



UNDERVISNINGS
MINISTERIET
STYRELSEN FOR
UNDERVISNING OG KVALITET

Samfundsfag A

Social Science A

Studentereksamen

General Upper Secondary School Leaving
Examination

Gammel ordning

Old guidelines

Digital

Part 2

10.00 a.m. - 3.00 p.m.

Thursday May 23, 2019
9.00 a.m. - 3.00 p.m.

A different world?

Assignments *with* enclosures.

This set of assignments is composed of a general section and three subsidiary assignments.

You must answer **both** questions (1a and 1b) in the general section.

You must also answer **one** of the three (A, B and C) subsidiary assignments.

For marking purposes, all three questions (questions 1, 2 and 3) have equal weight.

This means that the general section (in total) weighs about one third and the subsidiary assignment weighs about two thirds.

A DIFFERENT WORLD?

General section

Answers to 1a and 1b must be no more than 700 words in total.

- 1a. Develop three hypotheses that can explain the connections between party choice and attitude to economic growth and the environment as manifested in Table 1.
Each hypothesis must be supported by academic argument.

Table 1. Attitude expressed by Danes on whether economic growth should be ensured, even at the cost of environmental interests. By party choice. 2015. Percent.

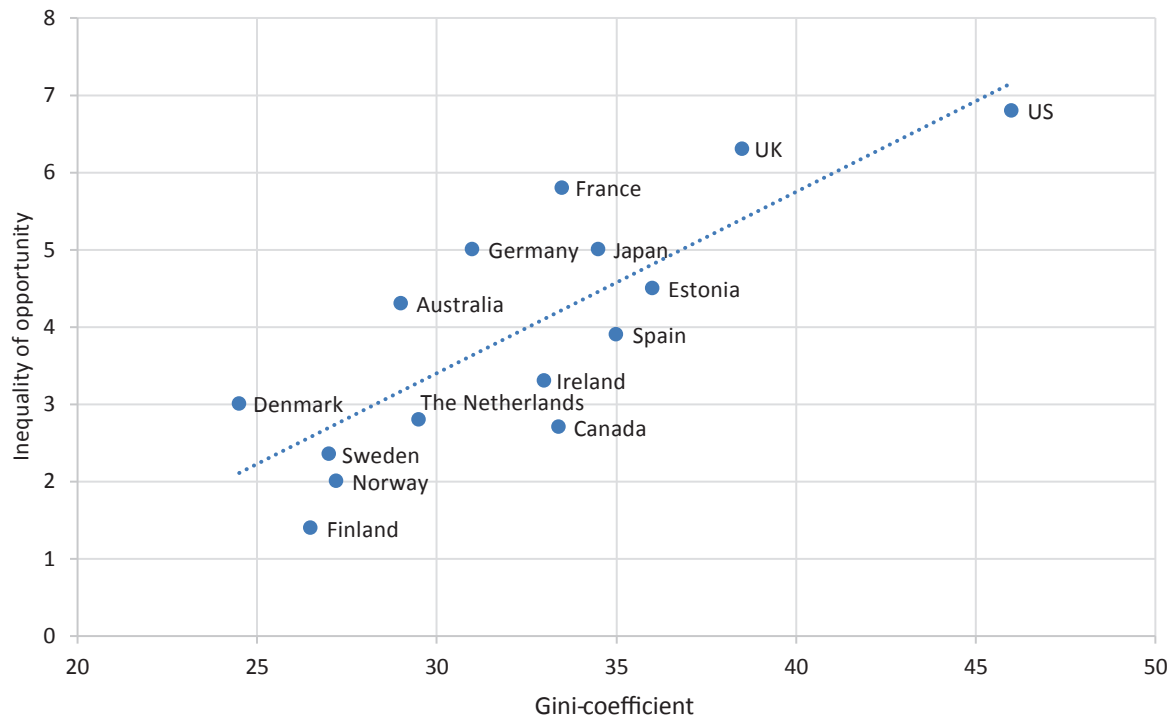
	Fully agree	Partially agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Partially disagree	Fully disagree	Total
The Social Democrats	3.8	11.4	18.8	32.7	33.3	100
The Social Liberal Party	0.0	8.0	13.8	36.8	41.4	100
The Conservative Party	6.5	23.9	21.7	30.4	17.4	100
The Socialist People's Party	0.0	6.6	10.5	38.2	44.7	100
Liberal Alliance	11.3	27.8	30.5	20.5	9.9	100
The Danish People's Party	14.5	18.2	28.0	25.2	14.2	100
The Liberal Party	11.9	24.8	24.2	24.5	14.6	100
The Red-Green Alliance	1.9	5.8	10.9	26.3	55.1	100
The Alternative	0.0	1.9	3.8	27.4	67.0	100
Total sum	7.2	15.4	20.3	28.2	28.9	100

Note: The respondents have been asked to respond to the statement: "Economic growth should be ensured, even at the cost of environmental interests."

