



Coimisiún na Scrúduithe Stáit
State Examinations Commission

Leaving Certificate Examination 2024 Politics and Society

Higher Level

Tuesday 25 June Morning 9:30 - 12:00

400 marks

Examination Number

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Date of Birth

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For example, 3rd February
2005 is entered as 03 02 05

Centre Stamp

Instructions

There are three sections in this examination paper.

Section A	Short Answer Questions Answer ten out of 15 questions	50 marks
Section B	Data-based Questions Answer all questions	150 marks
Section C	Discursive Essays Answer two questions	200 marks

Answer All Sections

Write your answers in the spaces provided in this booklet. You may lose marks if you do not do so. You are not required to use all of the space provided.

Additional pages are provided if needed. Label any extra work clearly with the question number and part.

This examination booklet will be scanned and your work will be presented to an examiner on screen. Anything that you write outside of the answer areas may not be seen by the examiner.

You may only use blue or black pen when writing your answers. Do not use pencil.

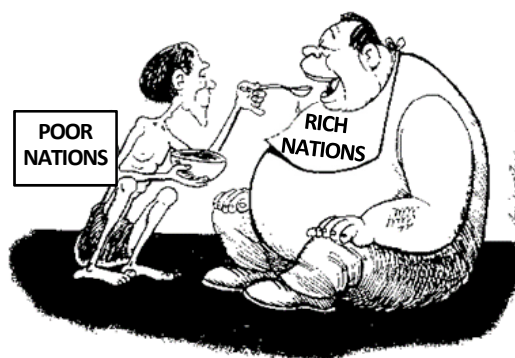
Answer any **ten** of the following items: **(a), (b), (c)**...

Question 1

- (a)** Briefly outline a key difference between positive and negative rights.

- (b)** Explain the role of the Ceann Comhairle in Dáil Éireann.

- (c)** Key thinker Andre Gunder-Frank proposed *Dependency Theory* to try and explain why some countries remain underdeveloped. Briefly explain this theory.



<https://parish-without-borders.org/cditt/jp/poornations.htm>

(d) Critique the rise in citizen journalism in the world today.

(e) Does learning about human rights, in subjects such as Politics and Society, encourage young people to protect and promote the rights of others?
Explain your answer.

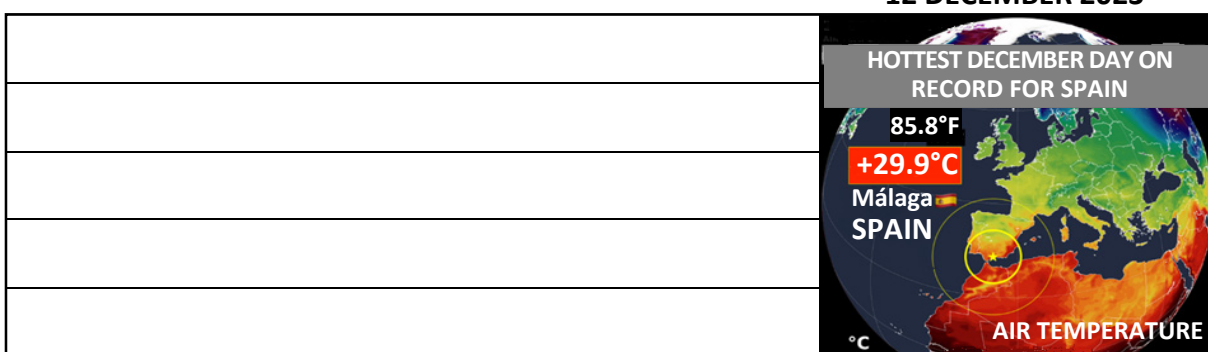
(f) Comment on the message in this image in the context of children's rights in the world today.



<https://twitter.com/unicef/status/897805274995621888>

(g) Describe the purpose of a manifesto in party politics.

(h) Comment on the presentation of the message in this image in the context of the climate crisis.



