

**MARK SCHEME for the May/June 2012 question paper
for the guidance of teachers**

9770 COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

9770/02

Paper 2 (Parties and Ideas), 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.

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

Cambridge is publishing the mark schemes for the May/June 2012 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 Papers 2 (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 3:2.
- 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.

Level/marks	Descriptors
5 25–21 marks	<p>ANSWERS MAY NOT BE PERFECT, BUT WILL REPRESENT THE VERY BEST THAT MAY BE EXPECTED OF AN 18-YEAR-OLD.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Excellent focused explanation that answers the question convincingly. • Towards the bottom, may be a little unbalanced in coverage yet the answer is still comprehensively explained and argued. • Excellent knowledge and understanding of relevant Political terms and/or institutions. Answer is comprehensively supported by an excellent range of concepts and examples that are used to sustain the argument. • Excellent substantiated synthesis bringing the explanation together.
4 20–16 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"> • A determined response to the question with strong explanation across most but not all of the answer. • High level of knowledge and understanding of relevant Political terms and/or institutions. Answer is well illustrated with a variety of concepts and examples to support the argument. Description is avoided. • Good substantiated synthesis.
3 15–11 marks	<p>THE ARGUMENT WILL BE COMPETENT, BUT LEVEL 3 ANSWERS WILL BE LIMITED AND/OR UNBALANCED.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engages well with the question, although explanation is patchy and, at the lower end, of limited quality. • Fair display of relevant political knowledge and understanding, but this tends to be used to illustrate rather than support the argument. Explanation starts to break down in significant sections of description • Synthesis is patchy in quality.
2 10–6 marks	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A LIMITED LINK BETWEEN THE QUESTION AND ANSWER.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some engagement with the question, but explanation is limited. • Limited explanation within an essentially descriptive response. • Patchy display of relevant political knowledge and understanding that illustrates rather than supports any argument. • Synthesis is limited/thin in quality and extent.

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<p>1</p> <p>5–0 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A CLEAR SENSE OF THE CANDIDATE HAVING LITTLE IF ANY ENGAGEMENT WITH THE QUESTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or no engagement with the question. • Little or no explanation. • Little or no relevant political knowledge. • Little or no synthesis.
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Generic marking descriptors for Paper 2 (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 1:2.
- 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. Answers may develop a novel response to a question. This is to be credited if arguments are fully substantiated.

Level/marks	Descriptors
5 50–41 marks	<p>ANSWERS MAY NOT BE PERFECT, BUT WILL REPRESENT THE VERY BEST THAT MAY BE EXPECTED OF AN 18-YEAR-OLD.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Excellent focused analysis that answers the question convincingly. • Excellent sustained argument throughout with a strong sense of direction that is always well substantiated. Excellent substantiated conclusions. • Excellent understanding of relevant Political knowledge (processes, institutions, concepts, debates and/or theories) illustrated with a wide range of examples. • Towards the bottom, may be a little unbalanced in coverage yet the answer is still comprehensively argued. • Candidate is always in firm control of the material.
4 40–31 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"> • A good response to the question with clear analysis across most but not all of the answer. • Argument developed to a logical conclusion, but parts lack rigor. • Strong conclusions adequately substantiated. • Good but limited and/or uneven range of relevant knowledge used to support analysis and argument. Description is avoided.
3 30–21 marks	<p>THE ARGUMENT WILL BE COMPETENT, BUT LEVEL 3 ANSWERS WILL BE LIMITED AND/OR UNBALANCED.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engages soundly with the question although analysis is patchy and, at the lower end, of limited quality. • Tries to argue and draw conclusions, but this breaks down in significant sections of description. • Good but limited and/or uneven range of relevant political knowledge used to describe rather than support analysis and argument.
2 20–10 marks	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A LIMITED LINK BETWEEN QUESTION & ANSWER.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited engagement with the question, with some understanding of the issues. Analysis and conclusions are limited/thin. • Limited argument within an essentially descriptive response. Conclusions are limited/thin. • Factually limited and/or uneven. Some irrelevance. • Patchy display of relevant political knowledge.

