

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS

Pre-U Certificate

**MARK SCHEME for the May/June 2010 question paper  
for the guidance of teachers**

**9770 COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

**9770/03**

Paper 3 (Ideologies and Philosophies),  
maximum raw mark 100

This mark scheme is published as an aid to teachers and candidates, to indicate the requirements of the examination. It shows the basis on which Examiners were instructed to award marks. It does not indicate the details of the discussions that took place at an Examiners' meeting before marking began, which would have considered the acceptability of alternative answers.

Mark schemes must be read in conjunction with the question papers and the report on the examination.

- CIE will not enter into discussions or correspondence in connection with these mark schemes.

CIE is publishing the mark schemes for the May/June 2010 question papers for most IGCSE, Pre-U, GCE Advanced Level and Advanced Subsidiary Level syllabuses and some Ordinary Level syllabuses.



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### Generic marking descriptors for sub-Q (a) [short essays]

- The full range of marks will be used as a matter of course.
- Examiners will look for the 'best fit', not a 'perfect fit' in applying the Levels.
- Examiners will provisionally award the middle mark in the Level and then moderate up/down according to individual qualities within the answer.
- The ratio of marks per AO will be 1:1.
- The weighting of marks for each AO should be considered, but this is reflected in the descriptor: marking should therefore be done holistically.
- Question-specific mark schemes will be neither exhaustive nor prescriptive. Appropriate, substantiated responses will always be rewarded.

<b>Level/marks</b>	<b>Descriptors</b>
3 15–10 marks	<p>ANSWERS MAY NOT BE PERFECT, BUT WILL SHOW EXCELLENT UNDERSTANDING OF THE TEXT AND RELATE IT STRONGLY TO THE QUESTION.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Excellently focused response that brings out the similarities and differences in the extracts in a sustained, point-by-point comparison that understands the views being expressed, relates parts to the whole seamlessly and answers the question convincingly.</li> <li>• At the top end, uses examples from beyond the two texts under discussion to amplify the explanation/provide context.</li> <li>• Towards the bottom, may be a little unbalanced in coverage yet the answer is still comprehensively argued.</li> <li>• Excellent understanding of relevant Political knowledge (processes, concepts, debates and/or theories).</li> <li>• Candidate is always in firm control of the material.</li> <li>• The answer is fluent and the grammar, punctuation and spelling are all precise.</li> </ul>
2 9–5 marks	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW REASONABLE UNDERSTANDING OF THE TEXT, OR RELATE A SOUND UNDERSTANDING LESS STRONGLY TO THE QUESTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Explanation that makes a solid attempt to respond to the question, identifying some of the substance of the comparison but does not make the comparison explicit (listing rather than juxtaposing points) and/or shows a limited understanding of the views.</li> <li>• No further examples and/or context are provided.</li> <li>• Limited understanding of relevant Political knowledge, illustrated with limited examples from the text under discussion.</li> <li>• Unevenness in the coverage of material.</li> <li>• The writing lacks some fluency, but on the whole shows an accuracy in grammar, punctuation and spelling.</li> </ul>
1 4–0 marks	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW LITTLE UNDERSTANDING OF THE TEXT AND LITTLE ATTEMPT TO RELATE TO THE QUESTION.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Only the most basic comparison between the passages and the most basic understanding of the similarities/differences. There is little or no engagement with the question.</li> <li>• Little if any engagement with the material. The answer may paraphrase the passages and/or compare the factual material in them rather than the views that they offer.</li> <li>• Little or no awareness of relevant Political knowledge, with no sign of understanding.</li> <li>• The answer shows significant weaknesses in the accuracy of grammar, punctuation and spelling.</li> </ul>

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### Generic marking descriptors for sub-Q (b) [full essays]

- The full range of marks will be used as a matter of course.
- Examiners will look for the 'best fit', not a 'perfect fit' in applying the Levels.
- Examiners will provisionally award the middle mark in the Level and then moderate up/down according to individual qualities within the answer.
- The ratio of marks per AO will be 1:3.
- The weighting of marks for each AO should be considered, but this is reflected in the descriptor: marking should therefore be done holistically.
- Question-specific mark schemes will be neither exhaustive nor prescriptive. Appropriate, substantiated responses will always be rewarded.
- NB Answers are required to make critical use of Political ideas and texts studied during the course. Responses which fail to enter into critical discussion of ideas and texts are very unlikely to attain a mark above Level 1.
- Evaluation refers to the argued weighing up/assessment of factors in relation to their significance in explaining a issue or in explaining linkages between different factors.