Source: aau.surveybank. 2015.

- 1b. What can be deduced from Figure 1 about the relationship between the Gini coefficient and the inequality of opportunity in selected countries?
You must use knowledge about welfare models.

Figure 1. Gini coefficient and inequality of opportunity in selected countries. 2013.



Note: Inequality of opportunity is a measure which compares the chances of completing a higher education among children of different social backgrounds. Inequality of opportunity is found if children of parents that have completed a higher education have a better chance of completing a higher education than children of unskilled parents. The figure relates the chance that children of parents, who have completed a higher education, will complete a higher education themselves, to the chance of children of unskilled parents completing a higher education. The higher the number, the greater the inequality of opportunity.

Source: SFI: "Uddannelsesmobilitet i Danmark". 2016.

Subsidiary assignment A: International cooperation

2. Compare the views on the UN expressed in enclosures A1, A2 and A3. In the comparison you must use theories about international politics.
3. Discuss advantages and disadvantages to the great powers of a world order based on joint international rules. The discussion must take its point of departure in the video clip in enclosure A4, and you must use knowledge about national sovereignty and power in international politics.

ENCLOSURE A1

Interview with US national security advisor John Bolton, June 20, 2018, in connection with the US' withdrawal from the UN Human Rights Council.

YouTube (Fox News) and cnsnews.com. Accessed June 29, 2018. Extract.

John Bolton took office as national security advisor to President Donald Trump on April 9, 2018.

The US is withdrawing from the UN Human Rights Council. What is your comment on this?
I think it is right on target. In many respects, this decision has been decades in the making. The Human Rights Council and its predecessor the Human Rights Commission were really not places where human rights were made a priority, strange as that may seem. It is clearly the right decision to get out, and it is the right decision to defund the Human Rights Council and the High Commissioner for Human Rights. It is something that goes to the broader question of American sovereignty. We are actually self-governing in this country, and we have a constitution, where we make our share of mistakes, but then we correct them. We do not need advice from the UN or other international bodies on how to govern ourselves.

This decision follows one day after their High Commissioner criticized the United States over President Trump's immigration policies separating families. Has the decision been influenced by this at all?

It had nothing to do with that. This decision was made by President Trump weeks ago, and it followed a long decision-making process and a review of the Human Rights Council's performance. The decision to leave the Council must be seen in a longer perspective. In 2006, when I was at the UN, we voted against creating this Council. It was not adequately reformed and did not change its behavior from that of its predecessor, the Human Rights Commission. Leaving was exactly the right thing to do, and it will have broader implications for American sovereignty around the world.

Can you tell Americans exactly what leaving this Council means to them at home?

Getting off the Council is an assertion of American determination to stick by its constitution and refuse to recognize that there is a higher authority at the UN, whether it is a Council or a Commissioner for Human Rights, judging our performance or giving us advice on how to implement the constitution. We are perfectly capable of doing that ourselves. That is what this is about: self-government. Fundamentally, this is a rejection of the notion that multilateral organizations are in a position to judge representative governments like the United States, or to try and impose their view of what an adequate human rights performance is.

ENCLOSURE A2

Speech given by the Chinese President Xi Jinping at the UN General Assembly, September 28, 2015.

YouTube. Accessed June 29, 2018. Extract.

70 years ago, the previous generation had the vision and foresight to establish the United Nations. This universal, representative and authoritative international organization has carried our joint hope for a new future and ushered in a new era of cooperation. We are moving toward a multipolar world, and the rise of emerging markets have become an irreversible trend in history. In today's world, all countries are interdependent and share a common future. We should renew our commitment to the purposes and principles of the UN charter and build a new future based on cooperation which is beneficial to all parties. To achieve this goal, we need to take the following steps: we should build partnerships in which countries treat each other as equals. We must engage in mutual communication and show mutual understanding. The principle of sovereign equality underpins the UN charter. The principle of sovereignty not only means that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries are inviolable, and their internal affairs are not subject to interference. It also means that all countries can independently choose social systems and development paths, and that all countries' endeavors to better economic and social development, and to improve their people's lives, should be respected.

We should be committed to multilateralism and reject unilateralism, and we should adopt a new vision of seeking win-win outcomes for all and reject the outdated idea that one country's gain means the other country's loss, or that the winner takes it all. We should promote a global partnership at both international and regional levels and embrace a new approach to state-to-state relations, one that features dialogue rather than confrontation, and seeks partnership rather than alliances.

