

MARK SCHEME for the October/November 2013 series

9770 COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

9770/03

Paper 3, 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 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.

Level/marks	Descriptors
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"> • 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. • At the top end, uses examples from beyond the two texts under discussion to amplify the explanation/provide context. • Towards the bottom, may be a little unbalanced in coverage yet the answer is still comprehensively argued. • Excellent understanding of relevant political knowledge (processes, concepts, debates and/or theories). • Candidate is always in firm control of the material.
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"> • 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. • No further examples and/or context are provided. • Limited understanding of relevant political knowledge, illustrated with limited examples from the text under discussion. • Unevenness in the coverage of material.
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"> • 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. • 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. • Little or no awareness of relevant political knowledge, with no sign of understanding.

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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.

Level/marks	Descriptors
<p>5</p> <p>35–29 marks</p>	<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"> • Excellent focused critical analysis and full evaluation of ideas and texts that answers the question convincingly. • Excellent sustained argument throughout with an excellent sense of direction that is strongly substantiated by an excellent range of supported examples. Excellent substantiated conclusions. • Excellent understanding of relevant political knowledge (processes, concepts, debates and/or theories). • 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.
<p>4</p> <p>28–22 marks</p>	<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 clear critical analysis and evaluation of ideas and texts across most but not all of the answer. • 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. • Good understanding of relevant political knowledge.

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<p>3</p> <p>21–15 marks</p>	<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"> Engages with the question although analysis and evaluation of ideas and texts is patchy and, at the lower end, of limited quality. Tries to argue and draw conclusions, but not well sustained and supporting evidence is patchy. There may be significant sections of description. Reasonable understanding of relevant political knowledge.
<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"> Some engagement with the question, but analysis and evaluation of ideas and texts are limited/thin. Limited argument within an essentially descriptive response. Irrelevance may characterise parts of the answer. Conclusions are limited/thin. Understanding of relevant political knowledge is limited and/or uneven.
<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"> Little or no engagement with the question. Little or no analysis or evaluation of ideas and texts. 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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1 Liberalism and the Individual

(a) Compare the views on the importance of toleration offered 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 needs 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 agree that toleration is important
- Respect for minorities
- Danger of tyranny of majority
- Passage B (Ortega y Gasset) states it is a right and Passage A (Mill) implies it.

(b) Assess the reasons why liberals support constitutionalism and consent? [35]

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Specific

- They provide safeguards for the people
- To preserve liberty, we need strict boundaries
- Without it, government will encroach on freedom and private lives
- Power is dangerous, and needs restraining
- Fear of arbitrary power
- Power can become concentrated in too few hands
- Fear of tyranny of the majority
- Limits jurisdiction of government, prevents arbitrary power and increased state power
- Fear of power of the state
- Defines rights of citizens, which is further safeguard
- Distributes power among government organs, therefore prevents too much power being concentrated in one body
- Allows citizens to amend the constitution, therefore changes need popular consent.

2 Conservatism and the Nation

(a) Compare the views on the importance of law and order offered in the two passages.

[15]

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Specific

- The vital role of law and order
- Without it life would be brutal
- It is the only way to achieve liberty, the law does not restrain freedom but preserves it. Passage A shows what can happen without it.
- View of human nature implied, needs law
- Passage B shows the benefits of civilisation; Passage A shows what would happen without it.

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(b) Assess the reasons why conservatives value hierarchy.

[35]

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Specific

- Humans are born into unequal circumstances, seen as natural and inevitable
- Some may argue conservatives have abandoned their view of hierarchy
- Some may link hierarchy to tradition and authority
- Humans need order given human nature, hierarchy will help to provide this
- Humans are self-seeking and competitive, would lead to Hobbes' description, hierarchy will help to prevent collapse of society
- Community needs security, which hierarchy will provide
- Tradition will help keep order
- View of human nature, pessimistic
- Individuals are not driven by reason, cannot be trusted
- Humans need strong government, and need benevolent rulers who have interests of society at heart as most are self-seeking
- Excess of popular democracy lead to poor government.