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<p>1</p> <p>9–0 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A CLEAR SENSE OF THE CANDIDATE HAVING LITTLE IF ANY ENGAGEMENT WITH THE QUESTION.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or no engagement with the question. Little or no analysis offered. • Little or no argument. Assertions are unsupported and/or of limited relevance. Any conclusions are very weak. • Little or no relevant Political knowledge.
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Section A: Parties and Ideas in the UK

1 Explain the term 'liberal democracy'. [25]

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 matters is the relevance and quality of explanation. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

The purpose of the question is to focus on explaining the term liberal democracy. Candidates do not have to include all the features in order to be awarded the higher levels. The explanation could include:

- **A form of representative democracy where elected representatives that hold the decision-making power are moderated by a constitution that emphasises protecting individual liberties and the rights of minorities in society**
- **Freedom of speech**
- **Freedom of religion**
- **The right to private property and privacy**
- **Equality before the law**
- **An emphasis on the rule of law**
- **Rights are guaranteed through various statutory laws**
- **The constitutions of most of the contemporary liberal democracies protect the rights of individuals and minorities, and prohibits the will of majority (majoritarianism), by almost eliminating that rule in practice**
- **Elections should be free and fair, and the political process should be competitive.**
- **Political pluralism and distinct political parties**
- **A liberal democracy may take various constitutional forms: In the UK for example a constitutional monarchy**

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2 Explain the concept of social justice.

[25]

General

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Specific

The purpose of the question is to focus on explaining the term social justice. Candidates do not have to include all the features in order to be awarded the higher levels. The explanation could include:

- **Social justice generally refers to the idea of creating an egalitarian society or institution that is based on the principles of equality and solidarity, that understands and values human rights, and that recognises the dignity of every human being**
- **Human rights and equality**
- **Economic egalitarianism**
- **Progressive taxation**
- **Income redistribution**
- **Property redistribution**
- **Equal justice, not just in the courts, but in all aspects of society**
- **The idea demands that people have equal rights and opportunities; everyone, from the poorest person on the margins of society to the wealthiest deserves an even playing field**
- **In the UK, any discrimination, quotas or favoritism on the grounds of sex, race and ethnicity is generally illegal in both education and employment**
- **Candidates may wish to discuss the writings of Smith, Rousseau and Voltaire**

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3 Explain the concept of positive discrimination. [25]

General

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Specific

The purpose of the question is to focus on explaining the term positive discrimination. Candidates do not have to include all the features in order to be awarded the higher levels. The explanation could include:

- **Positive discrimination refers to policies that take factors including race, colour, religion, sex or national origin into consideration in order to benefit an underrepresented group, usually as a means to counter the effects of a history of discrimination**
- **The focus of such policies ranges from employment and education to public contracting and health programmes**
- **Positive discrimination is action taken to increase the representation of women and minorities in areas of employment, education, and business from which they have been historically excluded**
- **A policy designed to favour some deprived region or minority and to redress, at least in part, uneven development**

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Full essays.

- 4 'A divisive and dangerous force.' How far do you agree with this view of nationalism in the United Kingdom? [50]

General

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Specific

The purpose of this question is to focus on a discussion of the perception that nationalism as a political concept is a dangerous phenomenon. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following include some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in Favour

- **Extreme nationalism equates to jingoism and preys on nascent racism**
- **Rise of British National Party and English Defence League in a local, national and European context**
- **Policies espoused are overwhelmingly racist, anti-immigration and intolerant, stirring up racial hatred**
- **Historical perspective can be used and nationalism too reliant on support of one cultural grouping goes against a pluralistic, democratic and multicultural society**
- **Anti-democratic, closely associated with fascism**
- **Economic nationalism negates benefits of free trade**
- **Associated with Republicanism and support for foreign powers**
- **Associated with extremism and violence e.g. the activities of the IRA and dissident republicans, Oldham riots 2001**
- **Nationalist activities in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland could lead to the end of the union**
- **Difficulties in Relationship with EU brought by UKIP and Eurosceptic wing of the Conservative party**

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Arguments Against

- **Self-government and devolution of power has led to positive outcomes in the constituent counties in the United Kingdom**
- **Cultural nationalism is a force for good in music, language and popular culture**
- **Nationalism encourages a sense of identity and wider political participation**
- **Positive role of democratic nationalist parties e.g. Plaid Cymru and SNP in Scotland, the positive role of Alex Salmond as first minister of Scotland**
- **The positive role of the SDLP in Northern Ireland and the sterling work of John Hume in brokering the ceasefire and the Good Friday Agreement**
- **The changes made by Sinn Fein and the positive moves by Martin McGuinness and Gerry Adams in using their influence with the IRA in effecting the ceasefire and in becoming part of the executive**
- **Nationalism promotes the distinct political orientation of the different parts of the United Kingdom whilst recognising the ultimate sovereignty of Westminster**
- **Sporting nationalism can be a unifying force**
- **Nationalism can be an all-embracing ideology, new immigrants feel part of their new country and absorbed into its culture**