<b>Level/marks</b>	<b>Descriptors</b>
5 35–29 marks	<p>ANSWERS MAY NOT BE PERFECT, BUT WILL SHOW SOPHISTICATED UNDERSTANDING OF THE QUESTION AND DRAW COMPREHENSIVELY FROM THE IDEAS AND TEXTS STUDIED IN THEIR RESPONSES.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Excellent focused critical analysis and full evaluation of ideas and texts that answers the question convincingly.</li> <li>• Excellent sustained argument throughout with an excellent sense of direction that is strongly substantiated by an excellent range of supported examples. Excellent substantiated conclusions.</li> <li>• Excellent understanding of relevant Political knowledge (processes, concepts, debates and/or theories).</li> <li>• Towards the bottom, may be a little unbalanced in coverage yet the answer is still comprehensively argued.</li> <li>• Candidate is always in firm control of the material.</li> <li>• The answer is fluent and the grammar, punctuation and spelling are all precise.</li> </ul>
4 28–22 marks	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW MANY FEATURES OF LEVEL 5, BUT THE QUALITY WILL BE UNEVEN ACROSS THE ANSWER.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A determined response to the question with clear critical analysis and evaluation of ideas and texts across most but not all of the answer.</li> <li>• Argument is strong and sustained, showing clear awareness/understanding, but parts are underdeveloped and/or the range of substantiating evidence is not even across the answer. Strong conclusions adequately substantiated. Description is avoided.</li> <li>• Good understanding of relevant Political knowledge.</li> <li>• For the most part, the answer is fluent and shows an accuracy in grammar, punctuation and spelling.</li> </ul>
3 21–15 marks	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A SOUND UNDERSTANDING OF THE QUESTION AND DRAW FROM THE TEXTS STUDIED IN THEIR RESPONSES.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Engages with the question although analysis and evaluation of ideas and texts is patchy and, at the lower end, of limited quality.</li> <li>• Tries to argue and draw conclusions, but not well sustained and supporting evidence is patchy. There may be significant sections of description.</li> <li>• Reasonable understanding of relevant Political knowledge.</li> <li>• The writing lacks some fluency, but on the whole shows an accuracy in grammar, punctuation and spelling.</li> </ul>

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<p>2</p> <p>14–8 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A LIMITED UNDERSTANDING OF THE QUESTION AND A LIMITED USE OF/REFERENCE TO TEXTS STUDIED.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Some engagement with the question, but analysis and evaluation of ideas and texts are limited/thin.</li> <li>• Limited argument within an essentially descriptive response. Irrelevance may characterise parts of the answer. Conclusions are limited/thin.</li> <li>• Understanding of relevant Political knowledge is limited and/or uneven.</li> <li>• The answer shows some accuracy in grammar, punctuation and spelling, but contains frequent errors.</li> </ul>
<p>1</p> <p>7–0 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW LITTLE UNDERSTANDING OF THE TEXT AND LITTLE ATTEMPT TO RESPOND TO THE QUESTION.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Little or no engagement with the question. Little or no analysis or evaluation of ideas and texts.</li> <li>• Little or no argument. Assertions are unsupported and/or of limited relevance. Any conclusions are very weak.</li> <li>• Little or no relevant Political knowledge.</li> <li>• The answer shows significant weaknesses in the accuracy of grammar, punctuation and spelling.</li> </ul>

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## 1 Liberalism and the individual

(a) Compare the views expressed in the two passages.

[15]

### General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for Examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected, but the question asks candidates to compare and answers in levels 2 and 3 need to show evidence of genuine comparison of the similarities and differences between the two passages. Answers might use matters of provenance, date and context to aid their comparison. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the comparison. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

### Specific

Candidates may argue that Passage A focuses on the role of the individual in achieving liberty, whereas Passage B emphasises the role of the state. This approach might provide the basis for a more detailed comparison of the passages.

