Department of English and Literacy

Higher Reading for Understanding, Analysis and Evaluation Pack

Even if Theresa May’s rotten deal scrapes through, Brexit will fester for a generation

Polly Toynbee

**The PM’s desperate dash to Strasbourg will ultimately solve nothing. The only way to bring closure is to remain**

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**Bring on the mayhem, roll on the waves of chaos, let Brexit and its conflicted Brexiters writhe over the impossible contradictions of their revolutionary cause. The worse it gets, the better for the country as the less likely we are to leave. The prime minister’s evening dash to Strasbourg may still deliver deadlock – and a good thing too. If we end the week with no deal, a bar on no-deal exit and a delay with length and purpose unknown, the country inches closer to no Brexit. If her rotten deal does scrape through, this will not be the end: it will fester on, fought over for a generation, unless the people have agreed it with a vote.**

**Hardliners fight tooth and claw against delaying withdrawal as they see Brexit slip away. Three long years since the referendum campaign makes that close result look more obsolete with each passing week: so much has happened, we know so much more. The more furiously Brexiters assert that one vote is the only valid “will of the people”, the more bogus their claim looks.**

**Steve Baker, the European Research Group’s deputy chair, says if the people were asked again, “democracy would be effectively dead”. Liam Fox warned on Sunday: “Consider the political instability that might follow.” Others threaten riots and mob rule: would it be the first ever riot against a chance to vote? No Brexit deal has been put to the people. The “death of democracy” is when you dare not let people vote, because they now know too much about Brexit’s risks – to the economy, security, culture and UK influence for generations ahead. When Brexiters claim to own the “will of the people”, ask if they’re too frit to ask them now?**

**On the BBC’s Andrew Marr Show, Jeremy Hunt – the implausible foreign secretary who recently compared the EU to the Soviet Union – gave the game away: “If you want to stop Brexit you only need to do three things: kill this deal, get an extension and then have a second referendum.” So there we have it. They know they can’t win a referendum to confirm any Brexit deal. The tide has turned and, as Hunt added, Brexit is “in very perilous waters”, their ship holed below the waterline by a hail of facts they could dodge in the referendum.**

**God knows, any yes/no referendum is high risk, but YouGov founder Peter Kellner is as sure as you can be that a vote to confirm a specific Brexit deal versus remain would see us stay in the European Union. Last time the leavers were free to float airy dreams of what Brexit might be – unicorns, rainbows and leprechauns in that one word, “leave”. But this time people would vote on a specific plan, with clauses and paragraphs, no leeway for wild wishful thinking, finally confronting Brexit’s difficult trade-offs.**

**This time people know you can’t have the benefits of being in the club from outside: those promises have died. If you control your own borders, they can’t be frictionless unless you join the customs union. Theresa May promised the impossible – no hard border with Ireland, which by a 1998 international treaty we are bound to keep open, and yet no customs union either. The backstop isn’t a glitch: we wait, as I write, to see if May gets some last-minute codicil to fudge the fact. Listen to Brexiter abuse of the Irish: but at every stage of future trade dealings the EU27 will stand by the legal rights of members, against us as outsiders. Medicines, aviation, road haulage, tariffs, food – people have had time to see how intimately our lives are interwoven and to what mutual benefit.**

**That’s why polls have shown, for a year now, an 8-10% lead for remain. The weekend poll from BMG showed that the 2 million young voters who have joined the register since 2016 are overwhelmingly for remain. YouGov’s constituency poll finds only two out of 630 where a majority want their MP to back May’s deal.**

**Yet you can find plenty of bad polls too, such as ComRes, commissioned by leave campaign Brexit Express. It finds 44% agreeing with the statement: “If the EU refuses to make any more concessions, the UK should leave without a deal.” Kellner calls it “loaded, a disgraceful piece of polling, I’m amazed they only got 44%, considering the question”. Brexit Express didn’t choose to promote less welcome results – such as an 8% lead for remain over leave.**

**Of course a referendum might be lost – but how much better to leave the EU with people voting for a deal they have seen and agreed to. As MP Yvette Cooper warned, this Brexit deal or any other that emerges will never endure without an extended time for public debate, and finally a general election or referendum – preferably both – that settles it beyond dispute.**

**MPs Peter Kyle and Phil Wilson are holding back their elegant amendment until next week – it would pass May’s deal, but on condition it is put to the people for a confirmatory vote. They – like those promoting a soft Norwegian deal – are trying to be the last option left standing. But whatever the deal, soft or hard, Kyle makes a strong case for putting it to the vote: without it, politics will be poisoned permanently, half the country for ever unreconciled.**

**The rightwing Maoists who brought us to this pass need to be reminded of how they keep turning more extreme. “We only ever joined a common market,” they used to say. Things only went wrong after the Maastricht treaty, with EU ideas of political and “ever closer” union. Nothing wrong, they used to pretend, with the customs union or single market, as constructed by Margaret Thatcher. The likes of Nigel Farage and Daniel Hannan praised Norway and Switzerland models, staying close but not quite inside the EU. Now they all denounce any such soft deal as Brino, Brexit in name only. Be warned, these are insatiables for whom no deal will ever be hard enough, as they lie in wait for the trade deal after withdrawal, for their real fight. Those wanting Brexit to be over will find it a never-ending process of deal-making, a never-ending obsession in parliament. The only way to end it all is to remain.**

**Vultures circle above the prime minister, with remainers in the odd position of praying she survives: a Tory leadership contest fighting for votes of the mostly Brextremist Tory party members will cause yet worse damage to the Brexit impasse. Shudder at the “Ready for Raab” leaflets set to go, along with a gallery of postulants, each one pledging harder and tougher dealings with the EU. (Surely it’s time to stop prime ministers being dumped on us with no election?)**

**Each Tory contender will be tested in Wednesday’s tomorrow’s no-deal vote. Anyone opting for no deal is truly unfit for office. How will May vote? Whichever way, she needs to stay. The prime minister is well-versed in eating her own promises and red lines: if parliament votes to delay article 50, who else could swallow her words and obey the will of the Commons?**

**• Polly Toynbee is a Guardian columnist**

**Task:**

**Quote five examples of the writer’s word choice from anywhere in the passage and analyse what each one reveals about her opinion of Brexit.**

**In your own words, explain four of the writer’s central points.**

**Evaluate the effectiveness of the concluding paragraph. Focus on one example of sentence structure and one example of either word choice or imagery.**

**Into the future: flying cars are the next generation of travel**

**For more than a century, car and aviation enthusiasts have been fantasising about flying cars. Hugh Hunt says that while they are no longer a distant dream, they must come sooner than we think**

When Chitty Chitty Bang Bang was released 50 years ago, flying cars were a flight of fancy. Now, these futuristic vehicles are entering the outer fringes of reality. According to a new study published in Nature, for some journeys flying cars could eventually be greener than even electric road cars, cutting emissions while also reducing traffic on increasingly busy roads.