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5 How important is the party leader in determining the ideological direction of his/her party?
[50]

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Specific

The purpose of this question is to focus on a discussion of the perception that the performance of the leader is the most important factor in determining the electoral fortunes of their party. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following include some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in Favour

- **Good leaders set the tone for the rest of their party and energise the party, especially at election time**
- **Wins approval of media and all constituents of the party**
- **Top down leadership essential to provide unity e.g. Blair and Thatcher**
- **Good leaders remodel the ideological direction of the party to make it electable e.g. in 1979 and 1997**
- **When leaders do not give ideological direction they are removed e.g. William Hague, Michael Howard, Ian Duncan-Smith and Gordon Brown and Neil Kinnock**
- **The youthful vitality of positive leadership of David Cameron and Nick Clegg and the overwhelmingly positive public image/support they enjoyed**
- **The weakness of the leader and mistakes made by him/her lose votes e.g. Gordon Brown in 2010**
- **Prospective electoral model sees the party leader as essential for future growth of the party**
- **Their increasing importance in a technical age e.g. TV debates in 2010 election**
- **Many voters specifically vote for the leader's ideological vision above everything else**

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Arguments Against

- **A myriad of other factors are far more important in determining ideological direction which include issues such as policy, economic and global trends**
- **Voters engage in tactical voting, protest voting and nonvoting, negating leader's ideological vision**
- **Partisan dealignment and class dealignment have nothing to do with the leader's ideological vision**
- **Incumbent governments lose face via unpopular policy which has nothing to do with the leader**
- **Pressure groups, trade unions and the business community have an increasingly important influence on issues affecting party**
- **Local issues not necessarily connected to the leadership of the party are increasingly important**
- **The retrospective model of voting behaviour minimises the role of the leader**
- **In a global society leaders are less important in a wider context. Leaders cannot always control the current of events e.g. the banking crisis of 2009**
- **The image of the party seen as a collection of its constituent parts rather than the narrow interests of the party leader**
- **Did negative perceptions of the relative performance of party leaders lead to a hung parliament in 2010?**

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- 6 'The political media are now part of the entertainment business and so report on politics in ways which entertain.' Discuss. [50]**

General

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Specific

The purpose of this question is to focus on a discussion of the view that the political media are in the entertainment business and reflect that in their political coverage. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following include some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in Favour

- **The rise of satirical/political TV programmes such as Mock the Week and Have I Got News For You (roles of Charles Kennedy and Boris Johnson)**
- **The increasing popularity of Private Eye and other satirical political magazines**
- **The importance of YouTube, Facebook, irreverent political blogs and Twitter in widening participation and entertaining in political terms**
- **Traditional broadsheets seen as stuffy, boring and irrelevant and a wittier alternative is needed**
- **The popularity of satirical cartoons e.g. Riddell in the Observer**
- **The influence of the print media increasingly important given the role of the tabloids in particular and especially the support of the Sun in 1997 and its abandonment of Gordon Brown in 2010**
- **The importance of political memoirs and diaries e.g. Clarke, Mullin, Mandelson and Blair in entertaining an eager public**
- **The influence of political writers such as Andrew Rawnsley**
- **The age of celebrity in which media and politicians have been forced to adapt to changes and public expectations**
- **The rise of the spin doctor and especially the crucial way in which Alastair Campbell transformed the role under New Labour; the director of communications has now one of the most important roles in the party**

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Arguments Against

- **The traditional print media is still highly respected and sales of the broadsheets reflect a serious engagement with the political issues**
- **Television and radio programmes such as the Politics Show, Question Time and the Today programme are paragons of serious political discussion**
- **All the major parties have websites, blogs and use devices such as YouTube and Facebook as a medium for political discussion**
- **Individual political correspondents such as John Humphreys, Nick Robinson, Adam Boulton and Tom Bradby have an excellent reputation for serious political discussion**
- **The influence of media barons and their control of all types of media reflect their interest in politics e.g. Rupert Murdoch, Conrad Black and Robert Maxwell**
- **Candidates might wish to take a historical perspective and argue that it has always been there, e.g. Punch in the Nineteenth Century**

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Section B: Parties and Ideas in the US

Short essays.

