

MARK SCHEME for the May/June 2015 series

9770 COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

9770/03

Paper 03 (Ideologies and Philosophies),
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 2015 series for most Cambridge IGCSE®, Cambridge International A and AS Level components and some Cambridge O Level components.

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Generic marking descriptors for sub-Q (a)

- 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 1:1.
- 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
3 15–10 marks	<p>ANSWERS MAY NOT BE PERFECT, BUT WILL SHOW EXCELLENT UNDERSTANDING OF THE TEXT AND RELATE IT STRONGLY TO THE QUESTION.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Excellently focused response that brings out the similarities and differences in the extracts in a sustained, point-by-point comparison that understands the views being expressed, relates parts to the whole seamlessly and answers the question convincingly. • At the top end, uses examples from beyond the two texts under discussion to amplify the explanation/provide context. • Towards the bottom, may be a little unbalanced in coverage yet the answer is still comprehensively argued. • Excellent understanding of relevant political knowledge (processes, concepts, debates and/or theories). • Candidate is always in firm control of the material.
2 9–5 marks	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW REASONABLE UNDERSTANDING OF THE TEXT, OR RELATE A SOUND UNDERSTANDING LESS STRONGLY TO THE QUESTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explanation that makes a solid attempt to respond to the question, identifying some of the substance of the comparison but does not make the comparison explicit (listing rather than juxtaposing points) and/or shows a limited understanding of the views. • No further examples and/or context are provided. • Limited understanding of relevant political knowledge, illustrated with limited examples from the text under discussion. • Unevenness in the coverage of material.
1 4–0 marks	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW LITTLE UNDERSTANDING OF THE TEXT AND LITTLE ATTEMPT TO RELATE TO THE QUESTION.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Only the most basic comparison between the passages and the most basic understanding of the similarities/differences. There is little or no engagement with the question. • Little if any engagement with the material. The answer may paraphrase the passages and/or compare the factual material in them rather than the views that they offer. • Little or no awareness of relevant political knowledge, with no sign of understanding.

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Generic marking descriptors for sub-Q (b)

- 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 1:3.
- 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.
- NB Answers are required to make critical use of political ideas and texts studied during the course. Responses which fail to enter into critical discussion of ideas and texts are very unlikely to attain a mark above Level 1.
- Evaluation refers to the argued weighing up/assessment of factors in relation to their significance in explaining a issue or in explaining linkages between different factors.

Level/marks	Descriptors
5 35–29 marks	<p>ANSWERS MAY NOT BE PERFECT, BUT WILL SHOW SOPHISTICATED UNDERSTANDING OF THE QUESTION AND DRAW COMPREHENSIVELY FROM THE IDEAS AND TEXTS STUDIED IN THEIR RESPONSES.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Excellent focused critical analysis and full evaluation of ideas and texts that answers the question convincingly. • Excellent sustained argument throughout with an excellent sense of direction that is strongly substantiated by an excellent range of supported examples. Excellent substantiated conclusions. • Excellent understanding of relevant political knowledge (processes, concepts, debates and/or theories). • 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 28–22 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 clear critical analysis and evaluation of ideas and texts across most but not all of the answer. • Argument is strong and sustained, showing clear awareness/understanding, but parts are underdeveloped and/or the range of substantiating evidence is not even across the answer. Strong conclusions adequately substantiated. Description is avoided. • Good understanding of relevant political knowledge.

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<p>3</p> <p>21–15 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A SOUND UNDERSTANDING OF THE QUESTION AND DRAW FROM THE TEXTS STUDIED IN THEIR RESPONSES.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Engages with the question although analysis and evaluation of ideas and texts is patchy and, at the lower end, of limited quality. Tries to argue and draw conclusions, but not well sustained and supporting evidence is patchy. There may be significant sections of description. Reasonable understanding of relevant political knowledge.
<p>2</p> <p>14–8 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW A LIMITED UNDERSTANDING OF THE QUESTION AND A LIMITED USE OF/REFERENCE TO TEXTS STUDIED.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some engagement with the question, but analysis and evaluation of ideas and texts are limited/thin. Limited argument within an essentially descriptive response. Irrelevance may characterise parts of the answer. Conclusions are limited/thin. Understanding of relevant political knowledge is limited and/or uneven.
<p>1</p> <p>7–0 marks</p>	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW LITTLE UNDERSTANDING OF THE TEXT AND LITTLE ATTEMPT TO RESPOND TO THE QUESTION.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Little or no engagement with the question. Little or no analysis or evaluation of ideas and texts. 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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1 Liberalism and the Individual