Passage A argues that it is the spirit of self-help which is crucial in raising up the working class and that this spirit is of greater help than any other measure. Although it does not dismiss the role of the state, the passage does suggest that self-help is the most important factor. However, Passage B argues that the state has an important role to play in achieving liberty, but it does not dismiss the role of the individual. Instead, Passage B argues that the state is able to play a greater role than the individual in the development of liberty as seen through the growth in self-development. Passage A argues that the individual is able to raise people to higher levels of religion, intelligence and virtue and this would provide the individual with greater liberty. On the other hand, Passage B focuses on the importance of the state in providing the best opportunity for self-development which would allow liberty to be attained.

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**(b) Assess the view that liberty and equality are not compatible.**

**[35]**

**General**

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No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What is important is the quality of the critical analysis and degree of evaluation. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question. Further, they are required to refer to specific theorists to support their answer. Any answer that fails to do so cannot be given a mark above level 3.

**Specific**

Candidates should display knowledge and understanding of liberty and equality, showing how they have been defined. It is likely that some candidates will consider the difference between positive and negative liberty and may argue that negative liberty confers a meaningless freedom on the disadvantaged. On the other hand, it may be argued that positive liberty, through policies which enhance life chances increase liberty. Candidates might also consider the different types of equality such as civil/foundational, equality of opportunity and equality of outcome and their relationship to negative and positive liberty. Candidates might consider the effect of different definitions of rights upon liberty. There may also be consideration of the compatibility of positive liberty with equality of opportunity and outcome. There may be some consideration of the extent to which different forms of democracy affect the tensions between the concepts. Some may conclude with comments about the search, in practice, for a balance between all forms of liberty and equality. Some candidates may also refer to the effect of different political contexts on the relationship, for example peace and war. There is plenty of opportunity for candidates to make use of theorists to support their arguments and there may be reference to writers such as Hobbes, Locke, Green, Rawls and Berlin.

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## 2 Conservatism and the Nation

- (a) Compare the views expressed by both writers on the desirability of change in the political system. [15]

### General

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No set answer is expected, but the question asks candidates to compare and answers in levels 2 and 3 need to show evidence of genuine comparison of the similarities and differences between the two passages. Answers might use matters of provenance, date and context to aid their comparison. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the comparison. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

### Specific

Both passages highlight the dangers inherent in changing the political system, although neither rule out change. Passage A suggests that although change may remove some grievances, it should only be undertaken when it becomes clear that the existing order is untenable. Burke, Passage A also focuses on the dangers of too much change, suggesting that it should be gradual, natural and appropriate. Passage B, in a similar way to A, argues that change should only be pursued if it is also continuity. It focuses on the dangers of the growing view that anything that can be altered should be altered. Both passages suggest that too much change will threaten very institutions needed for stability and order. Passage A suggests that without the changes there would still be little loss of benefit for the people and that unless the benefits of the changes are great they should not be pursued. Passage B suggests that modern society has become obsessed with change for little perceptible benefit.

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- (b) **Assess the view that Conservatism is little more than a pragmatic response to events and should not be seen as an ideology.** [35]

### **General**

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No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What is important is the quality of the critical analysis and degree of evaluation. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question. Further, they are required to refer to specific theorists to support their answer. Any answer that fails to do so cannot be given a mark above level 3.

### **Specific**

Candidates will need to display a knowledge and understanding of the concept of Conservatism and of the main forms of Conservatism. They will also need to show an understanding of the concept of ideology. It is likely that some will examine the preference for pragmatism over theory. Candidates should also examine the differences between the main types of Conservatism and the extent to which the differences between the various types of Conservatism are greater than the similarities and the extent to which the relative importance of similarities and differences make Conservatism an ideology. Some may suggest that Conservatism changes its character according to the dominant ideology it is resisting. However, at a higher level, candidates will suggest that opposition to ideologies runs deeper than a mere suspicion of change. There may be consideration of Oakeshott's view that societies should not be directed to specific social goals. Most ideologies propose an ideal form of society, but conservatives see this as contrived and artificial. They may argue that, although conservatives do not oppose social improvement, it should be pursued in accordance with the emotions and traditions of the people. Ideological change is normally radical and conservatives are opposed to radical change, and they may refer to Burke to support their argument. They may also suggest that excessive attachment to ideology leads to tyranny and that revolutionary change removes traditional authority and stability, leading to disorder and even anarchy. Ideologies also have a fixed view of human nature, whereas conservatives see human nature as fickle and changeable, making all fixed political principles fundamentally flawed.



