Instructions

• Use black ink or ball-point pen.
• Fill in the boxes at the top of this page with your name, centre number and candidate number.
• Answer question part (a) and part (b) of the topic for which you have been prepared. There is a choice of questions in part (b).
• Answer the questions in the spaces provided – there may be more space than you need.

Information

• The total mark for this paper is 60.
• The marks for each question are shown in brackets – use this as a guide as to how much time to spend on each question.
• Questions labelled with an asterisk (*) are ones where the quality of your written communication will be assessed – you should take particular care with your spelling, punctuation and grammar, as well as the clarity of expression, on these questions.

Advice

• Read each question carefully before you start to answer it.
• Keep an eye on the time.
• Check your answers if you have time at the end.
Choose EITHER E1 (Question 1) OR E2 (Question 2) for which you have been prepared.

E1 – British Political History, 1945–90: Consensus and Conflict

Study the relevant sources in the Sources Insert.
Answer Question 1, parts (a) and (b). There is a choice of questions in part (b).

You should start the answer to part (a) on page 4.
You should start the answer to part (b) (i) OR part (b) (ii) on page 9.

Question 1

Answer part (a) and then answer EITHER part (b) (i) OR part (b) (ii).

(a) Study Sources 1, 2 and 3.

How far do the sources suggest that Winston Churchill was responsible for the Conservative Party’s defeat in the 1945 election?

Explain your answer, using the evidence of Sources 1, 2 and 3.

(20)

EITHER

*(b) (i) Use Sources 4, 5 and 6 and your own knowledge.

Do you agree with the view that the Conservative Party’s policies in the years 1951–59 ‘hindered the country’s economic development’ (Source 4, lines 21–22)?

Explain your answer, using Sources 4, 5 and 6 and your own knowledge.

(40)

OR

*(b) (ii) Use Sources 7, 8 and 9 and your own knowledge.

Do you agree with the view that, during Margaret Thatcher’s period as prime minister, the role of the state was reduced?

Explain your answer, using Sources 7, 8 and 9 and your own knowledge.

(40)

(Total for Question 1 = 60 marks)
E2 – Mass Media, Popular Culture and Social Change in Britain since 1945

Study the relevant sources in the Sources Insert. Answer Question 2, parts (a) and (b). There is a choice of questions in part (b).

You should start the answer to part (a) on page 4. You should start the answer to part (b) (i) OR part (b) (ii) on page 9.

Question 2

Answer part (a) and then answer EITHER part (b) (i) OR part (b) (ii).

(a) Study Sources 10, 11 and 12.

How far do Sources 10 and 11 challenge the claim made in Source 12 that the Beatles ‘gave a voice to a generation’ (Source 12, line 15)?

Explain your answer, using the evidence of Sources 10, 11 and 12.

(20)

EITHER

*(b) (i) Use Sources 13, 14 and 15 and your own knowledge.

Do you agree with the view that, since 1945, the mass media have merely reflected changes in attitudes and values in British society?

Explain your answer, using Sources 13, 14 and 15 and your own knowledge.

(40)

OR

*(b) (ii) Use Sources 16, 17 and 18 and your own knowledge.

Do you agree with the view that satire in the mass media had little influence on public attitudes to established authority?

Explain your answer, using Sources 16, 17 and 18 and your own knowledge.

(40)

(Total for Question 2 = 60 marks)
Indicate which question you are answering by marking a cross in the box ☑. If you change your mind, put a line through the box ☒ and then indicate your new question with a cross ☑.

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<thead>
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<th>Chosen Question Number:</th>
<th>Question 1</th>
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Answer EITHER part (b) (i) OR part (b) (ii) of your chosen question.

**(b)** ...........................................................................................................................................................................
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Choose EITHER E1 (Question 1) OR E2 (Question 2) for which you have been prepared.

E1 – British Political History, 1945–90: Consensus and Conflict

Sources for use with Question 1 (a)

SOURCE 1
(From Margaret Thatcher, Path to Power, published 1995. She was Conservative prime minister 1979–90.)

As a student in 1945, I remember listening to Churchill’s notorious election broadcast to the effect that socialism would require ‘some sort of Gestapo’ to enforce it, and thinking, ‘He’s gone too far.’ Although the logic of what he said was correct, in the context of post-war Britain the line was not believable. I knew what the response would be: ‘Who’s run the country when Mr Churchill’s been away? Mr Attlee.’

SOURCE 2
(From Lord Butler, The Art of the Possible: the Memoirs of Lord Butler, published 1971. Butler was a senior member of the Conservative Party and had opposed Churchill’s appointment as prime minister in 1940.)

It would have been better if our focus on post-war policies had not taken a poor third place to the concentrated exploitation of Churchill’s personality and a negative attack on the Labour Party. Churchill’s first election broadcast, in which he said Socialism could not be established without a ‘Gestapo’, was a strategic blunder. It was the pivotal event in the history of the election as it set the tone for the entire campaign. The conduct of the election swept away much of the idealism which we wanted to instil.

SOURCE 3
(From Harold Macmillan, The Tides of Fortune, published 1969. Macmillan was Conservative prime minister 1957–63 and was a long-term supporter of Churchill.)

In 1945, as soon as electioneering began, I knew what the result would be. Many people believed that Churchill’s ‘Gestapo’ speech on the wireless was a turning-point to our disadvantage. It was certainly ill-advised and at the time it shocked ordinary folk. The election was, however, lost before it started. The British public had not forgotten the years before the war. It was not Churchill who lost the 1945 election, it was the memory of Tory misrule in the 1930s.
Sources for use with Question 1 (b) (i)

SOURCE 4
(From Norman Lowe, *Mastering Modern British History*, published 1984)

The affluent society in the 1950s developed from the improvement in world trade, which had very little to do with the Conservative government’s economic policies. In fact, the government’s ‘stop-go’ policies hindered the country’s economic development. The period was one full of missed opportunities. Britain’s prosperity under the Conservatives should have been even more marked than it was.

SOURCE 5
(From Harold Schulz, *British History*, published 1992)

Once in power in 1951, the Conservative government denationalised steel, ended rationing and food subsidies and sharply reduced government regulations and controls. As a result, both production and the standard of living increased. As the decade progressed, economic growth continued without unemployment or undue inflation. From 1957, Macmillan presided over Britain’s most prosperous post-war years. He shrewdly directed a non-inflationary expansion of a mixed economy with great success. His astute leadership provided Britain with its consumer boom.

SOURCE 6
(From the Conservative Party manifesto, 1959)

In 1951, under Conservative leadership, this country set out upon a new path. It is leading to prosperity for all. The complex mass of controls has been swept away. The British economy is sounder today than at any time since the First World War. Capital investment is over half as large again as eight years ago. To match this, and make it possible, people are saving more than ever before. Conservative policy is to double the British standard of living in this generation and ensure that all sections of society share in the expansion of wealth.
Sources for use with Question 1 (b) (ii)

SOURCE 7
(From Martin Pugh, State and Society, published 1994)

The attack on the state by Thatcher concentrated on four areas: nationalised industries, local government, education, health. There was a succession of privatisations. Local authorities whose policies Mrs Thatcher disliked were simply abolished. In education, private businesses could fund City Technology Colleges outside local authority control and funding for higher education was reduced. Finally, Thatcher’s government made the first cautious attempts at dismantling the NHS. Thus, the social role of the state was restricted.

SOURCE 8

How far Thatcher rolled back the frontiers of the state is debateable. Undoubtedly, privatisation marked a considerable lessening of state control of the economy and established a popular capitalism not seen on such a scale before. However, in other areas the power of central government grew at the expense of elected local government. Thus, Big Sister hardly seemed much smaller than Big Brother.

SOURCE 9
(From a speech by Margaret Thatcher at the Conservative Party conference, 8 October 1982)

Competition is better for the consumer than state control. We are acting on that conviction. Three and a half years ago defenders of the status quo tried to brand denationalisation as irrelevant. Now critics are finding it harder to ignore the evidence of their own eyes. They cannot miss the success of British Aerospace. Britoil will be the next to be denationalised and British Telecommunications after that. We are only in our first term. But already we have done more to roll back the frontiers of socialism than any previous Conservative government. And in the next Parliament we intend to do a lot more.
Choose EITHER E1 (Question 1) OR E2 (Question 2) for which you have been prepared.

E2 – Mass Media, Popular Culture and Social Change in Britain since 1945

Sources for use with Question 2 (a)

SOURCE 10
(Part of a letter published in the Liverpool Echo, 3 October 1964. The letter was signed ‘A Fan (?)’)

1 Dear Beatles,
Yesterday, to show my loyalty, I bought a Beatles’ sweatshirt, a Beatles’ wig and four Beatles’ dolls. However, although in some magazines they make you appear as if you’re from everyday families and speak for us, in others you appear sophisticated and conceited. Are you really one of us?

SOURCE 11
(Part of an interview with John Lennon which appeared in the music magazine, New Musical Express, October 1973)

We did nothing except grow up. We just did our own thing like we were told to. We were a minority, you know. People like us always were, but maybe we became a slightly larger minority because of something or other we did. But don’t, for heaven’s sake, say we represented the new youth because that is a load of old rubbish.

SOURCE 12
(Part of an interview with Abbie Hoffman published in The Sunday Times newspaper, 27 March 1988. Hoffman had been at the forefront of student political activism in the late 1960s and early 1970s.)

There was a cultural revolution in the 1960s when the best music and the most popular music were identical. That is a very rare occurrence. The Beatles and their music had an incredible impact. The effect on me and other activists, organisers and counter-culture people around the world was huge. Through their music the Beatles gave a voice to a generation.
Sources for use with Question 2 (b) (i)

SOURCE 13
(Part of the mission statement of the organisation Mediawatch-uk, which campaigns for decency and accountability in the media. Mediawatch-uk was formerly known as the National Viewers’ and Listeners’ Association, which had been established by Mary Whitehouse in 1965.)

Broadcasting is a very powerful influence and what is portrayed as normal on television quickly becomes normal in society. It is our belief that, by portraying dysfunctional and anti-social behaviour, television and film shape society and family life. It is not good enough, or honest, for broadcasters simply to shrug their collective shoulders and say they simply ‘reflect society as it is’ and thereby deny any responsibility for the state of society.

SOURCE 14
(From L. Gorman, *Media and Society into the 21st Century*, published 2009)

Mass media, and especially the visual media, have, from the very beginning, been the target of criticism from moral reformers, alarmed by what they assumed to be the harmful effect on youth of sex and violence in movies and television programmes. These critics, by assuming that the media had the power to create values and alter behaviour independent of other factors, greatly exaggerated the media’s role.

SOURCE 15
(Part of a letter from Denis Forman, the chairman of Granada Television, published in *The Times* newspaper, 8 August 1974)

The rising level of violence and anti-social behaviour in the UK is reflected by television, along with the other media. Whether or not any part of this is stimulated by a small number of television programmes which include portrayals of violence and anti-social behaviour is a matter for concern and continuing study. Most of us who work in television would accept that there is a modest connection between behaviour on screen and behaviour in society. But the interaction between television and society is two-way, subtle, complex and cannot be reduced to black and white arguments supported by the simplistic use of statistics.
Sources for use with Question 2 (b) (ii)

SOURCE 16
(From Arthur Marwick, The Sixties, published 1998)

One group which emerged from Cambridge University to challenge established society proved especially significant. The group presented in witty and powerful form the anti-establishment ideas which had been circulating in the late fifties. They were responsible for the first ever television programme genuinely satirising current affairs, That Was The Week That Was, appearing in 1962. Although the 'satire boom' didn't last long, it affected public attitudes to established authority and was responsible for making explicit the important changes in British values.

SOURCE 17
(From David Christopher, British Culture: an Introduction, published 2006)

Political satire was prominent during the Thatcher years, most notably in the memorable series The New Statesman. It is sometimes said that such shows can influence how people vote. However, in 1987 political satire was allowed on television in the pre-election period for the first time since 1964. And in spite of series such as Yes, Prime Minister and the cruel mimicry of the grotesquely funny, animated puppets of Spitting Image, the Conservatives still won the election with another huge majority.

SOURCE 18
(From an article by Keith Waterhouse for the Daily Mail newspaper, 21 July 2005. Waterhouse had been one of the script-writers for That Was The Week That Was. Ted Heath, Conservative prime minister 1970–74, had died on 17 July 2005.)

I cannot pretend to have known Ted Heath well but I was several times among those who shared a lunch table with him. He was not a bundle of laughs. Once, someone mentioned a TV satirical series which was enjoying some success at the time. Ted had apparently never heard of it, so someone else brought up That Was The Week That Was about which Heath was believed to hold strong views. He did indeed. Rapping the table with his fork in a chairman-like manner he boomed: "That programme was responsible for the death of deference in this country".

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