



BØRNE- OG
UNDERVISNINGSMINISTERIET
STYRELSEN FOR
UNDERVISNING OG KVALITET

Samfundsfag A

Social Science A

Studentereksamen

General Upper Secondary School Leaving
Examination

Ny ordning

New guidelines

Part 2

To be handed out after 40 minutes

Tuesday May 26, 2020
9.00 a.m. - 3.00 p.m.

Common Future

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.

COMMON FUTURE

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 climate taxes on airline travel manifested in table 1.
Each hypothesis must be supported by academic argument.

Table 1. Party choice and attitude to climate taxes on airline travel. 2019. Percent.

	Fully agree	Partially agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Partially disagree	Fully disagree	Don't know	Total
The Social Democrats	23.9	27.5	21.2	8.3	10.8	8.3	100
The Social Liberal Party	26.9	32.3	18.4	8.2	7.6	6.6	100
The Conservative Party	14.7	21.1	19.2	15.6	25.8	3.6	100
The New Right (Nye Borgerlige)	16.3	20.5	18.4	7.9	31.6	5.3	100
The Socialist People's Party	35.7	30.0	16.3	6.3	5.0	6.7	100
Liberal Alliance	6.5	13.0	15.9	15.2	42.8	6.6	100
The Danish People's Party	18.0	18.9	18.8	12.7	25.6	6.0	100
The Liberal Party	11.2	22.0	22.3	13.0	23.2	8.3	100
The Red-Green Alliance	43.9	25.8	12.3	5.4	6.0	6.6	100
The Alternative	55.6	20.7	9.6	5.2	3.0	5.9	100
Total sum	23.5	24.5	19.0	9.7	16.2	7.1	100

Note: 5,297 respondents have been asked to respond to the statement: "Taxes should be imposed on air travel".
Source: Surveybanken. Valgundersøgelsen 2019 (The general election survey 2019).

1b. What can be deduced from table 2 about the relationship between the costs of active labour market policy and downward social mobility?

Your answer must be supported by a diagram containing a linear regression showing the connection between the costs of active labour market policy and downward social mobility. In your answer, you must use knowledge about labour market relations.

Table 2. Share of GDP spent on active labour market policy and share of the work force that has experienced downward social mobility. Percent.

	Share of GDP spent on active labour market policy	Downward social mobility
Austria	0.74	25.7
Belgium	0.52	22.9
Chile	0.11	37.1
The Czech Republic	0.25	28.4
Germany	0.26	22.4
Denmark	1.63	15.4
Estonia	0.18	27.6
Finland	0.84	22.7
France	0.70	27.4
The UK	0.03	35.5
Greece	0.17	36.2
Ireland	0.40	28.4
Italy	0.41	23.7
Japan	0.08	35.7
Luxembourg	0.75	19.9
The Netherlands	0.48	19.0
Norway	0.38	21.2
Portugal	0.41	29.9
Slovakia	0.21	32.9
Sweden	0.90	25.9

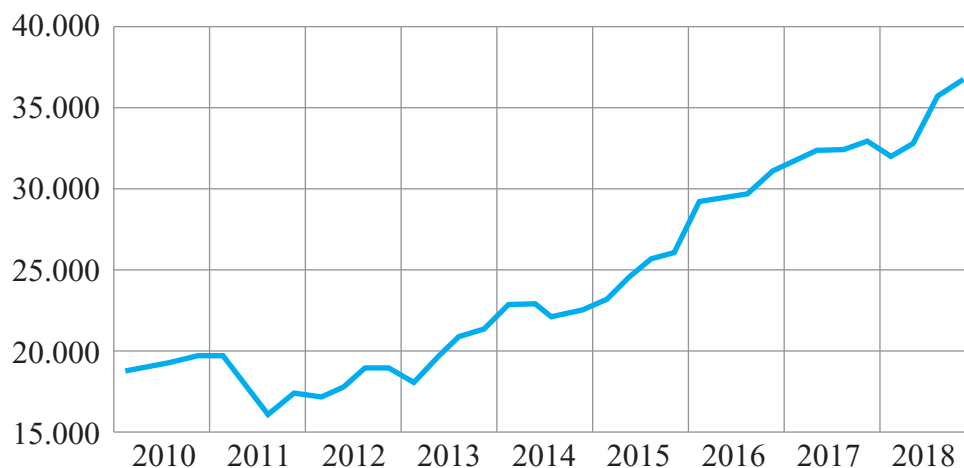
Note: Active labour market policy is defined as the government expenses for both voluntary and mandatory measures with the intent to improve the chances of the unemployed to succeed in the labour market. Examples of active labour market policy are for instance job training, supplementary training (etteruddannelse) and re-education (omskoling).
Source: OECD.stat. 2017 og 2018.

