READING PASSAGE 2

*You should spend about 20 minutes on **Questions 14–26**, which are based on Reading Passage 2 below.*

Does education fuel economic growth?

A Over the last decade, a huge database about the lives of southwest German villagers between 1600 and 1900 has been compiled by a team led by Professor Sheilagh Ogilvie at Cambridge University's Faculty of Economics. It includes court records, guild ledgers, parish registers, village censuses, tax lists and – the most recent addition – 9,000 handwritten inventories listing over a million personal possessions belonging to ordinary women and men across three centuries. Ogilvie, who discovered the inventories in the archives of two German communities 30 years ago, believes they may hold the answer to a conundrum that has long puzzled economists: the lack of evidence for a causal link between education and a country's economic growth.

B As Ogilvie explains, 'Education helps us to work more productively, invent better technology, and earn more … surely it must be critical for economic growth? But, if you look back through history, there's no evidence that having a high literacy rate made a country industrialise earlier.' Between 1600 and 1900, England had only mediocre literacy rates by European standards, yet its economy grew fast and it was the first country to industrialise. During this period, Germany and Scandinavia had excellent literacy rates, but their economies grew slowly and they industrialised late. 'Modern cross-country analyses have also struggled to find evidence that education causes economic growth, even though there is plenty of evidence that growth increases education,' she adds.

C In the handwritten inventories that Ogilvie is analysing are the belongings of women and men at marriage, remarriage and death. From badger skins to Bibles, sewing machines to scarlet bodices – the villagers' entire worldly goods are included. Inventories of agricultural equipment and craft tools reveal economic activities; ownership of books and education-related objects like pens and slates suggests how people learned. In addition, the tax lists included in the database record the value of farms, workshops, assets and debts; signatures and people's estimates of their age indicate literacy and numeracy levels; and court records reveal obstacles (such as the activities of the guilds*) that stifled industry.

Previous studies usually had just one way of linking education with economic growth – the presence of schools and printing presses, perhaps, or school enrolment, or the ability to sign names. According to Ogilvie, the database provides multiple indicators for the same individuals, making it possible to analyse links between literacy, numeracy, wealth, and industriousness, for individual women and men over the long term.

* guild: an association of artisans or merchants which oversees the practice of their craft or trade in a particular area

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D Ogilvie and her team have been building the vast database of material possessions on top of their full demographic reconstruction of the people who lived in these two German communities. 'We can follow the same people – and their descendants – across 300 years of educational and economic change,' she says. Individual lives have unfolded before their eyes. Stories like that of the 24-year-olds Ana Regina and Magdalena Riethmüllerin, who were chastised in 1707 for reading books in church instead of listening to the sermon. 'This tells us they were continuing to develop their reading skills at least a decade after leaving school,' explains Ogilvie. The database also reveals the case of Juliana Schweickherdt, a 50-year-old spinster living in the small Black Forest community of Wildberg, who was reprimanded in 1752 by the local weavers' guild for 'weaving cloth and combing wool, counter to the guild ordinance'. When Juliana continued taking jobs reserved for male guild members, she was summoned before the guild court and told to pay a fine equivalent to one third of a servant's annual wage. It was a small act of defiance by today's standards, but it reflects a time when laws in Germany and elsewhere regulated people's access to labour markets. The dominance of guilds not only prevented people from using their skills, but also held back even the simplest industrial innovation.

E The data-gathering phase of the project has been completed and now, according to Ogilvie, it is time 'to ask the big questions'. One way to look at whether education causes economic growth is to 'hold wealth constant'. This involves following the lives of different people with the same level of wealth over a period of time. If wealth is constant, it is possible to discover whether education was, for example, linked to the cultivation of new crops, or to the adoption of industrial innovations like sewing machines. The team will also ask what aspect of education helped people engage more with productive and innovative activities. Was it, for instance, literacy, numeracy, book ownership, years of schooling? Was there a threshold level – a tipping point – that needed to be reached to affect economic performance?

F Ogilvie hopes to start finding answers to these questions over the next few years. One thing is already clear, she says: the relationship between education and economic growth is far from straightforward. 'German-speaking central Europe is an excellent laboratory for testing theories of economic growth,' she explains. Between 1600 and 1900, literacy rates and book ownership were high and yet the region remained poor. It was also the case that local guilds and merchant associations were extremely powerful and legislated against anything that undermined their monopolies. In villages throughout the region, guilds blocked labour migration and resisted changes that might reduce their influence.

'Early findings suggest that the potential benefits of education for the economy can be held back by other barriers, and this has implications for today,' says Ogilvie. 'Huge amounts are spent improving education in developing countries, but this spending can fail to deliver economic growth if restrictions block people – especially women and the poor – from using their education in economically productive ways. If economic institutions are poorly set up, for instance, education can't lead to growth.'

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Questions 14–18

Reading Passage 2 has six sections, **A–F**.

Which section contains the following information?

*Write the correct letter, **A–F**, in boxes 14–18 on your answer sheet.*

14 an explanation of the need for research to focus on individuals with a fairly consistent income

15 examples of the sources the database has been compiled from

16 an account of one individual's refusal to obey an order

17 a reference to a region being particularly suited to research into the link between education and economic growth

18 examples of the items included in a list of personal possessions

Questions 19–22

Complete the summary below.

*Choose **ONE WORD** from the passage for each answer.*

Write your answers in boxes 19–22 on your answer sheet.

Demographic reconstruction of two German communities

The database that Ogilvie and her team has compiled sheds light on the lives of a range of individuals, as well as those of their **19** ..... , over a 300-year period. For example, Ana Regina and Magdalena Riethmüllerin were reprimanded for reading while they should have been paying attention to a **20** ..... . There was also Juliana Schweickherdt, who came to the notice of the weavers' guild in the year 1752 for breaking guild rules. As a punishment, she was later given a **21** ..... . Cases like this illustrate how the guilds could prevent **22** ..... and stop skilled people from working.

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Questions 23 and 24

*Choose **TWO** letters, **A–E**.*

Write the correct letters in boxes 23 and 24 on your answer sheet.

Which **TWO** of the following statements does the writer make about literacy rates in Section B?

A Very little research has been done into the link between high literacy rates and improved earnings.
B Literacy rates in Germany between 1600 and 1900 were very good.
C There is strong evidence that high literacy rates in the modern world result in economic growth.
D England is a good example of how high literacy rates helped a country industrialise.
E Economic growth can help to improve literacy rates.

Questions 25 and 26

*Choose **TWO** letters, **A–E**.*

Write the correct letters in boxes 25 and 26 on your answer sheet.

Which **TWO** of the following statements does the writer make in Section F about guilds in German-speaking Central Europe between 1600 and 1900?

A They helped young people to learn a skill.
B They were opposed to people moving to an area for work.
C They kept better records than guilds in other parts of the world.
D They opposed practices that threatened their control over a trade.
E They predominantly consisted of wealthy merchants.

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READING PASSAGE 3

*You should spend about 20 minutes on **Questions 27–40**, which are based on Reading Passage 3 below.*

Timur Gareyev – blindfold chess champion

A Next month, a chess player named Timur Gareyev will take on nearly 50 opponents at once. But that is not the hard part. While his challengers will play the games as normal, Gareyev himself will be blindfolded. Even by world record standards, it sets a high bar for human performance. The 28-year-old already stands out in the rarefied world of blindfold chess. He has a fondness for bright clothes and unusual hairstyles, and he gets his kicks from the adventure sport of BASE jumping. He has already proved himself a strong chess player, too. In a 10-hour chess marathon in 2013, Gareyev played 33 games in his head simultaneously. He won 29 and lost none. The skill has become his brand: he calls himself the Blindfold King.

B But Gareyev's prowess has drawn interest from beyond the chess-playing community. In the hope of understanding how he and others like him can perform such mental feats, researchers at the University of California in Los Angeles (UCLA) called him in for tests. They now have their first results. 'The ability to play a game of chess with your eyes closed is not a far reach for most accomplished players,' said Jesse Rissman, who runs a memory lab at UCLA. 'But the thing that's so remarkable about Timur and a few other individuals is the number of games they can keep active at once. To me it is simply astonishing.'

C Gareyev learned to play chess in his native Uzbekistan when he was six years old. Tutored by his grandfather, he entered his first tournament aged eight and soon became obsessed with competitions. At 16, he was crowned Asia's youngest ever chess grandmaster. He moved to the US soon after, and as a student helped his university win its first national chess championship. In 2013, Gareyev was ranked the third best chess player in the US.

D To the uninitiated, blindfold chess seems to call for superhuman skill. But displays of the feat go back centuries. The first recorded game in Europe was played in 13th-century Florence. In 1947, the Argentinian grandmaster Miguel Najdorf played 45 simultaneous games in his mind, winning 39 in the 24-hour session.

E Accomplished players can develop the skill of playing blind even without realising it. The nature of the game is to run through possible moves in the mind to see how they play out. From this, regular players develop a memory for the patterns the pieces make, the defences and attacks. 'You recreate it in your mind,' said Gareyev. 'A lot of players are capable of doing what I'm doing.' The real mental challenge comes from playing multiple games at once in the head. Not only must the positions of each piece on every board be memorised, they must be recalled

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faithfully when needed, updated with each player's moves, and then reliably stored again, so the brain can move on to the next board. First moves can be tough to remember because they are fairly uninteresting. But the ends of games are taxing too, as exhaustion sets in. When Gareyev is tired, his recall can get patchy. He sometimes makes moves based on only a fragmented memory of the pieces' positions.

F The scientists first had Gareyev perform some standard memory tests. These assessed his ability to hold numbers, pictures and words in mind. One classic test measures how many numbers a person can repeat, both forwards and backwards, soon after hearing them. Most people manage about seven. 'He was not exceptional on any of these standard tests,' said Rissman. 'We didn't find anything other than playing chess that he seems to be supremely gifted at.' But next came the brain scans. With Gareyev lying down in the machine, Rissman looked at how well connected the various regions of the chess player's brain were. Though the results are tentative and as yet unpublished, the scans found much greater than average communication between parts of Gareyev's brain that make up what is called the frontoparietal control network. Of 63 people scanned alongside the chess player, only one or two scored more highly on the measure. 'You use this network in almost any complex task. It helps you to allocate attention, keep rules in mind, and work out whether you should be responding or not,' said Rissman.

G It was not the only hint of something special in Gareyev's brain. The scans also suggest that Gareyev's visual network is more highly connected to other brain parts than usual. Initial results suggest that the areas of his brain that process visual images – such as chess boards – may have stronger links to other brain regions, and so be more powerful than normal. While the analyses are not finalised yet, they may hold the first clues to Gareyev's extraordinary ability.

H For the world record attempt, Gareyev hopes to play 47 blindfold games at once in about 16 hours. He will need to win 80% to claim the title. 'I don't worry too much about the winning percentage, that's never been an issue for me,' he said. 'The most important part of blindfold chess for me is that I have found the one thing that I can fully dedicate myself to. I miss having an obsession.'

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Questions 27–32

Reading Passage 3 has eight paragraphs, **A–H**.

Which paragraph contains the following information?

*Write the correct letter, **A–H**, in boxes 27–32 on your answer sheet.*

NB *You may use any letter more than once.*

27 a reference to earlier examples of blindfold chess

28 an outline of what blindfold chess involves

29 a claim that Gareyev's skill is limited to chess

30 why Gareyev's skill is of interest to scientists

31 an outline of Gareyev's priorities

32 a reason why the last part of a game may be difficult

Questions 33–36

Do the following statements agree with the information given in Reading Passage 3?

In boxes 33–36 on your answer sheet, write

TRUE	*if the statement agrees with the information*
FALSE	*if the statement contradicts the information*
NOT GIVEN	*if there is no information about this*

33 In the forthcoming games, all the participants will be blindfolded.

34 Gareyev has won competitions in BASE jumping.

35 UCLA is the first university to carry out research into blindfold chess players.

36 Good chess players are likely to be able to play blindfold chess.

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Questions 37–40

Complete the summary below.

*Choose **ONE WORD ONLY** from the passage for each answer.*

Write your answers in boxes 37–40 on your answer sheet.

How the research was carried out

The researchers started by testing Gareyev's **37** ..... ; for example, he was required to recall a string of **38** ..... in order and also in reverse order. Although his performance was normal, scans showed an unusual amount of **39** ..... within the areas of Gareyev's brain that are concerned with directing attention. In addition, the scans raised the possibility of unusual strength in the parts of his brain that deal with **40** ..... input.

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