly focus on the arguments presented in the extracts.

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 should be credited. The conclusion should 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 articles, however complete their answer may otherwise be, cannot achieve above Level 2.

## Student responses

### Response A

4. there is often an argument as to how different conservatives view the extent of the role of the state with some like Rand arguing that it should only serve as a police man and protect the rights of those that it protects and that is it however others like Oakeshott believe that it should play a more active role in order to try and keep stability.

However first it is important to look at the provenance of both extracts. Extract one is written by Rand who was a neo-conservative this would lead to her focusing less on tradition and more on wealth as well as this Rand's family would lose their wealth and have to flee Russia after the revolution as it was taken away from them this would lead to her being against governments having lots of control which would lead to her favoring smaller roles for governments. However extract two is written by Oakeshott who was in favour of the government having more power this was because he was a traditional conservative who would focus on trying to keep traditions as well as this he would focus on pragmatism which would lead to him wanting the government to play a larger role as it would help keep stability in society.

In extract one Rand argues that "The only proper purpose of a government is to protect man's rights" this means that she believes that there should be freedom from the government and that it should not have control over people this means that it should only get involved if its citizens are threatened by internal or external this is backed up later in the extract when it says "A proper government is only a policeman" this means that it should only get involved to

use the laws to protect its citizens and that it means she argues for the government to “settle disputes by rational rules, according to objective law” which would mean that it only gets involved when a person is breaking the law. This is similar to fellow Neo-conservative Nowicki who also believes that the government should only get involved when a person is breaking the law but should not get involved in anything else however this is different to the arguments put forward by traditionalist conservatives like Burke and Hobbes as they believe that the government should have full control over its citizens this is because in Burke's case he believes that the government should protect and enforce traditions in society in order to keep them and in Hobbes' case because the state of nature is terrible so the government should have complete control over you in order to prevent you from slipping back into that state of nature which means that it can do whatever it wants.

However Oakeshott argues for the opposite as he believes that the government should play a large role in ensuring stability for its citizens this can be seen in the extract when it says “to keep afloat on an even keel” this shows that the purpose of a government is to keep society stable and prevent a revolution from happening this is because he believes in pragmatism and that you should not change something if it works this can be backed up later in the extract when it says “using the resources in a traditional manner” this shows that he believes the government should have a larger role in society in order to keep it stable and to stop any revolutions from happening. This is the opposite of what neo-conservatives like Nowicki argue as they believe that there should be as little government involvement as possible and that they should only get involved to enforce the law and protect from outside threats. However it is similar to the arguments of fellow traditionalist conservatives like Burke and Hobbes as they all agree on a large role for the government however there are some disagreements as Oakeshott believes in this because of pragmatism Burke believes in this in order

to enforce the social contract and keep the tradition alive for moral reasons and that society should only change to conserve which goes against Oakeshott's pragmatism as if something is not working then it should be changed in addition to this he would not be in favour of Hobbes's complete control for the government as that would stop the ability for things to change if they are not working.

The arguments that have been put forward show the difference in what the different thinkers in the conservative ideology believe when it comes to the role of the government with some favouring that of it having a small role and others of it having a larger role.

### **This is a Level 3 response**

This student obtains credit for their initial explanation of the two perspectives (Oakeshott's pragmatism and Rand's Neo-conservative libertarianism) in the extracts. They go on to develop this well by providing good analysis of why Rand held these views, they also attempt to do so with Oakeshott but less successfully, as the explanation of the context of his work is much less confident. The student also cites relevant quotes from the extract by Rand regarding the limited role of the state. However the use of the student's own knowledge is limited repetitively explaining Nozick held similar beliefs and then drifting from the focus of the question with a basic outline of other conservative thinkers on the specification which are not discussed in the extracts. The student does then make a comparative point Oakeshott's argument that the state should provide stability, providing a relevant quote. The analysis of this is again limited, as a questionable statement about "large" government is made about Burke and Hobbes. The answer would have scored more highly if it had focused on Oakeshott's ideas. The answer also makes repetition points about pragmatism. A brief conclusion validly restates the point already made in the introduction and therefore adds little to the credit already given for analysis and evaluation. The answer therefore achieved a low Level 3.

**12 marks**



## Response B

Extract 1 represents the New Right role of the state, <sup>as Rand saw</sup> ~~a state that~~ a state needed <sup>one</sup> to provide order, in order to protect the individual. ~~But~~ In Extract 2, Oakeshott too emphasises the need for the state to provide order but sees the role of the state as more hands on with the need to prevent revolutionary sentiment, and was starkly against the abstract ideas socialist and liberalism states aimed to create. Oakeshott instead emphasises the paternalistic and empirical approach of the state to prevent individuals going astray, which Rand would argue is a better role of the state as does not recognise the individual's self-regulation.

