

**CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS**

**Pre-U Certificate**

**MARK SCHEME for the May/June 2013 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 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 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
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>3</b></p> <p><b>15–10 marks</b></p>	<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>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>2</b></p> <p><b>9–5 marks</b></p>	<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>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>1</b></p> <p><b>4–0 marks</b></p>	<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 about freedom expressed in the passages.

[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

Candidates may comment on the fact that Source A reflects the ideas of classical liberal thinkers, whereas Source B represents the ideas of New Liberalism associated with the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Some might comment on how these two sources are representative of the development in liberal thinking over the period, from a state that denied freedom by interference, to a state that could help to create freedom by action. There might be some mention of the move from negative to positive liberty as outlined in the two passages. The first source gives a wide range of issues that constitute freedom, whereas Source B limits itself to the comment that men are not just free when the government does least. The key to pick up in Source A is 'doing as we like' and the only freedom that is implied in A that we do not have is committing harm to others. It appears from A that freedom is only possible when man is free from restraint and this could be contrasted with B, where the state can help to achieve freedom.

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(b) Assess the view that liberty means doing exactly what one wishes.

[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

Answers will show an understanding of the concept of liberty and the various forms that it can take. There will be knowledge and understanding of the various forms of liberty and their social and political implications. Candidates might show an understanding of the extent to which liberty depends upon a recognition of the rights of others; they might draw a distinction between liberty and license; the consequence of an unfettered pursuit of liberty and license. Candidates might draw a distinction between positive and negative liberty: the cultural, social, economic and political preconditions necessary for the secure enjoyment of liberty such as tolerance, the rule of law, specification of rights, enforcement of rights, a degree of redistribution and equality of opportunity. Some might consider the different views of liberty as interpreted by the ideologies of the Right and Left and the assumptions and values underpinning the concept of liberty in minimal, social democratic, developmental, collectivised and totalitarian states. However, consideration of these issues may depend upon the options studied and examiners should not expect such coverage, but reward it if it appears.

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## 2 Conservatism and the Nation

(a) Compare the views about the dangers of change expressed in the passages. [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

In Source A, Burke stresses the importance of tradition and argues that the past is important. He accepts that if everything was destroyed some grievances would be removed, but he argues that this ignores the benefits of the past and that the best way forward is to use the experience of the past to help inform future developments. The passage does not rule out change, but it argues against the complete destruction of the past as it would throw away all that has been learnt from the past. The lessons from the past should help to inform as if not it is ignoring a great deal of experience, therefore if something completely new is established it might bring benefits, but it would also involve errors. This view is supported in Source B where Oakeshott criticises the rationalists who argued that 'familiarity has no worth'. As with Burke, Oakeshott also criticises the concept of destruction and the ignoring of reform. Examiners should take care to ensure that candidates realise that Oakeshott is criticising violent change and views society as an organism.

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(b) Assess the reasons why conservatives value authority.

[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 consider the conservative view of human nature and argue that as man is inherently wicked authority is essential in order to control him. It is vital for a stable and prosperous society and conservatives recognise that governments must, in the final analysis, rely on coercive powers to back up their decisions. They also insist that authority augments the power of superiors by encouraging citizens to believe that their commands are rightful. Some may consider the different strands of authoritarian conservatism and consider authoritarian conservatives, paternalistic conservatives and libertarian conservatives. They may argue that authoritarian conservatives favour hierarchy and authority as essential pillars in society and social order. Paternalists believe in the importance of deference to authority; for them authority is a prior condition for liberty, they argue that without respect for authority and the rule of law, social organisation is impossible. The libertarian view entails a return to a natural order, based on the sovereign individual and voluntary community. This emphasises the view that true virtue derives from organic institutions and authority structures within civil society rather than from the organised authority of the civil state. Therefore, for them, the key sites of authority are the family, community organisations and other forms of civil power which allow for the decentralisation of power and the preservation of local autonomy. This suggests that the conservative view of authority is complex and it is hoped that at the higher levels candidates will be aware of this. Some may argue that their belief in authority allows them to attack the permissive liberal values, which many believe has undermined the moral fabric of society. There is a basic agreement that the activities of the state should be subordinate to the needs of society rather than vice versa. They view respect for and deference to authority as positive, reflecting the underlying faith in the value of normative guidance, where the conduct of individuals is guided by the appropriate norms, moral values and conventions of social life. Without this guidance, society risks descending into uncontrolled individualism and non-conformism, with negative consequences for social order. If individuals know their place and can exercise self-discipline then society can be regulated without the need for a coercive state. The moral decline of modern western society is due to a decline in respect for authority.



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### 3 Socialism and the Common Good

- (a) Compare the views about the exploitation of workers by the capitalist system offered in the two passages. [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

- Workers are oppressed in both the 19th and 20th centuries
- Source A suggests this might be prevented by legislation
- Both Sources attack capitalism as the exploiter
- Source A suggests exploitation is more blatant than does Source B
- Both Sources A and B are concerned about inequality
- Source A asserts that the capitalist system creates unhappiness and Source B says it causes humiliation.

