

**MARK SCHEME for the May/June 2011 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.

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

Cambridge is publishing the mark schemes for the May/June 2011 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 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. • The answer is fluent and the grammar, punctuation and spelling are all precise.
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. • For the most part, the answer is fluent and shows 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 accuracy in grammar, punctuation and spelling.

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<p>2</p> <p>10–6 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A LIMITED LINK BETWEEN THE QUESTION AND ANSWER.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some engagement with the question, but explanation is limited. • Limited explanation within an essentially descriptive response. • Patchy display of relevant political knowledge and understanding that illustrates rather than supports any argument. • Synthesis is limited/thin in quality and extent. • The answer shows some accuracy in grammar, punctuation and spelling, but contains frequent errors.
<p>1</p> <p>5–0 marks</p>	<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 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. • 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 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 accuracy in grammar, punctuation and spelling.

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<p>2</p> <p>20–10 marks</p>	<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.
<p>1</p> <p>9–0 marks</p>	<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

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

- **A political system where elected representatives put forward views in a representative organ of government known as a parliament. In that parliament the democratic trends of the country are practiced. The leaders and representatives in such a system acquire political power by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote.**
- **Democracy is a system of government whereby there is a separation of power.**
- **Competitive elections**
- **Freedom of political expression**
- **Freedom of speech**
- **Freedom of the press**
- **Citizens enjoy legitimised freedoms and liberties**
- **Accept the rule of law**

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2 Explain what the rights and duties of a citizen are.

[25]

General

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Specific

The purpose of the question is to focus on explaining what the rights and duties of a citizen are. Candidates do not have to include all the features in order to be awarded the higher levels. The explanation could include:

The rights of a citizen are.

- **Protection of the law**
- **The right to own property**
- **Freedom of movement**
- **Healthcare and social security in time of need**

The duties of a citizen are.

- **To vote in all elections**
- **To help the police deal with crime**
- **To get work and provide for one's old age**
- **To help the local community**
- **To become involved in major political and social issues**
- **To get involved in voluntary and charitable work**

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3 Explain what is meant by multiculturalism. [25]

General

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Specific

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

- **The acceptance of various cultural divisions for the sake of diversity that applies to the makeup of a specific place**
- **The celebration and recognition that distinct groups in society have a right to maintain distinct cultures and that there is no overarching thread that holds them together**
- **Equal status to distinct ethnic and religious groups**
- **The idea that no one culture is superior or perfect and can be strengthened by peaceful co existence and being able to learn from other cultures**
- **Integration, assimilation and co-existence should be at the forefront of this concept**

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- 4 'Tony Blair's legacy to the Labour party will be largely negative and divisive.' Assess this view. [50]

General

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Specific

The purpose of this question is to focus on a discussion of the perception that Tony Blair's legacy to the Labour party is largely negative and divisive. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following are some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in favour

- **The legacy of the Iraq war**
- **Presidential style government**
- **Use of spin doctors usurping cabinet colleagues**
- **Alienation of the left wing of the party via abandonment of clause four**
- **Undemocratic internal structure, top down rather than bottom up**
- **Embracing Thatcherite principles**
- **Gordon Brown continued the Blairite tradition in his unpopular premiership**
- **Long term economic problems handed on**
- **Falling party membership**
- **His policies increased the trend towards alternative politics**

Arguments against

- **Three successive electoral victories**
- **Unprecedented economic growth**
- **The Labour party needed to become more mainstream and acceptable to the middle classes**
- **Constitutional reform and devolved power**
- **Strong leadership over Iraq**
- **Britain became an internationally recognised power, e.g. intervention in Kosovo**
- **Reorganisation of the internal structures of the party**
- **Reduced power of the Trade Unions who had far too much power**
- **The left wing of the party needed to be curbed and clause four was anachronistic**
- **Increased the number of women in the parliamentary party**
- **Ended the conflict in Northern Ireland**

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- 5 'Political parties in the UK are out of touch and irrelevant to today's society.' 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 modern political parties are outmoded and irrelevant to today's modern society. A wide range will need to be discussed if they are to reach the highest levels. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following are some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in favour