Firstly, both extracts see a role of the state to provide order. Rand, ~~sees~~ as a neo-liberal sees ~~the~~ human nature starkly more positive than traditional and one nation as they are ~~equipped~~ capable of self-regulation, ~~but~~ <sup>but</sup> therefore sees a role of the state to 'protect man's rights', this is because a state is needed to allow the individual to prosper, and it is states role to ~~protect~~ individual rights and allow them to protect their own rights, which is seen in Thatcher's New Right approach to rolling back the frontiers of the state but still enforcing a strong police force, ~~allowing~~ defending individuals own talents. However, Oakeshott too similarly saw a need for order but for different reasoning, more to prevent individual going

astray, where as Rand saw the individual capable to form it. Oakeshott saw the role of state 'in order to make a friend of every hostile occasion', which he saw necessary to prevent revolutionary sentiment as he was starkly against rationalism and utopian ideals that the French Revolution promoted, by seeing humans as imperfect, solutions based on rationality were doomed to fail, therefore the state needed to provide empirical approach, as humans couldn't be improved but simply prevented from doing bad, since the need for order. ~~Hobbes~~ Oakeshott built on the traditional conservative view of order however did not see the need for the strong authoritarian state Hobbes advocated for to provide order. ~~Hobbes~~ Oakeshott saw humans as malleable, Hobbes saw humans as so brutish that without a strong authority to restrain there would be war against every man. Therefore whilst both Rand and Oakeshott see the provision of the state to provide order as humans are imperfect, Oakeshott sees a more hands on approach, but not as authoritarian as Hobbes, to guide the individual ~~and~~ prevent revolutionary sentiment, where as Rand sees individual as self requiring. Therefore, Extract 1 and 2 contrast about the states role in guiding individual. Rand advocated a limited role of the state but to 'only a policeman'. as fleeing herself from Soviet oppression she saw that individuals not governments lay behind success stories, and hence was hesitant about an overpowerful



state. Rand's principle of 'objective law' demonstrates her belief of the individual's capability to self govern, leading her to conclude the state should not be present economically and socially, ~~due~~ due to her positive view of human nature allowing government to <sup>Ⓢ Rand contrast to Gov of existing state</sup> guide themselves. <sup>Ⓢ Rand from</sup> This is similar to Nozick's view who saw no need for the presence of state in individuals' lives economically and socially. As a libertarian, he justified individuals being able to keep their fruits of their labour, a direct attack at Rawls progressive taxation which he saw as theft, because he justified with his veil chamberlain argument that individuals were capable. However Oakeshott saw the state as present, justifying its need with the metaphor of a ship as 'men sail a boundless and bottomless sea.' therefore Oakeshott needed a state to be present but not authoritarian <sup>as</sup> <sup>Ⓢ</sup> humans were ~~are~~ imperfect, so the state was needed to keep society afloat, <sup>allow</sup> <sup>prevent</sup> society to develop organically and prevent untold damage to institutions that would create disorder. Burke similarly to Oakeshott saw the need for a paternalistic state but more emphasis on the duty of the ruling elite who had the wisdom to rule. Both Burke and Oakeshott <sup>Ⓢ</sup> feared the disorder ~~as~~ <sup>Ⓢ</sup> and anomy, <sup>Ⓢ</sup> but also the need for state to promote gradual change, championed by one nation disraeli, as ~~preventing~~ <sup>Ⓢ</sup> society from progressing would prevent disorder too.

Overall, whilst all conservatives, including both Rand and Oakeshott see the need for a state to provide order as humans are imperfect, Oakeshott puts more emphasis on a present state because he does not believe individuals themselves are capable of functioning alone. <sup>more realistic human nature</sup> Where as Rand sees the need for the state to fulfill individual through protection, not individual fulfill the state as Oakeshott.

### This is a Level 5 response

This answer is impressively organised and relentlessly focused on the question. It analyses both extracts well by discussing their provenance. It correctly identifies the perspectives from which both Rand and Oakeshott are writing from and relates this well to the arguments that are presented in the extracts in the opening paragraph. In subsequent paragraphs a relevant theme is identified with a quote from both extracts, for example the role of the state in providing order in the second paragraph. This approach means the student has effectively compared the two extracts by reflecting on what is similar, (the need for order) and what is different, (the new right perspective of protecting individual freedom versus the more traditional view of using pragmatism to “make a friend in every hostile situation”). The answer also only uses other thinkers when it is appropriate to do so in order to enhance understanding of the extracts. The answer also reaches an effective evaluation of the extracts in a logical conclusion, distilling the key contrast between the two perspectives. Such thorough and genuine comparison of the extracts meant that the answer is relentlessly focused. It achieved the top of Level 5.