Subsidiary assignment A: The Danish labour market and the corona crisis.

2. Examine what can be deduced from the materials in enclosure A1 (figure 1, figure 2, figure 3, table 1 and figure 4) about the development of the Danish labour market with the aim of assessing whether there has been a shortage of labour power in the period until 2018. Your examination must be supported by relevant calculations and a diagram showing your calculated numbers. You must use knowledge about labour market relations.
3. You are the economic-political advisor to the Social Democratic Finance Minister. Write a memo to the Finance Minister enabling him to plan a strategy for handling the economic challenges mentioned in enclosure A2. The memo must take its point of departure in the situation on March 19, 2020, according to enclosure A2, and you must use knowledge about economic policy.

ENCLOSURE A1

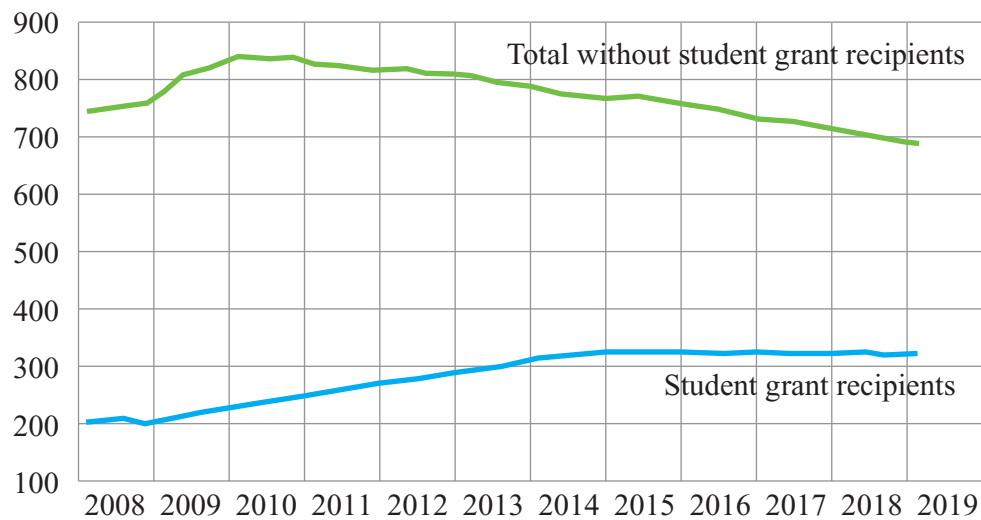
Figure 1. Number of vacant positions in the private sector. 2010-2018. Absolute numbers.



Source: Statistics Denmark. 2019.

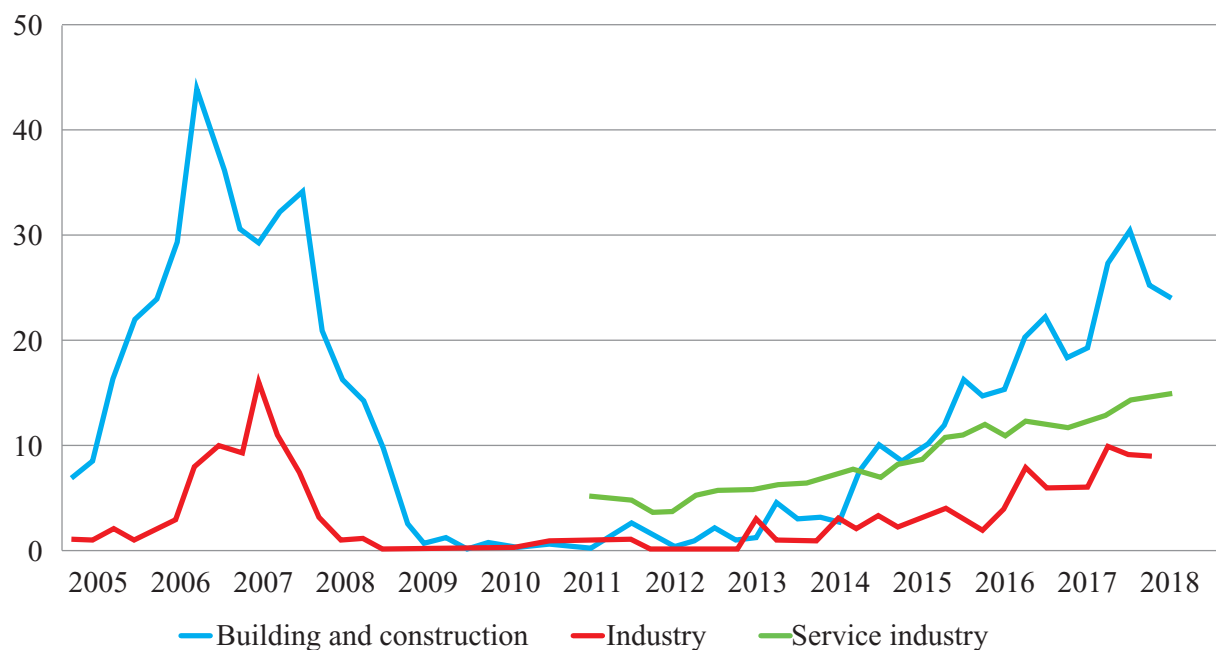
ENCLOSURE A1 (*continued*)