(a) Compare the views in the two passages about the establishment of government. [15]

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, but the question asks candidates to compare and answers in levels 2 and 3 need to show evidence of genuine comparison of the similarities and differences between the two passages. Answers might use matters of provenance, date and context to aid their comparison. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the comparison. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

The two passages deal with a key feature of liberalism, the idea of government by consent. The development of this theory was largely the work of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke. It is an extract from the latter which is the first passage in the question. Candidates may note that Locke developed the idea put forward by Hobbes that men would come together in a free compact or agreement to set up a power over them. Locke developed the contract into something real, which would also have to be constantly confirmed; it is this original contract that is outlined in the first passage, whereby having entered into the contract the individual agrees to submit to the majority. Although this contract was, in many ways still notional, although perhaps less so than Hobbes, the second passage from the US constitution was an attempt to make the contract a reality. Some candidates might suggest that the French Revolution attempted to do a similar thing, but was short-lived. Other candidates might suggest that Locke assumed that the original consent was to be constantly renewed unless future generations dissolved the government, although some might note that followers of Locke have argued that government by consent means that people should have the chance to renew their consent.

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(b) Assess the reasons why liberals support individual liberty.

[35]

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 is important is the quality of the critical analysis and degree of evaluation. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question. Further, they are required to refer to specific theorists to support their answer. Any answer that fails to do so cannot be given a mark above level 3.

Specific

Liberty is the central value for all liberals. Candidates might consider the different types of liberty and liberal support for them. Candidates may also suggest that liberty and freedom have essentially the same meaning; therefore liberals support it because they believe that people should be free to form their own government and should be masters of their own destiny. However, most of the answer should focus on individual liberty. Candidates might suggest that this depends upon liberal's positive view of human nature and that they know what is best for themselves. They may argue that individual liberty prevents governments from having too much power and that individuals, rather than governments, best know an individual's interests. Candidates might link this to the ideas of Bentham and his idea that individuals are motivated to pursue pleasure and avoid pain. Some might also argue that this linked well with free-market capitalism. Some might consider the ideas of Mill and the idea that people should be free from constraint and link this to ideas of religious observance, the development of beliefs and personal morality. There might also be reference to Green and his belief that individuals were not just motivated by self-interest, but also by a desire to promote the common good and therefore individuals achieved self-fulfilment not just through pursuing their own happiness but by pursuing social goals, such as the welfare of others. Some might argue that individuals should have the widest possible choice and this is only possible through individual liberty. Candidates might discuss the views of modern liberals, particularly the work of John Rawls, which sought to reconcile individual liberty with social justice.

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2 Conservatism and the Nation

(a) Compare the views in the two passages on the role of government.

[15]

General

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No set answer is expected, but the question asks candidates to compare and answers in levels 2 and 3 need to show evidence of genuine comparison of the similarities and differences between the two passages. Answers might use matters of provenance, date and context to aid their comparison. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the comparison. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

Candidates might note that Oakeshott's main contribution to conservative thought was the suggestion that politics should have no fixed goal or sense of specific direction. In his work, Oakeshott argued that the role of government should be to keep the ship of state on an even keel and care for the welfare of the people, therefore governing on a pragmatic basis. He was opposed to political action based on theories and principles as they caused conflict. In the passage, Oakeshott is arguing that governments should simply govern and do what is right for the people, not what politicians think ought to be right for the people. Candidates might suggest that this is a bridge between traditional conservatism and the New Right, neo-liberal conservatism outlined in the second passage. Oakeshott sees government as pragmatic and wants government to be a limited activity, which is linked with Thatcher in the second passage, which expresses distaste for the role of the state. In the second passage, candidates might suggest that Thatcher is espousing free market capitalism to restore dynamism to society by restoring economic freedom.

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(b) Assess the place of individualism in conservative ideology.

[35]

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 is important is the quality of the critical analysis and degree of evaluation. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question. Further, they are required to refer to specific theorists to support their answer. Any answer that fails to do so cannot be given a mark above level 3.