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### 3 Socialism and the Common Good

(a) Compare the views expressed in the two passages.

[15]

#### General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for Examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected, but the question asks candidates to compare and answers in levels 2 and 3 need to show evidence of genuine comparison of the similarities and differences between the two passages. Answers might use matters of provenance, date and context to aid their comparison. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the comparison. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

#### Specific

The original Clause IV, enshrined in the 1918 Labour Party Constitution, was evidence of a traditional socialist commitment. Passage A refers to common ownership, which meant public ownership and therefore wholesale nationalisation, whereas Passage B acknowledges this incompatibility with liberal democracy. Passage B focuses on the notion of community, preferring that usage to the idea of 'common ownership' as expressed in Passage A. The new clause was designed to bring the Labour Party in line with the values of social democracy, as is asserted in the new Clause IV. Passage A appears to suggest that nationalisation of the means of production was the ultimate aim of the Labour party, even if the methods were to be gradual and constitutional. Candidates might argue that the new Clause IV is more democratic and liberal and acknowledges the triumph of capitalism, but seeks to harness its benefits for all.

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(b) How far does the 'third way' differ from the fundamental ideas of socialism? [35]

### General

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No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What is important is the quality of the critical analysis and degree of evaluation. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question. Further, they are required to refer to specific theorists to support their answer. Any answer that fails to do so cannot be given a mark above level 3.

### Specific

It is possible that some candidates might suggest that 'Socialism is whatever a British Labour government does' and therefore suggest that the 'third way' does not differ from socialism. However, it is possible that candidates will suggest that the 'third way', established under Blair, has cut its bonds with the socialism established in 1918. Some might even suggest that there is no distinctive 'third way' ideology. However, there is a case to be made that the 'third way' is based on the socialist tradition and enriched by contemporary and socialist thought. The 'third way' does not accept selfishness and greed, but reaches back to the Christian and ethical socialism of the nineteenth century. The focus is on community and this should be strengthened by a sympathetic state. It adopts a communitarian approach, with one-nation socialism, marrying economic efficiency to fairness, the sovereignty of the people and the benefit of the many. The 'third way' does see a role for the state; as a regulator, enabler and deliverer of social guidance; but not as owner. It also proclaims equality, but it is equality of opportunity, rather than equality of outcome. The redistribution of wealth has only modest support; instead the emphasis is on improving the lot of the poor by full employment, a booming economy and compulsory training, rather than state handouts.

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#### 4 Democracy and its critics

- (a) Compare the views expressed in the two passages about the dangers of democracy. [15]

##### General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for Examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected, but the question asks candidates to compare and answers in levels 2 and 3 need to show evidence of genuine comparison of the similarities and differences between the two passages. Answers might use matters of provenance, date and context to aid their comparison. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the comparison. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

##### Specific

Candidates may argue that Passage A focuses on the dangers of the emergence of a demagogue where the masses have ultimate power, whereas Passage B focuses on the dangers of majority rule where absolute power can be attained. This approach might provide the basis for a more detailed comparison of the passages as the candidates examine the dangers of democracy.

Passage A argues that a demagogue can emerge where decrees have the ultimate force of law, rather than where the law is sovereign. In some ways, Passage B sees a similar type of danger as it also considers the misuse of power that can occur even where the majority make the decisions. In the same way that a demagogue can emerge and misuse power, as suggested in Passage A, so a majority can abuse the power bestowed on them. Passage B also argues that just because it is a majority it does not mean that power will not be misused. Both Passages suggest, B more directly than A, that in democracies there is always the danger of tyranny. Some answers might note that Passage A was written by Aristotle who would have witnessed the emergence of demagogues in Greek city states.

