

**CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS**

Pre-U Certificate

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## **MARK SCHEME for the May/June 2014 series**

### **9770 COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

**9770/03**

Paper 3 (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 2014 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 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.

<b>Level/marks</b>	<b>Descriptors</b>
<b>3</b> <b>15–10 marks</b>	<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"> <li>• 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.</li> <li>• At the top end, uses examples from beyond the two texts under discussion to amplify the explanation/provide context.</li> <li>• Towards the bottom, may be a little unbalanced in coverage yet the answer is still comprehensively argued.</li> <li>• Excellent understanding of relevant political knowledge (processes, concepts, debates and/or theories).</li> <li>• Candidate is always in firm control of the material.</li> </ul>
<b>2</b> <b>9–5 marks</b>	<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"> <li>• 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.</li> <li>• No further examples and/or context are provided.</li> <li>• Limited understanding of relevant political knowledge, illustrated with limited examples from the text under discussion.</li> <li>• Unevenness in the coverage of material.</li> </ul>
<b>1</b> <b>4–0 marks</b>	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW LITTLE UNDERSTANDING OF THE TEXT AND LITTLE ATTEMPT TO RELATE TO THE QUESTION.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 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.</li> <li>• 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.</li> <li>• Little or no awareness of relevant political knowledge, with no sign of understanding.</li> </ul>

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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 an issue or in explaining linkages between different factors.

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<b>Level/marks</b>	<b>Descriptors</b>
<b>5</b> <b>35–29 marks</b>	<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"> <li>• Excellent focused critical analysis and full evaluation of ideas and texts that answers the question convincingly.</li> <li>• Excellent sustained argument throughout with an excellent sense of direction that is strongly substantiated by an excellent range of supported examples. Excellent substantiated conclusions.</li> <li>• Excellent understanding of relevant political knowledge (processes, concepts, debates and/or theories).</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>
<b>4</b> <b>28–22 marks</b>	<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 clear critical analysis and evaluation of ideas and texts across most but not all of the answer.</li> <li>• 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.</li> <li>• Good understanding of relevant political knowledge.</li> </ul>
<b>3</b> <b>21–15 marks</b>	<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"> <li>• Engages with the question although analysis and evaluation of ideas and texts is patchy and, at the lower end, of limited quality.</li> <li>• Tries to argue and draw conclusions, but not well sustained and supporting evidence is patchy. There may be significant sections of description.</li> <li>• Reasonable understanding of relevant political knowledge.</li> </ul>
<b>2</b> <b>14–8 marks</b>	<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"> <li>• Some engagement with the question, but analysis and evaluation of ideas and texts are limited/thin.</li> <li>• Limited argument within an essentially descriptive response. Irrelevance may characterise parts of the answer. Conclusions are limited/thin.</li> <li>• Understanding of relevant political knowledge is limited and/or uneven.</li> </ul>
<b>1</b> <b>7–0 marks</b>	<p>ANSWERS WILL SHOW LITTLE UNDERSTANDING OF THE TEXT AND LITTLE ATTEMPT TO RESPOND TO THE QUESTION.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Little or no engagement with the question. Little or no analysis or evaluation of ideas and texts.</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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## 1. Liberalism and the Individual

### (a) Compare the views in the passages about the liberty of the individual in society. [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

Both passages offer views about the liberty of the individual in society and ascribe to the individual wide ranging liberties. In both passages the limits of the power of individuals and governments to restrain others are outlined. The passages agree that there should be no unwarranted restraints; true freedom is the absence of restraints. The Declaration (A) implies that individuals are the only judge of what is best for them, suggesting that restraints should be minimal and Mill (B) builds on this suggesting that the only restraint that is justifiable is for self-protection; in other words to protect your own liberty. Both passages are therefore suggesting that the individual is free, but Mill (B) argues that to protect other people's freedom there may be the need to prevent an individual from doing harm. Both passages also suggest that the individual is the best judge of what constitutes or will promote happiness for them, once more offering a wide freedom to the individual. Some might see a link between the Declaration (A), which claims life is an inalienable right, and Mill (B) who argues that interference is only justifiable for self- protection; possibly to prevent the loss of life, or at least harm.

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**(b) ‘Classical liberalism is the true liberalism.’ How far do you agree with this view? [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 will need to show a clear understanding of the concept of classical liberalism, which refers to the liberalism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Liberals believed that humans were in a state of nature and were entering into society and forming a state through social contract. It was seen as classical as it revealed liberal ideas in their purest form. Individuals in a state of nature are isolated and self-contained, governed by their own will and able to do what they want. Liberal theorists had different views about the state of nature; Hobbes believed that it was self-destructive, whilst Locke argued that it was reasonably agreeable. Some individuals were rational, some self-interested and others, according to Rousseau were animal-like, but had free will.

