



Cambridge International AS & A Level

GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES & RESEARCH

9239/11

Paper 1 Written Examination

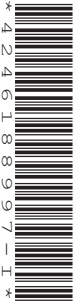
October/November 2021

INSERT

1 hour 30 minutes

INFORMATION

- This insert contains all the resources referred to in the questions.
- You may annotate this insert and use the blank spaces for planning. **Do not write your answers** on the insert.



This document has 4 pages. Any blank pages are indicated.

The following documents consider issues related to **changing national identities**. Read them **both** in order to answer **all** the questions on the paper.

Document 1: adapted from *How Roma are made stateless for generations*, written by Jonathan Lee in 2018. The article was published in the 'New Internationalist', a magazine dedicated to socially conscious journalism and publishing. The author is a Romani activist and writer, who works as the Communications Coordinator for the European Roma Rights Centre in Budapest, Hungary.

Elena is stateless. She was born in Skopje, Macedonia, and has always lived there. However, she has no documents to give her basic citizens' rights. She is Romani – a member of Europe's largest and most persecuted ethnic minority. Because of her ethnicity and lack of nationality, she faces daily discrimination.

Like many Roma, Elena's father came to Macedonia as a refugee during the Balkan war, in the late 1990s. During the break-up of Yugoslavia new countries were formed. Their new citizenship laws and procedures left Roma refugees with no legal status, no valid personal records or documents. As a result, thousands of Romani still live, stateless, in UN Refugee Camps, twenty years after the war ended.

So, Elena is denied access to basic public services, cannot vote, access free healthcare, send her children to school, access social welfare, or even get a formal job. 'They treat me differently' says Elena. 'In the hospitals, they don't treat my children. I always have to beg the doctors to treat them for free. ... if my children had birth certificates they would treat us much better... [I could] go to hospital... help my children get nationality...I [could] send my children to school so they can have a better life. I am very angry at this situation...I would ask help only for my children, nothing else.'

According to Đorđe Jovanović of the European Roma Rights Centre, the main barrier to citizenship is lack of birth registration. 'This is not an issue of culture or poverty,' says Jovanović. 'Romani parents are being denied registering their children at birth – either because of their own statelessness, or because of discrimination from state officials.' Because they cannot register their children's births, statelessness passes from generation to generation.

Many government officials hold a stereotypical view that Roma do not want to be part of the system and do not want to register, because of their 'traditional lifestyle'. However, this couldn't be further from the truth. Roma are fighting against the denial of services and employment. Stefan, a Romani man interviewed in Montenegro last year says, 'If I want a telephone, I must show personal ID. I cannot find a job...because I cannot register as an employee without ID. I cannot prove who am I, and often have to spend nights in prison without being guilty of anything... I have no reputation or status. And I have no way to explain to my children why this is happening to us.'

Roma cannot risk their children growing up without the 'right to have rights'. Roma without citizenship rights live shorter, harder and much more unfulfilled lives. The UN's 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development states that a primary goal is 'to leave no-one behind'. However, new research highlights shocking numbers of Roma, not just 'left behind', but actively excluded through severe discrimination and institutional racism.

To change the lives of Roma, there must first be changes in responsibility for addressing statelessness: in law, and in the attitudes of government officials. The longer it takes for this to happen, the more Romani children will reach maturity without attending school. More parents will be forced into less and less secure work to feed their families. More Roma will be pushed to the margins of society – ignored, persecuted and excluded.

Document 2: adapted from *Viewpoint: End Statelessness or Empower the Stateless?*, written by Katja Swider in 2017. The article was published by 'discoversociety', a not-for-profit academic publication, focusing on social policy. The author is writing a PhD thesis on statelessness at the University of Amsterdam, Netherlands.

There is a problem with policies on statelessness, including the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR*) campaign to end statelessness by 2024. These policies assume that nationality is always good, and statelessness is always bad. I argue that before we judge, we must first consider the circumstances of each affected individual.

The UNHCR campaign implies that the best way to help stateless people is to end their statelessness. Stateless individuals must exercise their right to a nationality. However, in my book 'Understanding Statelessness', I argue that the right to a nationality does not imply a duty to be(come) a national. Furthermore, the right to a nationality should not prevent voluntary statelessness. Access to rights should include freedom of choice to reject them.

Voluntary statelessness is often illegal. In international policy documents, such as the UN Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness, the right to a nationality prohibits statelessness. However, some people want to give up their original nationality for political, personal or economic reasons.

In my book, to illustrate my concerns, I discuss several cases where ending statelessness could have a negative effect on human rights. One such case is a stateless young man in the Netherlands who has the right to Armenian nationality. However, to gain it, he must join the Armenian army and participate in a violent war, risking his life, wellbeing and dignity. This case shows some possible costs of nationality. So, policies that aim to end statelessness for the sake of human rights can have negative consequences. Therefore, we must also allow people to refuse a nationality if it would negatively affect their human rights.

Statelessness is not the only example where policies to improve human rights can be used against the people they claim to help. Marie Huchzermeyer is a Professor of Architecture and Planning at a South African university. She claims that UN-endorsed programmes, such as 'Cities without Slums', are used to oppress slum inhabitants in the name of human rights. This international policy on slums was misinterpreted and misused. To clear slums, the poorest people were sometimes forcefully evicted from their homes, their access to healthcare and education cut off, and their social networks disrupted. This led to the elimination of slums but not the empowerment of vulnerable people.

How can statelessness policies truly empower those they aim to help? The answer lies in putting rights first. It is important to ensure everyone can be a full member of their community. However, nationality should not be the only route to human rights. All humans, regardless of nationality status, are entitled to human rights. Individuals' choices as to whether, when and how to exercise their human right to a nationality should be treated with respect.

So, the protection of stateless persons must take priority over the goal to end statelessness. And voluntary statelessness must be accepted as a valid freedom of choice.

* UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

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