

**MARK SCHEME for the May/June 2012 question paper  
for the guidance of teachers**

**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 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 2012 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: 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.

<b>Level/marks</b>	<b>Descriptors</b>
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"> <li>• 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.</li> <li>• 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.</li> <li>• Excellent substantiated synthesis bringing the explanation together.</li> </ul>
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"> <li>• A determined response to the question with strong explanation across most but not all of the answer.</li> <li>• 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.</li> <li>• Good substantiated synthesis.</li> </ul>
3 15–11 marks	<p>THE ARGUMENT WILL BE COMPETENT, BUT LEVEL 3 ANSWERS WILL BE LIMITED &amp;/OR UNBALANCED.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Engages well with the question, although explanation is patchy and, at the lower end, of limited quality.</li> <li>• 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</li> <li>• Synthesis is patchy in quality.</li> </ul>
2 10–6 marks	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A LIMITED LINK BETWEEN THE QUESTION &amp; ANSWER.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Some engagement with the question, but explanation is limited.</li> <li>• Limited explanation within an essentially descriptive response.</li> <li>• Patchy display of relevant political knowledge and understanding that illustrates rather than supports any argument.</li> <li>• Synthesis is limited/thin in quality and extent.</li> </ul>

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<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"> <li>• Little or no engagement with the question.</li> <li>• Little or no explanation.</li> <li>• Little or no relevant political knowledge.</li> <li>• Little or no synthesis.</li> </ul>
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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.

<b>Level/marks</b>	<b>Descriptors</b>
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"> <li>• Excellent focused analysis that answers the question convincingly.</li> <li>• Excellent sustained argument throughout with a strong sense of direction that is always well substantiated. Excellent substantiated conclusions.</li> <li>• Excellent understanding of relevant Political knowledge (processes, institutions, concepts, debates and/or theories) illustrated with a wide range of examples.</li> <li>• Towards the bottom, may be a little unbalanced in coverage yet the answer is still comprehensively argued.</li> <li>• Candidate is always in firm control of the material.</li> </ul>
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"> <li>• A good response to the question with clear analysis across most but not all of the answer.</li> <li>• Argument developed to a logical conclusion, but parts lack rigour. Strong conclusions adequately substantiated.</li> <li>• Good but limited and/or uneven range of relevant knowledge used to support analysis and argument. Description is avoided.</li> </ul>
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"> <li>• Engages soundly with the question although analysis is patchy and, at the lower end, of limited quality.</li> <li>• Tries to argue and draw conclusions, but this breaks down in significant sections of description.</li> <li>• Good but limited and/or uneven range of relevant political knowledge used to describe rather than support analysis and argument.</li> </ul>
2 20–10 marks	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A LIMITED LINK BETWEEN QUESTION AND ANSWER.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Limited engagement with the question, with some understanding of the issues. Analysis and conclusions are limited/thin.</li> <li>• Limited argument within an essentially descriptive response. Conclusions are limited/thin.</li> <li>• Factually limited and/or uneven. Some irrelevance.</li> <li>• Patchy display of relevant political knowledge.</li> </ul>

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<p>1 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"> <li>• Little or no engagement with the question. Little or no analysis offered.</li> <li>• Little or no argument. Assertions are unsupported and/or of limited relevance. Any conclusions are very weak.</li> <li>• Little or no relevant Political knowledge.</li> </ul>
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## Section A: UK Concepts and Institutions

### Short essays

#### 1 Explain the functions of Parliament

[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 explanation, supported with valid examples. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

##### Specific

Candidates need to explain the functions of Parliament. Explanations might include:

##### A Representation:

The role of MPs is to represent their constituencies in the House of Commons. There are a range of issues that could be explained concerning the role of MPs as representatives of various groups such as those who voted for them, other voters and people who did not vote.

The issue of who the House of Lords represents could be included.

##### B Legislation:

Key function is to make laws. Both houses have a law-making function, but the main responsibility lies with the House of Commons. Parliamentary Sovereignty means that Parliament cannot be limited in its actions. Parliament is free to repeal or amend laws by a simple majority vote.

##### C Scrutiny:

The Executive is drawn from Parliament and is responsible to it. Both Houses are responsible for training and cultivating ministerial ranks and for checking government and individual ministers once in office. Both Houses are responsible for the investigation and scrutiny of government. This takes place through debate, oral and written questions to ministers and the select committees of both Houses.

##### D Legitimacy:

By making laws, which are mainly proposed by the Government. Parliament provides legitimacy for the authority of government.

##### E Financial control:

The House of Lords' involvement in financial affairs has been restricted since the Parliament Act 1911. The House of Commons has a role of scrutiny, rather than full responsibility. Government has responsibility for finance, but has to seek the Commons' approval.