However, gaps in necessary technology and practical uncertainties beyond the cars’ promising physics mean that they may not arrive in time to be a large-scale solution to the energy crisis and congestion – if at all.

How to make a car fly

It might at first seem crazy that a flying car could be more efficient than a road car, especially when conventional planes have such a reputation as gas guzzlers. But flying isn’t inherently inefficient – after all, birds can fly between continents without eating. Of course, a small, four-passenger car isn’t an albatross, but it isn’t a Boeing 737 either.

There are many ways to make a car fly, but most are too problematic to get off the ground. Perhaps the most promising option is that taken in this study, based on the physics of vertical take-off and landing (Vtol) aircraft. They’re pretty amazing beasts.

If you’ve heard of Vtol, something like a Harrier Jump Jet probably springs to mind, with two huge engines directing thrust that can be tilted vertically or horizontally. But these much smaller and lighter flying cars operate differently, with lots of tiny electric fans blowing air from many places. This fast-developing distributed electric propulsion (DEP) technology is key for efficiency when cruising, and it also creates possibilities for quieter take-off and hovering, as multiple small noise sources can be better managed.

Wing and propeller design can also be optimised to be long and thin with lots of moving surfaces, just as birds do to make their flying efficient. The aim of all of these technical enhancements is to achieve maximum lift for minimum drag – the force that opposes an object’s motion through air and slows it down. A better lift-to-drag ratio means lower power consumption and, therefore, lower emissions.

These energy-saving innovations make cruising a breeze – but they don’t help much with take-off, hovering or landing, which are still inherently inefficient. So while Vtol flying vehicles are still viable for short intra-city travel and pizza deliveries, they will not solve the energy crisis.

For 100km journeys, electric flying vehicles could be 35 per cent more efficient than a petrol-powered car – although, assuming the same number of passengers, still less efficient than an electric road car. However, it’s fair to assume that flying cars will serve primarily as taxi services in pre-defined air corridors and are, therefore, likely to consistently carry more people. Taking this into account, for a 100km journey flying car emissions could be 6 per cent less than those of electric road cars.

As journey distance increases, so too do the efficiency gains over stop-start road cars, which have to deal with rolling resistance and less efficient airflow. But unfortunately, range is the Achilles heel for electric aviation. The study looks at a range of up to about 200km and here flying cars could perform well. But while jet-fuelled planes can lose as much as 70 per cent of their weight during flight (albeit at a cost of 100kg of CO2 per passenger per hour), batteries don’t get lighter as they discharge. This means that beyond 200km or so, carrying batteries becomes a distinct disadvantage.

The accepted view is that electric planes will only ever be viable for short-haul flights. It’s energy density that matters, measured in watt-hours per kilogram. Right now, the best batteries provide around 250 W-h/kg, a mere shadow of jet fuel and gasoline’s 12,000 W-h/kg. Batteries could creep up to 800 W-h/kg by the middle of this century, increasing their feasible range to 700 miles – half of all global flights fall within this distance. But without more dramatic innovation in battery technology, biofuels and liquid fuel from air-capture of CO2 will likely need to play a substantial role in long-haul air travel.

**Problems in practice**

In focusing entirely on the physics of flying cars, the paper steers clear of a number of practicalities that must be considered before we embrace Vtol flying cars as a sustainable form of transport for the future. For example, it is important to consider the carbon costs of production, maintenance and downtime, known as life-cycle analysis (LCA). Electric vehicles have been criticised for both the energy and environmental costs of mining primary materials for batteries, such as lithium and cobalt. Added infrastructure required for flight may worsen the problem for flying cars. And of course, a grid powered by low-carbon sources is essential to make battery-powered vehicles part of the solution to our climate crisis.

Aircraft also have highly stringent criteria for maintenance and downtime, which can often offset gains in performance and emissions. As an entirely new breed of planes, it’s impossible to predict how much it might cost to keep them air-worthy. Unforeseen maintenance complications can cost billions- just ask Boeing.

Finally, weather matters. A tailwind of 35mph reduces power use and emissions by 15 per cent, but a 35mph headwind increases them by 25 per cent. Having to carry heavy extra batteries to avoid the potential catastrophe of running out of charge before encountering a suitable landing place could offset emissions savings. Road cars, by contrast, can easily pull over to the side of the road when needed, without consequence.

So when it comes down to CO2 emissions per passenger kilometre, at present these advanced DEP flying cars are at best comparable to their road-going electric equivalents, and, at worst, little better than conventional combustion cars. With technology and safety improvements, they could yet play a part in our fossil-fuel-free future, taking short-haul planes out of our skies and freeing up fume-filled roads. The question on everyone’s lips is whether these flying cars will be ready in time to make a jot of difference to our very pressing energy crisis. Can we wait 30 years?

**Hugh Hunt**

**Task**

**Quote five of the journalist’s main arguments and alongside each quote explain his point in your own words. Try to use new words and phrases and avoid lifting directly from the quote.**

**Headphones should be allowed in class**

[*Anai Freeman*](https://portagenorthernlight.com/staff_profile/anai-freeman-2/)*, Staff Writer  
March 21, 2018*

When you walk into a classroom and see students silently, productively working, what is a likely common denominator among them? Headphones.

A majority of students would say that they prefer to listen to music while they work, and that music helps the stay on task and be more productive. Even sitting down to write this article was a struggle simply because I wasn’t plugged into the one thing I never forget. It seems as if you are more susceptible to conversation when you don’t have earbuds in because everything seems more interesting than doing your assignment and it’s easier to get distracted.