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(b) To what extent do socialists agree about equality?

[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

- Different types of equality
- Equal rights, opportunity, outcome, absolute equality, equality of welfare
- All tend to agree born with equal rights
- Reject idea that society has natural order
- Individual has potential to take up any position to which they aspire
- All entitled to same life chances
- Most controversy over absolute equality, all entitled to equal share whatever the contribution, may be seen as unjust or ultimate expression of social justice
- Some argue potential to be equal or inequality is inevitable – distribute property so each make what they can
- Rewards unequal, but ensure that basic services and minimum standard available to all.

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#### 4 Democracy and its Critics

- (a) Compare the views on the role and purpose of nationalism expressed in the passages. [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

Candidates are required to consider the views in the passage on the role and purpose of nationalism and it should be noted that this question appears in the section on Democracy and its Critics. Source A, written by the nineteenth century Italian nationalist, Mazzini, is very positive in its view of nationalism and sees it as a means of removing authoritarian or autocratic rule. It will be something behind which the Italian people can unite and be free. In this case nationalism will help to establish a free state. However, although Source B claims, like A, that the State is great and desirable, it also argues that individuals should subordinate themselves to the state and that it should dominate all aspects of life. In this case the state becomes authoritarian or totalitarian and undermines the freedom which Mazzini argued the establishment of the state would help to achieve. In the first instance, nationalism is a force for freedom, whereas in the second source it is illiberal and takes away freedom.

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(b) How similar are democracy and dictatorship as forms of government? [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 display knowledge and understanding of the concepts of democracy and dictatorship. They may examine the meaning of both democracy and dictatorship and how they have been defined. Candidates should show a clear understanding of these forms of government. They may analyse some of the following features of democracy and dictatorship; how government is selected and how, or whether, it is held accountable in democracies and dictatorships. There may be a consideration of the different types of democracies and dictatorships; the location of sovereignty; the role of consent and participation in the two forms of government. Candidates might consider the extent to which these two forms of rule can command obligation and claim legitimacy. There might be consideration of the relationship between the state and the individual and the treatment of opposition in both democracies and dictatorships. Some might consider the extent to which even dictatorships have to address the demands of its people on occasions and the allegedly 'dictatorial' aspects of democracies with 'elective dictatorships'.

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## 5 Current Ideological Debates

- (a) Compare the views about the development of feminist ideas expressed in the passages. [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 sources are from different periods or waves of the development of feminist thinking and ideology and this is the key to understanding them. The first source is taken from the period at the start of the second wave of feminism and shows how limited many of the issues being considered by women were in the earlier part of the twentieth century. Some may comment that it was this book that galvanised the women's movement, although this is not required for any level, but is important that they understand the context in which it was written as feminism at that point was 'the problem with no name', showing how limited progress had been. The passage reflects upon how few women questioned their position and that their life was dominated by their domestic role. This can be contrasted with Firestone who represents the radical wing of the feminist movement, which by the time of her writing had split into liberal feminism and radical feminism. In this passage she calls for women to throw off the main cause of their oppression, their place in the reproductive process and states that, unless they do, they will not improve their position.

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(b) To what extent is religious fundamentalism only a rejection of modernity? [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

There is a great deal that candidates can consider and there is the opportunity to consider a wide range of types of fundamentalism, not just Islamic, but also Christian, Jewish, Hindu and Sikh. It might be argued that the rise of industrial societies undermined religious belief and observance and that fundamentalism is a response to this. Some might consider what is meant by modernity and link it to urbanisation and the growing influence of science, and not just industrialisation. Much will depend upon how candidates define both fundamentalism and modernity. In many states the push to modernise did mean that religion, once central to social life, was little more than a matter of private belief. Since the 1970s there has been a revival in religion despite the growth of modernity in many areas of the world. The religious revival has aimed at a radical transformation of society which is at odds with the norms of the modern world and therefore the hypothesis does appear to have support. However, in order to fully address the question candidates should be aware that fundamentalism has developed in affluent areas of America and in slums of the Middle East. This wide spectrum suggests that the statement may not be valid for all developments, although it does appear to offer an explanation for the rise of Islamic fundamentalism. Yet, even here Islamic fundamentalists have upheld the concept of the nation state and have not sought to recreate the worldwide Islamic community led by a caliph. Some might argue that Islamic fundamentalism has been able to recruit because of the economic situation in many of the areas, where there is unemployment and people live in poor social conditions. However, it can also be argued that Hindu and Sikh fundamentalism has a political element to it and that it has grown as a response to state politics in India. This might then be contrasted with its development in America where it has grown as response to many liberal and permissive ideas.