

MARK SCHEME for the October/November 2013 series

9770 COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

9770/02

Paper 2, 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 should be read in conjunction with the question paper and the Principal Examiner Report for Teachers.

Cambridge will not enter into discussions about these mark schemes.

Cambridge is publishing the mark schemes for the October/November 2013 series for most IGCSE, Pre-U, GCE Advanced Level and Advanced Subsidiary Level components and some Ordinary Level components.

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Generic marking descriptors: 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.
1 5–0 marks	<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: 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	ANSWERS MAY NOT BE PERFECT, BUT WILL REPRESENT THE VERY BEST THAT MAY BE EXPECTED OF AN 18-YEAR-OLD. <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	ANSWERS WILL SHOW MANY FEATURES OF LEVEL 5, BUT THE QUALITY WILL BE UNEVEN ACROSS THE ANSWER. <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 rigour. 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	THE ARGUMENT WILL BE COMPETENT, BUT LEVEL 3 ANSWERS WILL BE LIMITED AND/OR UNBALANCED. <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	ANSWERS WILL SHOW A LIMITED LINK BETWEEN QUESTION AND ANSWER. <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.
1 9–0 marks	ANSWERS WILL SHOW A CLEAR SENSE OF THE CANDIDATE HAVING LITTLE IF ANY ENGAGEMENT WITH THE QUESTION. <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

Short Essays

1 Explain ‘compassionate Conservatism’.

[25]

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. 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 ‘compassionate Conservatism’. Candidates do not have to include all the features in order to be awarded the higher levels. The explanation could include:

- Stressing traditional Tory values whilst looking to address perceived weaknesses in the following areas:
- Environmentalism
- Social justice
- This has occurred in concert with a playing down of Tory opposition to immigration and European integration.
- Support for Grammar schools and lower taxes.
- To provide incentives for marriage and proposals to discourage divorce and extra-marital cohabitation as a means of encouraging social stability.
- David Cameron has described compassionate conservatism in terms of trust, responsibility and inclusiveness.
- By empowering people and their communities.

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2 Explain ‘the Third way’.

[25]

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Specific

The purpose of the question is to focus on explaining ‘the Third Way’. Candidates do not have to include all the features in order to be awarded the higher levels. The explanation could include:

- A belief in the value of community.
- A commitment to equal opportunity.
- An emphasis on responsibility.
- A belief in accountability.
- The term ‘the Third Way’ refers to various political positions which try to reconcile right-wing and left-wing politics by advocating a varying synthesis of right-wing economic and left-wing social policies.
- It supports the pursuit of greater egalitarianism in society through action to increase the distribution of skills, capacities, and productive endowments, while rejecting income redistribution as the means to achieve this.
- It emphasizes commitment to: balanced budgets, providing equal opportunity combined with an emphasis on personal responsibility.
- Decentralisation of government power to the lowest level possible.
- Encouragement of public-private partnerships, improving labour supply, investment in human development, protection of social capital, and protection of the environment.

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3 Explain the term 'Liberalism'.

[25]

General

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Specific

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

- Liberalism is the philosophy committed to the ideal of limited government.
- Stressing a belief in Constitutionalism.
- The rule of law.
- The liberty of individuals.
- Freedom of religion.
- Freedom of speech.
- Freedom of the press.
- Freedom of assembly.
- Economic liberalism and a belief in the free market.

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Full Essays

4 Assess the values and policies of the Liberal Democrats.

[50]

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Specific

The purpose of this question is to elicit an assessment of the main values and policies of the Liberal Democrats. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following points suggest some of the arguments that could be included:

- An assessment of their economic policies such as no income tax on first £10,000, closing tax loopholes, and their support for joining the Euro.
- Their belief in opposing ID cards and promoting more personal liberty from the state. A positive immigration policy.
- Help poorest students go to university.
- Give patients the right to go private with healthcare reform and restructuring the department of health.
- Restore link between state pension and average earnings.
- Access to 20 hours of free childcare for children over the age of 18 months.
- Replace road tax with a national road pricing scheme.
- 100% clean energy by 2050 and push for strict international agreements on carbon emissions.
- No direct replacement for Trident.
- An inquiry in to UK involvement in torture.
- Cut the number of MPs.
- Electoral reform.
- Freedom bill to regulate CCTV and support the Human Rights Act.
- A fully elected Second Chamber.
- Greater power for Local Government.
- Fixed-term parliaments.
- Voting for 16 year-olds.