A common rebuttal against headphone usage is the implication of cheating on a test or the assignment, but in the average teen’s mind most of us are concerned about draining our batteries before the end of the day and aren’t going to do a bunch of extra things other than listen to our music. If a student was, however, it should be easy enough for a teacher to see it and stop it.

Another common problem is when students decide to turn the volume all the way up. If that presents itself as an issue, the teacher should take the privilege of headphones away from that singular student, instead of the entirety of the classroom. Senior Skyler Parsons says, “I like headphones because they allow me to listen to music during school which makes me more concentrated while doing my assignment.” Making everyone take out their headphones is opening up the room for conversation and soon the whole room is thrown off task.

Many teachers also seem to fear that if they let the student turn on music, then they will just put on a video and listen to that.  To avoid this, students should only be allotted a minute or so to get a playlist set and then the students’ phones should be left in the trays under the desk untouched until the end of the test.

According to the Huffington Post, background music can [boost cognitive performance](https://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/conquering-cyber-overload/201305/is-background-music-boost-or-bummer) on tasks like academic tests (but it may depend on whether or not that music boosts your mood first). Aside from this benefit, when I listen to music, I don’t feel as obligated to be on my phone. Apps can cause music to skip and also drain battery life, and since part of your phone is being occupied, you feel no need to even open any other app. It allows students to use their technology in a more focused and less distracting way.

In the long run, headphones are a lot more useful than teachers might perceive them to be. As a student that has trouble focusing, being able to tune everything out and just zone into my music and school work makes class a lot more manageable than focusing on it for a second before getting distracted into telling someone how my dog is the cutest animal ever.

Anai Freeman https://portagenorthernlight.com/5908/opinion/headphones-should-be-allowed-in-class/

***Headphones: why we ban them in our school***

By Keziah Featherstone

20 February 2019

*You wouldn't hold an assembly or parents' evening with 'phones in so why allow them to students, asks Keziah Featherstone*

We have a fault on our fire-alarm system at the moment. Sometimes it triggers twice a week and all 1,400 children, 150 staff and the nursery next door have to evacuate.

Well, I say "all".

Last week, as we returned to lessons, I discovered a sixth-former in a quiet corner, studying with his head down. He had remained completely oblivious to the alarm and evacuation, not because he was absorbed by the Cold War, but because he had his headphones in.

It was yet another example of the headphone problem in schools.

On an ordinary day, the necessity for teenagers to be plugged into a perpetual soundtrack can enrage me. Not just because I’m getting on a bit and I am notoriously grumpy, I also learnt the hard way, when aged 17, about how dangerous headphones can be

I was on a bicycle, attempted to change the tape in my Walkman, and ended up in the boot of a parked car.

We have a clear policy that students, even sixth formers, will not use phones or earphones on the premises.

The reasons for prohibiting their use are many; health and safety is just one. Building a community of young people who talk to one another, can communicate effectively and listen without distraction is important to us. That’s not possible while students have white plastic plugs in their ears, whether they’re emitting music or not.

And, frankly, it’s pretty rude. When anyone is chatting to me with headphones in, I can’t help but feel that I am competing with Beyonce or Cardi B. I like to have their undivided attention – especially in school.

*Poor communication*

After all, I would not deliver an assembly, conduct parents’ evening or debate with Ofsted while wearing earphones. It is our responsibility to challenge behaviours that are unsociable even if we’d all rather be listening to music rather than other people.

It is frustrating when some staff allow students to wear them or listen to music, even when they know it is not allowed. Music does not help every child to concentrate, regardless of what they say or what they think; this is a myth.

Of course, it can sometimes help some students, but it's not a universal truth – and not worth gambling students’ attention and focus on. If we need students to listen to audio clips, we can simply provide headphones.

But more than that, like any inconsistently applied behaviour policy, it breeds resentment between staff. The teacher that upholds expectations is confronted with “But Mr X lets us…” And there begins the conflict. Every member of staff that turns a blind eye makes things harder for their colleagues, even though this was not the intention.

I like headphones. I even own a few pairs myself. But there is a time and a place, and school is neither one of those times nor places.

***Keziah Featherstone is head at Q3 Academy Tipton. She is a co-founder and national leader of #WomenEd, and a member of the Headteachers’ Roundtable. She has also co-edited the new #WomenEd book,* 10% Braver*, due out soon***

Questions on both passages

Consider what each writer says about Headphones being allowed in classrooms.

1) Summarise both articles. (10)

**You may present your answer to this question in continuous prose or in a series of developed bullet points. Make 5 points of each article**

2) Identify three key areas on which they disagree (3).

**You should support the points you make by referring to important ideas in the passages. This may be referring to evidence within the passage (quotations)**

3) By referring to both ideas **(arguments)** and style **(use of language and literary techniques)**, which passage do you find most effective and why? (5)

**You may present your answer to this question in continuous prose or in a series of developed bullet points. Make 5 points justifying your choice**

Headphones – Answer scheme

Question 1

Article – Keziah Featherstone (Against)

* School fire alarm has gone off, one pupil did not leave as they were unable to hear the alarm due to headphones.
* Headphones are not just annoying but can be a serious / dangerous problem.
* Health and safety risks can result from headphone use in class.
* Headphones can cause bad manners / ignorant behaviour.
* In school, headphones can create issues / problems / animosity between staff / colleagues who have different expectations regarding headphones.
* Some staff allow head phones while other do not.
* Headphones impact on pupils’ ability to focus in class.
* Headphones do not help concentration.

Article – Anai Freeman (For)

* Many classrooms allow headphones
* Headphones can create a quiet working environment.
* Headphones help drown out distracting background noise or conversation.
* Headphones help you concentrate / focus.
* Headphones stop you from talking when you should be working.
* Headphones help you to focus on your won work.
* Teachers should establish / set up ground rules for headphone use to help pupils use them responsibly.
* Music can help improve behaviour / work ethic.
* Headphones are a good / positive use of technology.

Question 2 – Key area / Understanding of point with supporting evidence

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Key Area of Disagreement | K. Featherstone | A. Freeman |
| Teaches’ opinions | Causes problem between staff members / Annoying | Good use of technology/ more focused use of technology |
| Pupils’ concentration / focus | Stops concentrations | Helps pupils to focus |
| Impact on environment | Dangerous / risk to health and safety | Creates quiet classroom |
| How they support the lesson | Stops communication | Make lesson more manageable / straightforward |
| Behaviour | Pupil rude / unsociable | Students follow rules and guidelines |

Question 3 - Pupils can argue for either passages being the more effective one.