Figure 2. Number of people receiving public relief in the age group 16-64 years. 2008-2019. Converted into full-time jobs. Absolute numbers (1000 people).



Source: Statistics Denmark 2019.

Figure 3. Share of companies that report lack of manpower as a limit on production. 2005-2018. Percent.



Note: The numbers for the second quarter of 2018 are based solely on the month of March. Service industry numbers are only available from 2011 onwards.

Source: Statistics Denmark. 2018.

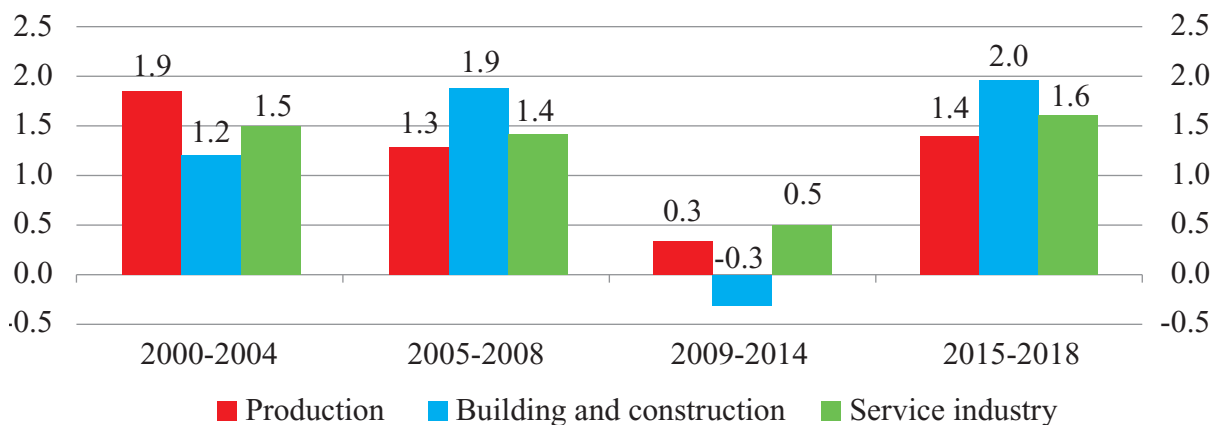
ENCLOSURE A1 (*continued*)

Table 1. Development in the workforce 2010-2018. Absolute numbers.

	2010	2012	2014	2016	2017	2018
Employed	2,704,542	2,684,840	2,719,840	2,805,073	2,848,333	2,895,946
Unemployed	132,058	135,198	108,730	98,043	102,474	94,253
Workforce total	2,836,600	2,820,038	2,828,570	2,903,116	2,950,807	2,990,199

Source: Statistics Denmark. 2018.

Figure 4. Average yearly change in real wages. 2000-2004 to 2015-2018. Percent.



Source: Confederation of Danish Employers. 2018.

ENCLOSURE A2

Danske Bank: Update on the crisis: A deep hole has opened up.

March 19, 2020. Excerpts.