7 Explain the term 'third party'.

[25]

General

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Specific

The purpose of the question is to focus on explaining the term 'third party'. Candidates do not have to include all the features in order to be awarded the higher levels. The explanation could include:

- In US politics, a third party is a political party other than the Democrats or Republicans. The term minor party is also used in a similar manner
- Such political parties rarely win legislative elections, in large part because proportional representation is rarely used, and Congress has banned it for federal elections since 1967
- A similar situation occurs with the Presidential Electoral College where Electoral College votes are often given the candidate who receives a plurality of the vote, thus bringing up accusations that certain third party presidential candidates are 'spoiling' the election or splitting up segments of voters
- Candidates may be aware of the significant role played by third party leaders such as Ross Perot and Ralf Nader in recent Presidential elections
- Among the other challenges that third parties face in the United States, is the frequent exclusion from major debates and media coverage
- They are denied ballot access and have difficulty in raising campaign contributions large enough to compete with the two major political parties
- In the United States of America, there have been numerous 'third parties' which include the green party, the communist party of America, the constitution party and the libertarian party.
- Third parties also operate at state level
- In some categorizations, a party needs to have a certain level of success to be considered a third party. Smaller parties that win only a very small share of the vote and no seats in the legislature are often termed minor or fringe parties

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8 Explain the term 'libertarian'.

[25]

General

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Specific

The purpose of the question is to focus on explaining the term 'libertarian'. Candidates do not have to include all the features in order to be awarded the higher levels. The explanation could include:

- **The US Libertarian Party is the third largest party in the USA with over 200 000 members**
- **Libertarians support maximum liberty in both personal and economic matters**
- **They advocate a much smaller government**
- **One that is limited to protecting individuals from coercion and violence**
- **Libertarians embrace individual responsibility**
- **Oppose government bureaucracy and taxes**
- **Promote private charity and tolerate diverse lifestyles**
- **Support the free market**
- **Defend civil liberties**
- **Support a foreign policy of non-intervention, peace and free trade**

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9 Explain the term 'lame duck' President.

[25]

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Specific

The purpose of the question is to focus on explaining the term lame duck president. Candidates do not have to include all the features in order to be awarded the higher levels. The explanation could include:

- **In US politics, the period between (presidential and congressional) elections in November and the inauguration of officials early in the following year is commonly called the lame duck period**
- **A president is a lame duck after a successor has been elected; usually the outgoing president and president-elect embark on a transition of power**
- **A president elected to a second term is sometimes seen as being a lame duck from early in the second term, because presidents are barred from contesting a term four years later, and is thus freer to take politically unpopular action**
- **As the leader of his or her political party, the president's actions affect how the party performs in the midterm elections two years into the second term, and, to some extent, the success of that party's nominee in the next presidential election four years in the future**
- **Lame duck officials tend to have less political power, as other elected officials are less inclined to cooperate with them**
- **Lame ducks are also in the peculiar position of not facing the consequences of their actions in a subsequent election, giving them greater freedom to issue unpopular decisions or appointments**
- **The acid test: are presidents able to execute the programme that they were elected on?**

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Full essays.

10 'Race is still central to US Politics.' How far do you agree?

[50]

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Specific

The purpose of this question is to focus on a discussion of the view that race is still central to US politics. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following include some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in Favour

- **In proportional terms few non-white Senators and Congressmen. In 2009 1 Asian and 2 Hispanic Senators, whilst in the House 39 African Americans, 24 Hispanics and 5 Asians**
- **Obama only third non-white to be elected to Senate**
- **Lack of representation in Republican Party which is seen as WASPish and intolerant of minorities**
- **Non-whites geographically underrepresented in the South which has remained solidly red since the 1960's**
- **Rise of intolerant white groups such as Tea party, far right Christian groups and Neo-Nazi groups who reflect increasingly racist attitudes**
- **Fear of white middle class towards minorities and their attitudes prevalent especially on crime e.g. Los Angeles Riots**
- **Socio-economic position of minorities is poor in general terms**
- **Inter-racial tension between blacks and Hispanics and whites against all**
- **Reduced influence of affirmative action legislation e.g. California 1997 and Florida 2000**
- **Prior to 2000 reduced influence in the executive**
- **Minorities tend to be second tier in judiciary**
- **Ultimately the House, Senate, Cabinet and Supreme Court do not reflect the society they serve**