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5 'Extreme British nationalism threatens to harm our relationship with Europe'. Discuss [50]

General

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Specific

The purpose of this question is to focus on a discussion of the perception that extreme British nationalism threatens to harm our relationship with Europe. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following points suggest some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in favour

- The rise of the UK Independence Party.
- Backbench Tory revolts over the increasing power of European institutions.
- The growth of the English Defence League and the British National Party.
- Controversies over an open-door European immigration policy.
- Controversies over various ECHR judgements.
- Public are generally Eurosceptic.
- Lack of influence regarding the European bailout.
- Marginalised role in European affairs compared to France and Germany.
- Personality clashes between Cameron and leading European leaders.

Arguments against

- Non-membership of the Euro regarded as positive given recent financial turmoil.
- Has helped Ireland in its economic difficulties.
- Britain regarded as economically competent, e.g. able to set own interest rates
- In Europe, but not controlled by it.
- Britain still has strong presence in any negotiations.
- Present policy is popular with the public, mostly anti-European.
- Britain has forged close alliances with equally Eurosceptic countries such as Denmark.
- The Liberal Democrats as coalition partners are pushing for a more European policy.
- Britain has still significant clout in European policy and enjoys major trading benefits and policies.
- Cameron's referendum veto.

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6 To what extent has the Labour party moved in a new direction since the departure of Tony Blair? [50]

General

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Specific

The purpose of this question is to focus on a discussion of the view that the Labour party has moved in a new direction since the departure of Tony Blair. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following points suggest some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in favour

- In terms of economic management the modern Labour Party is not prepared to support the elements of the economy that do not create real growth such as commodity traders and investment bankers.
- Ed Milliband has been associated with the idea of Blue Labour, distinguishing himself from previous leaders.
- The modern Labour Party wants the tax system to differentiate between those who create wealth and those who make profit.
- The modern Labour Party wishes to curb excessive pay at the top and promote responsible capitalism.
- The modern Labour Party is calling for a new value system to encourage hard work, care for communities and environmental concern.
- The modern Labour Party has placed social justice and the reduction of inequality at the top of its agenda.
- The key issue is a change in emphasis, not policy, although it seems that the party is gradually moving to the left on key issues.

Arguments against

- Like New Labour, the modern party talks about fiscal responsibility.
- The modern Labour Party condemns excessive trade union power and strikes as did New Labour.
- On welfare reform there is no real distinction, both committed to making work pay.
- Both New Labour and the modern party are committed to improving and spending money on education and health reform
- The modern Party is communitarian, a key principle of New Labour.
- The modern Party still believes in free market capitalism.
- The modern Party is still committed to individualism.

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Section B: Parties and Ideas in the US

Short essays

7 Explain the importance of the media in US politics.

[25]

General

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Specific

The purpose of the question is to focus on explaining the importance of the media in US politics. Candidates do not have to include all the features in order to be awarded the higher levels. The explanation could include:

- The media is hugely important in shaping political thought in America.
- The rise of Glen Beck and Rush Limbaugh are testament to this, although they have had a negative effect on occasions.
- The growth of TV news channels such as Fox News on the right, and CNN on the left, have polarised opinions, leading to claim to the criticism that media coverage is driven by corporate interests. There is no formal censorship in the US.
- Both parties are forced to pander to big business interests which may not reflect majority views.
- The World Wide Web has shown innovative ways to reach voters via a radically changed news system.
- Newly empowering interest groups on the left and the right.
- By exposing candidate gaffes, boosting fundraising and reshaping the news cycle.
- Web-based political sites are coming of age and, in many respects, becoming as or more important than newspapers. Politico, the Huffington Post, Salon, Slate, the National Review Online, and the Wall Street Journal Online have, in just a few years, become key players in the coverage of elections and of policy making.
- The traditional broadsheets, however, such as the New York Times and the Washington Post, are just as influential as they have ever been, although some claim that political journalists have too cosy a relationship with the political elite.
- Perhaps the media over-glamorises the political establishment but the rise of YouTube and MySpace have transformed political campaigns such as Obama in 2008.
- The rise of Facebook and Twitter gives political activists a constant stream of news.
- The growth of political blogging has also added an interest in this area as well.
- Media omissions, distortion, inaccuracy and political bias in the US is something acknowledged by many outside the USA.
- An uninformed population means unpopular policies can go unchallenged

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8 Explain the importance of lobbyists in US politics.

[25]

General

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Specific

The purpose of the question is to focus on explaining the importance of lobbyists in US politics. Candidates do not have to include all the features in order to be awarded the higher levels. The explanation could include:

- The term originated in the 19th century when individuals would gather in the lobby outside a legislative chamber in hopes of meeting the Congressmen personally and persuading them to take a certain position on pending legislation.
- Lobbyists are 'spokespeople' and 'expert witnesses.' Any organization or individual can become corrupt or use money and influence for undue gain.
- The efforts to influence the votes of legislators grew in popularity and led to all manner of gifts, favours and campaign contributions in order to impact the outcomes of Congressional proceedings. Revolving Doors and Iron Triangles are also important.
- A lobbyist may be a member of a special-interest group, a professional willing to represent any group, or a private individual. The US began the process of regulating lobbyists with the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act of 1946, requiring that lobbyists register with the government and report contributions and expenditures.
- Lobbyists want to influence decisions made by legislators and other public officials and impact specific legislation that affects their industry or personal cause.
- Lobbyists are required to register with the Senate Office of Public Records in accordance with the Lobbying Disclosure Act (LDA) of 1995. As a result of cumulative attempts to regulate lobbying and reform unfair practices, all lobbying and other records are available for public inspection.
- In 2007, legislators expanded on these regulatory guidelines with the Honest Leadership and Open Government Act. Any lobbyist or lobbying organization that fails to comply with the Act is punishable by a civil fine of up to \$50,000.
- Registered lobbyists are also required to file quarterly activity reports with the Clerk of the US House of Representatives and the Secretary of the US Senate act.
- Lobbying itself is a fundamental right guaranteed by the Constitution. Lobbyists represent all points of view on issues and become an important part in public policy making.

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9 Explain the term ‘civil liberties’.

[25]

General

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Specific

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

- Civil liberties are rights and freedoms that provide an individual with specific rights such as the freedom from slavery and forced labour.
- Freedom from torture and death, the right to liberty and security.
- The right to a fair trial.
- The right to defend one's self.
- The right to own and bear arms.
- The right to privacy.
- Freedom of conscience.
- Freedom of expression.
- Freedom of assembly and association.
- The right to marry and have a family.
- Within the distinctions between civil liberties and other types of liberty, it is important to note the distinctions between positive rights and negative rights.
- The United States Constitution, especially its Bill of Rights, protects civil liberties. The passage of the Fourteenth Amendment further protected civil liberties by introducing the Privileges or Immunities Clause, Due Process Clause, and Equal Protection Clause.
- Human rights within the United States are often called civil rights, which are those rights, privileges and immunities held by all people, in distinction to *political* rights, which are the rights that inhere to those who are entitled to participate in elections, as candidates or voters.
- Before universal suffrage, this distinction was important, since many people were ineligible to vote but still were considered to have the fundamental freedoms derived from the rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.
- This distinction is less important now that Americans enjoy near universal suffrage, and civil liberties are now taken to include the political rights to vote and participate in elections.