In only a few weeks, the new corona virus has developed into an enormous economic shock. In Denmark, companies employing roughly 10 percent of the workforce are now directly closed, while many others are struggling due to lack of demand, goods or employees able or allowed to work. Consumption has come to a halt in a number of areas. It is not unlikely that the economic activity is currently up to a third below normal, a reduction the like of which we have never witnessed before. This is even without counting the severe cutbacks in the public sector. However, the statistics do not count these as production losses in the same way, and the employees are not at risk of being fired.

This is the situation, not only in Denmark, but also in most of Europe, and most likely also in the US soon. This affects both exports and the firms that depend on imports, but this crisis is mostly about the domestic service industry – which makes the crisis so severe, as this is by far the largest sector.

Unemployment numbers are rising rapidly. In the last seven days, 22,051 people have registered as unemployed, which is about 15,000 more than normal. In comparison, unemployment grew by 97,000 people during the financial crisis, but that was over a period of two years.

Subsidiary assignment B: The US and Denmark

2. Compare the views on the changed behaviour and position of the United States in international politics expressed in enclosures B1, B2 and B3.
You must use knowledge about power relations in international politics.
3. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages for Danish foreign policy of the changed power relations in international politics.
The discussion must take its point of departure in enclosure B4 and the video clip in enclosure B5, and you must use knowledge about goals and opportunities in Danish foreign policy.

ENCLOSURE B1

Per Stig Møller: "The day has dawned, when we can no longer count on the US".

Ræson. July 18, 2018. Excerpts.

Per Stig Møller is a former Conservative Foreign Minister.

Since WWII, the US has been the leader of the free world. From President Truman to President Obama. Though Obama initiated the reorientation from Europe to the Pacific, he did not break ties with either NATO or Europe. We must face that the US under Trump has returned to the classic American foreign policy, which in the age from President Washington to President Monroe was focused on NOT becoming embroiled in European conflicts. Now the day when we can no longer count on the US has dawned. The President of the United States initiates a trade war with the EU and falls upon Germany without mercy. He attempts to destabilize the EU by overtly supporting British EU-opponents, he recommends President Macron that France leaves the EU, and he accuses Germany of being in Russia's pocket, while then joining the very same pocket. He prides himself on getting his NATO-allies to pay more towards the alliance, even though promises of this were given during Obamas presidency.

In relation to Syria, Obama announced plans to intervene, but he did not. Instead, the US supported the Kurds in their fight against ISIS, but now the Kurds should not count on American support for much longer, because Trump wants out. Apparently, the friends of the US should not take American friendship for granted. Where does all this leave us? The EU is taking precautions in this new situation. The Union has signed free trade agreements with Japan and Canada and must continue this course of action. The European Security and Defense dimension severely needs the UK when building and cementing a credible bulwark against Russia. At the same time, we should not write off NATO, but we must strengthen the European axis of the alliance. Europe must prepare itself to face an aggressive Putin on its own and to contain the problems in the Middle East and North Africa, which might affect us, without American support.

Since November 1941, the American president has been the leader of the free world. This is no longer the case. How can someone with such different views on security policy, trade and climate policy lead the free world? President Trump does not speak for us. The US must understand that this is the price for Trump's policies and face the fact that this weakens the US. This is what China has realized and they now offer themselves as the peaceful replacement for the US. China defends global free trade and upholds the Paris Agreement on climate change. The country engages financially in Africa, Latin America and Europe. Greenland has also been offered Chinese investments, something the Greenlandic and Danish governments might not see eye to

ENCLOSURE B1 (*continued*)

eye on. This benefits China which has decided to become actively involved in the Arctic region. In due course, the country might face a new conflict with the US, which in turn might find itself in a conflict with – by then – a possibly sovereign Greenland.

ENCLOSURE B2

Jonas Stengaard Jensen: "Marie Krarup: Europe, the US and Russia must find common ground in the European cultural heritage".

Ræson. June 6, 2018. Excerpts.

Interview with Marie Krarup, former spokesperson on Defence for the Danish People's Party.

RÆSON: When examining the world, it is hard to miss the "America First"-agenda of Donald Trump and his systematic undermining of the accomplishments of the Obama-administration (free trade with Asia, the Paris climate accord), and now also the US break with the Iran nuclear deal. What has Trump shown us about the US and the world?

KRARUP: I find Trump's strategy of "America First" solid in theory. However, his actions might not always be the right ones. He does not do what he has said he would – which causes problems in a wide range of areas. It is obvious that we in the Danish People's Party fundamentally support the strategy of "America First" as the right strategy for the US, in the same sense that a strategy of "Denmark First" is the right strategy for Denmark. We believe that you should focus on your own country – with due respect paid to your allies; otherwise you will not have allies. When it comes down to it, there IS nothing odious in putting your own country at the centre of things, because this is where you are obligated to your fellow citizens and your homeland.