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Arguments Against

- **The election of Barack Obama in 2009**
- **The importance of affirmative action legislation**
- **The growing importance of the black/Hispanic vote which was vital in 2009. Huge numbers voted in the Presidential election and likely they will outnumber white voters in the near future**
- **The significant role of the NAACP and black pressure groups**
- **On the east and West coast minorities are well represented**
- **Since the 1960's the position of minorities has improved dramatically with positive legislation**
- **The role of Condoleezza Rice and Colin Powell as Secretaries of State in Republican administrations has been of huge importance**
- **In 2007 an African American James Clyburn was elected majority whip in the House of Representatives**
- **In 1997 there were 21 non-white minority Senators; by 2008 this had grown to 41**
- **In 2009 Obama's cabinet contained 7 minority groups**
- **Increasing minority representation in the Supreme Court e.g. Clarence Thomas in 1991**
- **Increasing numbers of black judges**

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11 'George W Bush's Presidency was a disastrous failure.' How far do you agree? [50]

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 matters is the quality of the evaluation and the argument. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

The purpose of this question is to focus on a discussion of the view that George W Bush's presidency was a disastrous failure. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following include some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in Favour

- **Foreign Policy in Iraq and Afghanistan alienated the international community, especially the UN, Germany and France**
- **Patriot Act 2001 seen as intrusive and overturned Article IV of the Bill of Rights**
- **Took extreme views on abortion and stem cell research**
- **Surrounded himself (and agreed with) Neo-Conservative executive and special advisers**
- **Poor public speaker prone to embarrassing mistakes (despite this he overcame Gore and Kerry in Presidential debates)**
- **Presided over financial crash**
- **Responsible for the disastrous Federal response to hurricane Katrina**
- **Energy policy limited (domestic support for it but global disaster)**
- **Failed to reform banks which were unregulated e.g. Freddie Mack and Fannie May**
- **Failure of 2008 Economic Stimulus Act**
- **Little social security reform and no medical/health care reform. Also USA witnessed rising obesity rates**
- **Rising crime/cut police budget and lead to public perception that the USA was less safe**
- **Failed to deal with Iran's weapons programme**

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Arguments Against

- **Two-term President**
- **Restored credibility of the Republican party**
- **Surrounded by unpopular executive such as Dick Cheney and Donald Rumsfeld who were more unpopular than the President**
- **Success of special relationship with Tony Blair where he showed his consensus tendencies**
- **Positives of post 9/11 Terror legislation where he took the fight to the enemy**
- **Success in Iraq**
- **Deposition of Saddam Hussein a good thing given his involvement in sponsoring terror**
- **Success of policy on Aids**
- **Promoted policies to limit human trafficking and sex tourism**
- **Low inflation and tax cuts led to sustained economic growth post 9/11**
- **Pro-life bills popular with many Americans**
- **Diversified cabinet with minorities such as Powell and Rice**
- **Just because you disagree with his policies/personality it does not mean he was unsuccessful**

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12 'Too much money is spent on the US Presidential election campaign.' Discuss. [50]

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.

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Specific

The purpose of this question is to focus on a discussion of the view that too much money is spent on US Presidential campaigns. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following include some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in Favour

- **In 2008 Obama opted out of public funded and recognised the importance of raising his own campaign money**
- **In 2008 McCain opted for public money and limited his appeal but when Palin joined race the bounce raised more cash**
- **Money wins influence in media terms and in convincing lobbyists, more raised more influence**
- **Use of internet, Facebook etc. showed what could be done, raising \$700 million for Obama campaign alone**
- **'Best Democracy money can buy' and 'money is the mother's milk of politics' concepts are very prevalent here**
- **Huge sums raised eventually leads to success for the victor as has been proved in historical terms**
- **The influence of money spent by third party candidates in the 2000 election and the way it distorted the election result**
- **Presidents formulate policy to please their electoral paymasters**
- **Too busy making money to concentrate on the issues**

Arguments Against

- **After 2002 McCain-Feingold Act restrictions were imposed**
- **Public funding of presidential campaigns is the norm**
- **Soft money limits**
- **Cash is spent wisely and scrutinised**
- **Free Television and internet has nothing to do with finance**
- **2008 recession saw death knell of unlimited campaign spending**
- **Presidents have wider issues to campaign on rather than concentrating on money making**