**25 marks**

## Section C

Essay question

### Question 6

'The aim of feminism is to promote women's rights, not to eliminate gender difference.'  
Analyse and evaluate this statement with reference to the feminist thinkers that you have studied.

**[25 marks]**

### Mark scheme

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

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

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<b>3</b>	11–15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Generally sound knowledge and understanding of relevant political concepts, institutions and processes are used to support points made, though inaccuracies will be present (AO1).</li> <li>• Analytical points are made and developed in places, showing some balance, though some points are descriptive rather than analytical (AO2).</li> <li>• Synoptic links will be made, may be supported by examples, though explanation will lack depth (AO2).</li> <li>• Evaluation of the above leads to conclusions that are consistent with the preceding discussion, but that lack substantiation (AO3).</li> <li>• Relevant perspectives are commented on in the process of constructing arguments, though evaluation is lacking depth. (AO3).</li> <li>• The answer is organised, occasionally analytical and focused on the question as set (AO2).</li> </ul>
<b>2</b>	6–10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 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).</li> <li>• Analysis takes the form of description in most places, with some attempt at balance, though many points are unsupported assertions (AO2).</li> <li>• Synoptic links tend to be limited and undeveloped. (AO2).</li> <li>• Some attempt to draw conclusions is made, but these lack depth and clear development from the preceding discussion (AO3).</li> </ul>
<b>1</b>	1–5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relevant perspectives are identified, though evaluation will be superficial (AO3).</li> <li>• The answer shows some organisation and makes some attempt to address the question (AO2).</li> </ul>
<b>0</b>	0	Nothing worthy of credit.

### **Indicative content**

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

- analysis and evaluation of how some liberal feminists will emphasise the importance of foundational equality between men and women. Students may expand their answers by suggesting that it is a matter of individual preference as to how women lead their lives and that equality of opportunity rather than outcome is the main objective. Students may refer to the ideas of liberal feminist thinkers such as Gilman in developing their answers
- analysis and evaluation of how radical feminists view patriarchy as the main barrier to the emancipation of women. Students may develop their arguments by arguing that the traditional division of roles in both the public and private spheres by gender sustained inequality, and that these distinctions need to be ended to achieve true equality. Students may refer to work of de Beauvoir and/or Rowbotham in their answers
- analysis and evaluation of how radical feminists have suggested that heterosexual relationships and masculinity are considered as positive norms by society, which limits and denies the true liberation of women. Students may refer to the work of Millett in their answers
- analysis and evaluation of how feminism should not only consider the inequalities between genders but also how some women are more disadvantaged than others. Students may therefore argue that the extent of emancipation and women's rights should not merely be measured by gender differences in society. Students may refer to the work and ideas of bell hooks in developing their answers
- analysis and evaluation of concepts such as androgyny, sisterhood and intersectionality alongside various feminist perspectives
- analysis and evaluation of the extent to which both liberal and radical feminism concentrate on gender difference and legal equality. Students may also reflect on how the debate has shifted over time from legislation to societal change as a means of achieving equality.

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, interest groups, media, party policies and programmes, liberalism, socialism and conservatism. 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 should be credited. The conclusion should 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.



## Student responses

## Response A

6) the general argument around the question of whether "The aim of feminism is to promote women's rights, not to eliminate gender difference" is generally split between more radical views or newer views and slightly older views that rights are the only issue that stops gender equality. My general view is that the aim of feminism is to narrow the gap as much as possible between men and women and push society towards having structural equality.

One type of feminism that purely had the aim of obtaining rights particularly to vote is that of first wave radical or liberal feminism. This was and at the time radical view that women were just as rational as men and therefore should have the right to education, the right to property and the right to vote. This idea was came up with by Simone de Beauvoir in the 18th century. Some would say that this being the first aim of feminism, it must be the most important and is in ways that if women were never given suffrage or got employers rights to immediately fire a woman on the basis of her marrying removed then we wouldn't have feminists today demanding true equality in areas such as the gender pay gap. However others would argue that the 'gender difference' is what's holding it all back and to eliminate that through creating near equality will involve giving women sufficient rights to address this. Overall, I find

Another view of that this first type of feminism was much more rights focussed and thought that obtaining those rights would bring them equality. I think <sup>perhaps</sup> ~~they~~ <sup>they</sup> disagree with my view that feminism is more focussed on eliminating gender difference.