RÆSON: China also has a very centralized system; it has seen great economic and political success ensuring stability, growth and the bloom of capitalism. If these systems are on the rise and prove increasingly successful, while America gathers around an "America First"-agenda, is it then fair to start talking less about a hegemonic, unipolar world order?

KRARUP: It is inevitable. The US is weakened as others are strengthened. Others are actively working towards this end. The BRICS-countries want a multipolar world in which their influence is greater. The most interesting thing is the fact that those who are in favour of a multipolar world do not want a revolution. They have no desire to change the setup of the UN Security Council. They merely want things to work. This is why I believe it is wrong to call China and Russia "revolutionary" countries, because they have no desire to change the world order. Instead, they wish to stabilize it. They criticize the US for constantly circumventing the Security Council as the Security Council has veto rights. They support the current world order, but what they do want is the US to pay more heed to their voices in the Security Council. In the long run, I do not think the US can avoid this.

In Russia, they have given up on approaching the West – they turn themselves towards China, attach themselves to their "One Belt, One Road"- project and work together on a wide range of areas. This is a sad development, because I do not think that we in Europe are interested in Russia becoming the little brother of China. Russia is the weak party compared to China and risks being dominated. Russia has weak demographics in vast landmasses adjacent to China, while the reverse is the case in China. China and Russia do not share cultural ideas, just the same view of how the world is developing in terms of foreign policy. Europe, however, does share a cultural heritage with Russia, a fact which is overlooked due to the one-sided media coverage of Russia.

ENCLOSURE B3

Andreas Bøje Forsby: "Is it still a unipolar world? Yes, the US is still the world's only superpower despite the rise of China".

Ræson. May 16, 2018. Excerpts.

Andreas Bøje Forsby is a researcher at the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies at Copenhagen University.

If the 20th century belonged to the Americans, China will dominate the 21st century. This widespread assumption has been nourished in step with Donald Trump's systematic sabotage of the foundations of the liberal world order that the US has been at the forefront of since WWII. And while "Pax Americana" is speedily eroding from the inside, the Chinese have abandoned decades of restraint. China's speedy advance on the world stage is without precedent in world history, and Denmark has managed to build an extensive strategic partnership with the Chinese, a partnership that is in many ways extremely lucrative for Danish businesses. In this jubilee decade of signing the partnership, it is worth keeping in mind that China is still far behind the US on a number of important power parameters.

The polarity debate furthermore makes it very clear that there is an important distinction between the capacity of power and the exercise of power. Since Donald Trump entered the White House, US leadership has been hastily dismantled in step with the Trump-administration reneging on its obligations in a wide range of areas. This is the case for areas such as international free trade, global climate policies, liberal human rights, membership of UNESCO, the Iran nuclear deal, and the matter of the placement of the capital of Israel. The main point here is that even though the implications hereof are extensive in terms of the US leadership role, Trump's presidency will not fundamentally shake the overwhelming capacity of power of the US.

On the international stage, Trump's presidency has created a void of leadership, which has thrown the liberal world order into an existential crisis. The tectonic plates may be shifting, but "Pax Americana" does not stand and fall with Trump's presidency. Even though China is skilfully taking advantage of the void, we are not witnessing the accession of a new ruler. The unipolar era continues as long as the US upholds its absolute lead in hard power capabilities. Conversely, the US risks squandering its equally unique position in terms of wielding soft power, i.e. the ability to attract others based on your own values, culture and civil society.

ENCLOSURE B4

Marcus Rubin: "A cold shoulder".

Politiken. August 22, 2019. Excerpts.

For decades, the US has unconditionally been the most important ally for Denmark. The US guarantees our safety, and the relationship has been the all-decisive pivot point for Danish foreign policy. Denmark has been an extremely loyal ally to the US. In 2003, we broke with our EU-partners Germany and France and joined the war in Iraq. We have lost more soldiers in Afghanistan than any other country in terms of population size, and almost wherever and whenever the US has asked for assistance, we have shown up.

