

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS Pre-U Certificate

# MARK SCHEME for the May/June 2010 question paper

# for the guidance of teachers

# 9769 HISTORY

9769/13

Paper 13 (British History Outlines, c. 1689–2000), maximum raw mark 90

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 must be read in conjunction with the question papers and the report on the examination.

• CIE will not enter into discussions or correspondence in connection with these mark schemes.

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These banding definitions address Assessment Objectives 1, 2 and 4 and should be used in conjunction with the indicative content mark schemes for each question.

#### Introduction

(a) The banding definitions which follow reflect, and must be interpreted within the context of, the following general statement:

Examiners should give their highest marks to candidates who show a ready understanding of the relevant material and a disciplined management of the discussion the question provokes. They should be impressed more by critical judgement, careful discrimination and imaginative handling than by a weight of facts. Credit should be given for evidence of a good historical intelligence and for good use of perhaps unremarkable material rather than for a stereotyped rehearsal of memorised information.

- (b) Examiners should use these banding definitions in combination with the paper-specific mark schemes.
- (c) It should go without saying that any explanation or judgement is strengthened if informed by the use of source material.
- (d) Examiners are also asked to bear in mind, when reading the following, that analysis sufficient for a mark in the highest band may perfectly legitimately be deployed within a chronological framework. Candidates who eschew an explicitly analytical response may well yet be able, by virtue of the very intelligence and pointedness of their selection of elements for a well-sustained and well-grounded account, to provide sufficient implicit analysis to justify a Band 2 mark.
- (e) The Band in which an essay is placed depends on a range of criteria. As a result, not all essays fall obviously into one particular Band. In such cases a 'best-fit' approach should be adopted with any doubt erring on the side of generosity.
- (f) In marking an essay, examiners should first place it in a Band and then fine-tune the mark in terms of how strongly/weakly the demands of the Band have been demonstrated.

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# Band 1: 25–30

The answer will be sharply analytical in approach and strongly argued. It will show that the demands of the question have been fully understood and that a conscious and sustained attempt has been made to respond to them in appropriate range and depth. It will be coherent and structured with a clear sense of direction. The focus will be sharp and persistent. Some lack of balance, in that certain aspects are covered less fully or certain arguments deployed less strongly than others, need not preclude a mark in this Band. The material will be wide-ranging and handled with the utmost confidence and a high degree of maturity. Historical explanations will be invariably clear, sharp and well developed and historical concepts fully understood. Where appropriate there will be conscious and successful attempts to engage with the historiography, to evaluate source material critically and to demonstrate an awareness of competing interpretations. Use of English will be clear and fluent with excellent vocabulary and virtually error-free.

# Band 2: 19–24

The answer will be characterised by an analytical and argued approach, although there may be the occasional passage which does not go beyond description or narrative. It will show that the demands of the question have been very well understood and that a determined attempt has been made to respond to them in appropriate range and depth. The essay will be coherent and clearly structured and its judgements will be effectively supported by accurate and relevant material. Some lack of rigour in the argument and occasional blurred focus may be allowed. Where appropriate there will be a conscious and largely successful attempt to engage with the historiography, to evaluate source material and to demonstrate an awareness of competing interpretations. The material will be wide-ranging, fully understood, confidently deployed and well controlled with high standards of accuracy. Historical explanations will be clear and well developed and there will be a sound understanding of historical concepts and vocabulary. Use of English will be highly competent, clear, generally fluent and largely error-free.

# Band 3: 13–18

The answer will attempt an analytical approach, although there will be passages which do not go beyond description or narrative. It will show that the demands of the question have been understood, at least in large part, and that a conscious attempt has been made to respond to them. There will be an effective focus on the terms of the question and, although in places this may break down, standards of relevance will be generally high. Although it may not be sustained throughout the answer, or always fully supported, there will be a recognisable sense of argument. The material will be clearly understood, with a good range, and organisation will be sound. There will be a conscious attempt to draw conclusions and form judgements and these will be adequately supported. Some understanding of differing and competing interpretations is to be expected and some evaluation of sources may be attempted but probably not in a very sophisticated form. Historical explanations and the use of historical concepts and vocabulary will be generally sound but some lack of understanding is to be expected. Use of English will be competent, clear and largely free of serious errors.

