

Cambridge International AS & A Level

SOCIOLOGY		9699/4
Paper 4		October/November 2021
MARK SCHEME		
Maximum Mark: 70		
	Published	

This mark scheme is published as an aid to teachers and candidates, to indicate the requirements of the examination. It shows the basis on which Examiners were instructed to award marks. It does not indicate the details of the discussions that took place at an Examiners' meeting before marking began, which would have considered the acceptability of alternative answers.

Mark schemes should be read in conjunction with the question paper and the Principal Examiner Report for Teachers.

Cambridge International will not enter into discussions about these mark schemes.

Cambridge International is publishing the mark schemes for the October/November 2021 series for most Cambridge IGCSE™, Cambridge International A and AS Level components and some Cambridge O Level components.

Generic Marking Principles

These general marking principles must be applied by all examiners when marking candidate answers. They should be applied alongside the specific content of the mark scheme or generic level descriptors for a question. Each question paper and mark scheme will also comply with these marking principles.

GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 1:

Marks must be awarded in line with:

- the specific content of the mark scheme or the generic level descriptors for the question
- the specific skills defined in the mark scheme or in the generic level descriptors for the question
- the standard of response required by a candidate as exemplified by the standardisation scripts.

GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 2:

Marks awarded are always whole marks (not half marks, or other fractions).

GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 3:

Marks must be awarded **positively**:

- marks are awarded for correct/valid answers, as defined in the mark scheme. However, credit
 is given for valid answers which go beyond the scope of the syllabus and mark scheme,
 referring to your Team Leader as appropriate
- marks are awarded when candidates clearly demonstrate what they know and can do
- marks are not deducted for errors
- marks are not deducted for omissions
- answers should only be judged on the quality of spelling, punctuation and grammar when these features are specifically assessed by the question as indicated by the mark scheme. The meaning, however, should be unambiguous.

GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 4:

Rules must be applied consistently, e.g. in situations where candidates have not followed instructions or in the application of generic level descriptors.

GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 5:

Marks should be awarded using the full range of marks defined in the mark scheme for the question (however; the use of the full mark range may be limited according to the quality of the candidate responses seen).

GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 6:

Marks awarded are based solely on the requirements as defined in the mark scheme. Marks should not be awarded with grade thresholds or grade descriptors in mind.

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Social Science-Specific Marking Principles (for point-based marking)

1 Components using point-based marking:

Point marking is often used to reward knowledge, understanding and application of skills. We
give credit where the candidate's answer shows relevant knowledge, understanding and
application of skills in answering the question. We do not give credit where the answer shows
confusion.

From this it follows that we:

- **a** DO credit answers which are worded differently from the mark scheme if they clearly convey the same meaning (unless the mark scheme requires a specific term)
- **b** DO credit alternative answers/examples which are not written in the mark scheme if they are correct
- **c** DO credit answers where candidates give more than one correct answer in one prompt/numbered/scaffolded space where extended writing is required rather than list-type answers. For example, questions that require *n* reasons (e.g. State two reasons ...).
- **d** DO NOT credit answers simply for using a 'key term' unless that is all that is required. (Check for evidence it is understood and not used wrongly.)
- e DO NOT credit answers which are obviously self-contradicting or trying to cover all possibilities
- **f** DO NOT give further credit for what is effectively repetition of a correct point already credited unless the language itself is being tested. This applies equally to 'mirror statements' (i.e. polluted/not polluted).
- **g** DO NOT require spellings to be correct, unless this is part of the test. However spellings of syllabus terms must allow for clear and unambiguous separation from other syllabus terms with which they may be confused (e.g. Corrasion/Corrosion)

2 Presentation of mark scheme:

- Slashes (/) or the word 'or' separate alternative ways of making the same point.
- Semi colons (;) bullet points (•) or figures in brackets (1) separate different points.
- Content in the answer column in brackets is for examiner information/context to clarify the
 marking but is not required to earn the mark (except Accounting syllabuses where they indicate
 negative numbers).