In the short run, we must remain calm and neither insult nor come crawling back to Trump. Denmark will reap a great deal of goodwill in both Europe and in the sensible parts of the US after this bizarre impasse, if only we act with dignity and calm. The incident shows that the Arctic arena is a hotspot, a battlefield which Greenland and Denmark have become embroiled in. We must be very serious in dealing with this conflict – and we must tackle it better in the future. What Trump's actions demonstrate is that it is of no use for Denmark to rely so much on the US. The US remains a close and important ally. However, the United States have embarked on an unpredictable course that may continue for much longer than the presidential election of 2020. Partly because Trump might be re-elected, partly because he has acted as a catalyst for forces in the US that have made the superpower more self-centred and less willing to play the role of global stabilizing agent.

ENCLOSURE B5

Deadline: Peter Viggo Jacobsen: "The alliance with the US is unavoidable".

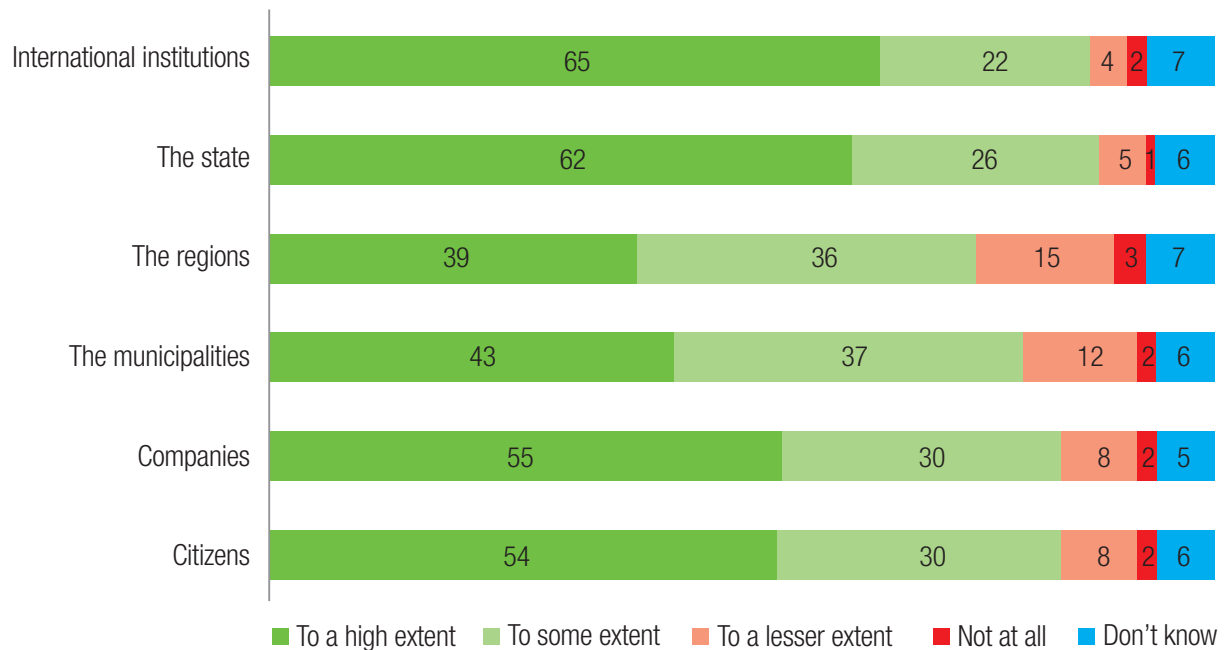
DR. August 21, 2019. Excerpts.

Subsidiary assignment C: Climate policy

2. Examine what can be deduced from the materials in enclosure C1 (figure 1, table 1, figure 2, and table 2), C2 and C3 about the Danes' attitudes to the handling of the climate issue. You must assess methodological strengths and weaknesses of using enclosures C1, C2 and C3 to examine the Danes' attitudes to the handling of the climate issue.
3. Discuss the opportunities and limitations facing the state when trying to change the population's climate behaviour. The discussion must take its point of departure in enclosure C4 and the video clip in enclosure C5. You must use knowledge about state and market, including the market mechanism and the political regulation hereof.

ENCLOSURE C1

Figure 1. Attitude to the responsibility of meeting the climate challenge. 2018. Percent.



Note 1: Respondents have been asked: "To what extent are the following agents responsible for contributing to handling the climate challenge?"

Note 2: The climate barometer 2018 is based on an attitude survey conducted by Analyse Denmark among 1,076 representatively chosen Danes. The collection of data has been conducted through a web-based questionnaire. The sample is a random sample.

Source: Climate Barometer 2018. Concito.