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3 Socialism and the Common Good

- (a) Compare the views on bringing about change in society expressed in the two passages. [15]

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Specific

The two passages offer contrasting views about how change should and will be brought about. They both come from socialist writers, but they represent respectively the revolutionary and evolutionary forms of socialism.

Marx (Passage A) argues that revolution is inevitable because of the deep antagonism between the classes and that revolution will be the only way to get those who have economic, and therefore political, power, to give up that power. However, Webb (Passage B) argues that the way to bring about change is gradually. He talks about 'slow and gradual' turning and therefore instead of advocating the violent overthrow favoured by Marx, suggests that it is possible to bring about social reorganisation bit by bit and through parliamentary means. Marx (Passage A) disagrees with this because he does not believe that those who have power will willingly relinquish it and the only way to change things is through complete revolution.

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(b) How authoritarian is socialism?

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Specific

Candidates should show an understanding of the concepts of socialism and authoritarianism. The approach taken may depend upon how they define socialist and whether they consider different forms of socialism. Where Marxism is considered, candidates may argue that the centralism associated with it does lead towards an authoritarian approach and might point to the idea of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat', however others might suggest that with the state withering away this is not the case and common interest would ensure that it is not authoritarian. Others may argue that there is the need to impose the Marxist state and point to the ideas of Lenin to support their view and argue that, in the short term, authoritarianism might be necessary.

Candidates might also argue that Marx and Engels moved the theory of socialism away from democracy and therefore Marxist societies, as opposed to other strands of socialism, have been highly authoritarian in practice. In the Marxist sense, revolutions are authoritarian events, which create a new state that differentiates between revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries, and this leads to the kind of insecurity and division that generates despotism rather than democracy. Communism, it can be argued, leads to authoritarianism, not just because communist states developed in unpropitious circumstances, but because Marxism itself contains pre-liberal features that necessarily generate dogma and dictatorial tendencies. However, this can be balanced against social democracy which is too uncritical of capitalism and the state and therefore accepts existing realities. In order to appear 'realistic' and 'constitutional', it tends to accept liberal democracy in ways that do not sufficiently address inequalities and concentrations of power. Candidates may argue that in order to transform society in the way envisaged by socialists, the state needs wide-ranging powers, and that this inevitably results in authoritarianism. This may be linked to the differences between revolutionary and evolutionary socialism.

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4 Democracy and its Critics

- (a) Compare the views about the difficulties of achieving a democratic state offered in the two passages. [15]**

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Specific

- Both passages see the illusion of democracy: contradictions and exploitation
- Workers not allowed to participate
- Need all systems to be democratic
- Theory and practice
- Democracy at work, needs to be achieved, instead, according to Lenin (Passage A), exploitation.

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(b) To what extent can dictatorship be justified?

[35]

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Specific

- Different types of dictatorships; traditional and totalitarian
- Efficient and effective state
- Democracy slow and ineffective
- Unification of the population
- Dictator personifies the people
- Respond to external threat
- Maintain internal order
- Qualities of the dictator
- Depend upon stage of political development, might help economic planning and development.

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5 Global Ideological Debates

(a) Compare the views on hierarchy in the natural world offered in the two passages. [15]

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Specific

- Passage A clearly denies any hierarchy in animal/plant kingdom whereas Passage B implies such
- Both stress interdependence, but Passage A more clearly (both use the word interdependence)
- Passage B stresses the conflict between instincts and ethics, but Passage A does not see the conflict
- Dismiss the idea of the pyramid, but replace it with the web.

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(b) To what extent do anarchists demand the impossible?

[35]

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Specific

- Utopian and impractical
- View of human nature is too optimistic
- Is equality and social justice possible? Issue of property and is it essential for a stable society?
- Drive for power and question of inequality, some who succeed and some who do not.
- All these views can be balanced: interaction of free individuals will lead to balance, give people liberty, and outcomes can be justified on that basis. There are problems today due to a flawed society, but it will work if we create a society based on co-operation, morality, justice and liberty. Through rational and moral education, people will create a just society.
- Lack a theory of history
- Lacks a coherent view of mankind
- Incoherent view of social order
- Lacks coherent conception of class.