

CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS

Pre-U Certificate

MARK SCHEME for the May/June 2014 series

9770 COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

9770/01

Paper 1 (Concepts and Institutions),
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 May/June 2014 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 Paper 1 (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 FEATRURES 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 &/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 & 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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Level/marks	Descriptors
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 for Paper 1 (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 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	<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.

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Level/marks	Descriptors
2 20–10 marks	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A LIMITED LINK BETWEEN QUESTION AND 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.
1 9–0 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 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 [UK]

1 Explain the term devolution.

[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 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 explain the term 'devolution'. Devolution could be explained as the grant of power by an upper level of government to a lower one. In contrast to federalism, where each tier has protected areas of power, a devolved government remains constitutionally subordinate to the government which gave its power and which could in principle revoke it.

Candidates could expand their answers to include a brief explanation of the three different institutions established in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Also, candidates could explain that there are three categories of power that can be devolved: namely

- **Administrative powers.**
- **Financial or fiscal powers.**
- **Legislative powers.**

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2 Explain the functions of the UK Cabinet.**[25]****General**

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Specific

The purpose of this question is for candidates to explain the functions of the UK cabinet. There are a number of functions that candidates could explain and they would not be expected to explain them all. The functions that they could include are:

- **Controlling the Government's agenda.**
- **Controlling Parliament's agenda.**
- **Dealing with crises and emergencies.**
- **Settling interdepartmental disputes.**
- **Allocating government expenditure.**
- **Policy formulation (government and party).**
- **Ratifying decisions formulated elsewhere.**

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3 Explain the importance of judicial independence.

[25]

General

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Specific

The purpose of this question is for candidates to focus on explaining the reasons why judicial independence is important. Some of the issues that could be included are:

- **The judiciary's role in protecting liberal democracy.**
- **The role of the judiciary, due to the fact that the UK has no codified constitution.**
- **Independence could be explained in terms of some notion of separation from the elected branches of government.**
- **Relationship with ECHR.**
- **The significance of the role of the judiciary, affected by membership of the EU.**

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4 To what extent has the House of Lords become more important? [50]

General

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Specific

The purpose of this question is for candidates to discuss to what extent the House of Lords has become more important in recent years. There are a range of issues that could be discussed and candidates should provide a balanced evaluation of the arguments. Answers should include appropriate evidence and examples from UK political issues.

1 Arguments that the House of Lords has become more important:

- **Recent reforms have made the House of Lords more credible.**
- **Discussion of further reforms has raised the profile of the House of Lords.**
- **Television coverage has improved the profile and image of the House of Lords.**
- **The role of the House of Lords in scrutinising legislation.**

2 Arguments that the House of Lords has not become more important:

- **House of Lords weak role in introducing legislation.**
- **House of Lords can always be forced to comply with the Commons majority.**
- **Creation of Supreme Court has reduced the legal influence of the House of Lords.**

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5 'Britain needs a codified constitution.' Discuss.

[50]

General

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Specific

This question requires candidates to provide a balanced argument for and against the need to have a written constitution in Britain. Answers could include the following:

A Arguments for a codified constitution:

- **Executive power. There is too much power invested in the Executive. A new constitutional settlement is needed to disperse power more widely.**
- **Centralisation. There is too much power centred in London. Need to continue to develop devolution and regionalisation.**
- **The prerogative powers of the government are uncontrolled and often abused.**
- **The rights of citizens and groups have been eroded and continue to be threatened by government.**

B Arguments against a codified constitution:

- **Government would lose its power to be able to act decisively.**
- **There would be loss of flexibility in the political system.**
- **The unelected judiciary would become more involved in the political arena.**
- **The sovereignty of Parliament would be weakened or even lost.**

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- 6 'The first-past-the-post system is the most effective electoral system for use in general elections'. How far do you agree with this view? [50]

General

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Specific

The purpose of the question is for candidates to evaluate the arguments put forward concerning the effectiveness of the first-past-the-post system. Candidates will need to consider 'effectiveness' in general elections e.g. for what is democratic accountability; good government, strong government etc. The following are some of the arguments that could be used:

Arguments that FPTP is effective in general elections:

- It is an easy system to understand.
- It produces clear and usually decisive results.
- A single party usually wins outright and, therefore, the doctrine of mandate and manifesto can operate.
- There is a strong traditional link between MPs and their constituencies. The single-member constituency system safeguards this link.

Arguments that FPTP is not effective in general elections:

- The system is undemocratic as it discriminates against small parties and does not give equal value to all votes, so undermines accountability and representative government.
- It encourages tactical voting and thus voter alienation.
- There is not the opportunity for voters to choose between candidates from the same party.
- Though the system produces a single MP to represent constituents, multi-member constituencies give people a range of representatives, and probably one from the party they support.
- There is controversy over the merits of single-party government.

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Section B [USA]

7 Explain what is meant by federalism. [25]

General

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Specific

The purpose of the question is for candidates to explain the concept of 'federalism' in the context of the USA. Candidates could provide a brief outline of the political theory concerning federalism and then show that the Founding Fathers provided a compromise between the legal theory and political reality in establishing the nature of US federalism.