Ideas – Pupils may revisit answers that they used in question one.

Style

Passage 1 (KF) – (appropriate reference to techniques and analytical comment 1 mark)

There will be various examples so may be –

* Single line paragraph – p.2
* Word Choice – ‘dangerous’, ‘conflict’, ‘frustrating’
* Sentence Structure – dash ‘-not worth gambling…’
* Sentence Structure – parenthesis ‘And, frankly…’
* Sentence Structure – word order ‘But’ at the beginning of the sentence
* Structure – comments on effective conclusion

Ideas – Pupils may revisit answers that they used in question one.

Style

Passage 2 (AF) – (appropriate reference to techniques and analytical comment 1 mark)

There will be various examples so may be –

* Sentence Structure – use of question in p.1 ‘denominator among them?’
* Use of evidence – quotation form student ‘ I like headphones…’
* Structure – clear topic sentences
* Structure – opening expression in concluding paragraph ‘ In the long run’
* Structure – comments on effective conclusion

The ailing euro is part of a wider crisis. Our capitalist system is near meltdown

A 1930s-style crash threatens us and our financial partners. Collective action is the only solution

**By** [**Will Hutton**](http://www.guardian.co.uk/profile/willhutton)

Eighty years ago, faced with today's economic events, nobody would have been in any doubt: we would obviously be living through a crisis in capitalism. Instead, there is a collective unwillingness to call a spade a spade. This is variously a crisis of the [European Union](http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/eu), a crisis of the [euro](http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/euro), a debt crisis or a crisis of political will. It is all those things, but they are subplots of a much bigger story: the way capitalism has been conceived and practised for the last 30 years has hit the buffers. Unless and until that is recognised, western economies will be locked in stagnation which could even transmute into a major economic disaster.

Simply put, the world has trillions upon trillions of excessive private debt financed by too many different currencies whose risk is allegedly mitigated by even more trillions of financial bets which in aggregate do not minimise the systemic risk one iota. This entire financial edifice, underwritten by tiny amounts of capital, has been created over three decades backed by the theory that markets do not make mistakes. Capitalism is best conceived and practised, runs the theory, by hunter-gatherer bankers and entrepreneurs owing no allegiance to the state or society.

This is nonsense. Business and the state co-generate wealth in a system of complex mutual dependence. Markets are beset by mood swings and uncertainty which, if not offset by government action, lead to violent oscillations. Capitalism without responsibility or proportionality degrades into racketeering and exploitation. The prospect of limitless pay is an open invitation to bad, or even criminal, behaviour. Good capitalism cannot happen without referees to blow the whistle or robust frameworks in which markets can function; neither is reliably created by capitalism itself, hence the role of democratic government. Yet the world is trying to solve the legacy of the last 30 years as if none of this were true and, instead, that the practice and theories that created the mess are still valid.

US treasury secretary Tim Geithner, joining EU finance ministers in Poland as again they pondered how best to end the ongoing euro crisis, was at least recognising today's interdependencies between countries when he urged his fellow ministers to stop bickering because the markets were terrified by the threat of a catastrophic event – with all the risk that posed the US.

George Osborne was also right to declare that a strong euro was in Britain's interests. But worrying about how a failed euro might impact on yourself is old speak. What the markets need to hear is that western politicians – whether in the eurozone or not – see the euro as part of the potential solution to capitalism's current crisis, not its cause, and that they are prepared to do all in their power to support the reforms necessary to make the euro survive and take other measures vital to make the world financial system functional again. Geithner and Osborne must put some money where their mouths are.

The euro's critics, endlessly emphasising that it is a monetary straitjacket and that the best reform now would be its break-up, miss the point. It was not this so-called straitjacket that is the cause of today's euro crisis. It is the interaction of the euro system with a once-in-a-century crisis of capitalism that its designers and supporters, like its critics, never anticipated. Yes, what the crisis has exposed is that the eurozone needed a ¤1trillion-plus fund to recapitalise bust banks and underwrite sovereign debt write-downs; this was not written into the original treaty. And that the investment and retail banking arms of the EU's universal banks need to be ringfenced or formally separated, as [Sir John Vicker](http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2011/sep/12/vickers-report-banks-given-until-2019)s's banking commission proposes for Britain –if they are to be remotely safe. But neither notion was a battle cry of the eurosceptics over the last 10 years.

In fact, the existence of the euro has, until now, been a bulwark against disaster. Suppose it had not been created and that the financial crisis in 2008 had broken over a Europe with multiple floating exchange rates and no European central bank – the eurosceptic utopia. The Irish, Portuguese, Greek, Spanish, Italian and French banking systems would have stood alone and they would have collapsed in a domino effect, interacting with the mega-crisis in Britain and the US. Even some German banks would not have been immune. There would have been a 1930s-scale slump, the break up of the EU and a rise in beggar-my-neighbour devaluations and trade protection.

We have not yet escaped that prospect. If the euro breaks up, the cascade of subsequent bank failures and debt write-downs will be no less threatening and Britain will be pulled into the vortex. The EU has created a "financial stabilisation facility" to try to hold the line. But there is no urgency in launching it; it is still not a proper fund but, rather, a stop-gap provider of borrowing facilities and it is too small. As bad, the German and French governments are wedded to collective European austerity; they want to impose long-term balanced budgets not only on themselves but chilling austerity on the unfortunate states which have to borrow to support their banks and bond markets.

An entire continent is to be blighted by lack of demand in the midst of a capitalist crisis, compounded by Britain's scorched earth, deficit-reduction plans. Already, many European banks are technically insolvent, recognised by Christine Lagarde, the IMF's new managing director, if not by the banks themselves.

Last week, the Bank of England joined the US Federal Reserve, the Bank of Japan and the Swiss central bank in promising Europe's banks vital liquidity in dollars, easing the crisis for a while. Time has been bought; we are pitching in to save ourselves. But the outside world needs to go much further. Europe's stabilisation facility must become a fund with a capacity to lend and intervene to see off speculators: Britain, the US, Switzerland and Japan, along with China and oil-rich Arab states, need to contribute alongside Germany.