Graphic by Scott Duncan WX - www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=1130956401620021&set=pb.100041170155733.-2207520000

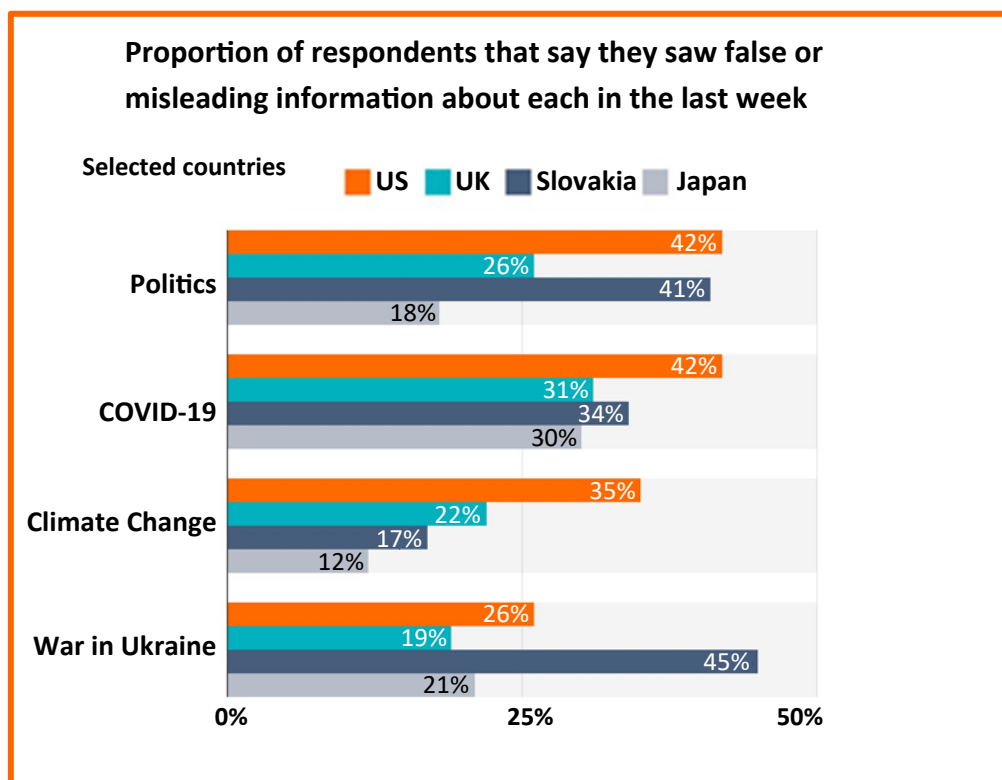
(i) Describe **two** features of a democratic state.

(j) Give **two** examples of how the education system in Ireland reinforces Irish identity.

(k) Describe **two** ways by which a person can become a Senator in Seanad Éireann.

(l) What conclusions can you draw from the statistics below in relation to the media?

Reuters Institute: Digital News Report 2023



https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/2023-06/Digital_News_Report_2023.pdf

- (m) Briefly outline the relationship between Western imperialism and Edward Said's theory of *Orientalism*.

- (n) The Central Statistics Office (CSO) issued results in February 2023 from the *Survey on Income and Living Conditions (SILC)* for 2022. It found that in Ireland, the richest 20% have four times the income of the poorest 20%.
What does this statistic suggest about society in Ireland today?

- (o) Briefly describe what it means to have either a left or right-wing political viewpoint.



<https://heterodoxacademy.org/blog/right-wing-and-left-wing-authoritarians-agree-more-than-they-disagree-about-what-governments-should-do-to-alleviate-the-pandemic/>

Document A: *Taking Stock of Women's Representation in Politics Across Europe - A Study by the European Women's Lobby, March 2023.*

This research was carried out by the European Women's Lobby (EWL) with the support of Wilson Sonsini Goodrich & Rosati (WSGR). Its purpose is to map out the current state of women's representation in politics across Europe. The information gathered in this document comes from desk-based research. It also stems from the EWL members' contributions collected through a digital survey in 2022 across 20 European countries.



As of February 2023, Ireland ranked 101st in the world for women's representation in national parliaments, falling behind countries such as China and Iraq. When the Dáil celebrated its centenary in 2019, just 114 women had been elected to it since 1918 compared with 1,190 men. Following the most recent national election (2020), this was 130 women versus 1,211 men (10% versus 90%).

In the twelve general elections in Ireland prior to the 2012 Act (1973-2011) and the introduction of quotas, the proportion of women's representation in the Dáil never rose above 15%.

There are no quotas for local elections in Ireland. Representation of women at local authority level across the country has risen from 12% in 1991 to just 24% in 2019. Only eight women were elected as mayors in June 2022 (25.8%).

A recent report noted that data from the last six local elections suggest that there is no electoral bias against women, but not enough women appear on the ballot papers. It also notes that women are more likely to win a national seat than men if they have served in local government. To drive gender equality in national politics, gender equality at a local level thus needs to be prioritised.

To advance gender equality in politics, in June 2021, members of the Citizens' Assembly recommended that the government introduce measures such as maternity leave for all elected representatives, extend party quotas to local, Seanad, and European elections and increase sanctions for noncompliant parties. These suggestions have not yet been enacted by the current government.

