

CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS

Pre-U Certificate

MARK SCHEME for the May/June 2014 series

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 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: 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 &/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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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	<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.
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.

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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: Parties and Ideas in the UK

Short Essays

1 Explain the term 'partisan dealignment'. [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 partisan dealignment. Candidates do not have to include all the features in order to be awarded the higher levels. The explanation could include:

- A shift away from traditional partisan politics.
- A recognition that social class is no longer as important a factor in determining voting behaviour.
- Candidates may wish to comment on historical trends and note the changes made by Thatcher and Blair in facilitating this process.
- It may show evidence of voter volatility.
- An increase in tactical voting.
- An awareness that short-term factors are more important in voting behaviour.
- An increase in protest voting.
- The rise of voters supporting different parties in national, local and EU elections.

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2 Explain the key principles of socialism.

[25]

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Specific

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

- **An explanation of the theory or system of social organisation that advocates the vesting of the ownership and control of the means of production and distribution, of capital, land, etc., in the community as a whole.**
- **A system or condition of society in which the means of production are owned and controlled by the state.**
- **According to the socialist view, individuals do not live or work in isolation but live in cooperation with one another.**
- **Everything that people produce is in some sense a social product, and everyone who contributes to the production of goods is entitled to a share in them. Society as a whole, therefore, should own or at least control property for the benefit of all its members.**
- **Some may mention the specific changes in socialism in a UK context such as:**
- **The rise of the militant tendency in the 1980s.**
- **The reduced role of Trade Unionism.**
- **Changes in attitudes within the Labour party since Tony Blair such as the abolition of Clause Four.**
- **The new thinking associated with Blue Labour.**

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3 Explain what types of nationalism exist in the UK.

[25]

General

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Specific

The purpose of the question is to focus on explaining what types of nationalism exist in the United Kingdom. Candidates do not have to include all the features in order to be awarded the higher levels. The explanation could include:

- **The development of cultural nationalism as shown by Plaid Cymru and Cornish independence movements.**
- **Republican nationalism as shown by Sinn Fein and the SDLP in Northern Ireland.**
- **Ulster Unionism as a variant may be discussed.**
- **The rise of Scottish and Welsh nationalism – devolution and constitutional variants especially important given the referendum issue in Scotland.**
- **Far-right nationalism as evidenced by the BNP and the EDL.**
- **Anti-European nationalism as shown in the rise of UKIP and elements of the Conservative party.**
- **Candidates may also cite general theories such as a pride in the achievements of the nation, a belief in excessive patriotism or jingoism or a desire for national advancement or independence.**
- **Some may point to a policy or doctrine of asserting the interests of one's own nation, viewed as separate from the interests of other nations or the common interests of all nations.**

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Full essays

4 Assess the arguments for and against the state funding of political parties. [50]

General

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Specific

The purpose of this question is to encourage a discussion of the arguments for and against the state funding of political parties. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following points may suggest some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in favour:

- **Smaller parties would receive more support; a fairer system would emerge as a result.**
- **Smaller parties would receive equal funding.**
- **Ethical problems surrounding the nature and origins of certain donations would be resolved.**
- **The quality of opposition would improve.**
- **The success of the Political Parties, Elections and Referendums Act (2000) shows the concept is already succeeding.**
- **The Conservatives, for example, would be less reliant on multi-nationals for funding.**
- **Issue of Lord Ashcroft in 2010 election helping Conservatives despite his non-domicile status.**
- **The scandal of Michael Brown exposed fraud in donation to Liberal Democrats.**
- **The Neill and Kelly reports point a way forward.**

Arguments against:

- **Problem of who decides allocation of funds.**
- **Would tax payers be happy funding the BNP, for example?**
- **Individuals should be allowed to spend their money as they wish.**
- **Patronage has always been a feature of modern politics.**
- **Cost to the tax payer in times of economic austerity.**
- **The creation of a political cartel if smaller parties are excluded, e.g. exclusion of UKIP.**
- **The self-interest of the leading parties who have a close relationship with their backers.**

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- 5 'The most important reason for the emergence of New Labour was the fact that the Labour Party had suffered three successive electoral defeats.' Discuss. [50]

General

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Specific

The purpose of this question is to discuss whether three electoral defeats was the most important reason for the emergence of New Labour. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following points may suggest some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in favour:

- **Three successive electoral defeats had sharpened the mind in opposition.**
- **Loss of crucial middle-class support.**
- **The 1982 election and its particular example, 'the longest suicide note in History' mentality and its radical manifesto pledges.**
- **The excessive power of trade unionism.**
- **The negative impact of the Militant Tendency.**
- **The lack of unity in the party and the splits brought about by the Gang of Four and the emergence of the SDP.**
- **Defeats took place despite the centrist and reforming tendencies of Smith and Kinnock.**

Arguments against:

- **A respect for Thatcherite policies.**
- **The rejection of Clause Four.**
- **The emergence of dynamic personalities such as Mandelson, Brown and Blair.**
- **The development of alternative political philosophies such as the Third Way and Communitarianism.**
- **An appeal to the middle classes.**
- **An opportunity to neutralise the hard left and undermine the excessive influence of trade unionism.**
- **An opportunity to create a top-down rather than a bottom-up party.**
- **To reflect the political realities in late twentieth-century Britain.**
- **The success enjoyed by Bill Clinton's New Democrats in the USA.**

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- 6 'Political parties are no longer essential in our representative democracy.' How far do you agree? [50]

General

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Specific

The purpose of this question is to debate the view that political parties are no longer essential in our representative democracy. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following points may suggest some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in favour:

- **Low identification with voters, the end of class based politics and partisan dealignment.**
- **Low membership, a symptom of disaffection.**
- **Poorly funded, who wants to invest in failure?**
- **Rise of non-party voting, emergence of independent candidates, e.g. Dr Richard Taylor and Martin Bell.**
- **Attractiveness of alternative politics, pressure groups.**
- **Decline of deference.**
- **The perception that parties make no difference.**
- **Party performance, e.g. sleaze factor.**
- **Parties no longer in control of their own destiny, a prisoner of globalisation.**
- **The existence of the 2010 Coalition government might suggest that voters can't make up their mind on the importance of political parties.**

Arguments against:

- **Parties are a vital cog in a representative democracy.**
- **They recruit future leaders.**
- **They operate successfully at all levels of government.**
- **All the major decisions in parliament require party consensus.**
- **Alternative options such as pressure groups do not have wide-ranging influence.**
- **Parties represent our political history and tradition.**
- **They are evolving to meet the changing needs of society, e.g. the creation of the coalition government.**

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Section B: Parties and Ideas in the US

7 Explain the term 'Super-PAC'.

[25]

General

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Specific

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

- **Super-PACs are a new kind of political action committee created in July 2010 following the outcome of a federal court case known as *SpeechNow.org v. Federal Election Commission – a clarification of Citizens United v FEC (2010)*.**
- **Technically known as independent expenditure-only committees, Super PACs may raise unlimited sums of money from corporations, unions, associations and individuals, and spend unlimited sums to overtly advocate for or against political candidates.**
- **Super-PACs must, however, report their donors to the Federal Election Commission on a monthly or quarterly basis – the Super-PAC's choice – as a traditional PAC would.**
- **Unlike traditional PACs, Super-PACs are prohibited from donating money directly to political candidates.**
- **In the 2012 election campaign, most of the money given to Super-PACs came not from corporations but from wealthy individuals.**
- **The top 100 individual Super-PAC donors in 2011–2012 made up just 3.7% of contributors, but accounted for more than 80% of the total money raised.**
- **Examples include the pro-Romney Restore our Future and the pro-Obama Priorities USA Action.**

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8 Explain the term 'affirmative action'.

[25]

General

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Specific

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

- **Affirmative action calls for minorities and women to be given special consideration in employment, education and contracting decisions.**
- **Institutions with affirmative action policies generally set goals and timetables for increased diversity – and use recruitment, set-asides and preference as ways of achieving those goals.**
- **The issue arose after various Supreme Court judgements: Bakke (1978), Adarand (1995) Gratz and Grutter (2003) and Proposition 8 in California.**
- **The aim of affirmative action is to promote equality of opportunity.**
- **Individual American states (such as Missouri, California, Washington and Michigan) also have orders that prohibit discrimination and outline affirmative action requirements with regard to race, creed, colour, religion, sexual orientation, national origin, gender, age, and disability status.**

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9 Explain the two-party system.