In return for coming to the relief of the German taxpayer, we should demand two key concessions: one, that Europe sets about ringfencing its universal banks' investment banking operations to make them less vulnerable; and second, that no international cash is forthcoming unless the EU commits to a formal plan for growth in which its stronger countries, notably Germany, promise to stimulate their economies. As part of the package, Britain should agree to defer its own deficit- reduction plans and to issue bonds denominated in euros to contribute to the new euro fund.

We are living through the most dangerous confluence of economic circumstances in modern times. Trying to pretend the interdependencies do not exist or that the collapse of the euro is the answer can only make matters worse. It is a straight choice: we do all we can to help each other or risk going down in what could be the worst economic contraction for a century.

* [Printable version](http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/sep/18/euro-crisis-recession-europe/print)



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#### Politics

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See also

* 23 Jul 2011

[The European debt crisis: your views](http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/jul/23/european-debt-crisis-your-views?INTCMP=ILCNETTXT3487)

* 30 Apr 2010

[Britain and the euro](http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/poll/2010/apr/30/euro-greece?INTCMP=ILCNETTXT3487)

* 6 Sep 2011

[German constitutional court to deliver verdict on Greek euro bailout](http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2011/sep/06/germany-constitutional-court-to-rule-on-greek-bailout?INTCMP=ILCNETTXT3487)

* 6 Sep 2009

[The G20 has saved us, but it's failing to rein in those who caused the crisis](http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2009/sep/06/g20-financial-crisis-banking-bonuses?INTCMP=ILCNETTXT3487)

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The ailing euro is part of a wider crisis. Our capitalist system is near meltdown

A 1930s-style crash threatens us and our financial partners. Collective action is the only solution.

By Will Hutton

**Questions**

1. **Analyse** what the sentence structure in lines 3-4 reveals about the writer’s opinion of the present crisis? 2

2**. In your own words**, what is the “much bigger story” the author refers to in lines 5-8 and what are the consequences he refers to? 3

3. **Analyse** what the writer’s use of word choice and sentence structure in lines 9-15 reveal about his opinion of the debt crisis? 4

4. How does the sentence “This is nonsense” (line 16) act as a **link** in the

argument? 2

5. **Analyse** what the writer’s use of word choice and imagery in lines 16-25 reveal about his feelings towards irresponsible capitalism? 4

**Answers**

1. A list of difficulties and problems

Repetition of the word “crisis”

2. Gloss on “the way capitalism has been conceived and practised for the last 30 years has hit the buffers”

Gloss on “Unless and until that is recognised, western economies will be locked in stagnation”

Gloss on “which could even transmute into a major economic disaster”.

3. “excessive private debt” word choice

“do not minimise the systemic risk one iota” word choice

“underwritten by tiny amounts of capital” word choice

“owing no allegiance to the state or society” word choice

“Simply put, the world has trillions upon trillions of excessive private debt financed by too many different currencies whose risk is allegedly mitigated by even more trillions of financial bets which in aggregate do not minimise the systemic risk one iota” Sentence structure- long sentence = large scale problem

“ This entire financial edifice, underwritten by tiny amounts of capital, has been created over three decades backed by the theory that markets do not make mistake” sentence structure- parenthesis –“underwritten by tiny amounts of capital”- opinion is disapproving.

“Capitalism is best conceived and practised, runs the theory, by hunter-gatherer bankers and entrepreneurs owing no allegiance to the state or society.” Sentence structure- parenthesis- “runs the theory”- the writer does not agree with this theory- he distances himself from it and is sceptical.

4. “This is nonsense” links back to the previous paragraph and by using the word “nonsense” the writer dismisses the idea that capitalism “is best conceived and practised, runs the theory, by hunter-gatherer bankers and entrepreneurs owing no allegiance to the state or society”. This allows the writer to link forward to his arguments regarding the downsides of capitalism: “Capitalism without responsibility or proportionality degrades into racketeering and exploitation”.

5. “violent oscillations”- metaphor

“Capitalism without responsibility or proportionality degrades into racketeering and exploitation” word choice

“The prospect of limitless pay is an open invitation to bad, or even criminal, behaviour”. Word choice

“Good capitalism cannot happen without referees to blow the whistle” metaphor

“or robust frameworks in which markets can function” word choice

**Spanish steps: the ups and downs of the Camino de Santiago**

**What's the appeal of trekking 500 miles through northern Spain to Santiago de Compostela? Tim Moore, who made the pilgrimage on a donkey, explains**

It's 500 miles from St Jean Pied-de-Port on the French side of the Pyrenees to Santiago de Compostela near the north-western coast of Spanish Galicia, along the Camino Francés. For medieval pilgrims, drawn from as far away as Scandinavia and Poland, this was the final leg of an epic hike from their own dusty thresholds. By some estimates, a quarter of all 14th-century Europeans made the hazardous and debilitating journey, exchanging crossbow fire with excitable toll collectors, fending off prostitutes who gathered in force at pilgrim hostels, and thumbing in alarm through a travel guide – the first ever – which asserted that Basque meat was instantly poisonous.

I'd probably have found that funnier if I hadn't chosen to undertake my 21st-century pilgrimage in the company of a Pyrenean ass named Shinto.

Our goal: the fabled cathedral said to house the crumbly mortal remains of Santiago, St James, patron saint of Spain. Remission of accumulated sins and a ticket to heaven were the original rewards for getting there, and my slow-mo 500-mile donkey-wrestle frankly deserved no less. Yet though the revitalised Camino is no longer lined with hooded chanters smacking themselves in the face with planks, it retains a spiritual element for everyone, even the German power-walkers, striding past in a blur of Gore-Tex.

For me the attraction lay in its winning contradictions. An adventure purged of the empty decadence of most foreign trips, yet which still demanded alcoholic indulgence in the name of historical authenticity. A holiday that wasn't a holiday, even though it involved going to Spain. A journey of self-discovery that was also a challenge: temperatures roam from 4 to 40C, there are dog-day afternoons of dusty flat nothingness, mossy scrambles up sodden hillsides, sleepless nights in treble-bunked pilgrim refugios that echo to the phlegmy orchestra of power-snorers.