3 Calculation questions:

- The mark scheme will show the steps in the most likely correct method(s), the mark for each step, the correct answer(s) and the mark for each answer
- If working/explanation is considered essential for full credit, this will be indicated in the question paper and in the mark scheme. In all other instances, the correct answer to a calculation should be given full credit, even if no supporting working is shown.
- Where the candidate uses a valid method which is not covered by the mark scheme, award equivalent marks for reaching equivalent stages.
- Where an answer makes use of a candidate's own incorrect figure from previous working, the
 'own figure rule' applies: full marks will be given if a correct and complete method is used.
 Further guidance will be included in the mark scheme where necessary and any exceptions to
 this general principle will be noted.

4 Annotation:

- For point marking, ticks can be used to indicate correct answers and crosses can be used to indicate wrong answers. There is no direct relationship between ticks and marks. Ticks have no defined meaning for levels of response marking.
- For levels of response marking, the level awarded should be annotated on the script.
- Other annotations will be used by examiners as agreed during standardisation, and the meaning will be understood by all examiners who marked that paper.

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Question	Answer	Marks
1	'Modernisation theory offers the best explanation for global inequality.' Evaluate this view.	35
	Key focus of the question	
	With this question, candidates have an opportunity to demonstrate knowledge of the modernisation theory of development. Good answers will be aware that modernisation theory attributes primary importance to cultural factors in explaining how societies are able to achieve economic growth. In order for poorer countries to develop economically, supporters of modernisation theory argue that these societies should adopt the values associated with democracy, private property, entrepreneurship, rational approach to risk taking, and respect for human rights. Critics of this view say that it ignores the structural constraints and asymmetrical power relations that allow rich countries to benefit from a system of global inequality that ensures less economically developed countries remain poor. Candidates are likely to use contrasts between modernisation theory and dependency theory/world systems theory in developing an evaluation of the view on which the question is based.	
	Indicative content	
	For:	
	 There is some evidence that the most successful countries economically in the developing world have made a concerted effort to adopt some or all of the cultural changes advocated by modernisation theorists. Examples include Singapore, South Korea, and the UAE. Modernisation theory is right in drawing attention to the importance of culture in understanding the development process. Modernisation theorists may have exaggerated the importance of Western neoliberal values for economic growth in the developing world, but a combination of Western ideas with some traditional values and religious influences has proved a potent mix in helping some poorer countries to advance, China being a particular example. Recognising the contribution of the cultural dimension in development is particularly important given that it is overlooked in many other theories; for example, Marxist sociologists focus almost entirely on economic factors in explaining the difficulties poorer countries face in escaping from global poverty. Claims by Marxist sociologists that modernisation theory is too optimistic about the chances of poorer countries escaping from global poverty may be unjustified. There have been some improvements in the standard of living of the poor in many developing countries and TNCs, western aid projects, and support from capitalist-leaning transnational organisations, such as the IMF and World Bank, would seem to have 	

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Question	Answer	Marks
1	 Against: Marxist sociologists point out that modernisation theory ignores the destructive and exploitative impact of Western colonisation on many poorer countries. Colonisation significantly undermined any opportunity poorer countries had to achieve rapid economic development and it has a lasting legacy in ensuring these countries remain dependent on rich Western countries after the end of the colonial regime (a situation referred to as neo-colonialism). Marxist sociologist Frank rejects the modernisation theory argument that global inequalities are caused by 'deficient' cultures of poorer nation-states. In contrast, Frank argues that global capitalism has systematically under-developed the economies of poorer countries in order to benefit the economies of the richer nations. This capitalist exploitation has left poorer countries unable to generate significant economic growth, no matter how hard they try or what value systems they adopt. Immanuel Wallerstein argues that the capitalist economic system is becoming increasingly global in its search for profit. In turn, this is leading to rich countries increasingly focusing on higher skill, capital intensive production, and the rest of the world focusing on low-skill, labour-intensive production and extraction of raw materials. This constantly reinforces the dominance of the rich countries and condemns workers in poorer countries to a life of exploitative, insecure low wage employment. Modernisation theory identifies a possible solution for less economically developed countries (adopt Western, neoliberal cultural values), but fails to provide an analysis of what factors might make it possible for poorer countries to act in this way. Entrenched religious and military elites often operate in poorer countries and their interests are not necessarily aligned with efforts to eliminate poverty among their people or to modernise the economic base of the country. Likewise, wars and natural disasters can have	