[25]

General

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Specific

The purpose of the question is to explain the two party system. Candidates do not have to include all the features in order to be awarded the higher levels. The explanation could include:

- **A political system dominated by two major parties.**
- **In the USA this corresponds to the dominance enjoyed by the Republican and Democratic parties.**
- **Historically their influence can be traced back to the Nineteenth century.**
- **Their control takes place in all types of elections and they tend to control all organs of government.**
- **Their preponderance is due to such factors such as the winner takes all election system and the influence of money.**

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Full essays

10 'The USA is not a pluralist democracy.' How far do you agree?

[50]

General

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Specific

The purpose of this question is to discuss the view that the USA is not a pluralist democracy. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following points may suggest some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in favour:

- **Money becomes the all deciding factor, 'the best democracy money can buy'. Super-PACs in 2012 Presidential election; even then they were limited to a very small group of individuals.**
- **Interest groups tend to focus on specific issues rather than a wide range of issues in the common interest. Trade Unions are not powerful, for example.**
- **Interest groups are unelected and unaccountable.**
- **The USA is essentially a two-party state.**
- **The revolving door syndrome needs explanation.**
- **The K Street elite dominate.**
- **Larger interest groups such as the NRA tend to have too much influence.**

Arguments against:

- **Many access points for political participation exist at all levels of society.**
- **Pluralism adds vitality to a democracy.**
- **Interest groups such as the ACLU, AARP and the Sierra Club prove pluralism is working.**
- **Split-ticket voting evidence of voter choice.**
- **Interest groups are the route for wider participation in a democracy.**
- **The views of minorities are heard, e.g. affirmative action policies.**
- **Elite theory is not democratic per se.**

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11 'The increased importance of money has damaged US politics.' How far do you agree?
[50]

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Specific

The purpose of this question is to discuss the view that money has damaged US politics. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following points may suggest some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in favour:

- **The culture of money dominates Washington as never before; money now rivals or even exceeds power as the pre-eminent goal.**
- **It affects the issues raised and their outcome; it has changed employment patterns in Washington and it has transformed politics and subverted values.**
- **It has increased peoples' negative perceptions of politicians, e.g. the issue of Romney's tax returns and his business activities.**
- **More than ever, corporations or groups that want to influence Congress hire former Members of Congress or their aides as lobbyists, in order to ingratiate themselves with the current members. Iron Triangles and revolving doors.**
- **One major concern of Occupy Wall Street protesters across the country is getting corporate money out of politics. Corporate donations to both Democratic and Republican politicians have been growing each year.**
- **Presidential candidates are also vowing to raise more money than ever, rise of Super-PACs.**
- **It threatens democracy because for the candidate to be financed by certain people they must represent the interest of the person funding them.**

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Arguments against:

- **Money is a means to an end for politicians, not the end itself. The goal is getting re-elected, and money is needed to accomplish this goal. Money buys access.**
- **The increased importance of money in politics is generally acceptable as long as it does not violate any laws.**
- **Local elections now routinely cost tens of thousands of dollars. This money is used to rent office space, buy signs and bumper stickers, run TV and newspaper ads, and sometimes hire campaign staff. Modern campaigns are not cheap, and the reality is most of the time the candidate with the most money wins.**
- **For the average House race, candidates must raise about \$10,000 every week for two years just to be competitive.**
- **Money does not buy votes.**
- **Campaign contributions also do buy you a say on the politician's positions. The reality is that there is money on both sides of just about every issue, so politicians can find supporters regardless of what position they take.**

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12 Assess the reasons why US presidential campaigns are so long.

[50]

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Specific

The purpose of this question is to assess the reasons why US presidential campaigns are so long. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following points may suggest some of the arguments that could be included:

- **The importance of the invisible primary.**
- **Front loading.**
- **The primaries themselves.**
- **The approval needed from the national party convention.**
- **The final general election between final candidates.**
- **The Electoral College system encourages a long protracted campaign.**
- **The size of the USA.**
- **The importance of the campaign trail – being seen and touring the country.**
- **U.S. presidential campaigns not only are longer than they used to be, they are much longer than in any other industrialised democracy.**
- **Money is needed to sustain a lengthy campaign and it takes this length of time to raise enough.**
- **The United States Constitution stipulates clearly that Congressional and Presidential elections occur on fixed dates. These are unchangeable, and therefore can be seen far in advance.**