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# Band 4: 7–12

The answer may contain some analysis but descriptive or narrative material will predominate. The essay will show that the demands of the question have been understood, at least in good part, and that some attempt has been made to respond to them. It will be generally coherent with a fair sense of organisation. Focus on the exact terms of the question is likely to be uneven and there will be a measure of irrelevance. There will be some inaccuracies in knowledge, and the range may well be limited with some gaps. Understanding of the material will be generally sound, although there will be some lack of tautness and precision. Explanations will be generally clear although not always convincing or well developed. Some attempt at argument is to be expected but it will lack sufficient support in places and sense of direction may not always be clear. There may be some awareness of differing interpretations and some attempt at evaluating source material but this is not generally to be expected at this level and such skills, where deployed, will be unsophisticated. Some errors of English will be present but written style should be clear although lacking in real fluency.

# Band 5: 0–6

The answers will respond in some measure to the demands of the question but will be very limited in meeting these. Analysis, if it appears at all, will be brief and undeveloped. If an argument is attempted it will be lacking in real coherence, sense of direction, support and rigour. Focus on the exact terms of the question is likely to be very uneven; unsupported generalisations, vagueness and irrelevance are all likely to be on show. Historical knowledge, concepts and vocabulary will be halting and unclear. Where judgements are made they will be largely unsubstantiated whilst investigation of historical problems will be very elementary. Awareness of differing interpretations and the evaluation of sources is not to be expected. The answer may well be fragmentary, slight and even unfinished. Significant errors of spelling, grammar, punctuation and syntax may well hamper a proper understanding of the script.

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## Section 1: 1689–1760

#### 1 Why were the divisions between Whig and Tory so deep in the years 1689–1714?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of political parties. The focus will be on why politics were so divisive in this period. Candidates should know about the significance of the Glorious Revolution for party politics, not least the impact of frequent elections, institutionalised by the Triennial Act. 11 general elections held in the period (1689, 1690, 1695, 1698, 1700, 1701, 1702, 1705, 1708, 1710, 1713). Frequent elections meant party divisions, though good candidates might mention that it was rare for large numbers of seats actually to be contested. William III often favoured Whigs, although his governments had both Whigs and Tories in them; Anne well known as a Tory supporter. Key election battles in her reign saw Whigs overturn a Tory majority in 1708 and Tories in ascendancy from 1710. Key issues candidates should know about include: impact of long wars; court/country alignments; taxation; the role of religion; the impact from 1707 of the 45 Scottish members.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the causes of bitter party conflict. A number of reasons can be adduced including: the necessity for parliaments to sit every year (though candidates should know that the influence of the monarch remained critical); frequent elections and early examples of party organisation; the contentious issue of revenue-raising to fight costly wars; divisions over war strategy; Tories resentment of predominantly Whig 'moneyed men', especially those who lent to government at a profit; growing religious divisions, with nonconformists exerting greater political influence than Tories considered constitutional; broadly geographical divisions - Tories stronger in counties and smaller towns. Whigs in urban areas thus parties could point to divergent areas of strength and political influence; arguably, also, Anne's political partisanship. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of the debate about whether divisions really were between Whig and Tory or between 'Court' and 'Country' factions. The debate seems to have been settled in the favour of party division although candidates might argue that both 'Country Whigs' and 'Court Tories' can be identified!

AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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# 2 How important were strategic interests in explaining Britain's involvement in two major continental wars in the years 1689–1713?

### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of the two wars which dominate the period: War of the Great Alliance (1688–97) and the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–13). The focus will be on which were the key factors explaining England's/Britain's heavy involvement in military and naval action in this period. Candidates are likely to know about William III's ongoing conflict with Louis XIV at the time he became King; the 'unfinished business' with James II, ended by the Battle of the Boyne and the Treaty of Limerick; the ongoing continental war with relatively limited English involvement; the much greater direct involvement during the Spanish Succession war, including Churchill's campaigns in support of the coalition of England/Britain, Netherlands and the Holy Roman Emperor.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the relative importance of strategic issues in explaining England's/Britain's involvement in the long European wars of this period. Candidates should identify strategic interests, which might include: need to avoid having France dominate continental Europe; religion - the need to defend Protestant interests and, increasingly, an exclusively Protestant succession; Britain's trade routes, including early development of trading activity outside Europe (importance of British gains in North America at Utrecht in 1713); support for navy. Other factors should be considered, although some candidates might reflect on whether some of these are in themselves' strategic'. These include: the priorities of a Dutch Calvinist monarch (much resented by many Tories) to defend borders and religion in the Netherlands rather than concentrating on the predominantly naval interests of England (themselves involved in securing naval supremacy over the Dutch); the popularity of victories, particularly after 1704, which aided supporters of the war. Opponents argued that basic strategic interests had been achieved. Most candidates are likely to argue that fundamental strategic interests were involved, not least because the end of the War saw Britain established as a much more important power in the context of European diplomacy. Victory also secured the Protestant succession as well as significant trading opportunities and concessions. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of the debate about whether much was achieved by Britain in the last three or four years of the war and whether strategically advantageous terms could have been concluded well before 1713.

#### AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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#### 3 To what extent did the Jacobite cause have a realistic chance of success in this period?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of Jacobitism in the first half of the eighteenth century. The focus will be on the extent of the Jacobite threat to the established authorities. Candidates are likely to concentrate on the '15 in Scotland under the Earl of Mar and the '45 (which went on until April 1746), at least notionally headed by Charles Edward Stuart. Two other Jacobite attempts may be known: in 1708, with a brief landing in Scotland by James Edward Stuart which lacked effective French support; in 1722, with the Atterbury Plot which was rapidly discovered and dealt with. Knowledge on the threat is likely to extend to material on support for a 'legitimate' Catholic succession, especially in Scotland, and to Jacobitism as an intermittent haven for those discontented with Whig rule.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the likelihood that Jacobitism could have been successful in the first half of the eighteenth century. Candidates who know about them are likely to argue that neither the 1708, or 1722 attempts were threatening, although 1708 might easily have rallied a significant number against at the Union 'sell out'. The '15 and '45 are a different matter. The 15 was poorly led and failed to capitalise on the still weakly established Hanoverian succession. It made little or no impact on England. The '45 had initially triumphant progress from Scotland through the North-West of England and reached Derby before the decision to return North. Many influential figures in London were making active preparations for a hasty departure and exile. Contemporary perceptions of a real Jacobite threat, therefore, certainly existed. Some good candidates might wish to argue that Jacobitism always had more supporters in Scotland and that the Stuart dynasty was anyway Scottish. Nevertheless, more Scots fought against Bonnie Prince Charlie at Culloden than for him. In a pitched battle, the English/allied firepower was hugely greater. Some might argue that Jacobites needed to win enough hearts and minds in Scotland and England before they could be a match for Hanoverian troops. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of relatively recent work which seeks to deny that Jacobitism was ever a fringe cause and that, given the appropriate preparation and leadership, might have gathered as much support as rapidly as had William of Orange in the autumn of 1688. Recent work, particularly by Monod, has uncovered significant for Jacobitism. It is also suggested that Jacobitism profoundly influenced both political ideas and popular culture in England as well as in Scotland.

# AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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# 4 Did Walpole's long tenure of power in the years 1721–42 owe more to his own abilities or to the weaknesses of his opponents?