Another view held is the Post-Modern Feminist that women have now gained legal or structural equality but not social equality. This type of feminist will focus much more on the patriarchal system and how we are born into misogyny or conditioned at birth to think that women are inferior to men. Some will argue that this ideology is far more focused on changing society rather than doing anything rights based as the focus of post modern feminism

### This is a Level 2 response

This student opens with a valid analysis that one of the main aims of advancing women's rights is to achieve greater equality, therefore presenting some analysis of the question. The subsequent paragraph then goes on to give an explanation of which rights were initially by the feminist movement and how they had an impact on emancipation and equality. There is a somewhat confused reference to Simone de Beauvoir. An attempted evaluation at the end of this second paragraph is vague and unclear, therefore limiting the amount of credit that can be given for it. The answer ends with a brief discussion of postmodern feminism which is valid, but is underdeveloped, lacking in evaluation and the analysis is limited by the absence of reference to a relevant feminist thinker (which is a requirement of the question). This answer therefore could be best described as limited and was awarded the middle of Level 2.

**8 marks**



## Response B

Feminism has been an ongoing movement since the 19th century as it started fighting for women's freedom politically and legally as illustrated by the suffragettes. The second wave centred around the private lives of women and liberalism within that and the ongoing third wave focuses on the societal changes that must occur for women to be free. Thus ultimately the promotion of women's rights was an aim but the aim has grown more broadly to women's liberation and although gender difference is a prominent argument at the moment there isn't a singular aim of feminism as now there are many different branches of feminism.

Firstly liberal feminism illustrated by Charlotte Perkins Gilman argues for reforms to occur in order to reach women's freedom. Betty Friedan does say that gender differences have been so deep rooted into women's nature that we have begun to accept them thus reforms are necessary in attempt to overcome this. Therefore gender difference is shown to be prominent in the liberal feminist approach however they also tackle other issues as Perkins Gilman notes in her liberal way that the state can ensure women's freedom through providing education and work. And so there isn't an individual aim for liberal.

Secondly socialist feminists like Simone de Beauvoir and Sheila Rowbotham blame capitalism for the deep rooted issue of gender-difference because the state and the economy are dominated by white-males thus women have always been oppressed - so there is no chance of reform but a revolution is necessary in order to overcome the horror of capitalism as even Engels agreed women have been made to 'wage slaves' and Rowbotham describes women as 'The reserve army of labour' Therefore with capitalism at the root of the issue socialist feminists aim to overcome it rather than promote women's rights or eliminate gender difference because to them it all goes back to hand.

Thirdly, radical feminists do have a strong approach to gender difference - arguing it is the most prominent issue as at now as women's rights have already been promoted since the 1940s. as Shulamith Firestone relates men and women to the proletariat and the bourgeoisie - meaning there must be a revolution - whereas Kate Millet takes the approach that women can gain liberation from male oppression by engaging in lesbian relationships. But Mary Daly who

is also radical speaks on gender difference and says women must accept our difference with men and get over it! so radically there are many different responses to the issue of gender difference. - but clearly many radical feminism is a more prominent issue than promoting women rights.

Fourthly, post-modern feminists do tackle gender-differences rather than women rights because this like bell hooks argue that feminism has already achieved its aims so it's time to look at the bigger picture of oppression all over the world among black, white, woman + MEN!

Thus the post modern approach is a lot broader than just gender difference - but it expands + looks at gender difference in a different because it's not just white women against white men, it's deeper than that.

In conclusion, there are also difference feminists who say there is so difference of men + women for the most part. Feminists believe in androgyny so in regards to promoting women rights + gender difference I'd argue the promotion of women rights does

been argued since the 19th C of  
 gender-differences is a much  
 more prominent issue and  
 should be noted but I am not  
 in favour of the post modern  
 approach due to its broad &  
 indefinite stance

#### This is a Level 4 response

This student confidently introduces the answer by demonstrating a clear understanding of the evolving nature of feminism over time and therefore offers good initial analysis of how different perspectives of feminism have varied over time. The answer then goes on to discuss four different perspectives, all of which are relevant and gives a good explanation of key concepts such as androgyny, with reference to key thinkers from each perspective, for example Rowbotham and socialist feminism. Each section is also focused on the question in an evaluative sentence at the end of each paragraph. The conclusion that follows is logical and reaches a reasonable conclusion that differing feminist perspectives would view the promotion of Women's rights differently. The student does not fully develop their analysis and evaluation however, although the answer is well organised it reads as a list of perspectives rather than evaluation of the question set and does not address if rights or gender difference is the main aim, or indeed offer an analysis as to why this is the case. The answer could be developed further and was at the top of Level 4.

**20 marks**

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You can talk directly to the Politics subject team

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