- **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, e.g. Martin Bell and Richard Taylor**
- **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**

Arguments against

- **Aggregate common interests**
- **Promote civic values**
- **Promote a less selfish view of society**
- **Offer wide ranging policies**
- **Party policy affects millions**
- **Good party leaders can transform a society e.g. Thatcher and Blair**
- **Facilitate parliamentary changes**
- **Empower voters at all levels in a parliamentary democracy e.g. rise of multi party systems via devolution**
- **Mass membership bodies that seek to govern**
- **Leader selection**
- **Policy formation**
- **Vote getting**
- **Organise annual conferences and policy fora**
- **Parties react to and resolve a crisis e.g. significance of response to 9/11 and 7/7**

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- 6 'Conservatism represents a popular and relevant political ideology in contemporary Britain.' 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 Conservatism is a valid political ideology in contemporary Britain. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following are some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in favour

- **The positives of 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**
- **The principle of deregulated labour markets, welcomed by many**
- **Liberal private ownership especially during the Thatcher period**
- **The positive effects of price stability via a tight monetarist economic policy**
- **Changes made by Cameron have made the party electable again, caring capitalism and the big society idea**
- **Historically since the second world war seen as the natural party of government**
- **A flexible and adaptable ideology, constantly evolving as an idea**

Arguments against

- **'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 1970s, seen as a negative and unpopular by many**
- **Too much emphasis on business and the rich, less popular with working classes**
- **The party of England, grossly unpopular in Wales and Scotland**
- **Neglected the working classes; too much emphasis on a tight monetarist policy with its attendant consequences**
- **Three successive electoral defeats have severely dented its popular image**
- **Policies have been perceived to be extreme e.g. on Europe and immigration the 'nasty party'**
- **Conservative ideology has had to mimic New Labour to become popular and relevant again**

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Section B: Parties and Ideas in the US

7 Explain what is meant by Libertarian.

[25]

General

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Specific

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

- **A belief in maximising individual and economic liberty**
- **The maintenance of robust property rights**
- **That social order develops out of individual liberty**
- **A belief in minimising or abolishing the state**
- **That individuals have rights against forcible government interference**
- **A belief that the proper use of coercion used by a government is defensive or to rectify an error**
- **That governments are bound by the same social principles as individuals**

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8 Explain the role of political lobbyists.

[25]

General

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Specific

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

- **They can help influence the decisions made by governments**
- **They provide direct and individual access to policymakers for their paymasters**
- **They provide expertise on certain key issues**
- **They influence senators and congressmen on key policy issues**
- **Influence policy at state level**
- **They represent wealthy clients or interest groups on major issues**
- **Many have experience of politics and provide continuity**
- **Provide a two way communication between legislators and their organisations**
- **Sometimes write legislation and whip bills**
- **Their activities are covered by law, namely the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 and the Lobbying Disclosure Technical Amendments Act of 1998**
- **They can represent a variety of organisations including non profit organisations**

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9 Explain why trade unions are weak in the USA. [25]

General

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Specific

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

- **Pressure groups are far more powerful than trade unions**
- **Membership of American trade unions is declining**
- **Trade unions have little representation at the highest levels of power**
- **The idea of economic equality is to some extent antithetical to the American Dream, so trade unions less relevant**
- **The entrepreneurial attitude of the American Dream makes trades unions in America less appealing**
- **Disinterest in trade unions amongst young workers**
- **The erosion of organized labour's legal rights**
- **The need to concession bargain resulted in wage reductions and the curtailment of fringe benefits**
- **Divisions between unions e.g. in 2005 AFL-CIO affiliates broke from the rest of the labour federation and formed their own alliance**
- **Socialism as a concept is weak in the USA and this has impacted on the power and influence of trade unions**

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Full Essays

- 10 'Interest groups in the USA damage rather than enhance democracy.' Assess this view. [50]

General

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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 focus on a discussion of the view that interest groups damage rather than enhance democracy. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following are some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in favour