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Full Essays

10 Analyse the reasons why some interest groups are more successful than others. [50]

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Specific

The purpose of this question is to analyse the reasons why some interest groups are more successful than others. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following points suggest some of the arguments that could be included:

- The ability of the interest group to achieve its central aims and objectives is based on a realistic appraisal of what its intended outcomes are.
- Public receptivity such as the NRA or AARP.
- Human resources such as size and membership. The bigger the better.
- Availability of technical skills.
- Material resources such as money, 'the best democracy money can buy', equipment and offices.
- Group members and their presentability to the public
- Insider knowledge and contacts with government at all levels, federal and state.
- Revolving Doors and Iron Triangles.
- Role of lobbyists.
- Methods used.
- The use of the media.
- The use of the internet.
- A global perspective.
- The perception of the party and president in power.
- Non-violent interest groups are usually the most successful.
- Those representing the middle classes are usually better served.

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11 Assess the importance of religion in US politics.

[50]

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Specific

The purpose of this question is to assess the importance of religion in US politics. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following points may suggest some of the arguments that could be included:

- Religion is important for both parties.
- Issues seen as religious, are important, such as abortion, stem cell research, civil marriage, gay rights and education in terms of segregation of Church and State and curriculum matters.
- Evangelical Christians strong in the southern bible belt with an increasingly important influence on Republican policy.
- 60 million Americans are 'Evangelical' Born Again Christians and 19 out of 20 Americans believe in God.
- This was illustrated by the controversy surrounding Mitt Romney's Mormon roots during the 2012 Republican Presidential campaign.
- Difficult to find many unaffiliated religiously minded senators.
- To enter politics it is preferable to be religious and beneficial to be a Christian.
- The importance of Supreme Court rulings on school prayer, abortion e.g. Roe v Wade, same sex marriage, death penalty etc.
- The courting of the Jewish lobby by both parties.
- The controversy over Obama's 'Muslim' roots.
- The religious nature of George W Bush's foreign policy when he talked about a 'holy war' and a 'Crusade' against Islam.
- Roman Catholics voted solidly for Bush given his views on abortion and stem cell research.
- The rise of the religious left is interesting, 'reconciliation not war'.
- The views of media analysts such as Rush Limbaugh and Glen Beck has an evangelical tone used for political purposes.

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12 To what extent do the Republican and Democratic parties follow aspects of liberalism? [50]

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Specific

The purpose of this question is to assess whether the Republican and Democratic parties follow aspects of Liberalism. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following points suggest some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in Favour

- The existence of Affirmative action policies.
- Freedom of speech is enshrined in the constitution.
- Economic liberalism, education and health care, especially with the Democrats.
- Democrats also follow pro-gay, pro-abortion, pro-civil marriage. They are also against the death penalty and environmentally friendly.
- Although Republicans are mostly anti-Liberalism, there are significant groupings within the party that espouse Liberal views such as the Republican Main Street Partnership, The Republican Leadership Council, the Republican Majority for Choice and the Log Cabin Republicans who are both pro-gay and pro-choice.
- Democrats tend to stress less economic freedom and more social freedom.

Arguments Against

- Mostly found in the Republican party.
- Post 9/11 increased surveillance and evidenced by the establishment of Guantanamo bay.
- Republicans are anti-gay, anti-abortion, believing in cutting back the frontiers of the state and libertarian.
- Religiously conservative and strongly in favour of law and order, the rule of law and firmly believing in a neo-conservative aggressive foreign policy as shown by Iraq and Afghanistan.
- Although Democrats are pro-liberal there are significant groupings within that party that are less liberal such as the Blue Dog Democrats; the McCain Democrats and the Democratic Leadership council described by one commentator as the 'Republican wing of the Democratic party'.
- The Republican stress more economic freedom and less social freedom