

**MARK SCHEME for the May/June 2010 question paper
for the guidance of teachers**

9770 COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

9770/02

Paper 2 (Parties and Ideas), maximum raw mark 100

This mark scheme is published as an aid to teachers and candidates, to indicate the requirements of the examination. It shows the basis on which Examiners were instructed to award marks. It does not indicate the details of the discussions that took place at an Examiners' meeting before marking began, which would have considered the acceptability of alternative answers.

Mark schemes must be read in conjunction with the question papers and the report on the examination.

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

CIE is publishing the mark schemes for the May/June 2010 question papers for most IGCSE, Pre-U, GCE Advanced Level and Advanced Subsidiary Level syllabuses and some Ordinary Level syllabuses.

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Generic marking descriptors for Papers 2 (short essays)

- The full range of marks will be used as a matter of course.
- Examiners will look for the 'best fit', not a 'perfect fit' in applying the Levels.
- Examiners will provisionally award the middle mark in the Level and then moderate up/down according to individual qualities within the answer.
- The ratio of marks per AO will be 3:2.
- The weighting of marks for each AO should be considered, but this is reflected in the descriptor: marking should therefore be done holistically.
- Question-specific mark schemes will be neither exhaustive nor prescriptive.
- Appropriate, substantiated responses will always be rewarded.

Level/marks	Descriptors
5 25–21 marks	<p>ANSWERS MAY NOT BE PERFECT, BUT WILL REPRESENT THE VERY BEST THAT MAY BE EXPECTED OF AN 18-YEAR-OLD.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Excellent focused explanation that answers the question convincingly. • Towards the bottom, may be a little unbalanced in coverage yet the answer is still comprehensively explained and argued. • Excellent knowledge and understanding of relevant Political terms and/or institutions. Answer is comprehensively supported by an excellent range of concepts and examples that are used to sustain the argument. • Excellent substantiated synthesis bringing the explanation together. • The answer is fluent and the grammar, punctuation and spelling are all precise.
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. • For the most part, the answer is fluent and shows an accuracy in grammar, punctuation and spelling.
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. • The writing lacks some fluency, but on the whole shows an accuracy in grammar, punctuation and spelling.

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Level/marks	Descriptors
2 10–6 marks	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A LIMITED LINK BETWEEN 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. • The answer shows some accuracy in grammar, punctuation and spelling, but contains frequent errors.
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. • The answer shows significant weaknesses in the accuracy of grammar, punctuation and spelling.

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Generic marking descriptors for Paper 2 (full essays)

- The full range of marks will be used as a matter of course.
- Examiners will look for the 'best fit', not a 'perfect fit' in applying the Levels.
- Examiners will provisionally award the middle mark in the Level and then moderate up/down according to individual qualities within the answer.
- The ratio of marks per AO will be 1:2.
- The weighting of marks for each AO should be considered, but this is reflected in the descriptor: marking should therefore be done holistically.
- Question-specific mark schemes will be neither exhaustive nor prescriptive. Appropriate, substantiated responses will always be rewarded. Answers may develop a novel response to a question. This is to be credited if arguments are fully substantiated.

Level/marks	Descriptors
5 50–41 marks	<p>ANSWERS MAY NOT BE PERFECT, BUT WILL REPRESENT THE VERY BEST THAT MAY BE EXPECTED OF AN 18-YEAR-OLD.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Excellent focused analysis that answers the question convincingly. • Excellent sustained argument throughout with a strong sense of direction that is always well substantiated. Excellent substantiated conclusions. • Excellent understanding of relevant political knowledge (processes, institutions, concepts, debates and/or theories) illustrated with a wide range of examples. • Towards the bottom, may be a little unbalanced in coverage yet the answer is still comprehensively argued. • Candidate is always in firm control of the material. • The answer is fluent and the grammar, punctuation and spelling are all precise.
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. • For the most part, the answer is fluent and shows an accuracy in grammar, punctuation and spelling.
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. • The writing lacks some fluency, but on the whole shows an accuracy in grammar, punctuation and spelling.

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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. • The answer shows some accuracy in grammar, punctuation and spelling, but contains frequent errors.
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. • The answer shows significant weaknesses in the accuracy of grammar, punctuation and spelling.

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Section A: Parties and Ideas in the UK

Short Essays

- 1 Explain what is meant by the 'New Right'. [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 'New Right'. Candidates do not have to include all the features in order to be awarded the higher levels. The explanation could include:

- **Reduced state intervention** by 'rolling back the frontiers of the state'.
- Radical **alteration of the relationship between the individual and the state** based on ideas of classical Liberalism.
- **Deregulated labour markets.**
- **Liberal private ownership.**
- Price stability via a **tight monetarist economic policy.**
- **'Quasi Presidential' style of Margaret Thatcher** based on confrontation not consensus.
- **Wanted an end to the period of consensus** and egalitarianism of the 1960s and 1970's.

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2 Explain the reasons why New Labour emerged.

[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.