The Constitution split sovereignty between the central institutions of government and states. Candidates could briefly explain the division of powers between the federal and state governments. There are three categories of power:

- **Powers exercised only by federal government. These include foreign policy, defence policy, trade regulations, currency regulations.**
- **Powers only exercised by state governments. These include taxation on property and goods, control of local government, control over city government.**
- **Powers exercised by both federal and state governments. These include enforcement of criminal and civil law, health care, welfare and housing, transport, taxation and education.**

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8 Explain the term clientelism.

[25]

General

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Specific

The purpose of the question is to explain the term 'clientelism' in the context of US politics. Candidates could provide a general explanation of the term, which is the exchange of goods and services for political support, with the practice allowing both parties to gain advantage from each other's support.

Answers could include reference to:

- **Patronage and its relationship with the political machine.**
- **The potential for corruption.**
- **Examples of clientelism in US politics.**

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9 Explain the role of the Senate.

[25]

General

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Specific

The purpose of the question is for candidates to explain the structure and role of the Senate. Candidates could include some of the following points:

- **The Senate's principle responsibility is foreign affairs.**
- **The role of the Senate in law making process.**
- **Senators tend to have greater status because they represent a larger number of people and serve longer terms of office and have more of a national profile. The Senate can offer a more effective starting point for those considering a presidential bid.**
- **The role of the Senate in Congress.**
- **Senators sit on Congressional committees.**

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10 'The media has had a detrimental effect upon US politics.' How far do you agree? [50]

General

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Specific

The purpose of this question is for candidates to discuss how far political activity has been influenced by modern media. There is a wide range of issues and evidence that candidates could consider. Answers should include a balanced argument.

Some of the issues that could be discussed are:

Arguments that the media has had a detrimental effect on US politics:

- **Role of media in dissemination and collection of information which is influenced by its role of agenda-setting news.**
- **The issues of 'influence and bias', 'public and private interest', 'secrecy and censorship' and 'freedom of information' that can influence the media's role in politics.**
- **Ownership of the media can adversely affect the role.**
- **The influence of money on the role of the media, particularly in election campaigns.**
- **Television has changed the character of US politics. It has elevated the role of the President.**

Arguments that the media has had a positive effect on US politics:

- **Media has improved the dissemination of information.**
- **The electorate is better informed and, therefore, assists the voter's choice in elections and the citizen's ability to hold politicians and administrators to account year-in, year-out.**
- **Investigative journalism has played a key role in making politicians more accountable to the people.**

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- 11 To what extent was the ‘separation of powers’ the main concern of the founding fathers when framing the US Constitution? [50]

General

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Specific

The purpose of this question is for candidates to discuss to what extent the issue of ‘separation of powers’ was the main concern of the founding fathers when they established the Constitution. It will be expected that candidates should include some explanation of the separation of powers at some point in their answer and then balance their evaluation of its importance in relation to other concerns of the founding fathers. Answers should include appropriate evidence and examples from US politics.

Other concerns of the founding fathers could include:

- **Concern that government should be based, in part, upon the representation of the people.**
- **Concern that representation of the people should take a constrained form. The Constitution promised a ‘republic’ that will be responsive but also responsible.**
- **Concern that there should be ‘limited government’.**
- **Concern that the constitution should be based on federalism.**

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12 'Presidents have become too powerful.' How far do you agree with this view? [50]

General

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Specific

The purpose of this question is for candidates to provide a balanced argument, which evaluates the powers of the President on the one hand and evaluates the constraints on those powers on the other hand. Candidates will need to evaluate the extent of those powers and provide a judgement as to whether the President has become too powerful. Candidates may wish to consider the changing nature of presidential power and the theories of presidential power. The range of issues for possible discussion includes:

A The powers of the President:

- Powers of the President are contained in Article II of the Constitution but the Founding Fathers did not spend as much time on the President's powers in comparison to those of Congress. Therefore, some presidents have interpreted their power more liberally than perhaps originally intended.
- The President is chief executive – responsible for the implementation of laws and policies.
- Therefore, the President is responsible for the Federal Bureaucracy.
- The President as chief legislator has taken on the responsibility for setting the legislative agenda for the federal government, including the Budget.
- The President is the Head of State and, therefore, is the chief diplomat. Therefore, the President is central to foreign policy and can negotiate treaties, appoint ambassadors. The president is responsible for the Intelligence Services.
- The President is Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces.
- The President has influence with the Judiciary through the appointment of Supreme Court judges.

B The constraints on the powers of the President:

- The President is limited to two terms in office.
- Laws and policies are approved by Congress, particularly the appropriations of funds e.g. military purposes.
- Appointments are ratified by the Senate.
- The Supreme Court may declare presidential actions as unconstitutional.
- Treaties need to be ratified by the Senate.
- Although there is no constitutional constraint, the bureaucracy can be difficult to manage as it can have power and aims of its own.
- Federalism.
- Vetoes can be overturned.