

**CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS**

Cambridge Pre-U Certificate

**MARK SCHEME for the May/June 2015 series**

**9770 COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

**9770/02**

Paper 02 (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.

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Page 2	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	Cambridge Pre-U – May/June 2015	9770	02

### 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"> <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>

<b>Page 3</b>	<b>Mark Scheme</b>	<b>Syllabus</b>	<b>Paper</b>
	<b>Cambridge Pre-U – May/June 2015</b>	<b>9770</b>	<b>02</b>

<b>1</b> <b>5–0 marks</b>	<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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Page 4	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	Cambridge Pre-U – May/June 2015	9770	02

### Generic marking descriptors: full essays

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

Level/marks	Descriptors
5 50–41 marks	<p>ANSWERS MAY NOT BE PERFECT, BUT WILL REPRESENT THE VERY BEST THAT MAY BE EXPECTED OF AN 18-YEAR-OLD.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <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>

<b>Page 5</b>	<b>Mark Scheme</b>	<b>Syllabus</b>	<b>Paper</b>
	<b>Cambridge Pre-U – May/June 2015</b>	<b>9770</b>	<b>02</b>

<b>1</b> <b>9–0 marks</b>	<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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Page 6	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	Cambridge Pre-U – May/June 2015	9770	02

### Section A: Parties and Ideas in the UK

#### Short Essays

1 Explain what the Labour Party means by the term 'One Nation'. [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 one nation. Candidates do not have to include all the features in order to be awarded the higher levels. The explanation could include:

- First used at the Labour Party conference in 2012.
- Ironically the phrase originates from an ex-Tory leader, Benjamin Disraeli.
- Anti-elitist.
- Stressing equality.
- Attempting to move the Labour Party back to the centre ground.
- Pro-Business but anti-predatory capitalist.
- Ending the NHS reforms of the Conservatives.
- Rebuilding the nation's economy.
- Tackling rogue bankers, cheaper childcare and more housing.
- Sending more working class children to university.
- One Nation may mean that Miliband wanted Labour to reconnect with the Middle Class voters.
- One Nation Labour is a project designed to win those voters back in non-Labour areas.

Page 7	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	Cambridge Pre-U – May/June 2015	9770	02

**2 Explain what the Conservatives mean by the term ‘organic society’.** [25]

**General**

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**Specific**

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

- Based on the Conservative belief that an individual requires some root or basis in society.
- It follows that if they do the state must protect them.
- This requires a mutual process of respect where the individual gives something back to the State.
- This idea of mutual reinforcement and obligation keeps society together.
- Freedom therefore comes with responsibilities and duties according to this definition.
- Conservatives also point to the pragmatic nature of this philosophy.
- A belief that social change is evolutionary not revolutionary.

Page 8	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	Cambridge Pre-U – May/June 2015	9770	02

**3 Explain why Liberal Democrats support constitutional reform.****[25]****General**

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**Specific**

The purpose of the question is to focus on explaining why Liberal Democrats support constitutional reform. Candidates do not have to include all the features in order to be awarded the higher levels. The explanation could include:

- A belief in Limited government.
- Individual liberty.
- Protection of citizens' rights.
- Attacking privilege.
- Support for constituent nations of the United Kingdom.
- Exposing the two party monopoly.
- Promoting democracy and transparency.
- Their belief in a modernisation agenda.



Page 9	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	Cambridge Pre-U – May/June 2015	9770	02

### Full essays

- 4 'A disappointing leader of his party'. How far do you agree with this assessment of Ed Miliband? [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 encourage an assessment of Ed Miliband's party leadership qualities. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following points may suggest some of the arguments that could be included:

#### Agree

- The circumstances of his election, i.e. a union puppet and lacking widespread support amongst ordinary members and members of the Parliamentary Labour party.
- The 'Red Ed' tag has not been shed.
- Disappointing engagement with the public and lack of charisma.
- His rejection of New Labour disappointed Tony Blair and Peter Mandelson.
- Lack of ministerial experience, only a special adviser under Gordon Brown.
- Poor performance at Prime Minister's Question time..
- Lacking public trust on the key issue of economic competence.
- Not having a vision for the future.
- His disastrous election performance in 2015 and subsequent resignation.

#### Disagree

- Under his leadership Labour was ahead in the opinion polls prior to the election in 2015.
- Public saw him initially as being in touch with their values.
- Dynamic policies.
- He has launched a one nation brand of socialism in 2012 to rebrand the party.
- He has distanced himself from Union paymasters, e.g. Unite union in 2012, a clear illustration of his leadership qualities.
- Increasingly confident public speaker
- His policies stressed equality and aim to win over lost voters from the Blair era.

Page 10	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	Cambridge Pre-U – May/June 2015	9770	02

- 5 'The leadership of the party is the most important factor determining the success of the Liberal Democrats'. Assess this view. [50]

### General

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### Specific

The purpose of this question is to encourage an assessment of the role of the leadership in explaining Liberal Democrat success. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following points may suggest some of the arguments that could be included:

#### Agree

- Nick Clegg's leadership successes in 2010 election and his subsequent role as Deputy Prime Minister.
- Clegg's success in the Prime Ministerial debate(s).
- The Liberal Democrat leader is more accountable to his party.
- The popularity of Charles Kennedy's period as leader.
- Paddy Ashdown offered a cabinet position under Blair.

#### Disagree

- Popular policies on devolution and civil rights.
- Coalition government since 2010, not now regarded as the party of protest.
- Regarded as being more democratic in, 'bottom up rather than top down' in its structure.
- All the major parties follow aspects of Liberalism in their ideology.
- Their perceived betrayal of manifesto promises such as tuition fees etc.
- Their association with the Conservatives since 2010.
- The disastrous election results in 2015 and Nick Clegg's subsequent resignation as leader.