Specific

The term refers to the ability of individuals to pursue their own happiness, to make free choices and have a range of opportunities. Individualism can therefore only flourish in a society where each person is free to pursue their own goals and is not forced into accepting the collective goals of society. It is therefore at the core of conservative thought as it is associated with free enterprise. There are a number of possible approaches to this question. Some candidates might compare the conservative notion of individualism with the liberal notion of freedom. This might lead to candidates drawing a distinction between the liberal belief that the individual flourishes in a free society and the conservative view that the individual flourishes in a secure society. Conservative individualism is similar to liberal views of positive liberty as it entails the provision of opportunities and choices for individuals and families. It allows people to achieve their own goals without interference. However, some candidates might compare the conservative view of individualism with the socialist view of collectivism, arguing that conservatives prefer to achieve their goals individually. Conservatives consider it their task to achieve the conditions in which the individual, and therefore individualism, can flourish. Some might argue that in liberal thought there is an emphasis on the need for individuals to enjoy their private life and have their rights protected, where the state guarantees people's liberties, whereas individualism requires the state to create a stable environment in which people pursue their own goals. In this sense, they may argue that individualism opposes the idea that the state can achieve goals which individuals could achieve for themselves. Conservatives might also support the reduction of some freedoms if it promotes individualism. Some candidates might suggest that conservatives would support the reduction in civil liberties if it reduced crime, which would then make people feel more secure.

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3 Socialism and the Common Good

(a) Compare the views in the two passages on exploitation.

[15]

General

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No set answer is expected, but the question asks candidates to compare and answers in levels 2 and 3 need to show evidence of genuine comparison of the similarities and differences between the two passages. Answers might use matters of provenance, date and context to aid their comparison. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the comparison. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

Both passages focus on the issue of exploitation, but have a different emphasis. The first passage is concerned with the exploitation of the individual worker and the consequences of such exploitation, whereas the second passage considers the exploitation of raw materials and its consequences once they are in short supply. In the first passage, the focus is on the exploitation of what Marx termed the 'surplus value' from workers, arguing that they are paid only a subsistence wage and that as capitalism develops this exploitation increases. Marx argued that the surplus value was used to create more capital which extracted even more surplus value. Some candidates might note that this was not an accurate description of capitalism. In the second passage, Lenin considers a phase of capitalism, not where the worker was exploited, although ultimately that would occur, but where advanced nations exploited underdeveloped states for cheap resources and labour. Some might note that this was written at a time when many European powers had been exploiting their Empires, including Russia.

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(b) 'Socialists have disagreed more over means than ends.' How far do you agree? [35]

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 is important is the quality of the critical analysis and degree of evaluation. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question. Further, they are required to refer to specific theorists to support their answer. Any answer that fails to do so cannot be given a mark above level 3.

Specific

Candidates may agree or disagree with the statement. It is likely that many will agree with the view and argue that socialists have disagreed more over evolutionary or revolutionary methods rather than the ultimate goal of achieving the common good. However, some may challenge the question and explain that the ends of socialism vary and therefore the differences are just as great, with some placing more emphasis on social justice, others on equality of opportunity, or collectivism or common ownership. Socialists may agree that the ultimate end is based on the notion that people are of equal worth and therefore should have equal rights and equal opportunities. However, some might note that there is a difference among socialists as to the ultimate end, as some may want to bring about total economic and social equality, with common ownership of the means of production, whereas more moderate forms of socialism accept less than full equality, replacing it with social justice and partial common ownership. However, although there are some disagreements about the ends, many are likely to argue there are more disagreements about the means and consider the differences between evolutionary and revolutionary socialism. Some candidates might consider the solutions of revolutionary socialists, non-revolutionary socialists, democratic socialists and social democracy to illustrate that there is greater difference between the means than the ends. Some may note that as socialism has changed its character from the nineteenth century and become less revolutionary there have been fewer disagreements as to the means. Candidates might note that ultimately it depends upon the type of socialism and there are differences between the different strands, although the decline in the more revolutionary strands has resulted in less divergence when considering the means.

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4 Democracy and its Critics

(a) Compare the views in the two passages about the origins of nation states. [15]

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, but the question asks candidates to compare and answers in levels 2 and 3 need to show evidence of genuine comparison of the similarities and differences between the two passages. Answers might use matters of provenance, date and context to aid their comparison. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the comparison. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

The focus of the first passage is on two key elements, that of local self-sufficiency and belonging to a place, whereas the focus of the second passage is self-determination, but this is linked inexorably to the phenomenon of national sentiment. Candidates might explain the principle of self-determination, as expressed in the second passage, and this might be linked to the first passage where people are linked to a place that is definable and familiar, rather than remote. The second passage raises the question as to how we define a natural unit and the first passage offers a possible, if somewhat vague solution, when it considers a place that is 'definable and familiar.' The second passage also links national sentiment to self-determination and some might argue that this is also hinted at in the first passage. The passages both appear to suggest that it is natural for people to be members of a readily identifiable nation and to have deep emotional ties and attachments to it.