In Ireland, women running for election are more likely to be the victims of personalised, misogynistic violence, with women facing up to eight times the level of online violence compared to their male counterparts. A qualitative study undertaken by NUI Galway's Journalism and Communications unit in 2020 found that 96% of current and former women politicians, at national and local level, have received social media or email messages that used threatening or hateful language, while three quarters report being threatened with physical violence via online or social media.

https://womenlobby.org/IMG/pdf/final_wip_study-3.pdf - adapted



Document B: Web page from Women for Election.

This group organises training programmes, events and mentoring supports, that have helped get hundreds of women elected to local and national government.

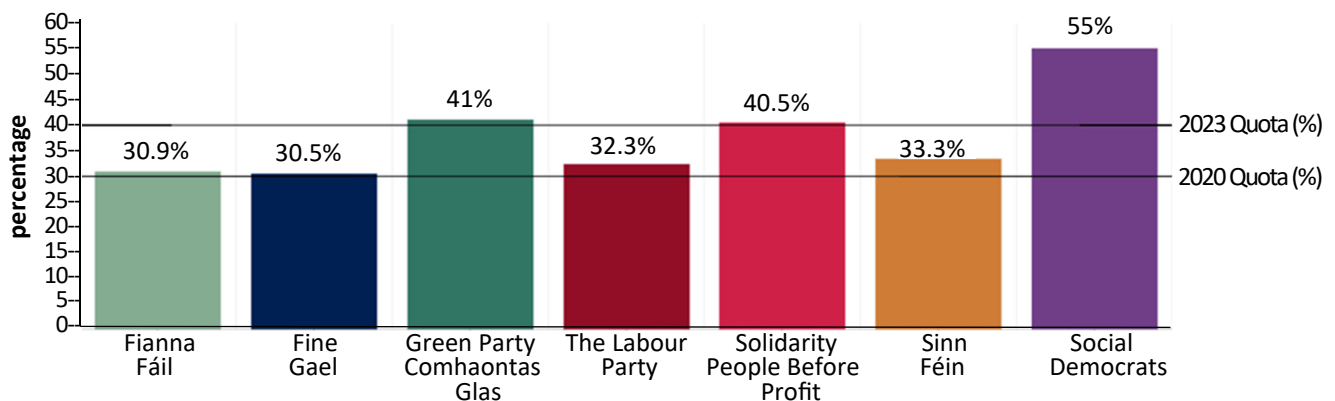
This site is a collaboration between Women for Election Ireland and the All-Island Research Observatory (AIRO) at Maynooth University Social Science Institute (MUSSI) and the Department of Housing, Local Government and Heritage (DHLGH). Funding for this project was awarded by the Department of Public Expenditure and Reform (DPER).

The dashboard below from our Data Hub presents women candidates across political parties* (2020). In 2012, the Oireachtas adopted a law obliging political parties to select at least 30% women candidates and 30% men candidates to contest general elections. From 2023 onwards, this gender quota threshold increased to 40%. If the quota is not met, political parties will lose 50% of the State funding they receive on an annual basis to run their operations.

The Data Hub is a comprehensive store of statistical data, organised to provide you with unique insights into the state of gender equality here in Ireland. With this powerful resource at your fingertips, you can make informed decisions, drive meaningful change, and contribute to a more equitable future for all. Engage with the data, share the insights, and ignite conversations about gender equality. Remember, knowledge is power, but only when shared and acted upon.

* Only displays information for the seven political parties that qualified for Exchequer funding under the Electoral Act 1997.

Women candidates across political parties (2020)



Gender Quotas in Politics in Ireland

Since 1992 there has been an increase in both the number of women selected as candidates (from 18.5% in 1992 to 30.7% in 2020) and elected TDs (from 12% in 1992 to 22.5% in 2020).

The quota system challenges political parties to develop a culture and selection process that will encourage women to come forward for election. It is also the responsibility of political parties to select women in winnable seats if the true objective of the quota is to be achieved – that is, improved gender balance in Irish politics. There are currently no quotas in place for Local Elections (where many politicians begin their political journey), or for the Seanad. The issue of quotas in politics is one which causes much discussion – some people do not like quotas, but we like what they do, that is, introduce a short, sharp shock to the political system that makes change happen quickly.

www.womenforelection.ie/gender-quotas-in-politics-in-ireland/ - Adapted

Data-based Questions

(a) What are the strengths and limitations of the methodology used to gather data in Document A?

(b) Comment on the presentation of data in Document B.

(c) Comment on the current representation of women in politics as set out in both documents.