There are some extreme inspirations for doing it. I met walkers who had been given a year to live, and heard tragic tales of bereavement that prefigured the fictional underpinnings of Emilio Estevez's new film, The Way. But I also met some truly dispiriting new agers, most of them galvanised by Shirley MacLaine's tirelessly daft Camino travelogue (Shirl is accompanied by an angel who smells of vanilla, and dwells at length upon her own amoeba-like birth in a crystal tank filled with gold liquid by electro-magnetic lizards). Between these extremes, the typical walker is a mildly troubled soul for whom the Camino is a mobile therapist's couch. It's essentially the Foreign Legion for depressed divorcees.

More than 200,000 people are thought to have completed the route in 2010 (numbers have shot up exponentially in recent decades), and that will surely increase further after the release of The Way in May.

The first day encapsulates all that is great and awful about the Camino. At its end waits the magnificent monastery of Roncesvalles, where awestruck pilgrims take their €10 ease in a cavernous Romanesque chamber, one of Europe's most compelling accommodation experiences. Muttered wonderment is about all they can muster though, having just spent 10 hours walking all the way up the Pyrenees and all the way back down them. It's a baptism of fire, and sometimes ice – most years a pilgrim or two gets lost in a Pyrenean blizzard, meeting the kind of hypothermic fate that begins The Way.

After day one, the peaks and troughs level out. The going's tough, but never quite that tough, and the refugios are never again quite that spectacular. Most days are enhanced by heart-stopping scenic majesty and small miracles – a fountain by a lonely vineyard dispensing free wine to pilgrims, a walnut-faced widow waddling out of a cave to offer cherries and a croaked "Buen camino!" You'll spend a lot of time enduring banalities that aren't depicted in The Way, like shuffling along a six-lane bypass for hours, or washing pants in a gymnasium shower block full of hairy fat men popping each other's blisters. As such it is a genuinely character-building experience.

I can't imagine that anyone who finishes the Camino ever regrets starting it, unless they've got four legs and really long ears.

• *Spanish Steps, Tim Moore's account of his and Shinto's journey to Santiago, is published by Vintage (£8.99)*

**In your own words** describe five aspects of the Camino for medieval pilgrims. 5

For medieval pilgrims, drawn from as far away as Scandinavia and Poland, this was the final leg of an epic hike from their own dusty thresholds. By some estimates, a quarter of all 14th-century Europeans made the hazardous and debilitating journey, exchanging crossbow fire with excitable toll collectors, fending off prostitutes who gathered in force at pilgrim hostels, and thumbing in alarm through a travel guide

Point one: “final leg of an epic hike”

Own words:

Point two: “By some estimates, a quarter of all 14th-century Europeans made the hazardous and debilitating journey”

Own Words:

Point Three: “exchanging crossbow fire with excitable toll collectors”

Own Words

Point Four: “fending off prostitutes who gathered in force at pilgrim hostels”

Own Words:

Point Five: “and thumbing in alarm through a travel guide”

Own words:

**In your own words** describe three of the challenges faced by pilgrims on the Camino. 3

A journey of self-discovery that was also a challenge: temperatures roam from 4 to 40C, there are dog-day afternoons of dusty flat nothingness, mossy scrambles up sodden hillsides, sleepless nights in treble-bunked pilgrim refugios that echo to the phlegmy orchestra of power-snorers.

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**In your own words** describe what is “great and awful about the Camino”. 4

The first day encapsulates all that is great and awful about the Camino. At its end waits the magnificent monastery of Roncesvalles, where awestruck pilgrims take their €10 ease in a cavernous Romanesque chamber, one of Europe's most compelling accommodation experiences. Muttered wonderment is about all they can muster though, having just spent 10 hours walking all the way up the Pyrenees and all the way back down them. It's a baptism of fire, and sometimes ice – most years a pilgrim or two gets lost in a Pyrenean blizzard, meeting the kind of hypothermic fate that begins The Way.

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**In your own words** describe in what ways most days are “enhanced” on the Camino. 2

Most days are enhanced by heart-stopping scenic majesty and small miracles – a fountain by a lonely vineyard dispensing free wine to pilgrims, a walnut-faced widow waddling out of a cave to offer cherries and a croaked "Buen camino!"

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Language= Word Choice (literal), Imagery (figurative), Sentence Structure and Tone.

**Analyse** how the writer uses Language to communicate the difficulties encountered along the Camino. 3

temperatures roam from 4 to 40C, there are dog-day afternoons of dusty flat nothingness, mossy scrambles up sodden hillsides, sleepless nights in treble-bunked pilgrim refugios that echo to the phlegmy orchestra of power-snorers.

Word Choice:

Sentence Structure

Word Choice

**Coronavirus: 'Just like that, I had left school'**

A student in Scotland writes about missing the 'last golden moments of school' and the uncertainty of what happens next

By Harriet Sweatman

31 March 2020 - 09:10

As I write, I was supposed to be in school today. I was [supposed to be finishing off the last of my coursework](https://www.tes.com/news/coronavirus-urgent-need-answers-assessment) and soaking up the last golden moments of high school before my friends and I leave for good and go our separate ways.

On Monday 16 March I began to realise this was not on the cards for me. As large gatherings were cancelled, so were our assemblies. As vulnerable people were urged to protect themselves, several of my teachers, peers and friends started self-isolating.

By Wednesday, before it had even been announced that schools were closing, I had no teachers left to take my classes for that day. Every child dreams of school closures, but this? This is just a nightmare.

For weeks already, one of my teachers had arranged his desks so that he would be two metres away from students at all times. I remember him warning us that there had probably been a case of Covid-19 in the school already. That sent shock waves around the classroom. I don’t know why we were so surprised. In a school of 1200 odd? This was bound to happen. Any one of us might have caught it already.

By Thursday, anybody with projects to finish began locking themselves away in drama studios, art classrooms or computer rooms, desperately trying to get as much done as they could. We signed cover slips for our portfolios on the off chance that we could send them off even after the shutdown. Now that we know that [the SQA (Scottish Qualifications Authority) won’t accept and grade them anyway](https://www.tes.com/news/coronavirus-urgent-need-answers-assessment), it does feel like this was precious time wasted.