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(b) Assess the dangers of democracy.

[35]

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 is important is the quality of the critical analysis and degree of evaluation. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question. Further, they are required to refer to specific theorists to support their answer. Any answer that fails to do so cannot be given a mark above level 3.

Specific

There are a variety of approaches that candidates might adopt and examiners will need to be flexible in their approach. Some candidates might consider the different types of democracy and examine the flaws within the systems. In particular, some candidates might focus on the concept of 'people's democracy' and consider the model of the old Soviet Union and argue that the model and reality were very different, noting that equality was not achieved and questioning whether the genuine interests of the proletariat were taken into account. Some might also argue that even if the party did guide the revolutionary potential of the proletariat, it was still dangerous as there were no mechanisms for checking the power of the Communist party and ensuring that it remained accountable. Some candidates might consider how democracy works in practice and consider its ability to guarantee popular responsiveness and public accountability. Candidates might consider the elitist view and argue that one danger is that power is concentrated in the hands of a privileged minority, whilst other might point to the New Right criticism of 'democratic overload', whilst Marxists point to the tensions between democracy and capitalism. Some answers might also note that democracy is often indirect, whilst others could consider the dangers of the tyranny of the majority.

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5 Current Ideological Debates

(a) Compare the views in the two passages on the dangers of the power of the state. [15]

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, but the question asks candidates to compare and answers in levels 2 and 3 need to show evidence of genuine comparison of the similarities and differences between the two passages. Answers might use matters of provenance, date and context to aid their comparison. The marking notes here are indicative and not exhaustive. What matters is the quality of the comparison. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question.

Specific

Thoreau, in the first passage, calls for a withdrawal from society and the formation of self-sufficient and independent communes. He puts forward the view that most government was bad government, a less rational view than most anarchists. However, candidates might note that there are some positives in the passage as he says that some governments do act in the interests of the people, although that rarely occurred. He argues that people should be free to obey or disobey. He argued that people should resist the control of the state and, if necessary, withdraw from it. Bakunin believed that the state was corrupting. In the second passage he argues that even the best of men who have good intentions will be corrupted, lose their idealism and become exploiters. Therefore, both passages agree that the state is undesirable, but offer slightly different reasons for their views.

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(b) Assess the different types of environmentalism.

[35]

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 is important is the quality of the critical analysis and degree of evaluation. That said, candidates must answer the question set and not their own question. Further, they are required to refer to specific theorists to support their answer. Any answer that fails to do so cannot be given a mark above level 3.

Specific

Candidates may start by defining the term environmentalism, but examiners should take care to ensure candidates remain focused on environmentalism. Environmentalism refers to ideas and theories that are characterised by the central belief that human life can only be understood in the context of the natural world. It does cover a wide variety of beliefs – scientific, religious, economic and political – rather than a set of policies. However, in simple terms, there are two types of environmentalism – moderate or radical – and this should be the focus of the response. Candidates might examine liberal environmentalism and note that this does not propose revolutionary change, believing that its objectives can be largely achieved within existing social structures. This places humankind at the centre of the natural world and argues that if the environment is degraded it will threaten humankind. Candidates might mention some of the issues that concern liberal environmentalists, such as biodiversity, preservation of areas of natural beauty, pollution, habitat protection, organic farming and opposition to nuclear energy. Liberal environmentalists tend to suggest that most environmental issues are fundamentally economic in nature. However, candidates might contrast this with anarcho-environmentalism which has focused on anti-globalisation. This argues that humankind must adopt a simpler way of living. Some argue that all living things are equal and humans are not superior. The focus of the response should be on environmentalism, but some candidates may also discuss ecologism and may note that environmentalism is sometimes used simply to denote a moderate or reformist approach to the environment that responds to ecological crises but without questioning fundamental assumptions about the natural world. However, ecologism stresses the central importance of ecology and has developed into an ideology in its own right and therefore discussion of it should not dominate answers if they are to reach the higher levels. They might point to the differences between shallow ecology and deep ecology, with shallow ecologists arguing that humans should care for the environment for its own sake, whilst deep ecologists argue that humans must develop a new consciousness that sees humankind as an intrinsic part of the natural world. Candidates might consider attitudes to existing political structures with shallow ecologists arguing that existing political and economic structures need to be transformed, whilst deep ecologists argue that there must be a total change so that humankind is placed more naturally within its physical environment. There might also be a recognition that shallow ecologists see ecology as largely scientific, whilst deep ecologists see it as a synthesis of science, philosophy and even religion or mysticism.