As soon as the state of nature is abandoned, liberals allow elements of conservatism and socialism into their doctrine and therefore it will become less pure. However, it is also fair to argue that liberalism had to change, a state of nature where individuals acted in isolation would have made liberalism implausible. There was a need to recognise the role society plays in creating individuals and the human capacity to reason. Contemporary liberals still take the view that individuals are more important than society and that the market and private property are essential to freedom, even though they differ from classical liberals on the amount of state and social intervention permissible so that people can be individuals.

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## 2. Conservatism and the Nation

**(a) Compare the views in the two passages on the importance of authority. [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 consider authority to be important, but Hobbes (A) places greater value on its importance, arguing that without it man's life would be brutish and short; in other words without authority society will collapse into anarchy. Although Scruton (B) also sees authority as an important glue holding society together and essential for order, he does not paint quite as bleak a picture as Hobbes (A). Some candidates may argue that Hobbes' view was affected by the Civil War and the breakdown in society that he had witnessed, or that it depended on his view of human nature. Scruton (B) suggests that authority, even hierarchy is essential in maintaining order, but Hobbes (A) goes further and argues that without authority everything about a civilised society would vanish and chaos would return. Hobbes (A) argues that man would need to surrender all his liberty to an all powerful 'Leviathan' in order to protect his life, but Scruton (B) suggests that man does not need to be submissive.

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**(b) To what extent have conservatives been guided by pragmatism rather than political principles? [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 question requires candidates to consider the issue as to whether conservatism is an ideology or a pragmatic response to political developments and events. Candidates might find it helpful to start by defining an ideology and then linking their response back to it in order to discuss whether it is simply pragmatic. Candidates may argue that conservatism is a doctrine of no change and therefore not pragmatic, whilst others may consider the importance of Oakeshott who advocated a pragmatic approach. He argued that political action should never be the result of conflict over political dogmas and theories. Pragmatism implies a flexible approach to politics, so candidates might argue that conservatism aims to understand what is best for people, acceptable to them and will preserve a stable society. They may argue that conservatives reject strongly-held ideology and a dogmatic approach to decision making. Some may argue that they are pragmatic in terms of resisting the dominant ideology of the time as this requires a willingness to change and be flexible. They may use Oakeshott's argument that societies should not be directed towards specific social goals. Some may argue that they oppose political principles because they view them as artificial and contrived, instead, conservatives value tradition and stability. However, some may also note that conservatives do not oppose social improvement, but it should be pursued in accordance with the emotions and traditions of the people, not according to abstract political principles. Some answers may go on to explain why many conservatives are opposed to political principles and argue that ideology is often radical or can lead to tyranny. The conservative view of human nature may also be used to explain why they oppose political principles. Conservatives believe that human nature is fickle, non-rational and changeable and this makes political principles flawed. There might be consideration of Karl Popper who argued that ideological movements actually influence human nature and are manipulative, leading to artificial societies that are doomed to failure.

As conservatives are often suspicious of political activity in general, therefore they believe it should be a limited activity. Many conservatives are also empiricists and judge current actions against the experience of the past. As a result, respect for tradition, pragmatism and suspicion of anything new are part of their approach. This might be linked into the idea of building on the wisdom of the past and being informed by the past.



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### 3. Socialism and the Common Good

(a) Compare the views in the two passages about the Third Way.

[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 two issues, economic progress and social justice. Both passages argue that the Third Way is different from the free market, but there is a slight difference in their attitude to social democracy and economic development; B argues that the Third Way is different from social democracy, whereas A argues that it is modernised social democracy. Candidates might argue that the emphasis on economic development is an integral part of the Third Way, particularly after Labour abandoned Clause IV. Blair, it might be argued also wanted to stress that the social democratic view of the economy had not been abandoned as critics had accused him of abandoning socialism. Both passages emphasise the importance of social justice; this was crucial because of concerns among many socialist supporters that the more vulnerable were being abandoned.

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**(b) Assess the reasons why socialists support equality.**

**[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 should consider the different types of equality as socialists have different views regarding different types of equality. Socialism emerged as a response to the increasing levels of inequality that emerged under capitalism. Socialists were concerned to achieve social and economic equality. Much of their support came from the belief that all humans were of equal worth and equally deserving of the rewards of their labour, be it physical or mental. Some may note that less radical socialists, although they disliked inequality, recognised that varying abilities and contributions to society might be recognised by differentials in rewards. Some candidates might take this further and note that social democrats accept that inequality is natural, but they still seek to ameliorate it by equality of opportunity and by examining what can and cannot be justified. In this instance, some candidates might argue that the pursuit of equality has been replaced by the concept of distributive justice.

Socialists believe that everyone is born with equal rights, both in terms of justice and access to power. Socialists reject the idea of natural order and argue that everyone has the potential to take up any position in society. Socialists also believe that however unequal people may be they are entitled to equal chances.