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**2 Explain the sources of the UK constitution. [25]**

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**Specific**

Candidates need to explain the sources of the UK constitution. Explanations might include:

- A Statutes:  
Acts of Parliament, which override all other constitutional sources and account for a growing proportion of the constitution.
- B Royal Prerogative:  
Functions performed by ministers acting on behalf of the monarch; their authority derived from the Crown not Parliament. A gradually diminishing part of the Constitution but still important in the conduct of foreign and security matters.
- C Common Law:  
This means customary rules, especially 'precedents' established by judicial decisions in particular cases.
- D European Union law:  
EU law has precedence over UK law, where the two conflict.  
British courts are required to strike down UK law which contravene EU law.
- E Authoritative commentaries:  
Various books and documents are widely recognised as sources of guidance on the interpretation of constitutional rules.
- F Conventions:  
Established customs and practice, which are considered binding but lack the force of law.

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**3 Explain the process by which the Prime Minister is appointed. [25]**

**General**

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**Specific**

Candidates need to explain the process by which the Prime Minister is appointed. Explanations might include:

- A In order to become Prime Minister, a politician needs to become the leader of a political party. How that is achieved is determined by the individual process adopted by each political party.
- B The system for a General Election needs to be explained. The main features are:
- It is known officially as 'simple majority in single member constituencies' but the more common description is 'first past the post' – each constituency returns a single MP who is elected by a simple majority.
  - Each constituent has one vote.
  - Candidates usually belong to a political party and the party that gains the most seats in the House of Commons is asked to form a government by the monarch.
  - The leader of the largest party, therefore, becomes the Prime Minister.



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## Full essays

### 4 How far has the creation of the Supreme Court increased judicial independence? [50]

#### General

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#### Specific

The purpose of this question is for candidates to evaluate changes to judicial independence resulting from the creation of the Supreme Court. Arguments that candidates might use might include:

#### A Arguments that there is increased judicial independence:

- The Supreme Court has provided a separation of powers between the Court and the House of Lords.
- The full time judges (now Justices) are no longer members of the House of Lords.
- Reduced the possibility of interference from politicians.
- The Supreme Court has made a series of landmark rulings in its short existence.
- Clashes between government and judiciary as evidence of independence – eg super injunctions and privacy; counter-terrorism.

#### B Arguments that there is not increased independence:

- Relationship with the European courts could be used to argue that there is limited independence.
- The issue of funding has raised concerns about independence as the Court is funded by the Ministry of Justice.
- The use of TV and the greater openness of the Court, in comparison to previous procedures in the House of Lords, has provided arguments that the Court could be compromised by the influence of the media and public opinion.

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**5 Evaluate the relationships between central government and devolved institutions in the UK. [50]**

**General**

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**Specific**

The purpose of this question is to evaluate the relationships between central government and the devolved institutions. Candidates have a variety of UK devolved institutions they can draw on (the Scottish Parliament, the Northern Ireland Assembly, the Welsh Assembly Government), but do not have to consider all three. Issues to be evaluated might include:

- A Legislative control:  
Acts of Parliament establish the nature and extent of powers conferred on both central and devolved institutions. Many examples of acts can be used to support arguments that central government has limited the power of devolved institutions, but also as evidence that they provide legal safeguards for devolved institutions.
- B Policy control:  
This can take various forms depending on the priorities of the party in office and the legal basis of the relationship between devolved institutions and the different departments of central government.
- C Administrative control:  
This derives from central government's responsibility for setting national standards and promoting the efficiency of devolved institutions.
- D Financial control:  
Statute controls the proportion of devolved government spending that is financed by central government grants or locally raised taxation under central government control or raised locally under the control of a devolved institution.

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**6 How far have the media and modern communications influenced UK politics and political behaviour? [50]**

**General**

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**Specific**

The purpose of this question is to evaluate how far political activity has been influenced by modern media. There are a wide range of issues and evidence that candidates might use. Within their answers, candidates need to distinguish between the terms included in the question: distinguishing between 'media' and 'modern communications' and between 'politics' and 'political behaviour'.

Issues that might be discussed include:

- A The role of the press, TV, radio, internet, mobile phones and other technologies in the dissemination and collecting of information and its effect on politics.
- B The issues of 'influence and bias', 'public and private interest', 'secrecy and censorship' and 'freedom of information'.
- C Ownership of the media and modern communications.
- D Politicians use of the media and modern communications.
- E The use of special advisers and Focus Groups.

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## Section B: US Concepts and Institutions

### Short essays

**7 Explain the process by which the President of the USA is elected. [25]**

#### **General**

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#### **Specific**

Candidates need to explain the process by which the President is elected. Explanations might include:

- In theory, anyone can run for the election as President if they meet constitutional stipulations.
- In practice, to be successful, a candidate needs to secure the nomination of a major party, and have major funding for her/his campaign.
- Nomination process, involving primaries and caucuses.
- National Conventions of the major parties takes place in the summer before the election.
- Election in November (first Tuesday after first Monday) – indirect election: popular ballot but then Electoral College.
- The new President takes the oath of allegiance and assumes office on the following 20 January.