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Specific

The purpose of the question is to focus on explaining why New Labour emerged. Candidates do not have to include all the features in order to be awarded the higher levels. The explanation could include:

- **Three successive electoral defeats.**
- Perception that Labour was **irrelevantly left wing in taxation, too unionised and unilateral.**
- **Too much power in the hands of individual constituents of the party** e.g. Trade Unions.
- **Some admiration of aspects of the Thatcherite revolution.**
- **Abolition of clause IV** accepted 'enterprise of market and rigour of competition'.
- **Realisation that class was no longer the basis of politics;** partisan dealignment.
- **Decline of manual workers and loss of industrial base.**
- **Personalities and leadership.**

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3 Explain the reasons why political parties have declined in popularity. [25]

General

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Specific

The purpose of the question is to focus on explaining why political parties have declined in popularity. Candidates do not have to include all the features in order to be awarded the higher levels. The explanation could include:

- **Low identification with voters**, the end of class 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.
- **Attractiveness of alternative politics, pressure groups**.
- **Decline of deference**.
- **Parties make no difference**.
- **Party performance** e.g. sleaze factor.
- **Parties no longer in control of their own destiny, a prisoner of globalisation**.

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Full Essays

- 4 'The modern Labour party is Thatcherism in new clothes.' Discuss the validity of this statement. [50]

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Specific

The purpose of this question is to focus on a discussion of the perception that New Labour is merely Thatcherism in new clothes. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following include some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in favour

- **Fiscal prudence** in the management of the economy.
- **'Quasi presidential' style of leadership** and control of the internal organs of the party.
- **Negation of the power of trade unions.**
- **Aggressive foreign policy and closer relationship with USA.**
- **Acceptance of privatisation.**
- **Stringent welfare reform.**
- **Abolition of clause IV.**

Arguments against

- **New Labour stresses 'Communitarianism' a positive view of the state's role.**
- **The change in policy was all about being re elected** so different in that sense.
- An emphasis on **social justice.**
- A belief in a **moral foreign policy.**
- Greater **constitutional reform.**
- An emphasis on a **modern adaptation of social democracy.**
- The **concept of a ministry of all talents, less personalised.**
- **Positive attitude to the EU.**
- **The passage of a Human Rights Act.**

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- 5 'Suspicions of financial malpractice in the funding of party campaigns would disappear altogether if the state became the sole source of finance.' How accurate is this view? [50]

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Specific

The purpose of this question is to focus on a discussion of the view that the funding of party campaigns would be fairer and less likely to be exposed to accusations of financial malpractice if it was under state control. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following include some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in favour

- **Smaller parties would receive more support**, a fairer system emerges 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.**
- **Labour more reliant on Trade Unions and Conservatives less reliant on multi nationals for funding.**

Arguments against

- **Problem of who decides who gets what money is available.**
- **Would tax payers be happy donating money to the BNP?**
- **Individuals should be allowed to spend their money as they wish.**
- **Patronage has always been a feature of modern politics.**

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- 6 'The Liberal Democrats remain weak as a force in British politics, yet liberalism has triumphed as an ideology.' How far do you agree with this interpretation? [50]

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Specific

The purpose of this question is to focus on a discussion of the view that although in electoral and influential terms the Liberal Democrats are weak this does not apply to liberal ideology. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following include some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in favour

- **Liberals have not been in sole power at Westminster since 1915.**
- **Electoral system and lack of finances works against them.**
- **Frustrations of the grass roots supporters** have lead to demise of Campbell.
- **Disappointed that they have not emerged as a third force.**
- **Divided over future orientation**, right versus left debate.
- **Free market economics under Thatcher.**

Arguments against

- **Liberals have significant influence in devolved government in Wales and Scotland.**
- **Similarly influential in local government.**
- **Their principles are admired above naked pursuit of power.**
- **Positive views regarding the leadership of Nick Clegg, a possible accommodation with Cameron?**
- **Popular policies.**
- **Yet Liberalism has been eclipsed by Conservatism/New Labour. Both of whom have paid lip service to the ideology, cherry picking the most suitable aspects of the ideology.**

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Section B: Parties and Ideas in the US

Short Essays

7 Explain the term 'invisible primary.'

[25]

General

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Specific

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

- The period before the actual primaries where candidates jostle for media coverage, support, in order to build momentum (or rather give the impression of momentum) moving into the actual primaries themselves.
- The period itself consists of fund raising numbers and opinion polls being used by the media to predict who the front runners for the nomination are.
- Candidates who raise the most money are going to appear the strongest, and as a result they will be able to raise even more money from people who hold back their donations until they have decided who they think are going to win.
- Polling and name recognition factor into the money primary because they show who has the support among likely voters.
- As candidates move up and down in the polls, the media contributes to the momentum they have going into the real primaries.
- Impact of invisible primary in 2008 Presidential election.

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8 Explain the difference between 'split-ticket voting' and 'straight-ticket voting.' [25]

General

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Specific

The purpose of the question is to focus on explaining the difference between 'straight- ticket' and 'split- ticket' voting. Candidates do not have to include all the features in order to be awarded the higher levels. The explanation could include:

Voting for candidates of the same party for multiple positions is called **straight-ticket voting**.