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Question	Answer	Marks
2	'Global migration has given people in developing countries more freedom and better life chances.' Evaluate this view.	35
	Key focus of the question	
	The focus of this question is global migration and the opportunities it offers for people in less economically developed countries. Neoliberal argue that global migration contributes to economic growth and benefits both the sending and the receiving countries. Assimilation theory sees cross-border migration as potentially a positive and beneficial experience for migrants who make a concerted effort to integrate in the culture and social practices of the receiving country.	
	Feminist sociologists are concerned that global migration may have some adverse consequences that fall on women particularly; female migrants are especially vulnerable to sex trafficking, for example. Marxist sociologists are sceptical that migrants from poor countries benefit in any way from working in rich countries; these workers are often exploited and socially isolated, living in poverty and with little protection for their human rights. These arguments and debates give a flavour of what material should be covered in good answers to the question.	
	Indicative content	
	 For: Wages and living conditions in rich countries are potentially much better than migrant workers from poor countries would find back home. Workers with skills that are in high demand in Western countries, such as doctors and engineers, are particularly well placed to achieve a high standard of living and improve their life chances. Migrants from areas where traditional values and religious beliefs dominate the local culture may find that life in Western countries offers greater freedom and more choice in lifestyle options, including the opportunity to combine aspects of traditional and modern culture. Opportunities for upward social mobility may be higher in rich countries where there is a meritocratic ethos; there may also be more scope to set up successful businesses and become wealthy in time. Migrant workers from developing countries may be able to support families and communities and therefore increase life chances in the country of origin. 	

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Question	Answer	Marks
2	 Against: Marxist sociologists claim that global migration provides low-cost, readily exploitable labour that enables the owners of capital to generate higher profits. In this view, very few global migrants derive any economic benefit from working in rich countries. Other sociologists have highlighted negative social and cultural consequences of global migration. For example, migrants may endure long periods of separation from relatives and friends who remain in the sending country. Cultural ties with the home country may be broken and language barriers could make assimilation in the receiving country difficult to achieve. Migrant workers may encounter discrimination, abuse of human rights, and aggression from local people who feel threatened by the arrival of immigrants. Global migrants are particularly vulnerable to exploitation, as the examples of slave labour and sex trafficking illustrate. Women and children may be particularly vulnerable. Any chance of achieving a better standard of living as a migrant worker may be scuppered when taking into account the high costs of living and relatively low wages that migrants encounter in rich countries. Case studies of migrant workers often reveal a pitiful existence of poverty, exploitation, sub-standard housing, ill-health, and social isolation. Hopes of returning home with a financial cushion after a few years working in a rich country often prove unrealistic, people for migrants who are subject to exploitative control by people traffickers and slave traders. 	

