

CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS

Pre-U Certificate

MARK SCHEME for the May/June 2013 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 2013 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 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.
2 10–6 marks	<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.

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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: long 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 what Conservatives mean by ‘the Big Society’. [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 the Big Society. Candidates do not have to include all the features in order to be awarded the higher levels. The explanation could include:

- The creation of a new role for the state directly agitating for, catalysing and galvanising social renewal.
- Transforming the idea that the role of the state is to direct society and micro-manage public services, to the idea that the role of the state is to strengthen society and make public services serve the people who use them.
- A belief in a society where the leading force for progress is ‘social responsibility, not state control’.
- Devolving decision-making responsibility from ‘the top’ to ‘the bottom’ on the grounds that local people know what is best for them.
- A redistribution of power away from the central state to local communities.
- The need to give new and existing social enterprises, charities and voluntary groups the long-term incentives they need to develop and deliver innovative and high quality public services.
- Using unclaimed assets from dormant bank and building society accounts [the Big Society Bank] and acquiring extra private sector investment to provide hundreds of millions of pounds of new finance directly to social organisations.
- The policy of reducing social dependency on the state includes charities and the voluntary sector, who will receive funding strictly on a business model of payment by results.
- The creation of 5,000 new community organizers, Big Society Day, National Citizen Service, Localism Bill, etc.

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2 Explain the term 'New Labour'.

[25]

General

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Specific

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

- **A movement created to update the Labour party by discarding the old demand for the state ownership of the means of production.**
- **New Labour welcomed the economic legacy of Thatcherism via tax cuts, low inflation, a market economy plus encouragement of entrepreneurial activity.**
- **It witnessed the centralisation of decision-making under the leadership of Blair and Brown.**
- **In candidate selection there was an erosion of constituency members' authority. 'More of a top down than a bottom up party'.**
- **An initial belief in a moral foreign policy soon gave way to the invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan.**
- **A belief in communitarianism as evidenced by the concept of the Third Way.**

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3 Explain the term ‘Orange Book’ Liberal.

[25]

General

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Specific

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

- **The attempt by a group of prominent Liberal Democrats such as Laws, Cable and Oaten who called for the party to shift to a more pro-market, less regulative agenda.**
- **A belief in more choice and private sector innovation in public services.**
- **Defending civil liberties against a succession of illiberal Labour Home Secretaries.**
- **Defending individual liberties and personal responsibility against the encroachments of the nanny state.**
- **A commitment to decentralise government against decades of centralisation by both Conservative and Labour governments – decisions should be taken at the lowest level of government as close to the people as possible (subsidiarity).**
- **The negotiation of an EU constitution which clearly defines and limits EU powers.**
- **A new approach to healthcare via a national health insurance scheme.**
- **Greater use of market discipline in environmental policy.**
- **An overhaul of Britain’s pension arrangements.**
- **An attempt to rebalance the Liberal Democrats by re-emphasising Liberalism over Social Democracy.**

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Long Essays.

- 4 Assess the role of the Liberal Democrats as a neutralising influence on Conservative policy since the general election of May 2010. [50]**

General

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Specific

The purpose of this question is to focus on a discussion of the perception that the Liberal Democrats have been a neutralising influence on Conservative policy since the general election of May 2010. 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

- **Civil liberty and human rights reform including the introduction of a British Bill of Rights and the introduction of a Freedom Bill.**
- **Abstentions agreed for Liberals on a variety of policies which include the renewal of Trident.**
- **House of Lords Reform.**
- **Devolving greater powers to the Welsh Assembly.**
- **The introduction of a personal income tax allowance of £10,000 and Conservatives abandoned inheritance tax policies.**
- **More collegiate style of government.**
- **Penal reform repeal.**
- **Referendum on electoral reform.**
- **Conservative compromises over Europe.**
- **Forced to find common ground given their election manifestos.**
- **Fixed five-year parliaments introduced.**
- **Shared vision of the Big Society.**
- **Changes in policy, e.g. the NHS, environmentalism and waste collection.**
- **Key role in moderating policy by leading Liberals such as Simon Hughes and Chris Huhne. Liberal Democrats have 5 Cabinet members.**
- **Disaffection of Conservative right and backbenchers frustrated by the Liberal Democrat agenda and the lack of opportunities for promotion for Conservatives to the front bench.**
- **Cameron cannot dismiss cabinet ministers without Clegg’s approval.**
- **Cabinet committees have to be balanced between the two parties.**
- **Formation of the Operation and Strategic Planning group is evidence of co-operation.**
- **Timetabled withdraw from Afghanistan.**
- **Genuine cross-party consensus, e.g. Libyan intervention.**