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**8 Explain the role of the Supreme Court in interpreting the constitution of the USA. [25]**

**General**

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**Specific**

Candidates need to explain the role of the Court in interpreting the constitution. Explanations might include:

- Candidates might start by showing their knowledge of Article III of the constitution in which the Supreme Court was given jurisdiction over federal disputes and disputes between the state governments. It is the final arbiter of the constitution, which it is charged to preserve and protect.
- They then might explain that it was only later that the power of judicial review evolved.
- Candidates might note that the Court is highly selective in the cases that it takes on.
- Candidates might note that the Court's function is limited to deciding specific cases. It does not give advisory opinions to presidents or Congress or states.
- Candidates might explain that the role of the Court is determined by three evolving aspects affecting the constitution, namely:
  - a) Circumstances change, which may affect the interpretation of the constitution.
  - b) the make-up of the Supreme Court is constantly changing, and affected (unpredictably) by presidential nominations.
  - c) the nature of US public opinion is in a permanent state of change.

As Chief Justice Marshall noted, the Supreme Court always faces a challenge: "We must never forget that it is a constitution we are expounding ...intended to endure for ages to come, and consequently, to be adapted to the various crises of human affairs."

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**9 Explain the functions of Congress.**

**[25]**

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**Specific**

Candidates need to explain the functions of Congress. Explanations might include:

- A Legislation:  
Congress is responsible for making Federal law. This role stems from the powers given to Congress in the Constitution. Congress can also pass resolutions. These are used to make or amend rules or express Congressional sentiments.
- B Financial control:  
Congress has the power of the purse. The Constitution gave Congress the power to raise taxes and impose duties. This is reflected in the importance of the Budget.
- C Oversight powers:  
As the 1946 Legislative Reorganisation Act confirmed, Congress has oversight powers. It reviews and monitors the executive departments and agencies that make up the federal bureaucracy.
- D Impeachment:  
Congress has the power to remove leading officials of the executive, including the President.
- E 'Advice and consent' powers:  
The Senate can confirm or reject the appointment of senior federal officers. They also ratify treaties.
- F Declaring war:  
The Constitution endowed Congress with the power to declare war.
- G Representation.

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## Full essays

### 10 'Pressure Groups undermine the democratic process in the USA'. How far do you agree? [50]

#### General

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#### Specific

Candidates need to evaluate the role of pressure groups in relation to democracy in the U.S. Considerations might include:

#### A Arguments that pressure groups undermine democracy:

- The large budgets available to some pressure groups mean they influence public opinion.
- The financial resources of a pressure group are used in election campaigns.
- Pressure groups have used the courts to publicise issues and to attain court ruling that influence legislation.
- Pressure groups can forge close relationships with key decision makers in Congress. 'Iron Triangles'.
- Pressure groups develop very close ties with the federal bureaucracy.
- Dahl and Pluralist arguments.

#### B Arguments that pressure groups do not undermine democracy:

- The ability of pressure groups to 'buy' the support of influential decision makers is sometimes exaggerated.
- Many pressure groups face an 'equal and opposite reaction' from other pressure groups which can sometimes mean that their efforts cancel each other out.
- Pressure groups do not always achieve their objectives – their proposals can be hindered, amended and halted by others.
- C. Wright Mills and the Elite Theory arguments.

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**11 Evaluate the role of the Federal Bureaucracy in the US government.**

**[50]**

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**Specific**

Candidates need to evaluate the role of Federal Bureaucracy in the US government. Various issues that might be discussed include:

- The Federal Bureaucracy has four main functions:
  - a) Policy implementation.
  - b) The development and imposition of regulations.
  - c) Interpretation, adjudication and arbitration.
  - d) Information gathering.
- The Bureaucracy has greatly increased in size and, therefore, in importance.
- The Bureaucracy serves both the President and Congress.
- Some of the Departments and Executive Agencies have very important roles.
- The President has some powers and political resources that enable him to influence the character of the Federal Bureaucracy.
- The President has the power of appointment.
- The President has the power of reorganisation.
- The role of the Cabinet has demonstrated, at times, that the Bureaucracy has relatively little importance in policy-making decisions. It depends on how various Presidents have used their Cabinets.



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**12 To what extent have the media and modern communications influenced US politics and political behaviour? [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 evaluate how far political activity has been influenced by modern media. There are a wide range of issues and evidence that candidates might use. Within their answers, candidates need to distinguish between the terms included in the question: distinguishing between 'media' and 'modern communications' and between 'politics' and 'political behaviour'.

Issues that might be discussed include:

- A The role of the press, TV, radio, internet, mobile phones and other technologies in the dissemination and collecting of information and its effect on politics.
- B The issues of 'influence and bias', 'public and private interest', 'secrecy and censorship' and 'freedom of information'.
- C Ownership of the media and modern communications.
- D Politicians' use of the media and modern communications.