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Answer	Marks
'Media content is influenced mainly by editors and journalists.' Evaluate this view.	35
Key focus of the question	
The question invites consideration of which social actors or agencies control the media. Editors and journalists play a key role in media production and so are well placed to influence decisions affecting the media. They have various means available to exert power relative to other social actors and agencies who might seek to control the media, such as media owners, government regulators, audiences, and advertisers. However, sociologists disagree about just how much autonomy editors and journalists enjoy when it comes to making key decisions about the content and direction of the media. Good answers will consider different contributions to this debate and this might be explored through consideration of different theoretical perspectives, including Marxist, pluralist, feminist, and postmodernist theories.	
Marxist sociologists argue that the content of the media is controlled by the owners of media conglomerates and, more broadly, by the capitalist ruling class. Interactionists would argue that only detailed study of individual instances of media control would shed light on where power lies. Feminist sociologists would highlight the extent to which the media are controlled by men and serve male interests predominantly. Pluralists argue that the media serve a diverse range of interests in society and no single group controls the media. Postmodernists would point out that the new digital media has created opportunities for more people to influence the media than was perhaps previously the case and this has taken some power away from media professionals, such as editors and journalists.	
Indicative content	
 Editors and journalists have close control over the day-to-day running of the media and their specialist knowledge and managerial brief may provide an edge in terms of dominating the decision-making process with the media. Editors and journalists in particular media outlets are bound by close work ties and this may help form a unity of purpose and mutual support that makes the group formidable in any battles to secure and maintain control of the media. Moreover, editors and journalists across all media outlets have an interest in supporting each other and protecting their professional status and employment position, again making this a powerful group with many levers to pull in terms of controlling the media. Media production is an increasingly technical process, which may advantage individuals who have specialist skills and knowledge, such as editors and journalists. Editors and journalists can use the media to influence the agenda in their favour when it comes to issues of public debate about the role and 	
	'Media content is influenced mainly by editors and journalists.' Evaluate this view. Key focus of the question The question invites consideration of which social actors or agencies control the media. Editors and journalists play a key role in media production and so are well placed to influence decisions affecting the media. They have various means available to exert power relative to other social actors and agencies who might seek to control the media, such as media owners, government regulators, audiences, and advertisers. However, sociologists disagree about just how much autonomy editors and journalists enjoy when it comes to making key decisions about the content and direction of the media. Good answers will consider different contributions to this debate and this might be explored through consideration of different theoretical perspectives, including Marxist, pluralist, feminist, and postmodernist theories. Marxist sociologists argue that the content of the media is controlled by the owners of media conglomerates and, more broadly, by the capitalist ruling class. Interactionists would argue that only detailed study of individual instances of media control would shed light on where power lies. Feminist sociologists would highlight the extent to which the media are controlled by men and serve male interests predominantly. Pluralists argue that the media serve a diverse range of interests in society and no single group controls the media. Postmodernists would point out that the new digital media has created opportunities for more people to influence the media than was perhaps previously the case and this has taken some power away from media professionals, such as editors and journalists. Indicative content For: Editors and journalists have close control over the day-to-day running of the media and their specialist knowledge and managerial brief may provide an edge in terms of dominating the decision-making process with the media. Editors and journalists have provided to purpose and mutual support that

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Question	Answer	Marks
3	 Against: Marxist sociologists argue that control of the media rests in the hands of owners of the media who ruthlessly use their property assets to generate maximum profit. Editors and journalists are forced to align themselves with the commercial interests of the owners or they will lose their jobs. Feminist sociologists point out that most editors and senior journalists are men, which means that women are less well placed to exert influence over decision-making processes within the media. Pluralist theory states that power in relation to the media is fragmented with different groups in society each having some influence. Audiences, for example, must have their interests taking into account by media organisations to some extent or sales of media products will be adversely affected. Advertisers have some influence too, as they provide vital funding for media producers. Government is another social agency competing to exercise control of the media. The new media have handed some control over media production to individual citizens and this may have lessened the role of editors and journalists as gatekeepers of what is published and broadcast. 	