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Arguments against

- **David Cameron as Prime Minister in charge of formulating policy in a majority Conservative coalition.**
- **Cuts agenda and deficit reduction policies. The introduction of emergency budget forced on Liberal Democrats.**
- **Education reform under Michael Gove.**
- **Aggressive foreign policy in Libya against Liberal non-interventionist agenda, although some Liberals believe in concept of ‘Liberal Interventionism’.**
- **Right-wing welfare reform under Duncan Smith.**
- **Responses to the inner-city riots of 2011 revealed differences between the coalition partners.**
- **Reduction in armed forces.**
- **Attitudes to Civil Liberties and the role of the state.**
- **Conservative response to European policy markedly different.**
- **Osborne setting the Economic agenda with support of leading Liberals such as Alexander.**
- **Same whip applies to both parties.**
- **Liberals forced to follow Conservative policy on the deficit and NHS reform.**

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5 Assess the role of Gordon Brown in the development of the Labour party. [50]

General

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Specific

The purpose of this question is to assess the role of Gordon Brown in the development of the Labour party. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following points may suggest some of the arguments that could be included:

Positives

- **Instrumental in the development of New Labour and provided the economic pre-conditions for three successive election victories whilst Chancellor.**
- **The acclaimed international leader in the global response to the banking crisis of 2008.**
- **Politically astute, intelligent and hard working.**
- **The fact that he survived three internal coups made the party realise he was worth keeping.**
- **Reduced foreign policy engagements, less 'gung ho' than Blair - for example called for an immediate ceasefire when Israel invaded Gaza.**
- **Refused to make cuts in public spending to ensure recession did not lead to depression.**
- **Moved the party to a more social democratic orientation.**
- **Raised income tax to 50%, Northern Rock and leading banks partly nationalised.**
- **Lost the 2010 election but Conservatives did not win an overall majority.**
- **Bad luck to be ill suited to personality politics in a changing political environment.**
- **Handed a difficult legacy by Blair just as economic storm clouds were gathering.**
- **Underestimated how leftwards public opinion was on the banks.**
- **Loyal Brownites included Balls, Milliband and Alexander - justifying Brown's credentials as a leader.**

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Negatives

- Failed to call election in September 2007, which he could have won. Never recovered from ‘Bottler’ tag.
- Economic problems which his policies caused such as lack of bank regulation. His reputation for economic competence disappeared.
- Loss of public support and various by-election defeats confirmed this. Huge losses in European elections as well.
- Fell out with the Murdoch empire which withdrew its support on the eve of the 2010 election.
- Lacked communication skills and emotional intelligence.
- Upset colleagues when Chancellor under Blair and his anti-Blair stance damaged his reputation and resulted in fewer allies when Prime Minister.
- Three internal coups and the resignation of Purnell damaged his reputation.
- ‘Unelected Prime Minister’ undermined his credibility.
- Furore over the ‘bigotgate’ scandal and poor performance in TV debates during 2010 election campaign.
- Signed Lisbon Treaty without referendum.
- Sold off gold reserves.
- Continued war in Afghanistan and crucially failed to provide men and equipment necessary.
- Failed to re-nationalise the railways.