- For instance, **if a member of the Democratic Party in the United States votes for every candidate from President, Senator, Representative, Governor, state legislators and those running for local government that is a Democrat, this is considered straight-ticket voting.**
- In general, straight-ticket voting was a very common occurrence up until around the 1960's and 1970's. **Strong partisans i.e. strong party identifiers, have remained straight-ticket voters.** Since this time, this kind of voting has declined in the US among the general voting population.
- **Split-ticket voting:** differs in its practicality, it can be used to **vote tactically in a bi-partisan system by splitting the ticket.** In practical terms voting for different parties in different types of elections.
- **It also allows for a middle-ground between the two parties,** which is something of a necessity in a political system where 'issues' play such a crucial role in winning votes.

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9 Explain what 'political action committees' are. [25]

General

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Specific

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

- **A Political Action Committee, or PAC, is the name commonly given to a private group, regardless of size, organised to elect political candidates.**
- **Legally, what constitutes a 'PAC' for purposes of regulation is a matter of state and federal law. Under the Federal Election Campaign Act, an organization becomes a "political committee" by receiving contributions or making expenditures in excess of \$1,000 for the purpose of influencing a federal election.**
- **When an interest group gets directly involved within the political process, a PAC is created. These PACs receive and raise money from the special group's constituents, and on behalf of the special interest, makes donations to political campaigns.**
- **Contributions by individuals to federal PACs are limited to \$5000.** Corporations and unions may not contribute to federal PACs, though they may pay for the administrative costs of a PAC affiliated with the specific corporation or union.
- **Federal Multi-candidate PACs are limited in the amount of money they can contribute to other organizations.**
- **At most \$5,000 per candidate per election.** Elections such as primaries, general elections and special elections are counted separately.
- **At most \$15,000 per political party per year.**
- **At most \$5,000 per PAC per year.**

Under federal law, **PACs are not limited in their ability to spend money independently of a candidate campaign.**

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Full Essays

- 10 'A discredited and failing ideology.' How accurate is this view of Neo-Conservatism in American politics? [50]

General

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Specific

The purpose of this question is to focus on a discussion of the view that Neo-Conservatism is a discredited and failing ideology. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following include some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in favour

- **In foreign policy**, the War on Terror as entertaining Imperialist fantasies.
- **Domestically**, critics from the left take issue with what they characterise as its unilateralism and lack of concern with international consensus through organizations such as the UN and NATO.
- **Critics from the Right**. Libertarian conservatives are ideologically opposed to the expansiveness of federal government programs and regard neo-conservative foreign policy ambitions with outspoken distrust.

Arguments against

- Despite these instances, it still remains **an overwhelming ideological element in US politics**.
- The issues surrounding the 2008 presidential election and **its appeal especially in foreign policy**.
- **It is both insular and interventionist at the same time which makes it an attractive proposition by involving the US in global disputes to protect America's interests at home**.

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- 11 'Socialism has failed in the USA because it is incompatible with the American dream.' How far do you agree? [50]

General

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Specific

The purpose of this question is to focus on a discussion of the view that Socialism has failed in the USA because it is incompatible with the concept of the American dream. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following include some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in favour

- The **idea of economic equality is to some extent antithetical to the American Dream**, some immigrants didn't come to the country in order to make a fortune.
- The **entrepreneurial attitude of the American Dream, where it is potential which is important and not birth is antithetical to a system which hinges on the destruction and redistribution of rigid financial and hierarchical systems.**
- **The problem for American Socialism is that there isn't really anything to fight.**

Arguments against

- **The dominance of the two party state and lack of finance and media attention.**
- **Similarly, with this in mind the Socialists had/have nothing to offer a wider electorate other than ideological purity.**
- **With the advent of FD Roosevelt, Labour became such an integral element of the Democratic Party that there was no need to form another party.**
- **Third parties have no chance to gain representation at the national level in the United States.**
- **An ideology which requires a united work force, and a Country-Wide 'majority', has no hope in a localised political system.**
- **Its association with Communism.**
- **Politics in the USA can be characterised as being based on ethnicity rather than class.**

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- 12 'Public disaffection with the two main parties is the main reason why there are so many interest groups in the USA'. How far do you agree? [50]

General

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Specific

The purpose of this question is to focus on a discussion of the view that the growth of interest groups in the USA is due primarily to public disaffection with the two main parties. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following include some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in favour

- **The two parties are very much the same.**
- **Unpopular policies have turned voters away.**
- **Party conventions are now ceremonial; Presidential campaigns are candidate not party-centered.**
- **Each party is dominated by superficial politicians** who have witnessed the triumph of style over substance.

Arguments against

- Interest groups **are free standing and noted for their multi faceted approach** and perform representative, educational, scrutinising, monitoring and agenda building functions whilst looking to make government more accountable whilst decentralizing power.
- There are **literally thousands of interest groups that reflect this** e.g. abortion, OAP's, guns etc.
- Yet **the revolving door system which Lobbyists, PAC's and interest groups use is corrupt** with former Washington politicians buying influence.
- The **two main parties are very flexible in policy terms and each have strong organizations and are inclusive, relevant, make use of modern technology** and are useful to candidates and electors.