Page 11	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	Cambridge Pre-U – May/June 2015	9770	02

6 'Multiculturalism has proved a divisive policy'. How far do you agree?

[50]

### General

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### Specific

The purpose of this question is to encourage a discussion of the divisiveness of multiculturalism. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following points may suggest some of the arguments that could be included:

#### Agree

- Multiculturalism detracts from the norms in society.
- It is alleged to attack women's rights, e.g. the controversy over the hijab.
- It attacks free speech, e.g. Salman Rushdie controversy.
- Can lead to a parallel society where party politics is ethnically based.
- Can lead to an increase in racism and the rise of fascist organisations such as the BNP and EDL.
- The rise of UKIP.

#### Disagree

- Strong evidence of positive pluralism.
- Protects minorities.
- Encourages tolerance and diversity.
- Legislation has been passed as a result of it.
- Encourages faith schools and employment protection.
- It works given the devolved nature of the United Kingdom.

Page 12	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	Cambridge Pre-U – May/June 2015	9770	02

## Section B: Parties and Ideas in the US

### Short Essays

#### 7 Explain the impact of caucuses on US political parties. [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 impact of caucuses on US political parties. Candidates do not have to include all the features in order to be awarded the higher levels. The explanation could include:

- Caucuses are meetings of the political parties to discuss the procedures used by some states to select presidential nominees.
- Usually states that hold caucuses are geographically large but thinly populated e.g. Iowa and Nevada.
- The most important is the Iowa caucuses, the first and largest in the modern presidential election cycle.
- Turnouts tend to be lower than primaries.
- They tend to favour ideological candidates.
- They have become an important part of the selection process since 1980.
- Caucuses can be organised on a state basis and differ from party to party.
- Some can be closed others open.

Page 13	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	Cambridge Pre-U – May/June 2015	9770	02

8 Explain the key ideas of the Tea Party movement.

[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 key ideas of the Tea party movement. Candidates do not have to include all the features in order to be awarded the higher levels. The explanation could include:

- Policies associated with the Tea Party include a belief in religious fundamentalism, anti-abortion, low taxation and small government. In effect traditional social values.
- Libertarian in its origins.
- Anti-liberal.
- Anti-big government.
- Anti-Obama who is regarded as a subversive communist.
- Anti-Washington.

Page 14	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	Cambridge Pre-U – May/June 2015	9770	02

9 Explain why there is opposition to affirmative action.

[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 opposition to affirmative action. Candidates do not have to include all the features in order to be awarded the higher levels. The explanation could include:

- Affirmative action goes against personal rights embedded in the constitution especially the Equal Protection clause of the Fourth amendment.
- Opponents see it as government sanctioned racism.
- Its success has been patchy, women have tended to benefit more than ethnic groups.
- Critics claim it has gone too far the other way and point to the idea of reverse discrimination.
- Public opinion in the USA is not convinced.
- It has been the subject of many Supreme Court challenges, e.g. Bakke 1978.

Page 15	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	Cambridge Pre-U – May/June 2015	9770	02

## Full Essays

### 10 Assess the reasons why Barack Obama won the 2012 Presidential election. [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 encourage an assessment of the reasons why Barack Obama won the 2012 Presidential election. The following points may suggest some of the arguments that could be included:

- He was the incumbent President.
- Romney was a weak opponent prone to errors and lacking ideological credibility.
- Obama ran the better and more sophisticated campaign.
- Obama enjoyed an early running campaign advantage.
- He enjoyed the support of the Clintons.
- Most Americans blamed the economic crisis on George W Bush.
- His party was united behind him.
- He was fortunate that Hurricane Sandy took place just before the election and enjoyed bi-partisan support from for, e.g. Chris Christie (Republican) for his handling of it.
- The Democrats have constructed a broad coalition of voters. The GOP has a narrower constituency.

Page 16	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	Cambridge Pre-U – May/June 2015	9770	02

**11 Assess the reasons for increased partisanship in American Politics.**

**[50]**

**General**

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**Specific**

The purpose of this question is to encourage an assessment of the reasons behind the increase in partisanship in US politics. The following points may suggest some of the arguments that could be included:

- Long-term political trends.
- Tea party influence in House.
- Role of primaries creates extreme outcomes.
- Differences have increased concerning the environment, immigration, the role of government and the fiscal cliff.
- Redrawing congressional district lines that create safely Democratic or Republican districts have added to it.
- Electoral Gerrymandering.
- Parties have moved to their ideological extremes and take on a harder edge making compromise more difficult.
- Moderates have been marginalised.
- Congressional time schedules have reduced the opportunity for bi-partisan friendships.
- Politicians have trouble reaching consensus.
- The two parties are becoming more internally ideologically homogeneous.
- The polarised nature of the American media.



Page 17	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	Cambridge Pre-U – May/June 2015	9770	02

**12 Assess the reasons why socialism has little support in the USA.**

**[50]**

**General**

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**Specific**

The purpose of this question is to encourage a discussion as to the reasons for the unpopularity of socialism in the USA. Candidates will need to provide a balanced discussion and the following points may suggest some of the arguments that could be included:

- In the USA Socialism as an ideology is associated with communism.
- Socialism is incompatible with the American dream.
- The Democratic Party incorporates some elements of socialism in its policies so no need for a separate socialist party.
- In the eyes of most Americans socialism is associated with unpopular International regimes such as Cuba and North Korea.
- Socialism is interventionist and goes against the notion that Americans like to think they can solve issues themselves.
- Anti-union laws passed in 2012 were popular and by definition were an attack on socialism.
- Third parties in the USA such as the socialist party of America make little headway in electoral terms and are regarded by the majority of the US electorate as a wasted vote.