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- 6 'The modern Conservative party owes a great deal to the legacy of Margaret Thatcher.'
Discuss. [50]

General

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Specific

The purpose of this question is to focus on a discussion of the perception that the modern Conservative party owes a great deal to the legacy of Margaret Thatcher. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following may suggest some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in favour

- **The modern Conservative party still has neo-liberal free market ideas.**
- **It still has Neo-Conservative social attitudes especially on sexual and moral issues.**
- **Believes in a limited role for the state.**
- **Believes in tax cuts and privatisation and is stringent on welfare reform.**
- **Argues that it should withdraw subsidies to industry to encourage competition.**
- **David Cameron was a dyed-in-the-wool Thatcherite whilst at university. His leadership seen as a PR friendly refinement of Thatcherite beliefs.**
- **The Big Society is Thatcherism in another form.**
- **Both Cameron and Thatcher share values of duty, responsibility, discipline and authority.**
- **Strongly Eurosceptic.**
- **Firm on law and order, e.g. response to 2011 inner-city riots.**
- **Aggressive foreign policy, e.g. response to Libya in 2011.**
- **Believe in cutting waste and debt.**
- **The majority of the parliamentary party and grassroots Conservative supporters share these Thatcherite beliefs.**
- **The Labour party believes that Cameron has moved to the right, especially over the consequences of the 2011 riots, and see this as a potential stick to beat him with.**

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Arguments against

- **Modern compassionate conservatism has moved on from its Thatcherite legacy and has progressive liberal Conservative attitudes to a range of policies such as the environment, international aid, poverty and local government which are far removed from Thatcherism.**
- **Cameron has broadened the party's appeal while many MPs are more socially liberal.**
- **Cameron is essentially a one nation Conservative, inclusive, socially liberal and centrist. Far more concern for gay rights and attuned to the needs of ethnic minorities.**
- **Modern party has stressed a moral obligation to fight global poverty, e.g. international aid budget was ring fenced when cuts were announced.**
- **Cameron's own view 'We do think there is such a thing as society, we just don't think it's the same as the state' is in stark contrast to Thatcherite attitudes.**
- **Tackling global warming agenda by standing up to big business.**
- **More pragmatic and evolutionary Conservative beliefs have emerged.**
- **The Conservatives have moved to the centre on various issues whilst in coalition with the Liberal Democrats.**

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Section B: Parties and Ideas in the US

Short Essays.

7 Explain the significance of primaries in the US electoral process. [25]

General

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Specific

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

- **Primary elections are internal party processes that choose a political party's candidate(s) for the next general election by holding an internal election.**
- **Through this primary election process, candidates for elective offices in the U.S. are selected by voters rather than by party leaders. Exactly how this is done depends on the legal framework, internal party rules, and informal practices.**
- **Since the primary election system operates under the laws of the federal states, there can be some important differences from state to state in the operation of primaries, such as 'open', 'semi open', 'semi closed' or 'closed' primaries.**
- **As a result, voters have gained more influence over candidate selection while the power of party leaders and organisations has declined. However, primary elections are still not held in all US states. By 2004, Alaska, Colorado, Nevada, and Utah did not have some form of presidential primary.**
- **Variations in direct primary elections are characterised by which voters are eligible to vote in the party's primary. One can distinguish between closed, open, blanket (crossover), and nonpartisan primaries. However, there are some general features that all primaries have in common in the US.**
- **Presidential primaries: the presidential primary system was, as mentioned above, established to break down the power of political party organisations on candidate nomination procedures. The case of US presidential primary elections shows that voter turnout is far lower in primaries than the turnout in the ensuing general elections. This is due to the fact that it is mainly only the most dedicated and strongly committed party members who are interested in voting in primary elections.**
- **The media is involved as well, although an internal vote the momentum from primaries can be a decisive moment on a national stage.**

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8 Explain why socialism is unpopular in the USA.