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Question	Answer	Marks
4	'Access to the new media has given people more power to challenge existing power structures.' Evaluate this view.	35
	Key focus of the question	
	The new media are seen as more interactive than the traditional media, giving individual citizens more opportunity to shape media content, network with a wide base of like-minded people, and organise protest and/or resistance to government actions with which they disagree. Good answers to the question will consider how far people have been empowered by the emergence of the new media and whether claims about greater power to challenge existing power structures can be substantiated. Debates between digital optimists and digital pessimists may feature in well-informed responses. Digital optimists argue that digital activists have used the internet and social media to challenge power elites in a number of ways, including harnessing mass support for political campaigns, raising awareness of government malpractice and maladministration, and coordinating protests and activism. Digital pessimists argue that political protests organised through the new media have had relatively little success in achieving the aims of the activists. Authoritarian governments in particular have been ruthless in cracking down on internet use whenever opponents have any success in using the new media to advance their cause. Examples of particular political campaigns may be used in good answers as a way of debating the issues to which digital optimists and digital pessimists have drawn attention.	
	Indicative content	
	 For: The new media allow political activists to carry out the same activities as in the past, but more quickly, on a larger scale, and at lower cost. The new media allow people to organise themselves without formalised bureaucracies and central leaders; protest groups emerge in a more spontaneous fashion and can quickly generate sufficient support to catch political opponents off-guard, as in the case of the Arab-Spring anti-government movements which spread across the Middle East and North Africa between 2010 and 2012. The new media can be used to monitor the illegal or immoral activities of big businesses and governments. Hacktivist networks can infiltrate corporate and government websites, potentially gaining access to information that would expose wrongdoing and injustice. The digital revolution has enabled citizen journalism with civilians having access to the technology to send instant messages and pictures around the globe (including to international media outlets) in order to report on events affecting citizen protests and government attempts to repress opposition. 	

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Question	Answer	Marks
4	 Against: There is little evidence that use of the new media has helped protest movements achieve their objectives. For example, in relation to the Arab Spring, only the uprising in Tunisia has resulted in a transition to constitutional democracy. In other countries, authoritarianism still prevails or civil wars continue. Authoritarian governments increasingly seek to limit the liberating potential of the new media by deploying censorship, masked political control, and technology capture. Outside the wealthy, established democracies, large numbers of people still lack access to digital technologies. They are therefore reliant on government controlled traditional media. Technology providers are under increasing pressure to exercise closer control over how their technology is used and by whom. For example, Facebook has recently banned a number of account users who were seen by the company to be posting socially undesirable content. While some will see this as responsible monitoring of media usage, others will view it as a potentially troubling development that places restrictions on how individuals use the new media and who is judged suitable to post messages and organise protests. 	

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Question	Answer	Marks
5	'Women are oppressed by religion'. Evaluate this view.	35
	Key focus of the question The question invites consideration of the relationship between religion and gender inequality. Feminist sociologists claim to have identified close links between religion and patriarchy, with religious teachings representing females in a negative way and emphasising their subordination to male figures, such as fathers and husbands. Women are encouraged to follow traditional gender role in society in many religions. Moreover, there is low involvement of women in positions of authority in most religious organisations. Some women report that involvement in religion has damaged their self-esteem and sense of freedom; they feel oppressed by the exercise of religious authority. The feminist analysis of gender inequality in religion can be countered in various ways, including reference to the functionalist view that women perform different but equal roles within many religious organisations, and the interactionist view that only detailed study of what women actually think and feel about their experience of religion will shed light on whether they find religion oppressive. Good answers might consider how the position of women in religious organisations may be changing and also how the involvement of women differs between religions (gender inequality appears to be less pronounced in some religions than others).	
	Indicative content	
	 For: Examples of religious teachings that support a patriarchal worldview and represent women in an inferior or prejudicial way. Evidence to show that women are often lowly represented in positions of authority within religious organisations. Religious support for conservative values that emphasise traditional gender roles for women. Examples of religious support for opposing causes that feminists have campaigned for, such as abortion rights, civil marriage, and freedom from arranged marriages. 	
	 Against: Danger of over-generalising as the position of women in religion varies greatly between different religious organisations. Some religions are responding positively to calls for women to have greater opportunity to access positions of authority, including through ordination. Many women with religious affiliations may support some or all of the religious values that feminists see as patriarchal and oppressive. The secularisation thesis suggests that religion has little social significance today and so the influence of religion in contributing to patriarch and the oppression of women may be very limited for the majority of the female population. 	