I spent lunchtime crying, thinking about when I’d see my friends again, how many of them or their loved ones would end up sick before I did, and how we had almost no time for a proper goodbye. We watched [education secretary and deputy first minister] John Swinney [announcing that exams were cancelled](https://www.tes.com/news/coronavirus-exams-cancelled-scotland) live on BBC news, huddled round an iPad screen.

Afterwards, while the National 5 students cheered from their classrooms, there was a sombre scene as anyone with university conditions to meet asked each other: what now? How can we be sure we get the grades we need? Is this an argument in favour of grades weighted more in favour of assignments over exams? How is this even going to work?

On my last day, the English teacher I have known since first year gave us a goodbye speech about how much we’d all grown, and how proud of us she was. All the leavers signed each other’s shirts and gave heartfelt hugs, promising to stay touch, and trying to squeeze in all the things we had wanted to say to each other. We were running out of time. After break, everybody in my year lined up to cheer and clap for all the teachers that remained as they went back to their classrooms, thanking them for doing everything they can for us. We had one last picnic lunch after school, trying to make the most of each other’s company for one last time. Then it was all over. Just like that, I had left school.

It’s been over a week now, and I’m still getting used to being in the house with my family, all day, every day. Some small selfish part of me is frustrated that I’ve had to leave school without a proper goodbye: no prom, no leaver’s ceremony, no official last day. But this is obviously a situation with far more serious consequences than not getting to dress up in a pretty gown.

I’m impressed by how quickly young people have changed their habits and adjusted, not going into work, keeping in touch online, and most importantly staying at home. I hope we can collectively [carry this proactive attitude forward](https://www.tes.com/news/coronavirus-educators-extraordinary-responses) and that this can serve as the proof we need that we can make a difference – even if our final year of school was nothing like we'd imagined.

Harriet Sweatman is an S6 school student in Scotland

Questions

1. How does the author create a contrast between paragraphs 1 and 2 of the article? (2)
2. In your own words describe the actions of the teacher in paragraph 4 and how they tried to ensure the safety of pupils. (2)
3. Describe in your own words why it was strange the news "sent shockwaves around the classroom". (2)
4. Why does the writer feel like "this was precious time wasted" in paragraph 5? (2)
5. What were some of the writer's concerns after they learned exams were cancelled? (2)
6. How does the writer's use of language in paragraph convey the students concerns? (2)
7. How does the writer effectively use sentence structure to convey their feelings of disappointment? (2)
8. How effective is the final paragraph as a conclusion to the article? (2)

**Higher RUAE Coronavirus Answer Scheme**

1. Word choice/tone in paragraph 1 is positive/ reflective/nostalgic "soaking up the last golden moments..." (1) whereas the word choice/tone of paragraph 2 is negative and creates a sense of concern/worry/panic "vulnerable people were urged to protect themselves" (1).
2. He ensured that pupils were separated in the class at a safe distance from one another (1) to decrease the likelihood of spreading the virus in class (1).
3. The pupils did not seem to think it would affect anyone they knew (1). The writer then accepts this was naive as the school has a big role of pupils so there was a high chance at least one of them had already been infected (1).
4. Pupils and staff rushed to complete assignments and coursework before schools closed (1) but because the SQA cancelled exams this internal work will now not be graded (1).
5. Worried about the health and welfare of friends/family (1) worried that she would have to go a long time without seeing her friends (1) concerned about the uncertainty surrounding entry into universities for those pupils with conditional offers (1).
6. Word choice of "crying" "sick" "no time to say goodbye" plus explanation of effect (2).
7. Repetition of the use of rhetorical questions plus explanation of effect (2).
8. Positive message about the resilience of young people (1)/hope for the future (1)/reference to the shock of the situation mentioned earlier in the passage (1).

Week three of isolation with my kids – and order is unravelling

Emma Brockes

**Hostility increasingly lurks in public spaces, but every night the clapping for the hospital workers gets louder**

We are in the third week of school closures and general lockdown in New York and I keep thinking of the movie Home Alone. Famously in that film, Kevin went wild for his first few days off the grid, eating ice-cream for dinner and jumping on the furniture. After that, he tidied up and discovered that order and structure are the only way to live. When his mum came home at the end of the movie, he had reached a state of wisdom.

The trajectory from school’s out abandonment to set routine held true for the first two weeks at home. Now we’re in a new phase – one not covered by the three-act structure. If this pandemic has exposed anything, it’s how arbitrary many of the things we take for granted really are, including the way we organise our time. We dossed about, we knuckled down, and then this week we hit a wall. “I don’t want to,” said my kids when I set up the equipment for home-school lessons. I had no real desire to make them. We are unravelling and resetting, again.

It’s not just school. For those lucky enough to be healthy and have jobs, the mood veers wildly between anxiety and optimism. We are all working on our time management skills, while realising that the only really valuable time management tool is a wife to watch the kids.

Outside the house, meanwhile, things get stranger. So far, neighbourliness still reigns; within our own networks, there’s a sense of solidarity. But there is an increasingly odd dynamic in public. In the supermarket, we glare at each other for passing too close. Hostility lurks near the surface. In the laundry room, someone stands three inches from me while loading the drier above mine. “Hey,” I snap. “Sorry,” he says. It’s all very awkward.

During the middle of the week, news reports say the Centres for Disease Control and Prevention is about to recommend everyone wear a mask outside the house. It’s impossible to get one on Amazon and so we walk to a weird toy store in my neighbourhood, still open via a loophole that classifies sellers of “office supplies” as essential businesses, that is rumoured to have masks. The entrance is shuttered, but like something from a bad dystopian movie, after we’ve milled about on the sidewalk for a minute, someone sees us and opens the grille half way. We duck in. It’s a maximum of six masks per person, for $60 – 10 times what it should cost – and I’m only too happy to pay.