[25]

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Specific

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

- **The idea of economic equality is to some extent antithetical to the American Dream.**
- **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.**
- **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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9 Explain the significance of the states' rights doctrine. [25]

General

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Specific

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

- It is stated that the laws adopted by the federal government, when exercising its constitutional powers, are generally paramount over any conflicting laws adopted by state governments.
- The primary legal issues in this area concerned the scope of Congress' constitutional powers, and whether the states possess certain powers to the exclusion of the federal government, even if the Constitution does not explicitly limit them to the states.
- As advocated in the Supremacy Clause of the U.S. Constitution.
- Current states' rights issues include the death penalty, assisted suicide, gay marriage and the medicinal use of marijuana.
- The term has also been used as a derogatory term denoting supporters of segregation in the civil rights era.

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Long essays.

10 'Barack Obama has transformed what it means to be a Democrat.' Discuss. [50]

General

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Specific

The purpose of this question is to focus on a discussion of the perception that Barack Obama has transformed what it means to be a Democrat. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following may suggest some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in Favour

- **Huge boost to his popularity as a result of the assassination of Bin Laden and withdrawal from Iraq.**
- **More popular than Clinton and Regan after midterms.**
- **Master of communications, use of internet and twitter and still has charm and appeal.**
- **Most successful fundraiser in US politics and Democratic Party history.**
- **Impressive transportation policy: 2500 projects undertaken. Education policy \$2500 tax credit to pay for cost of college education. Stimulus to car industry. Regeneration of cities has been a success. Land Management act has rejuvenated the countryside. Childhood Obesity act has subsidised free meals in low income areas.**
- **Repeal of Don't Ask Don't Tell has been welcomed.**
- **Fair Sentencing Act has reduced racial inequality.**
- **Reform in Wall Street.**
- **Appointment of two new female judges on the Supreme Court.**
- **Successfully engaged the Muslim world and his 'mini surge' in Helmand has helped stabilise the regime. He has also donated \$5billion dollars to Pakistan in the war against terror.**
- **Unprecedented success of healthcare reform; succeeded where Clinton failed.**
- **Economic Stimulus in 2008 and 2011 has avoided depression.**
- **Internationally very popular and has improved relations with European allies.**
- **Moving the Democrats more to the centre ground in order to be re-elected seems a clever strategy (whilst hoping to retain the support of the left).**
- **His legacy will depend on the state of the US economy.**

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Arguments Against

- **Battle over healthcare reform and deficit reduction damaged his personal ratings; the public saw too many compromises. Bailout means healthcare likely to be less successful.**
- **US economy has seen little return from economic stimulus package, unemployment still too high and deficit stands at \$14 Trillion whilst real estate crisis continues. Immigration policy still an issue with Hispanics.**
- **Disappointed Liberals by not going far enough, e.g. closure of Guantanamo Bay.**
- **His policies have increased partisanship, forcing the Republicans to be more partisan with the rise of the Tea Party movement who scored spectacularly in the midterms and lead to the loss of the senate. Boehner has been especially effective.**
- **Deepwater Horizon disaster was ‘Obama’s Katrina’.**
- **Degeneration of relations with China whilst there has been little progress on Palestine. His relations with Israel have been damaged as well.**
- **Ineffective strategy in Afghanistan, slow paced war against the Taliban and backing a corrupt regime in Kabul. The Arab Spring revealed the limits of US policy in Libya and Egypt especially. He has also failed to stop the Iranian nuclear weapons programme. Poor relations with Pakistan despite huge \$5 billion subsidy in the fight against terror.**
- **He raised expectations in his 2008 election campaign which have inevitably not been fulfilled given the difficulty of his accession and has failed to grasp the nature of the Presidential office; better communication would help.**
- **His policies have exacerbated public mistrust of Washington and galvanised Republican opposition, e.g. 2010 midterms and rise of Tea Party.**

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11 'A destructive force in US politics.' Discuss this view of the Tea Party movement. [50]

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the evaluation and the argument. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

The purpose of this question is to focus on a discussion of the perception that the Tea Party is a destructive force in US Politics. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following may suggest some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in Favour

- **Policies too extreme, alienating both moderate Republicans and swing voters. Rejects advice from the Republican leadership.**
- **Tea Party seen as irrelevant; Republican success will come as a result of independent voters and state issues.**
- **Tea Party pressure has forced the Republican Party to become the No party in eyes of public.**
- **Tea Party has increased partisanship in all facets of US politics.**
- **Tea Party attacks on moderate Republicans, e.g. Mike Castle in Delaware 2010 has widened rift within the party.**
- **Too extreme on social issues such as gay rights and abortion.**
- **Populist ranters such as Glen Beck and Rush Limbaugh have lost the Republican Party a lot of supporters.**
- **Tea Party does not believe that government should be used to combat known abuses such as pollution and racism. It would also repeal the 17th Amendment which is seen as an attack on democracy.**
- **It has no charter, no governing council or manifesto; more a cause than a movement.**
- **Implicated in violence, attempted assassination of Senator Giffords of Arizona in 2010.**
- **Could undermine Presidential campaign of leading Republican candidate Mitt Romney who Tea Partyers see as too moderate.**
- **Sarah Palin and Michelle Bachmann prone to extreme comments and public gaffes.**
- **Not really a focal point in 2012 Republican Presidential primaries.**

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Arguments against

- **Seen as a legitimate mass right-wing protest against the system, which represents the true Republican grassroots movement.**
- **Sarah Palin, Michelle Bachmann and Ron Paul enormously popular.**
- **Hugely influential in successful Republican midterm results of 2010 and there is significant evidence to show that this positive energy can be channeled in to 2012 Presidential campaign.**
- **Has potential to raise huge amounts of money to finance Presidential candidates.**
- **Its message of smaller government and unfettered markets is hugely popular with many Americans.**
- **The opposition underestimates and discredits them rather than seeking to work with the Tea Party.**
- **Fox News is hugely significant and Glen Beck was instrumental in popularising the cause and influencing the public to descend on Washington in 2010.**
- **Republican leaders have grudging respect for its mass appeal. They wish to channel their support and energy but draw the line at being taken over by them.**

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12 'The US is a two party system.' How far do you agree with this view?

[50]

General

The generic mark scheme is the most important guide for examiners and drives the marking of all answers. Assess which level best reflects most of each answer. No answer is required to demonstrate all the descriptions in any level to qualify. Examiners are looking for 'best fit', not 'perfect fit'. Provisionally award the middle mark in the level and then moderate up or down according to the qualities of the answer, using the question-specific marking notes below.

No set answer is expected. Candidates may answer the question from a wide variety of different angles, using different emphases, and arguing different points of view. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the evaluation and the argument. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

The purpose of this question is to focus on a discussion of the view that the US is a two party system. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following may suggest some of the arguments that could be included:

Arguments in Favour

- **Historical circumstance has confirmed the political duopoly.**
- **Single member electoral districts and a winner takes all have confirmed two party stronghold. System rigged in their favour.**
- **Matching funds.**
- **Restrictive ballot system.**
- **Monopoly of media coverage.**
- **Voter loyalty.**
- **Cash raising.**
- **Negative public perception of third parties.**
- **Parties get things done.**
- **Broad enough to incorporate independents.**
- **Ideologically more entrenched.**
- **Both have strong organisations (role of national committees).**
- **Increased role in Congress via minority leaders, whips and committee chairmen.**
- **Parties determine voting patterns.**

Arguments against

- **Independent parties are growing in popularity, ranging from Reform to Green and Socialist parties.**
- **Rise of Tea Party has shown an alternative does exist.**
- **Growth and popularity of interest groups.**
- **Importance of Independents such as Ross Perot, Ralf Nader and George Wallace.**
- **Founding fathers were against the very concept of party.**
- **Politics locked in a prism of left v right: unhealthy for democracy.**
- **Parties don't control Presidential nominations.**
- **Contemporary feeling that big government is failing and the two party system is symptomatic of this.**
- **Rise of partisanship in Washington reflects badly on the two party system and parts of the electorate have become attracted to independent voices.**