The security of all countries is interlinked, and this has an impact on all countries. No country can maintain absolute security with its own efforts, and no country can achieve stability out of the instability of other countries. The law of the jungle leaves the weak at the mercy of the strong, and it is not the way for countries to conduct their relations.

Those who adopt the high-handed approach of using force will find that they are only lifting a rock to drop on their own feet. We should abandon the cold war mentality in all its manifestations and foster a new vision of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security. We should give full play to the central role of the UN and its Security Council in ending conflict and keeping peace.

We must also – with the future in mind – treat nature with respect. Together, we must solve challenges regarding climate change, protection of the environment, conserving energy and reducing CO₂-emissions. We must aim at securing access to clean water for the next generations. The history of mankind is a process of active exchanges, interactions and integration among different civilizations. Each civilization represents the unique vision and the contribution of its people, and no civilization is superior to others.

ENCLOSURE A3

Speech given by the Russian President Vladimir Putin at the UN General Assembly, September 28, 2015.

YouTube. Accessed June 29, 2018. Extract.

It was in January 1946 that the UN General Assembly gathered for its first session. Russia believes in the huge potential of the United Nations, which should help us avoid a new global confrontation and engage in strategic cooperation. Together with other countries, we will consistently work towards strengthening the central coordinating role of the UN. I'm confident that by working together, we will make the world stable and safe, as well as provide conditions for the development of all states and nations. The UN is a unique institution in its legitimacy, representation and universality. It is true that lately the UN has been widely criticized for supposedly not being efficient enough, and for the fact that the decision-making on fundamental issues stalls due to insurmountable differences, first of all, among the members of the Security Council. However, I'd like to point out that there have always been differences in the UN among the permanent members, the United States, the United Kingdom, France, China, and Russia. It is absolutely natural for so diverse and representative an organization.

When the UN was established, its founders did not in the least think that there would always be unanimity. The mission of the organization is to seek and reach compromises, and its strength comes from taking different views and opinions into consideration. We all know that after the end of the Cold War — everyone is aware of that — a single center of domination emerged in the world, and then those who found themselves at the top of the pyramid were tempted to think that if they were strong and exceptional, they knew better and they did not have to reckon with the UN. We consider the attempts to undermine the legitimacy of the United Nations as extremely dangerous. They could lead to a collapse of the entire architecture of international organizations, and then indeed there would be no other rules left but the rule of force. We would get a world increasingly characterized by dictate rather than equality. Sovereignty is basically about freedom and the right to choose freely one's own future for every person, nation and state. We are all different, and we should respect that. No one has to conform to a single development model that someone has once and for all recognized as the only right one.

The honest and frank approach of Russia in Syria has recently been used as a pretext to accuse it of its growing ambitions. However, it's not about Russia's ambitions, but about the recognition of the fact that we can no longer tolerate the current state of affairs in the world. What we actually propose is to be guided by common values and common interests, rather than ambitions. On the basis of international law, we must join efforts to address the problems that all of us are facing and create a genuinely broad international coalition against terrorism.

Russia proposes to establish a commission whose job it would be to carry out a comprehensive analysis of threats in the Middle East. We propose discussing whether it is possible to agree on a resolution aimed at coordinating the actions of all the forces that confront the Islamic State and other terrorist organizations. Once again, this coordination should be based on the principles of the UN Charter. We hope that the international community will be able to develop a comprehensive strategy for political stabilization, as well as social and economic recovery, of the Middle East. It is important that this coordination is based on the UN Charter. Literally, any assistance to sovereign states can and must be offered rather than imposed exclusively and solely in accordance with the UN Charter. Everything that contravenes the UN Charter must be rejected.

ENCLOSURE A4

UN General Secretary António Guterres. Press conference in Moscow, June 21, 2018.