- **Money becomes the all deciding factor 'the best democracy money can buy'**
- **Interest groups tend to work for specific and not the common interest**
- **Unelected and unaccountable**
- **On occasions by pass democratically elected senators and the executive**
- **The revolving door syndrome is unpopular with many and the excessive influence that political lobbyists enjoy on Capitol Hill**
- **Some interest groups alienate mainstream public opinion with direct action which is deemed inappropriate e.g. abortion and gun crime**
- **Interest groups can cause disharmony, i.e. two interest groups working on the same issue**
- **Larger interest groups such as the NRA tend to have too much influence**

Arguments against

- **They provide expert knowledge on specific issues**
- **They help formulate policy**
- **They are a sounding board for the legislature**
- **They are the route for wider participation in a democracy**
- **They allow citizens to participate in politics between elections**
- **Ensure that the views of minorities are heard, e.g. old age pensioners, homosexuals and the disabled**
- **Make government aware of alternative views outside mainstream political parties and the bureaucracy**
- **They generate new ideas on issues that political parties do not have time to discuss**
- **Elite theory is not democratic per se**

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- 11 'The Democratic Party is most successful when it adopts a distinctive liberal democratic platform.' How far do you agree? [50]

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Specific

The purpose of this question is to focus on a discussion of the view that the Democratic Party is more successful when it adopts an identifiable democratic profile and visible liberal identity. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following are some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in favour

Recent Democratic success has been a result of:

- **A moral foreign policy, e.g. withdrawal from Iraq and less wholesale support for Israel**
- **Positive attitudes to climate change**
- **Dynamic policies on healthcare, retirement pensions and childcare**
- **Positive policies towards African American and Latino minorities**
- **Openly taking the party back to its Liberal wing**
- **Building up contacts with the white working classes**
- **'Remembering the forgotten man' as Roosevelt once claimed**
- **The charismatic Liberal leadership of Obama**
- **Gore and Kerry lost in 2000 and 2004 for being too right wing**

Arguments against

- **Clinton's New Democrat shift in 1992 and 1996 Presidential election, successful on both occasions**
- **Clinton distanced himself from Liberalism and traditional tax and spend policies**
- **Clinton balanced budgets**
- **Hardened policies on criminality**
- **Aggressive non Liberal foreign policy**
- **The enhanced role of The Democratic Leadership Council in formulating policy, i.e. alienating core and swing voters**
- **The historical legacy of the 1960's especially in the South**
- **Not Liberal in the sense that it led to a reaction under Bush towards neo-conservatism and extreme republicanism**

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12 'A much criticised but ultimately successful President.' How accurate is this analysis of Ronald Reagan's Presidency? [50]

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Specific

The purpose of this question is to focus on a discussion of the view that the Presidency of Ronald Reagan (despite its critics) was ultimately successful. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following are some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in favour

- **Great communication skills and optimism a pre requisite for a successful Presidency**
- **Build up a sense of trust with the American people even when in the wrong, e.g. Iran-Contra affair where others such as Oliver North and Donald Regan were blamed and not the President**
- **Worked with the Democrats to introduce tax cuts and increase government spending on defence**
- **Close alliance with Thatcher e.g. bombing of Libya which ironically began Gadaffi's reaction against terrorism**
- **Instrumental in the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and the establishment of democratic government thereafter**
- **Reagan's policies hastened the end of the Cold War and the dismantling of the Berlin Wall**
- **His social conservatism won many democrats over and coined the phrase 'Reagan Democrat'. His appeal to blue collar workers, the youth and some Labour unions (all traditional Democratic supporters)**
- **Re-elected in 1984 with 60% of the public vote and won 49 states**
- **Force the Democrats to do what new Labour did and abandon big government; imitation regarded as flattery**
- **Labelled the Republican FDR**

Arguments against

- **Intellectually limited and prone to serious public gaffes**
- **Hands off in his dealings and had little understanding of the major policy issues**
- **Too reliant on senior staff and advisers who carried policy out in his name and badly damaged the Presidency**
- **His Presidency witnessed a soaring federal budget deficit**
- **1983 Lebanon disaster blamed on bad deployment of US Marines resulting in 241 deaths as a result of a terrorist attack**
- **1986 Iran-Contra affair the low point of his Presidency**
- **He began the process of the rise of neo-conservatism and was the inspiration for many of George W Bush's unpopular foreign policies**