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**(b) Assess the view that democracy and dictatorship have little in common. [35]**

**General**

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No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What is important is the quality of the critical analysis and degree of evaluation. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question. Further, they are required to refer to specific theorists to support their answer. Any answer that fails to do so cannot be given a mark above level 3.

**Specific**

Candidates will need to show an understanding of the concepts of democracy and dictatorship and how they have been defined. Answers should show a clear understanding of these forms of government. Candidates may consider how government is selected in both forms and how, or if, they are held accountable. There may be some consideration of the different types of democracy and dictatorship. There may be consideration of where sovereignty is located in the two forms of government. Candidates may also consider the role of consent and participation in the two forms of government and the extent to which the two forms of rule can command obligation or claim legitimacy. There may also be a consideration of the relationship between the state and the individual, the treatment of opposition in the two forms of government. In seeking to examine similarities, candidates might suggest that dictatorships must address the demands of the people on some occasions and also the apparent dictatorial aspects of democracies, such as 'elective dictatorship' and 'the tyranny of the majority'.

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## 5 Global Ideological debates

- (a) Compare the views expressed in the passages about the economic impact of globalisation. [15]

### General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for Examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected, but the question asks candidates to compare and answers in levels 2 and 3 need to show evidence of genuine comparison of the similarities and differences between the two passages. Answers might use matters of provenance, date and context to aid their comparison. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the comparison. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

### Specific

Candidates may argue that Passage A gives a more positive view of the economic impact of globalisation than Passage B. Passage A focuses on the gains that will be made with the triumph of capitalism; this contrasts with Passage B, where the author sees the dangers that this would bring. This approach might provide the basis for a more detailed comparison of the passages as the candidate examines the impact of globalisation.

Passage A focuses on the triumph of capitalism, its triumph signalling the completion of globalisation. The author argues that this will result in significant economic benefits, whereas the author of Passage B focuses on the negative features that such a triumph would herald. Passage A argues that it would encourage trade, whereas Passage B suggests that market forces would have a significant negative impact as the market and competition would replace all other considerations. Passage A argues that the triumph of the market would bring further economic growth and that this would benefit all, but it does not specify in what areas. However, Passage B argues that the triumph of the market place could lead to the loss of jobs in certain areas; therefore not benefiting all and that other gains, such as welfare guarantees, could also be lost. The passage focuses on the harm that competition could bring to some areas or countries, damaging gains that had been made in other areas.

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(b) To what extent is environmentalism an ideology?

[35]

### General

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No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What is important is the quality of the critical analysis and degree of evaluation. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question. Further, they are required to refer to specific theorists to support their answer. Any answer that fails to do so cannot be given a mark above level 3.

### Specific

Some candidates may begin their answer by establishing an understanding of what is meant by an ideology. They may suggest that an ideology has a set of ideas which have coherence and propose the transformation of society in a fundamental way. Ideology therefore requires revolutionary change, which is created by positive and purposeful actions and is not gradual or natural.

Candidates may then use this against which to measure the different forms of environmentalism. Against this criteria, liberal environmentalism cannot be seen as an ideology. Although they share common values, they do not believe that any transformation of society and its structures are needed. They would argue that capitalism can be regulated and moderated to take environmental concerns into account. They do not seek to change the relationship between humans and nature in a fundamental way. Liberal environmentalists keep humans at the top. It might be better seen as a political movement, rather than an ideology.

However, some candidates might also examine ecologists and may suggest that shallow ecologists are not ideological, but radical ecologists are. Deep ecologists demonstrate both values and principles, as well as a liberated consciousness which gives their movement an ideological coherence. They want a fundamental change in social structures and propose a completely new attitude towards nature. There might also be some mention of those who combine environmentalism with other ideologies; anarchists, socialists and feminists in particular, and these can certainly be seen as ideologues. They have linked social revolution to fundamental changes in humankind's relationship with the natural environment.

Overall, candidates may conclude that liberal environmentalism is not in any sense ideological; that a weak case can be made for describing shallow ecologists in such terms; but that deep ecology certainly is an ideological movement.