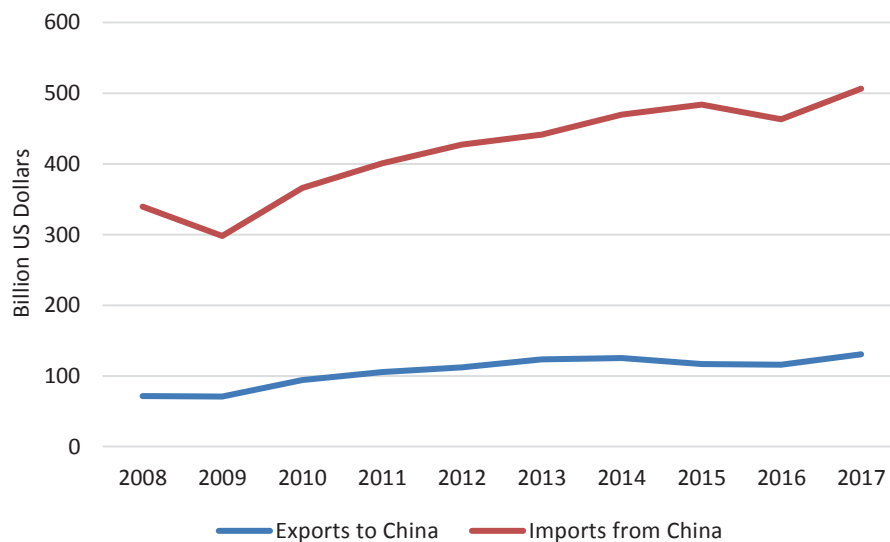
YouTube. Accessed June 29, 2018. Extract.

Subsidiary assignment B: Economic relations between the US and China

2. Examine what can be deduced from the materials in enclosure B1 (Figure 1, Figure 2, Figure 3, Figure 4, Table 1 and Table 2) about the economic relations between the US and China.
Your examination must be supported by relevant calculations and you must use knowledge about competitiveness.
3. Discuss how the US economy is affected by the protectionist economic policies of the United States, focusing on both advantages and disadvantages.
The discussion must take its point of departure in enclosure B2 and the tweets posted by American President Donald Trump in Enclosure B3, and you must use knowledge about economic goals and international economics.

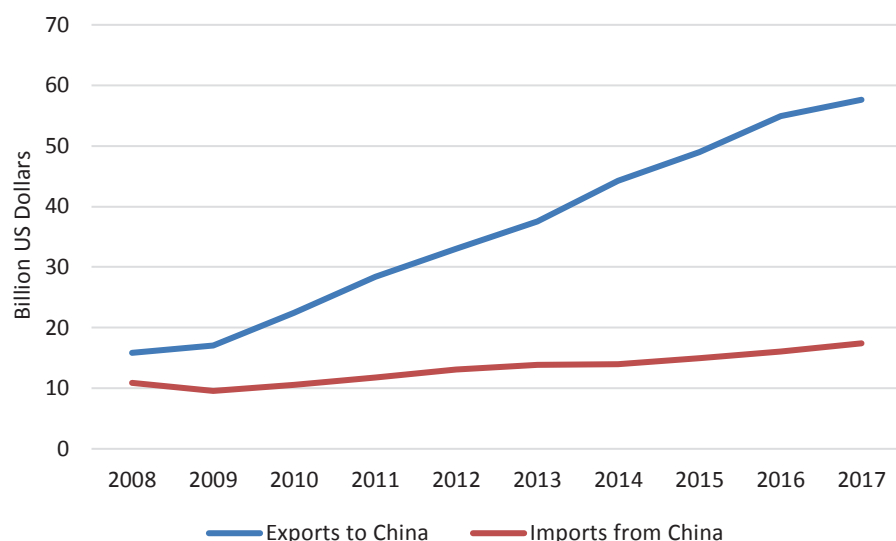
ENCLOSURE B1

Figure 1. US imports and exports of goods from and to China. 2008-2017. Billion US Dollars. Current prices.



Source: The U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis.

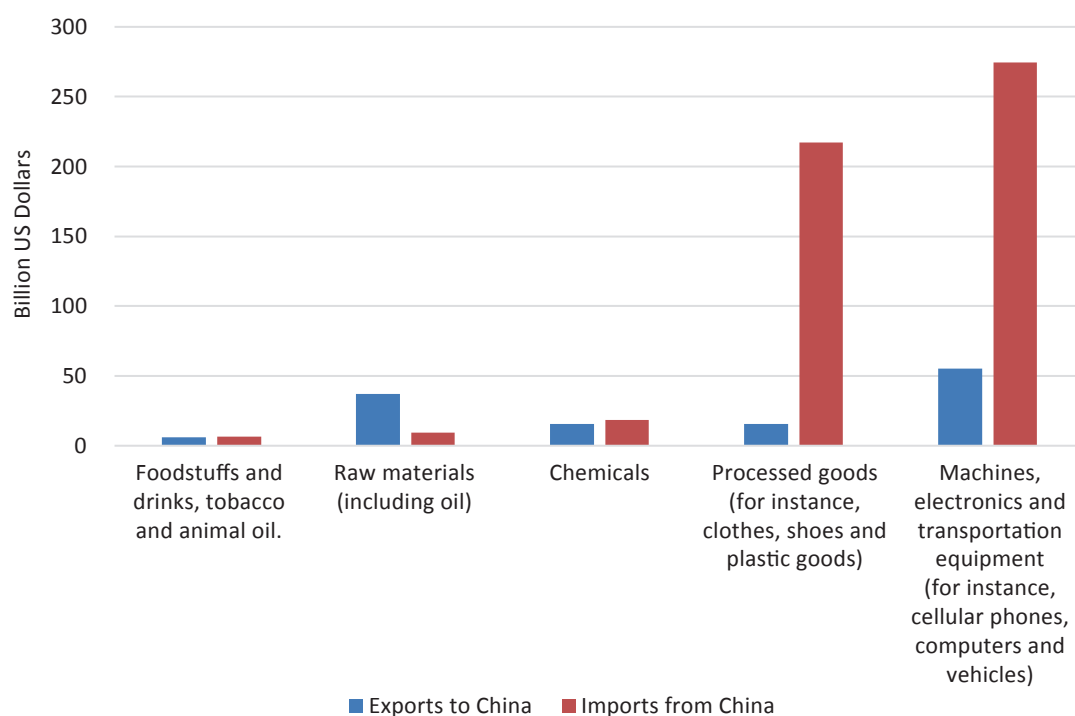
Figure 2. US imports and exports of services from and to China. 2008-2017. Billion US Dollars. Current prices.



Note: In economics, a "service" is a transaction in which no physical goods are transferred from the seller to the buyer. Examples may be travels or education.

Source: The U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis.

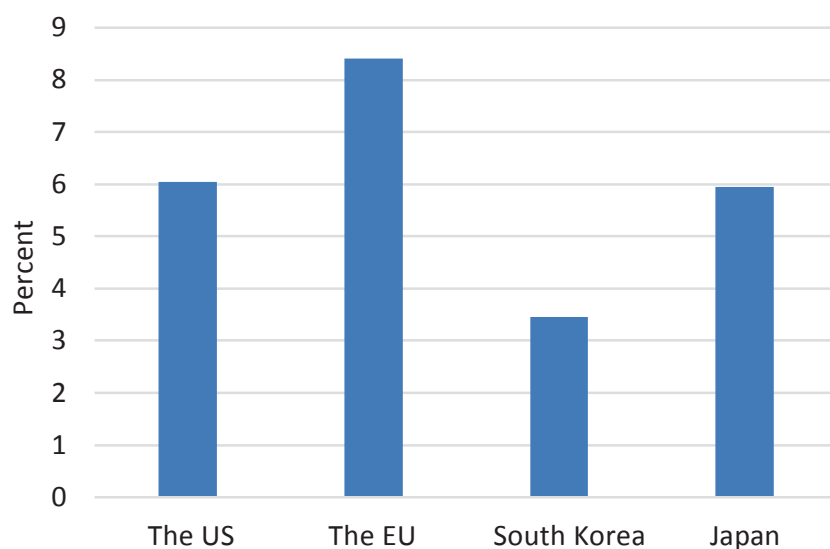
Figure 3. US imports and exports of goods from and to China by product category. 2017. Billion US Dollars.



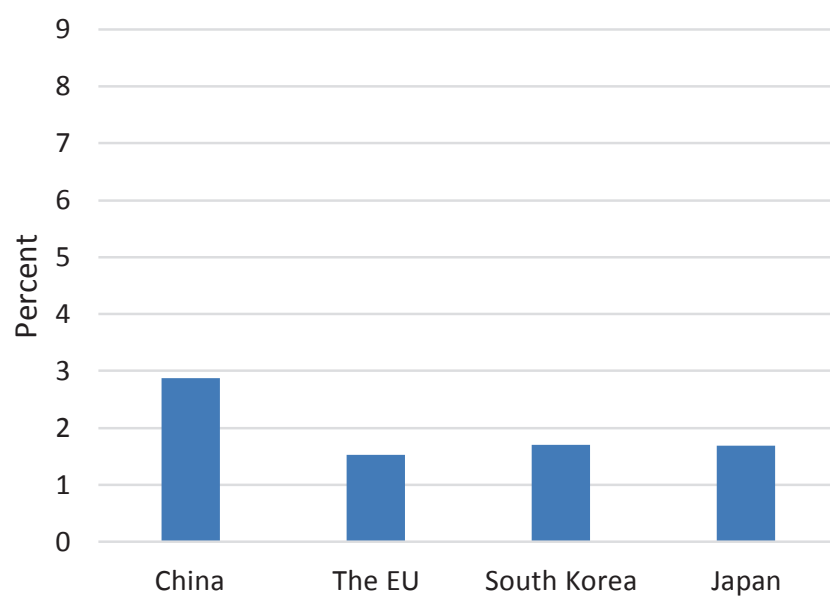
Source: United States Census Bureau.

Figure 4. Average tariff rates in the US and China directed at different trading partners. 2015. Percent.

Tariff rates in China



Tariff rates in the US



Note: The figure shows the average of all tariff rates on goods imported to the US and China, respectively, by different trading partners.

Source: WTO Tariff Analysis Online.

Table 1. GDP per person and GDP, China and the US. 2008-2017. Absolute figures.

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
GDP per person. US Dollars, 2011-prices, purchasing power parities (PPP)										
China	7,948	8,652	9,526	10,384	11,146	11,951	12,759	13,570	14,401	15,309
The US	50,384	48,558	49,374	49,794	50,520	51,004	51,922	53,006	53,399	54,225
GDP. Billions US Dollars, 2010-prices, purchasing power parities (PPP)										
China	5,040	5,514	6,101	6,682	7,207	7,667	8,333	8,908	9,505	10,161
The US	15,011	14,595	14,964	15,204	15,542	15,803	16,209	16,673	16,920	17,305

Source: databank.worldbank.org

Table 2. Average monthly wage and GDP per worker in China and the US. US Dollars.

	Average monthly wage (2014)	GDP per worker (2017)
China	765	13,334
The US	4,550	110,910

Note: GDP per worker is a measure of productivity and is stated in 2010-prices. Average monthly wage is given in 2014-prices.

Source: ilo.org/ilostat.

ENCLOSURE B2

Matias Ludvig Littauer: "Facts: The trade dispute between the US and China".

Berlingske. 7.9. 2018. Extract.

The trade dispute between the two economic great powers, the US and China, began in the spring of 2018, when the US imposed tariffs on Chinese steel and aluminum. Since then, American tariffs have targeted other Chinese goods at a total of 25 percent on goods – worth more than 300 billion Danish kroner. China's response has been to impose the same tariffs on a comparable amount of American goods. The reason why the US is imposing tariffs on Chinese goods is that the US has a large trade deficit with China. As the American tariffs are unlawful, the World Trade Organisation (WTO) states that China is entitled to retaliate the American punitive tariffs.

ENCLOSURE B3



Donald J. Trump ✓
@realDonaldTrump



Tariffs are working big time. Every country on earth wants to take wealth out of the U.S., always to our detriment. I say, as they come, Tax them. If they don't want to be taxed, let them make or build the product in the U.S. In either event, it means jobs and great wealth.....

13:39 – 5 Aug 2018



Donald J. Trump ✓
@realDonaldTrump



"Ford has abruptly killed a plan to sell a Chinese-made small vehicle in the U.S. because of the prospect of higher U.S. Tariffs." CNBC. This is just the beginning. This car can now be BUILT IN THE U.S.A. and Ford will pay no tariffs!

15:49 – 9 Sep 2018



Donald J. Trump ✓
@realDonaldTrump



If the U.S. sells a car into China, there is a tax of 25%. If China sells a car into the U.S., there is a tax of 2%. Does anybody think that is FAIR? The days of the U.S. being ripped-off by other nations is OVER!

16:01 - 9 Sep 2018



Donald J. Trump ✓
@realDonaldTrump



Tariffs have put the U.S. in a very strong bargaining position, with Billions of Dollars, and Jobs, flowing into our Country - and yet cost increases have thus far been almost unnoticeable. If countries will not make fair deals with us, they will be "Tariffed!"

12:11 – 17 Sep 2018



Subsidiary assignment C: Social heritage in Denmark

- Examine what can be deduced from the materials in enclosure C1 (Table 1, Figure 1, Figure 2, Figure 3 and Table 2) about social heritage in Denmark.
Your examination must be supported by relevant calculations and you must use sociological concepts.
- You are the political advisor to the chairman of The Conservative Party Søren Pape Poulsen. Write a memo to Søren Pape Poulsen enabling him to argue for a strategy concerning the social mobility in Denmark.
The memo must take its point of departure in enclosure C2, and you must use knowledge about political ideologies.

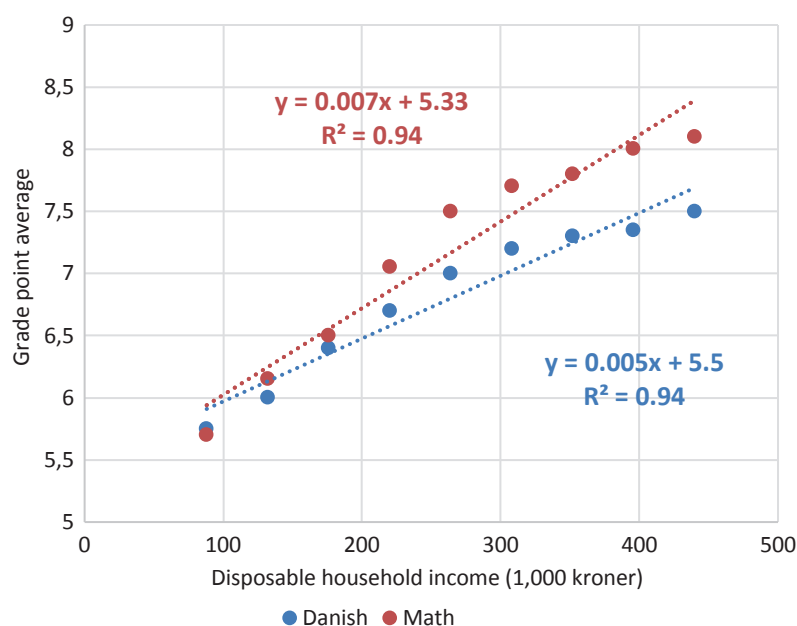
ENCLOSURE C1

Table 1. Education level of 25-year-olds, by their parents' highest completed education. 2016. Percent.

Parents' highest completed education	Education level of 25-year-olds				
	Compulsory school	Upper secondary	Skilled	Higher education	Total
Compulsory school	40.4	12.5	32.2	14.9	100
Upper secondary	23.3	23.5	22.6	30.6	100
Skilled	21.1	16.3	36.3	26.3	100
Higher education	11.6	26.7	15.6	46.1	100

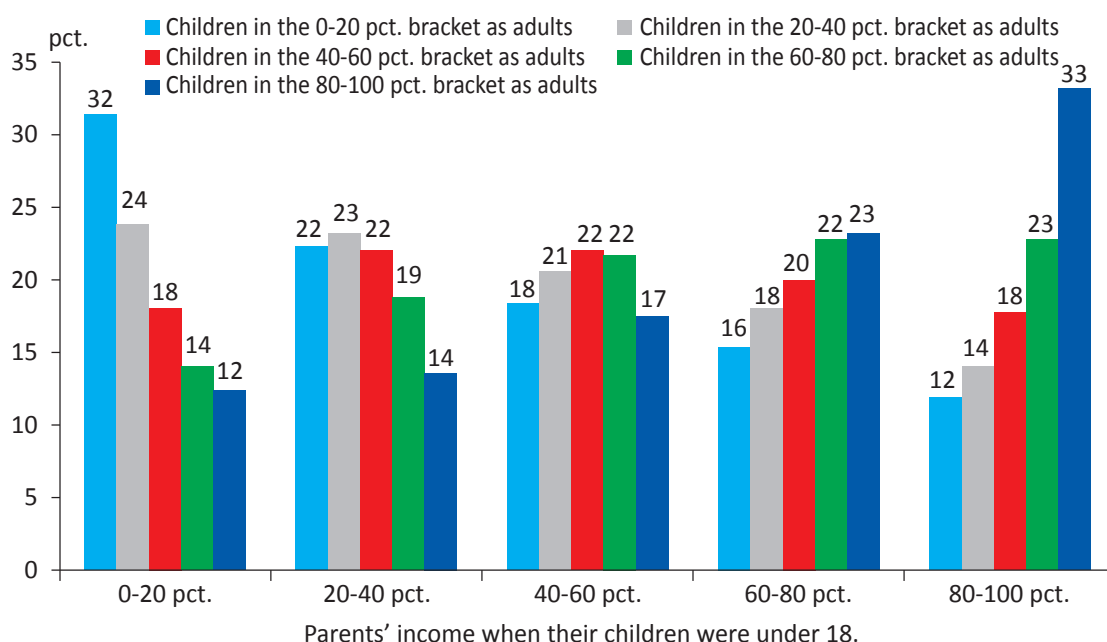
Source: "Flere unge bryder den sociale arv". Arbejderbevægelsens Erhvervsråd. 2016.

Figure 1. Relation between disposable household income (after taxes) and grade point average for children in Danish and Math. 2013.



Source: Compiled on the basis of numbers from Statistics Denmark and the report: "Børn i lavindkomstfamilier". SFI. 2015.

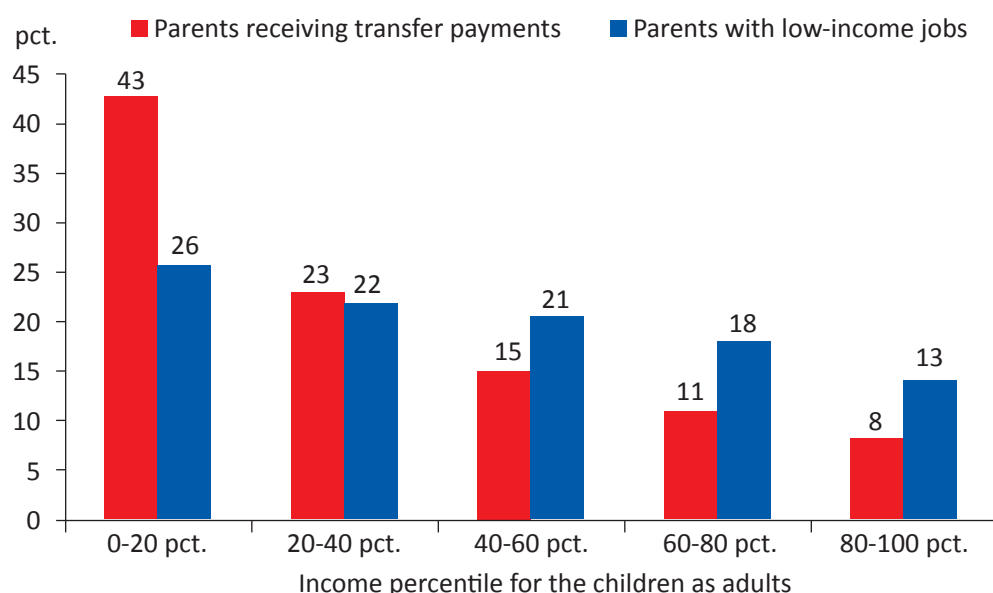
Figure 2. Income distribution for children as adults, by parents' income when their children were under 18. 2017. Percent.



Note: The parents have been divided into five income brackets. In the group of parents who earned the least (0-20 pct.) when their children were under 18, 32% of the children end up remaining in the lowest income category as adults. Only 12% end up in the highest income category (80-100 pct.).

Source: "Børn af forældre med job bryder den sociale arv". CEPOS. 2018.

Figure 3. Income distribution for children as adults, by parents' job situation when their children were under 18. The figure only shows the group of children whose parents were in the lowest income category. 2017. Percent.



Note: The figure shows how the children of low-income parents do as adults with respect to income. In the group of children whose parents had low-income jobs 13% end up in the richest income bracket as adults. In the group of children whose parents received transfer payments 8% end up in the richest income bracket as adults.

Source: "Børn af forældre med job bryder den sociale arv". CEPOS. 2018.

Table 2. The age group 19-29-year-olds in the total population, by parents' highest completed level of education. 2003-2013. Absolute figures.

Parents' highest completed education.	2003	2005	2007	2009	2011	2013
Compulsory school	134,659	121,525	110,668	103,178	97,142	92,613
Upper secondary school	11,248	12,432	13,663	15,390	17,090	18,868
Skilled	305,868	289,082	275,963	273,726	278,752	290,237
Short higher education	34,641	34,253	34,727	36,704	39,967	44,494
Medium-length higher education	138,139	134,672	133,119	135,641	141,148	150,677
Long higher education	50,787	51,332	53,008	56,184	60,466	66,226
Total	675,342	643,296	621,148	620,823	634,565	663,115

Source: "Social mobilitet – sammenhænge mellem forældres og studerendes uddannelsesniveau". The Ministry of Education and Research. 2015.

ENCLOSURE C2

Anna Bølling-Ladegaard: "Experts: If we want to break the negative social heritage, we must intervene early".

Politiken. 25.7. 2017. Extract.

It is far more efficient to enhance a child's skillsets and motivation to learn in the first years of school than trying to influence a teenager who is tired of school, especially if he has never thrived in school.

It is even more efficient to capture the child's curiosity and motivation to learn even before school starts. The sooner an intervention is made the better, this is the clear message from several experts. And early efforts are needed." And early efforts are needed. A study from The Economic Council of the Labour Movement shows that the social heritage in Denmark is so strong that a relation is found not only between the educational level of parents – but also that of grandparents - and how children do in the subjects of Danish and Math starting in the second and third grade.

The analysis shows that the higher the education level of parents and grandparents is, the better the children perform in national tests. And even though schools are able to enhance the children's skillsets through their years of schooling, a strong correlation is found between how children do in their first years at school and how they perform in leaving examination.