- (d)** According to both documents, what would be the significance of extending quotas to local elections?

- (e)** Evaluate the importance of the data in both documents to decision and policy-makers.

- (f)** Drawing on both documents, discuss the barriers and challenges facing women who wish to pursue a career in politics and represent their communities at local, national or European level.

- (g) Drawing on the information in both documents and the statement below from Document B, critique the use of quotas to address gender imbalance in the Irish political system.

The issue of quotas in politics is one which causes much discussion – some people do not like quotas, but we like what they do, that is introduce a short, sharp shock to the political system that makes change happen quickly.



www.linkedin.com/pulse/discussion-instigator-how-gender-quotas-divide-opinions-iulia-feroli

Optional space to help you prepare your answer

[illegible]

Answer two questions from 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7.

Question 3(a)

(100 marks)

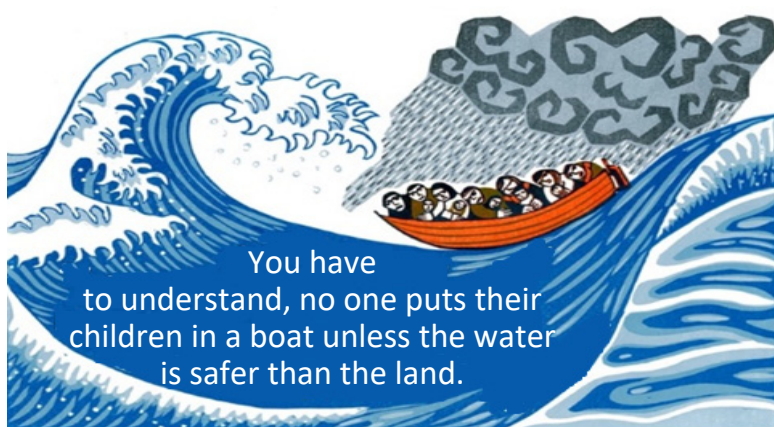
Discuss the impact of globalisation on nationalism and/or cultural identity referring to the theories of key thinker Thomas Hylland Eriksen.

[Your answer should include contemporary examples and evidence from a national and/or global context to support your argument.]

OR

Question 3(b)

(100 marks)



This image is a representation of the poem 'Home' by Warsan Shire.

The poem explains how some refugees would not leave their home if they were not forced to do so.

[www.facebook.com/58665958526/photos/you-have-to-understand-that-no-one-puts-their-children-in-a-boat-unless-the-water](https://www.facebook.com/58665958526/photos/you-have-to-understand-that-no-one-puts-their-children-in-a-boat-unless-the-water-is-safer-than-the-land)

Discuss the refugee crisis in the world today in the context of human rights.

[Your answer should include contemporary examples and evidence from a national and/or global context to support your argument. You should also refer to the ideas of two theorists, one of whom must be named on your course.]

Question 4

(100 marks)

Should governments be permitted to take control of social media during periods of social or political unrest?

[Your answer should include contemporary examples and evidence from a local and/or global context to support your argument. You should also refer to the ideas of two theorists, one of whom must be named on your course.]

Question 5

(100 marks)

Over 50 years ago, former UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld said, 'The United Nations was not created in order to bring us to heaven, but in order to save us from hell.'

Is the United Nations still fit for purpose today?

[Your answer should include contemporary examples and evidence from a local and/or global context to support your argument. You should also refer to the ideas of at least one theorist named on your course.]

Question 6

(100 marks)

42% of Irish people are not happy with the way democracy works in Ireland.



<https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/2966>

Evaluate this finding from the Eurobarometer Poll, carried out on behalf of the European Commission published in December 2023.

[Your answer should include contemporary examples and evidence to support your argument. You should also refer to the ideas of two theorists, one of whom must be named on your course.]

Question 7

(100 marks)



An agreement is only as good as its implementation. This historic consensus is only the beginning of the road.

H.E. Dr. Sultan Ahmed Al Jaber, President, COP28 UAE.

www.cop28.com/en/

A transition away from fossil fuels, the creation of a loss and damage fund and a limit to global warming to 1.5°C were some of the key decisions of COP28.

Critically evaluate the role of international agreements in achieving sustainable development.

[Your answer should include contemporary examples and evidence to support your argument. You should also refer to the ideas of at least one theorist named on your course.]

Section C – Answer to Question ____

Optional space to help you prepare your answer.

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Section C – Answer to Question ____

Optional space to help you prepare your answer.

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Optional additional page.

Indicate clearly the number and part of the question(s) you are answering.

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Leaving Certificate – Higher Level

Politics and Society

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