There is division among the socialist movement about issues such as absolute equality and this may be explored. Some may argue that some socialists do not support this as it does not acknowledge the variety of contributions that each person makes. This issue arises from differing views of the nature of humankind. Some socialists believe that everyone is born with the same potential; others argue that we have different abilities and potentialities and these should be recognised. It might be argued that this can be resolved by ensuring that all have access to basic services.

Some responses may look at other types of equality, such as equality of outcome and equality of welfare and explain why they are supported by socialists.

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#### 4. Democracy and its Critics

- (a) Compare the views in the two passages on the importance of language in cultural nationalism. [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

According to Herder (A) and Arvidsson (B) language is crucial in the creation of nationalism. Both writers see it playing a vital role in the development of a national culture and is therefore an important basis for the nation. According to B it helps to form a nation and bind people together. Herder (A) argues that it helps to create a common bond, which is stronger than anything and this is taken up in B where Arvidsson argues it provides the spiritual bond; this links back to A where Herder argues it helps to create a tradition and history, which is more important in the creation of the nation than even land. Herder (A) argues that language is the vehicle by which culture is transported and therefore nationality can be defined in terms of language. Herder (A) saw the importance of protecting culture as civilisations that had defended their culture were able to defend their identity. Some candidates might link the importance of culture and language as seen in the two passages to Welsh and Basque nationalism.

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**(b) 'Nationalism is not a single political ideology.' How far do you agree with this view? [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 will need to be aware of what is meant by the concept of nationalism. At the higher levels candidates will need to show a balanced response. In arguing that there is a sense of a common ideology there might be consideration of some of the common elements of nationalism. This discussion might include issues such as self determination, the idea of an organic society and independence. However, in arguing that nationalism is not a single political ideology, candidates might discuss some of the different types of nationalism that exist. This might include a discussion of some or all of the following: liberal nationalism, conservative nationalism, right-wing nationalism, cultural nationalism and volkism, post colonial nationalism, socialist nationalism and racialism. In discussing these concepts, candidates should explain the differences between the different types of nationalism in order to argue that it is not a single concept and not simply describe each type with no or little comparison. In comparing liberal and right-wing nationalism they might, for example, note that liberal nationalism upholds democracy and socialist nationalism supports authoritarian regimes. Candidates might also consider that conservative nationalism emphasises imperialism, whereas post colonial nationalism is the complete opposite and emphasises national unity. Racialist nationalism stresses racial superiority and contrasts with the idea of liberty upheld by liberal nationalists. However, some might also argue that even within the different strands there are common elements; for example between liberal and conservative nationalism over issues such as the concept of the nation state or the unity of people with a common national identity. In support of their arguments, candidates should refer to a range of political thinkers and this might include writers such as Herder, Mazzini, de Gaulle and Nyerere.

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## 5. Current Ideological Debates

**(a) Compare the views in the two passages on women and the family. [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

Two contrasting feminist views of childbearing and the family are offered. Firestone (A) represents what might be termed Marxist-feminism, in which Marx's class war is replaced by a sex war. Meanwhile, Friedan's writing (B) represents liberal feminism. Firestone (A) is suggesting that ultimately there will be a sexless society, brought about by technology which will allow women to rise up, end oppression and overthrow the present system. However, Friedan (B) recognises that the women's movement has already achieved a great deal and that they are in danger of losing sight of some women's goals. Unlike Firestone (A), she accepts that some women might want to choose to be mothers and wives and that they should feel free enough to be able to choose that role. However, Firestone (A) argues that technology will allow children to be born to both sexes and that this will free women from the institutions of child bearing and rearing.

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**(b) To what extent is environmentalism utopian?**

**[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 explain what the term utopian means in this context and use it a basis from which to compare their ideas and make a judgement. Some candidates might argue that environmentalism is a philosophy and challenge the question and this is acceptable provided they do not simply dismiss the idea of utopian. However, some might argue that the very idea of environmentalism being a philosophy rather than an ideology, particularly with no specific ends, means that it is utopian. Others may suggest that ultimately deep ecology will, like the Enlightenment, be seen as bringing about a change in thinking which is just as fundamental and significant and therefore not utopian. Some might argue that deep ecology is associated with mysticism and religions such as Buddhism and Taoism which are little more than philosophies of self realisation and do not provide ethical codes. Some candidates might use the work of Naess to show that environmentalism is utopian as he proposes to turn back progress to a simple way of living that does not acknowledge industrialisation and technological advances. He asserts that the 'natural population' of the Earth is 100 million, which is clearly utopian. Against this view, anarchists have argued for a return to a simpler way of live and therefore it could be argued that it is not utopian; candidates might even point to the existence of simpler communities such as the Kibbutz. Yet this could be balanced against the need for all humankind to adopt this style which it could be argued is utopian. Candidates might also argue that seeing humankind as part of nature and not superior or merely separate could be applied to life so that we do not undertake activities that damage the environment. To support this argument, candidates might suggest that using renewable energy is not utopian. Some may suggest that there is no alternative to environmentalism and therefore it is not utopian.