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Question	Answer	Marks
6	'There is clear evidence that people are less religious today.' Evaluate this view.	35
	Key focus of the question	
	This question can be answered by considering the secularisation thesis which claims that support for religion has declined, and religious organisations have accordingly lost much of their social significance. Evidence that is used to support the claim that people have become less religious includes: declining membership of many established religions; decline in religiously blessed marriages and rise in divorce; growing support for alternative belief systems, including humanism and atheism; the challenges to spiritual belief posed by science.	
	It is Western societies primarily where the decline in religiosity is most often cited. The extent of the decline can, however, be debated and arguments against the secularisation thesis are likely to feature in good evaluative responses to the question. Another line of analysis a candidate might take would be to consider whether the view expressed in the question is true of all religions today, as some may be more successful in attracting and retaining members than others. Difficulties of defining and measuring religiosity would be another relevant area of debate to explore for this question.	
	Indicative content	
	 For: Falling membership of religious organisations and competition from other belief systems would indicate a decline in religiosity. Fewer people are participating in religious ceremonies. People are more likely to challenge the authority of established religions to decide key issues of morality in society. There is more profanity and possible greater acceptance of heresy and blasphemy today. Some studies suggest people of faith devote less time to religious activities today than in the past and some have become more questioning of their faith. 	
	 Against: In some societies and communities, there are strong pressures on people to participate in religious practice and maintain their faith, at least outwardly. Some religious organisations appear to be attracting more followers (the Evangelical movement in the US, for example) Claims that people are less religious than in the past can be questioned, not least because evidence about people's religious beliefs in the past may be unreliable. Rather than becoming less religious, people may have changed the ways they practice religion; for example, an increase in privatised worship and the use of social media for religious engagement. Religiosity is difficult to measure so any empirical evidence about the strength of people's religious belief today has to be treated sceptically. 	

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Generic levels of response

Level	AO1: Knowledge and Understanding	Marks
3	 Good knowledge and understanding of the view on which the question is based. The response contains a range of detailed points with good use of concepts and theory/research evidence. 	7–9
2	 Reasonable knowledge and understanding of the view on which the question is based. The response contains either a narrow range of detailed points or a wider range of underdeveloped points, with some use of concepts and references to theory or research evidence 	4–6
1	 Basic knowledge and understanding of the view on which the question is based. The response contains a narrow range of underdeveloped points with some references to concepts or theory or research evidence. 	1–3
0	No knowledge and understanding worthy of credit.	0

Level	AO2: Interpretation and Application	Marks
4	 Very good interpretation and application of relevant sociological material. The material selected will be accurately interpreted and consistently applied to the question in a logical and well-informed way. 	10–11
3	 Good interpretation and application of sociological material. The material selected will be accurate and relevant but not always consistently applied to the question in a way that is logical and clear 	7–9
2	 Reasonable interpretation and application of sociological material. The material selected will be mainly accurate but its relevance to the question may be confused or unclear at times. 	4–6
1	 Limited interpretation and application of sociological material. The material selected is relevant to the topic but lacks focus on or relevance to the specific question. 	1–3
0	No interpretation and application worthy of credit.	0

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Level	AO3: Analysis and Evaluation	Marks
4	 Very good analysis and evaluation. Clear and sustained analysis of the view on which the question is based, with detailed and explicit evaluation. There is also likely to be a range of contrasting views and/or evidence discussed, demonstrating good understanding of the complexity of the issues raised by the question. 	12–15
3	 Good analysis and evaluation. The evaluation may be explicit and direct but not sustained, or it will rely on a good outline of contrasting views and/or evidence, clearly focussed on evaluating the view in the question. The response demonstrates some understanding of the complexity of the issues raised by the question. 	8–11
2	 Reasonable analysis and evaluation. There is a description of some relevant contrasting views and/or evidence but these are only implicitly focussed on evaluating the view in the question. The response demonstrates some awareness of the complexity of the issues raised by the question. 	4–7
1	 Limited analysis and evaluation. There are a few simple points of implicit or tangential evaluation. The response demonstrates little awareness of the complexity of the issues raised by the question. 	1–3
0	No analysis and evaluation worthy of credit.	0

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