Table 1. Attitude to cost of green transition by year, party choice and age group. Percent.

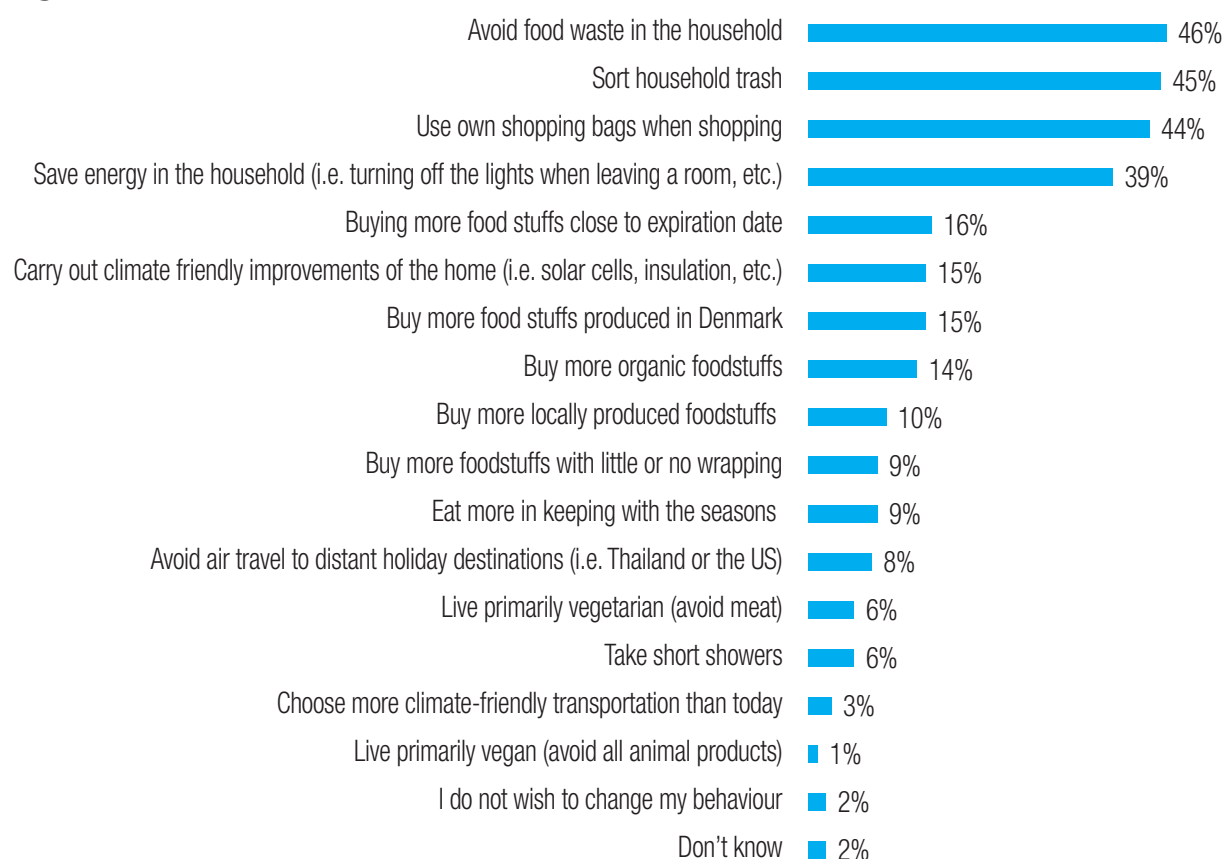
	Fully agree/ Partially agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Partially disagree/ Fully disagree	Don't know	Total
Year					
2015	64	16	12	8	100
2016	70	14	10	6	100
2018	75	12	8	5	100
Party choice					
The Danish Social Democrats	83	10	3	4	100
The Social Liberal Party	93	0	7	0	100
The Conservative Party	72	18	10	0	100
The Socialist People's Party	94	5	1	0	100
Liberal Alliance	51	17	21	11	100
The Danish People's Party	68	14	11	7	100
The Liberal Party	67	17	12	4	100
The Red-Green Alliance	92	1	4	3	100
The Alternative	94	6	0	0	100
Age					
18-29 years	90	6	1	3	100
30-39 years	73	10	5	12	100
40-49 years	79	11	6	4	100
50-59 years	71	11	13	5	100
60 years +	67	16	11	6	100

Note 1: Respondents have been asked: "To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement? It is okay if the green transition costs money in the short term, if the effort benefits society in the long term."