At 7pm that night, we go out on our terrace and clap for the hospital workers. People bang pots and pans. There is universal cheering. I had wondered if the novelty of this would wear off, too, diminishing through gratitude fatigue. But it hasn’t. The cheering, perhaps the real barometer of the city’s mood, is different from one day to the next. It keeps getting louder

Questions

Paragraph 1

1. **In your own words**, explain the difference between Kevin’s attitude during his first “few days off the grid” and afterwards. 4

Paragraph 2

1. **In your own words**, describe how the writer’s routine has changed. 3

Paragraph 4

1. **Analyse** how the writer uses word choice to convey people’s suspicion and lack of friendliness. 2

Paragraph 5

1. **Analyse** how the writer uses Language to convey the strangeness of the toy store that sells masks. 2

Paragraph 6

1. **Evaluate** why the final paragraph is an effective conclusion to the passage. Focus on ideas and/or Language. 2

**RUAE Answer Scheme- Isolation**

1. **Four from**

**First Few Days**

**Gloss on**

**“Kevin went wild”**

**“Eating ice-cream”**

**“jumping on the furniture”**

**After**

**Gloss on**

**“he tidied up”**

**“and discovered that order and structure are the only way to live”**

**“he had reached a state of wisdom”**

**2.**

**Three from**

**Gloss on**

**“how arbitrary many of the things we take for granted are”**

**“dossed about”**

**“Knuckled down”**

**“hit a wall”**

**“I had no desire to make them” (School Work)**

**“unravelling and resetting”**

1. **Four from**

**Suspicion: “we glare at each other”**

**“stands three inches from me”**

**Lack of friendliness: “Hostility lurks”**

**“I snap”**

**“It’s all very awkward”**

1. **Two from**

**“weird toy store”- word choice**

**“rumoured to have masks”- word choice**

**“entrance is shuttered”- word choice**

**“like something from a bad dystopian movie”- imagery/simile**

**“opens the grille half way” word choice**

**“we duck back in”- word choice**

**“10 times what it should cost”**

**Two from**

**Ideas- Sense of Hope**

**“universal cheering”**

**“barometer of the city’s mood”**

**Language**

**Upbeat tone**

**“gratitude fatigue”- word choice**

**“It keeps getting louder”- word choice**

Britain’s university offers system is unfit for purpose and needs replacing

This article is more than **1 year old**

[*Graeme Atherton*](https://www.theguardian.com/profile/graeme-atherton)

If universities based offers on actual – not predicted – grades, disadvantaged students would get the break they deserve

Tue 15 Jan 2019 08.00 GMT Last modified on Tue 4 Jun 2019 12.27 BST

The decision regarding which [university](https://www.theguardian.com/education/higher-education) to go to and which course to choose is the biggest that most young people will have faced in their lives, and it’s made even more significant for those in England, Wales and Northern Ireland by the [eye-watering debt](https://www.theguardian.com/higher-education-network/2018/jun/04/student-loans-are-politically-toxic-bring-in-the-graduate-contribution) most will accumulate. They need the support to help choose the course that is best for them, and avoid dropping out, which would leave them with the cost of higher education without the benefit. Unfortunately, the majority are not getting this support, as students in these nations remain tied to an archaic process based around predicted grades governing university entry.

The present process, whereby the majority of students receive the offer of a university place based primarily on their expected grades rather than actual ones, is a product of a process designed for a time when less than 5% of the population went to university. Unfortunately, it has become seen by too many inside the higher-education sector as the only way to admit students in an era when nearly 50% of young people, rather than 5%, are going. The consequence is that students are making decisions earlier than they need to, and those whose grades don’t match the offer, are forced into the peculiarly homegrown phenomenon of [clearing](https://www.theguardian.com/higher-education-network/2018/aug/16/clearing-shows-how-the-governments-university-market-has-failed), where a decision that will shape your future career (and, given what we know about marriage patterns, your personal life as well), is made in a frenzied search at the end of August.

This process places undue pressure on first-generation students and those from groups under-represented in higher education, such as care leavers. Those who have the potential to get the grades needed to get into the more selective institutions with the strongest graduate outcomes are more likely to be predicted lower grades than they can achieve. The rest are left to navigate an increasingly complex system without the crucial advice that their peers with parents who navigated it can rely on.

The faults in the present arrangements, however, are never more clearly highlighted than with the current concerns over unconditional offers. The numbers of students receiving [offers of places](https://www.theguardian.com/education/2018/jul/26/rise-in-unconditional-offers-prompts-call-for-university-admissions-overhaul) has increased sevenfold since 2013. In the competition for students, universities are increasingly rejecting the idea that actual grades matter. The result, though, is another complexity in the system, and given the opaque way in which offer decisions are made, it is a complexity that looks increasingly unfair, as some students can coast through their A-levels with a place in the bag while their friends can’t.

University admissions do not have to be this way. We are the only major country in the world where students receive course offers on the basis of predicted grades. International comparisons have to be done carefully. In countries such as the US, for example, admission is based more on standard aptitude tests, which can be marked more quickly. Our content-heavy A-level examination means we have to allow sufficient time for exams to be marked accurately and securely. But this does not mean it’s not possible to have a system that better supports students to make the right choices for them.

In a report released this week, we at the National Education Opportunities Network [argue that](https://www.theguardian.com/education/2019/jan/14/universities-should-give-offers-after-results-day-says-study) it is time to develop a new university admissions system that enables students to make better decisions, and remove the anachronism of predicted grades. This system would recognise that decision-making regarding university entry begins far earlier than age 17 or 18 for young people, and it would provide information, advice and guidance from age 15 onwards. It would look abroad to learn from innovative practice in the Netherlands and pilot a study choice check – which is an online questionnaire all students would take before they apply that would measure what their expectations of the course were against the reality.

The aim is to avoid the mismatches that often lead to students under-performing or dropping out. The new system would likely eliminate the need for clearing, as students would be applying on actual grades and so would be able to apply for more courses. For first-year students the academic year will start a little later, giving them time to find accommodation if need be, and also meaning they can be well prepared for their entry into higher education, and that their needs can be focused on specifically, rather than lost in the noise of the start of a university term.

The work needed to change university admissions can’t and shouldn’t be underestimated. But neither is it an excuse not to look seriously at what is not working and change it.

Persuasive Article Analysis

Complete each of the boxes below in relation to the persuasive article you have been given

What is the article about? Give a dot point summary of it.

What points/evidence has this writer given to support their argument?

Is the article persuasive? Give two reasons to justify your answer:

YES/NO



Name of Article:

Choose two persuasive strategies and highlight them in the text and list the examples below:

1.

2.

Write a list of persuasive words that have been used: