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 on these questions with your spelling, punctuation and grammar, as well as the clarity of expression.

Advice

- Read each question carefully before you start to answer it.
- 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 Sir Alec Douglas Home was responsible for the Conservative Party’s defeat in the 1964 general 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 election campaign in 1945 had little impact on the final result?

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 the main reason Margaret Thatcher fell from power in November 1990 was ‘a loss of support from within her Cabinet’ (Source 7, lines 38 and 39)?

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

(40)

(Total for Question 1 = 60 marks)
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**

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 the sources suggest that reality TV has been ‘a bad influence’ (Source 10, line 1)?

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 television has helped to show racial minorities in a positive light?

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 the media played the key role in causing the controversy surrounding the sinking of the Belgrano?

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 ☑️.

Chosen Question Number:

<table>
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<th>Question 1</th>
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(a) ..........................................................................................................................
Answer EITHER part (b) (i) OR part (b) (ii) of your chosen question.

*(b) ......................................................................................................................................
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 Sir Alec Douglas Home, The Way the Wind Blows, published 1976. Home was Conservative Prime Minister in 1963–64.)

During the election campaign, the Socialists introduced a tactic which helped towards our undoing. At public meetings they surrounded the speakers’ platform with young hooligans who would bawl their heads off. I was unable to hear what I was saying and so I appeared strained, and this made the television onlookers think I was on the defensive. But in reality, we would have needed a large slice of luck to win. After thirteen years, too many felt that it was time for a change.

SOURCE 2
(From Jo Grimond, Memoirs, published 1979. Grimond was leader of the Liberal Party in 1964.)

At the start of the election campaign in 1964, it was said that Sir Alec Douglas Home was out of touch with the modern world, and particularly its economics. However, although he was too aristocratic for many middle-class intellectuals, he was liked by ordinary Tories. Sir Alec made no effort to be other than he was. For this he was trusted by many floating voters. If the Tories had played their cards right in the last week of the election, they would have won.

SOURCE 3
(From Reginald Maudling, Memoirs, published 1978. In 1964 Maudling was Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Conservative government.)

All Chancellors want to have early elections, because uncertainty is immensely damaging to the economy. In 1964, we were trying to break out of the stop-go cycle. As a result, it was likely there would be a slump in the Autumn. Therefore, I wanted the election early. The Party professionals said we would lose. Sir Alec was intelligent but not brilliant, and was not prepared to pit his own personal judgement against that of the professionals. He delayed until October. This mistake dragged us down.
Sources for use with Question 1 (b) (i)

SOURCE 4

It is doubtful whether the detailed party programmes, or the election campaign in 1945, had much impact on the final result, although the smear campaign against the Labour Party undoubtedly backfired. The Labour Party's victory was primarily due to the voter's assessment of the past. It was the Tories who were blamed, rightly or wrongly, for pre-war unemployment, appeasement, and the failure to re-arm; and it was Labour which gained most from the revulsion against the Tories' pre-war policies and the leftward shift that followed from it.

SOURCE 5
(From a radio address by Clement Attlee, 5 June 1945. Attlee was leader of the Labour Party.)

When I listened to the Prime Minister's speech last night, in which he gave such a travesty of the policy of the Labour Party, I realised at once what his aim was. He wanted the electors to understand how great the difference was between Winston Churchill the great war leader of a united nation, and Mr Churchill, the party leader of the Conservatives. He feared lest those who had accepted his leadership in war might be tempted, out of gratitude, to follow him further. I thank him for having disillusioned them so thoroughly.

SOURCE 6

Polling evidence during the 1945 election suggested that housing was the electorate's most pressing concern, and also that Labour was strongly preferred as the party likely to build more houses. 94% of Tory candidates mentioned housing in their election addresses, but they could not point to actual plans to prepare for a housing programme.
Margaret Thatcher fell from power because of a loss of support from within her Cabinet. By-election losses led many Tory ministers to fear that Thatcher had become an election liability. The extent of their disaffection became apparent in the autumn of 1989 when an obscure Conservative MP, Anthony Meyer, challenged Thatcher for the leadership. He won 33 votes and a further 30 or so abstained. The result was unimportant; the fact that there had been a challenge at all indicated that Thatcher would be in difficulties when challenged by a stronger candidate.

From the moment he rose to his feet, Geoffrey Howe was personally wounding. The Labour benches loved it. Grinning from ear to ear, they ‘Oooh’d’ and ‘Aaah’d’ dead on cue. At one point, he illustrated his sense of betrayal with some cricketing analogy, being sent into bat for Britain only to find that, before the game, the bats had been broken by the team captain. Everyone gasped.

The decline of the economy at the end of the 1980s, the unpopularity of the poll tax and Labour’s revival in popularity, all had serious consequences for Mrs Thatcher. Having won the 1987 election with 42.3% of the vote, by the spring of 1990 Conservative support in the opinion polls had slumped to 30%. In October 1990, the Conservatives lost a by-election in traditionally Tory Eastbourne. A victory for Mrs Thatcher at the next election no longer seemed a realistic prospect.
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
(From an interview with a secondary school teacher, 30 March 2009. The interview was conducted by one of the teachers’ unions as part of an investigation into poor discipline in schools.)

Reality TV is a bad influence. Pupils cannot see a difference between reality and reality TV. The glorification of low culture and low moral standards being displayed in programmes such as Big Brother are seen as normal. I see many instances of behaviour in my school, which is specifically related to reality TV programmes, including the use of racist language because of Celebrity Big Brother.

SOURCE 11
(From an interview with Peter Bazalgette in the magazine Stage Features, 25 April 2005. Bazalgette was creative director of Endemol, the company that produced the reality TV show Big Brother.)

Some might argue that the endless analysis by viewers of Big Brother of who is popular and who is not, is a bit juvenile. But there is a similarity between voting for Big Brother and voting in an election. Both are popularity contests. Now that there is nothing much between the parties, politics is nearly all about personalities. To my mind, it is not trivial to ask people who they like and trust to run the country. What the viewers of Big Brother are doing when they watch and vote, is rehearsing what they will be asked to do in elections.

SOURCE 12
(From an interview with Paul Watson which appeared in The Guardian newspaper, 20 November 2006. Watson was the producer of the 1974 fly-on-the-wall documentary series The Family.)

Reality television broke all the rules, and there’s nothing wrong with that. Artists such as the Impressionists and the Cubists did it, that’s the nature of art. When I came into television, I was a boring young lefty and I was tired of the Oxbridge brigade talking to camera. We needed to get them out of the way. The Family was political, it let people speak for themselves. But reality TV now is condescending. It doesn’t enquire, it doesn’t upset, it is just more of the same.
Sources for use with Question 2 (b) (i)

SOURCE 13
(From an interview with the actress Cleo Sylvestre in 2005. Here Sylvestre is recalling her time playing Melanie Harper in the soap opera Crossroads in 1970.)

It did a tremendous amount of good having an ordinary character in there who happened to be black. Enoch Powell caused a great deal of racial tension, and I was worried people in the street would recognise me, and be hostile towards me. But when I went into Birmingham, fans of the show would stop me and ask about Crossroads. They loved the programme and obviously liked Melanie.

SOURCE 14
(From Robert C Allen, The Television Studies Reader, published 2004)

After the 1981 riots there was a sudden increase in the number of black faces making high profile television appearances. Moira Stewart began to read prime time news; Nationwide seized upon a black female presenter, Maggie Nelson; on ITV Trevor McDonald appeared more frequently. The BBC introduced Ebony, a programme for Afro-Caribbean viewers.

SOURCE 15

One of the most offensive recurrent images of Blackness could be seen in the Black and White Minstrel Show (BBC 1958–78). The show debased Black people and was part of a particularly racist tradition of popular entertainment. During the two decades in which the Saturday-night phenomenon was transmitted, there were very few alternative images of Black and Asian people on British television.
Sources for use with Question 2 (b) (ii)

SOURCE 16
(From Paul Rogers, A Necessary War, published 2007)

On the 19 August 1984 The Observer led with an exclusive – ‘Belgrano Cover-up Exposed’. In a separate but clearly linked front-page news item, it confirmed that a senior civil servant, Clive Ponting OBE, had been arrested on the Friday for breaching the Official Secrets Act, and had appeared in court the following morning. From these two news items, there emerged a political controversy that was to dog the Thatcher government for many months. This controversy was further fuelled when Mr Ponting was acquitted of the charge in a high-profile court case at London's Old Bailey six months later.

SOURCE 17
(From an article by Robin Cook, a Labour MP, in The Times newspaper, 29 August 1984)

Mr Ponting is charged with the unpardonable step of leaking to a Member of Parliament documents embarrassing to the government. This is the first occasion in the history of the Official Secrets Act that charges have arisen from the assumption that passing information to an MP may be a crime. The documents supplied to Mr Dalyell* were not made public until charges brought by the government stimulated the curiosity of the press. At the moment when prosecution was initiated, only MPs had seen the documents in question.

*Mr Dalyell was a Labour MP

SOURCE 18
(From the right-of-centre newspaper, The Sunday Telegraph, 16 September 1984. The two figures in the submarine represent Michael Heseltine, the Secretary of State for Defence, and Margaret Thatcher.)

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