Note 2: Same as figure 1.

Source: Climate Barometer 2018. Concito.

Figure 2. Attitude to own climate behaviour. 2018. Percent.



Note 1: Respondents have been asked: "What are you most willing to do in order to live a more climate-friendly life?" Respondents could give up to three answers.

Note 2: 1,016 representatively chosen Danes aged 18-70 have been polled.

Source: Agriculture and Food. Danes wish to live more climate-friendly lives. 2019.

Table 2. Attitude to climate- and environment-friendly transportation by age. 2019. Percent

	18-24 years	25-34 years	35-44 years	45-54 years	55-64 years	65-74 years	75+ years
Not important/of little importance	35.9	26.8	28.1	27.5	21.5	19.7	23.2
Of medium importance	31.9	31.5	41.8	39.8	39.4	37.1	32.1
Of great importance/critical importance	31.7	36.0	25.2	28.0	32.8	30.5	25.3
Don't know	0.5	5.7	4.9	4.7	6.3	12.7	19.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note 1: 2,561 representatively chosen respondents have been asked: "How important is it to you that your daily transportation is climate- and environment-friendly?"

Note 2: The statistical uncertainty is maximally +/- 1.9 percent. The sample has then been weighed with respect to gender, age and geography. The collection of data has been conducted through questionnaires sent by email.

Source: The Passenger Pulse at the Danish Consumer Council. Attitude of Danes to climate- and environment-friendly transportation. March 2019.

ENCLOSURE C2

Gundelach and Hauge: "For the sake of the climate?"

Danish Sociology 2010. Excerpts.

Malou and Niels state:

Malou: We could do without the car now, and financially I have considered it, but it is just so very important to have a full hour more a day at home.

Niels: Yes, and all the things that we take care of at the weekends, friends you can pick up, or play dates.

Malou: If I lived in the city... I can't understand those who live there and choose to have a car. Well, maybe a share car service. I don't think I would choose to have a car, if we both worked in the city.

Niels: We have some friends who moved in next door, and then the car came, and then the Christiania bikes didn't work anymore (when they had kids).

Interviewer: *Is it hard to get to your job (from the province to Copenhagen city centre)?*

Malou: It is a bit annoying by public transportation. Taking the car saves me half an hour each way. It is only 20 minutes. And instead of spending 45 minutes each way, that is time I can spend at home. That is nice.

Niels adds: Public transportation does not save you money.

Malou: No, it is not financially sound.

Note: An interview model has been used, which collects data from the respondents through loosely structured qualitative interviews, photographs, observations, diaries and a closed online forum, where the informants could interact.

ENCLOSURE C3

Maria Frellesen Pedersen, Flemming Krih, Thomas Trondal, Nicklas Ansbjerg:

"The climate behaviour of the Danes: Two meat-free days a week no problem"

Fyens Stiftstidende. August 6, 2019. Excerpts.

Jan Bierbaum, 66 years, Aarhus:

"One of the things I do without, in order to be more climate conscious, is the car. I do not own a car anymore. I do without it, because it is not environmentally friendly and costly at that. This is why I use public transportation. The same thing goes for holidays. I am glad to do without the plane. I have only flown three times in my life, and two of these times were work-related.

Note: The newspaper has been on the street and asked 13 Danes how far they are willing to go in their consumer behaviour for the climate.

ENCLOSURE C4

The attitude of political parties on imposing taxes on production of clothes. 2019.

	Party	Yes or no to climate taxes on clothes	Commentary
	The Red-Green Alliance	Yes	But must not impact socially imbalanced.
	The Socialist People's Party	Yes	Must be introduced by the EU.
	The Alternative	Yes	Wants a climate tax on all products, including clothes.
	The Danish Social Democrats	No	Believe a tax will be socially imbalanced. Prefers considering "structural measures."
	The Social Liberal Party	Yes, but...	...only clothes imported to the EU from the rest of the world should be taxed.
	The Liberal Party	No	Prefers to invest in research.
	The Conservative Party	No	But wants climate labelling.
	The Danish People's Party	No	Want no special climate taxes.
	Liberal Alliance	No	Goes against party wish for fewer taxes.
	New Right	No	Goes against party wish for fewer taxes.

Source: Monday Morning (MM). May 2019.

ENCLOSURE C5

DR News: "Dissenting Danes: Who is responsible for the climate?"

DR. May 25, 2019. Excerpts.