### Candidates should:

AO1 - present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of Walpole's career as the leading minister of both George I and George II over a period which exceeded twenty years. The focus will be on the factors which contributed towards this long tenure. Material on Walpole's own abilities is likely to concentrate on his financial management (his handling of the South Sea Crisis is relevant, since its legacy includes his appointment as leading minister) and his ability to win over a sometimes hostile House of Commons; he saw, and exploited the fact, that the Commons was now the dominant House because of its control of finance. For the most part, he kept taxes low which assuaged the hostility of many 'country Tories' who had little reason to support him at the moment. He was also a dextrous, and not over-scrupulous, parliamentary manager. It could also be argued that his abilities extended to 'spinning', particularly his exaggeration of the 1722 Jacobite threat in order to secure loyalty. He contrived the loyalty of two famously 'difficult' monarchs, further emphasising his manipulative skills, including his close relationship with Queen Caroline, wife of George II. On the other side, Walpole can be said to have benefited from weaknesses and division among his opponents, and also the premature death of possible rivals, notably Stanhope in 1721 and, although discredited by the Bubble, Sunderland in 1722. The weakness of his opponents extended to the lack of an obvious rival with necessary experience, even after the failure of his excise bill.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the reasons for Walpole's long tenure of power. It is likely that most candidates will concentrate on Walpole's strengths rather than his opponents' weaknesses, although there is plenty to say about the lack of an obvious ideological bond. Opponents seem, above all, to have wanted rid of Walpole without having an alternative programme which was likely to gain parliamentary support. Certainly, there is little evidence that either monarch considered dismissing Walpole for long. Some good candidates might wish to argue that Walpole was more in office than truly in power certainly from 1739 and the return of war, which (and its attendant expense) he had strenuously sought to avoid, and possibly before. That line of argument could link back to the assertion that, even when his key policies had failed, his opponents could not administer the *coup de grace*. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of recent work on popular support for, and opposition to, Walpole.

#### AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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# 5 How far is the emergence of Wesleyanism in the period to 1760 explained by the inadequacies of Anglicanism?

### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of the early phase of Wesleyanism. The focus will be on how Wesleyanism was able to emerge and begin to establish itself in its first twenty years or so. Candidates may wish to concentrate on Wesley's 'going it alone' from 1740 after severing connections with the Moravians, who had been an early influence on his thinking. They are likely to know about Wesleyan organisation, with class meetings, lay preachers and a Methodist Conference. Some will explain Methodism as the most prominent and successful offshoot of wider evangelical developments, and will stress the importance of Wesley as a missionary, taking the word to those outside the normal reach of the Established Church. By c. 1760, Wesleyanism had almost 20,000 followers, especially among miners and other industrial workers. Good candidates will see the need to give examples of 'the inadequacies of Anglicanism'. These are likely to include: a parochial structure stretched by urban growth; the perception that the Church was too tainted by political connections with established lay authority; political bishops; Erastian theology which failed to 'reach' the lower orders; lack of doctrinal clarity.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the relative importance of the factors which explain the early growth of Methodism. Good candidates will discuss both the 'positive' (strengths of Methodism) and the 'negative' (weaknesses of Anglicanism) factors. Having done so, they will reach a conclusion which gives reasons for suggesting that one is more important than the other. Some might wish to stress exogenous factors: such as a population which was growing quite rapidly and especially in areas where the Church of England was relatively weak. Wesley might just have been fortunate in having new opportunities to exploit, although (unlike his many opponents) he saw his role as supplementing the Anglican faith. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of relatively recent attempts to rehabilitate the Church of England which, if logically followed, might lead to greater stress on the 'positive' reasons why Methodism had established itself by *c. 1760*.

AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### Section 2: 1760–1815

# 6 How justifiable were the claims of the American colonists in their disputes with Britain in the years 1763–75?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of the key events which led up to the war between Britain and the American colonies. The focus will be on the justifiability of the American colonists' claims. Candidates should have knowledge of the main policies adopted by Britain largely to help finance the Seven Years' War: 1763 Stamp Act; 1766 Declaratory Act and repeal of Stamp Act; 1767 Townshend's new duties and New York refuses to put Mutiny Act into force; 1768 attacks on customs officials; 1769 all except Tea of the Townshend duties repealed; 1770 Townshend Revenue Act and Boston Massacre; 1773 Tea Act imposed duties on tea re-exported by East India Company leading to 'Boston Tea Party'; 1774 Boston closed to shipping, Massachusetts Government Act, Continental Congress at Philadelphia – withholding all taxes until Massachusetts privileges restored; 1775 beginnings of American rebellion/revolution at Lexington.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about justifications for American resistance to British revenue and other policies imposed from 1763. Candidates can argue across the spectrum. At one extreme, American colonists had been undertaxed in proportion to their privileges for decades and had had special protection during the Seven Years War. At the other, Americans had earned what amounted to semi-independence in respect of taxation and defence by their previous loyalty to the Crown and their enormous contribution to the expansion of British trade. The British government consulted too little, imposed taxes too readily and withdrew them without mollifying colonists, who felt that their rights had been violated. The validity of the 'No taxation without representation' cause. Some candidates may argue that American colonists anyway seriously divided on many important matters, broadly, the South much keener to avoid revolution than the North. Division might suggest that there was much mistrust of the 'revolution' case among the colonists themselves. On the other hand, the Colonists had many influential friends in parliament and elsewhere. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of differences between the broadly 'British' and broadly 'American' positions, although recent historiography has seen something of a coming together. For example, it might be argued that American claims may be justified but their defence of them was pushed beyond constitutional limits.

#### AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### 7 How effective a prime minister was Lord North?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of the career of Lord North as prime minister, 1770–82. The focus will be on his effectiveness as prime minister. Candidates should know that North was appointed largely on the initiative of George III, although his ministerial experience was much greater than that of Bute (in some respects a recipient of similar royal patronage) almost a decade earlier. His attempts to prevent rebellion in America and extent of opposition in Parliament. His attempts to argue against Burke and the Whig party's view that North was merely a lackey of the King. North's role during the American war. His attempt to paint himself as a patriotic prime minister putting down an unjustified rebellion. Blame often settling on him for military defeats from Saratoga onwards. Extent of North's tactical awareness. His attempt to prevent growth of opposition in Commons on the basis that Crown influence on policy was excessive. North and the growth of radicalism especially after 1778. Extent to which his survival after Saratoga depended on royal influence and the deployment of patronage. Until the very end of his time in power, North had workable majorities in the Commons.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the effectiveness of North as prime minister. Most are likely to deny that he was effective. His reputation as the man who lost the American colonies has been difficult to shake off. Not a strong orator and often came off worst in debates, especially on the American issue before 1776, conduct of the war from 1776 and also in attempting to rebut the 'royal lackey' charge. Against that, North did give George III the first true ministerial stability he had known. North got reliably good majorities on most issues, though the extent to which these were dependent on a now more sophisticated deployment of royal patronage needs to be argued. George voiced no adverse criticism of his prime minister and supported him right up to the 1782 confidence motions. Day-to-day administration of domestic affairs was generally competent enough and North escaped the standard charges of graft and corruption launched at most holders of high office. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of recent attempts, particularly by Peter Whiteley, to rehabilitate North, by stressing his domestic competence, while concluding that he paid for his ignorance of American affairs. He, like most senior politicians, had no direct knowledge of the colonies.

AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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# 8 Did the success of Pitt the Younger in the years 1783–89 owe more to good fortune than to his own abilities?

### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of William Pitt as prime minister in the early years of his tenure. The focus will be on the reasons for his successes. Candidates are likely to know about: how he came to power, with the support of George III, and his success in the 1784 election; his attempts to reorganise finances via reductions in taxation, an excise scheme and the establishment of a Sinking Fund (1786); trading initiatives, based on a cautious reduction of tariffs; foreign affairs in the post American-war period – the Triple Alliance of 1788 etc.; his handling of the regency crisis 1788–89.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the extent to which Pitt depended on luck, rather than on his own abilities. Candidates might well argue that Pitt was indeed able, mentioning his mastery of detail, his ability to see the wood for the trees, his grasp of economic and financial affairs and, where necessary, tactical awareness and cunning as, for example, in playing the Regency Crisis long. On the other hand, Pitt could have been considered lucky in having George III's support and in coming to office after the fall of a ministry the king particularly despised; the ending of the American war (none of his doing) eased pressure on finances, as did the impact of the early stages of the industrial revolution. Similarly, the return of peace made stable alliances more likely. Candidates must make a judgement which balances the relative importance of good fortune and abilities. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of the monumental work of J. H. Ehrman and its measured and detailed but favourable view of Pitt's peacetime prime ministership.

#### AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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# 9 Why did the cause of political reform gain such momentum in Britain in the years 1789–1803?

### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of reform movements from the outbreak of the French Revolution to the collapse of the Despard conspiracy. The focus will be on an explanation for the increase in support for political reform in this period. Candidates are likely to have knowledge of: the early impact of the French Revolution, including: growing middle-class support for moderate reform, especially in the cities; the emergence of Corresponding Societies; the Whig Friends of the People; the impact of Paine's *Rights of Man*; growing discontent during periods of economic depression, especially 1794–95 and 1797–99; the attempts of Charles Grey to increase support for parliamentary reform in the House of Commons. It is legitimate to consider the movement for greater toleration of Dissenters as part of a wider reform movement.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the reasons why support for political reform increased in this period. Candidates are likely to give prominence to the impact of the French Revolution and support for 'rights of man' among literate artisans and many in the middle classes. Some will argue that political reform was already an issue 'on the table' because of the heightened consciousness produced by opposition to the American war in the late 1770s and early 1780s. The impact of Paine and other radical writers might well be judged as an important factor; for some, the government's repressive policies, especially from 1794, will be identified as converting many to the reformist camp. It is also possible to argue that the early impact of industrialism heightened radical awareness, if not developing 'class consciousness'. For such people, reform offered hope of change. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of revisionist writing which attempts to downplay the pro-reform analyses of E. P. Thompson and his acolytes, arguing that Reform was not so strongly supported as has been assumed and that Patriotism stifled much reformist activity by branding it 'alien'.

#### AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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# 10 How important was naval supremacy to Britain's success against Napoleonic France in the years 1803–15?

### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of the Napoleonic Wars. The focus will be on its progress, leading to the eventual defeat of Napoleon. Candidates should restrict themselves to the Napoleonic (as opposed to the French Revolutionary) War. They are likely to concentrate on: naval campaigns and particularly on the impact of Trafalgar (1805), Napoleon's Continental System and the retaliatory Orders in Council; the campaigns of Wellington and others in the Peninsula from 1808 to 1813 and their successful conclusion; the impact of alliances and, particularly, the defeats suffered by Napoleon in 1812, 1813 and 1815. It is relevant also to mention Britain's economic strength and its ability to raise loans to continue to war.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the relative importance of naval supremacy to Britain's eventual success against Napoleonic France. Candidates are likely to say that naval supremacy was very important. After Trafalgar, British naval supremacy was not seriously challenged and this had more than military significance, since it enabled Britain to avoid the most damaging consequences of the Continental System, albeit with considerable difficulty and much contingent domestic hardship. It ensured that Napoleon would not be able to invade and launch his crack troops on the British Isles. Good candidates will, however, be aware of other factors: the relative strength of the British economy, allowing Britain to outlast Napoleon; the long-term impact of the Peninsular campaign, tying up French troops in Spain and Portugal; the eventual importance of anti-Napoleonic coalitions, and especially, perhaps, the Treaties of Reichenbach (1813) and Chaumont (1814). Candidates should reach a judgement which weighs the relative importance of several factors, while giving emphasis to the significance of naval supremacy. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of recent work on the French wars which stress both Napoleon's abilities but the longer-term impact of fighting a war on multiple fronts against a number of powerful allies.

#### AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

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### Section 3: Themes c. 1689–1815

#### 11 How significant were developments in inland transport in the eighteenth century?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of an important theme. The theme here is the development of transport over the stated period. Candidates should have knowledge of: the development of roads, including turnpikes; water-borne transport, including the increase in the length of rivers which were made navigable in the first half of the period and, especially perhaps, the major expansion of the canal network from c. 1760 to the end of the period; it is relevant also to mention experiments with rail transport, although the development of steam-hauled locomotives and passenger rail transport lie either mostly or wholly out of period. Overland passenger transport is also relevant and candidates are likely to know of the key developments here, including the expansion of a stagecoach network (with more journeys between provincial centres as well as to and from the capital) and the increasing use of relays of horses changed at coaching inns. Good candidates will show an understanding of the salience of 'revolutionary' and will select material which enables them to reach a judgement on this. It is worth noting that, to keep the scope of the question manageable, reference to coastal navigation, has been eliminated from the scope of the question. Reference which link this to transport opportunities inland - as, for example, to the coast in order to make use of opportunities for coastal navigation – are nevertheless permissible.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the significance of inland transport changes. Candidates would find it difficult to deny that the changes were substantial and, in many cases, very rapid. Candidates might wish to make reference, for example, to the speed at which canals were constructed and to the investment boom as part of a canal mania. Changes designed to reduce the overwhelming emphasis on water-borne inland transport, especially for heavy goods, were also substantial and candidates can make use of the extent and rapidity of turnpike construction to evaluate change. Stronger candidates are likely to concentrate on the impact of change in making a developed evaluation about overall significance. Thus, they may wish to argue that internal navigation by water was revolutionised by the rapid emergence of a canal network by c. 1800, whereas progress on road transport, though real and in some instances spectacular would not make the revolutionary impact which railways would. On the other hand, increasing wealth and a rapidly growing population made what some might argue were revolutionary challenges to the existing transport system and one which the British, to a very large extent, met. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of monographs on the impact of road transport and also of the transport change for early industrial developments.

#### AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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# 12 Why did Britain's population grow so much more rapidly in the second half of the eighteenth century than in the first half?

#### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of an important theme. The theme here is population growth and the specific focus is on the differential rate at which population grew during the eighteenth century. Candidates should know that population growth was very limited until c. 1740 and that there is strong evidence of a mild population decline in the 1720s and early 1730s. Population grew more rapidly from 1750 and especially so in the last quarter of the century. Candidates are also likely to know that population growth was markedly greater in urban manufacturing and commercial centres (including, of course, ports) than in most rural areas. Candidates should also know of factors affecting birth rates and death rates. It is unlikely that migration had a substantial net significance on population growth, at least until the acceleration of migration from Ireland in the last two decades of the century.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about causation: why did population grow more rapidly after 1750 than before? Candidates are likely to explain how rising birth rates and declining death rates affect the size of population and that both were in play during the eighteenth century. Most candidates are likely to give priority to birth rate changes, however, although any significant changes in infant mortality rates are likely to have substantial implications on population change in the next generation. Some candidates will draw attention to the growing provision of hospitals, although some will argue that hospitals were as likely to spread disease as to cure it and that hospitals, at best, helped to isolate infection - and that more serendipitously than with overt intention. Furthermore, urban growth was most marked and, although we have only census estimates before 1801, the balance of probabilities is that death rates in some of the more crowded and rapidly expanded towns were actually increasing somewhat – though far less than were countervailing birth rates. On the specific differences after 1750, focus may fall on the increasing opportunities for the unmarried young to move to exploit expanded employment opportunities which a growing economy afforded. Some may also argue that population increase is often a natural consequence of population constraints or declines in the previous generation. as may well have happened with the 'take off from the 1740s after a short period of stagnation or decline. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required, although historiographical foci tend to be significant in answers to questions on eighteenth century population. In this question, some candidates may be aware of the weight of work done by the Cambridge Group for the study of population and social structure, which has laid much emphasis on birth rates and, particularly, on a lowering in the age of first marriage of women, thereby increasing the likelihood that women would bear larger families.

#### AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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# 13 'British artistic endeavour in the eighteenth century was dominated by the desire of the propertied classes to celebrate their power and status.' Discuss.

### Candidates should:

AO1 - present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of an important theme. The theme here is the role of art, especially in respect of the demands of the propertied classes. 'Artistic endeavour' should be interpreted broadly. Candidates may concentrate on visual art and especially painting, but sculpture, music and architecture are also within the remit and should be credited if offered. Candidates should know that much art existed because of the patronage of the propertied and they should draw on examples of which they are familiar. The pastoral work of Constable might be cited, as also the work of Stubbs in capturing horses (and especially race-horses during a time of great landed patronage of gambling). In terms of portrait painting, candidates might give examples of the work of Reynolds and its purpose. In architecture, the expansion of the Palladian style is likely to be known alongside the work of Kent and Robert Adam. It is legitimate to consider landscaping and the work of Lancelot (Capability) Brown. In music, attention may be concentrated on Handel and his success as both an instrumental and vocal composer. Not all of his work was dedicated to patrons and he did make a great deal of money from entrepreneurial activity on the London stage. Material should be selected which enables candidates to debate the proposition.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the extent to which the production of British art was dominated by the needs of the propertied classes and, particularly, perhaps the need to emphasise wealth, power and status. Most are likely to agree with the proposition, noting perhaps the increased wealth in both landed and commercial society and the extent to which that wealth was intended to be 'captured' in buildings and portraits. It is possible, for example, to see Joshua Reynolds as a fashionable, 'celebrity' artist, while the classical style at the heart of expansive estates might be interpreted as the clearest signal both that the landed and commercial classes wished their success to be recognised, while also physically keeping the lower orders at considerably more than arm's length. Not all art is, however, power- and celebrity-driven. Candidates might challenge this, for example, by looking at the work of Hogarth, which is frequently satirical (of all ranks in society) and also at the mystical, allegorical work of Blake at the end of the century. No natural deference to money and authority here, it might be argued. The guestion turns on the extent to which, despite these examples, art was nevertheless dominated in the way described. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of relatively recent work on both Hogarth and Reynolds. It is legitimate also to refer to catalogues and reviews of exhibitions.

#### AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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# 14 To what extent were popular protest and disorder caused by 'the envy of the lower orders towards their social betters' in this period?

### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of an important theme. The strongly linked themes here are popular protest and disorder, with special reference to its motivation. Candidates should be aware of some of the key features of popular protest and disorder. These will include food riots (much the most common), riots against infringement of what were seen as communal or popular rights, hostility directed at religious minorities, both dissenting and Catholic and protest against those in authority who were believed to be upholding propertied privileges against communal needs. By the end of the eighteenth century, and particularly in the larger towns, there was growing pressure for parliamentary and other constitutional reforms.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgment about the causes of popular protest. Stronger candidates are likely to argue that much popular activity was, in one way or another, opposed to the deployment of what was considered inappropriate power by the propertied. Activities in support of 'common rights', including the 'right' of ordinary people to capture small game wherever it might be found were sharpened by the generally hostile reactions of landowners and their gamekeepers. However, some activity was almost collusive across classes. There is much evidence, for example, of authorities 'raising a mob' (often with the incentive of free drink) to attack Catholics or Dissenters: the Gordon (1780) and Priestley (1791) riots are but two examples. Even food riots might be characterised as attempts to defend customary marketing practices rather than to attack the propertied as such. Some candidates might argue that there was considerable, if intermittent, hostility to the propertied while suggesting that envy was rarely the main factor. Political riots at the end of the century may well have been motivated by a desire for constitutional and other changes, but may have depended more upon assertion of 'rights' and a common understanding of what constituted 'citizenship' rather than from envy. Furthermore, a lot of disorder was caused by excessive drink. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of recent attacks on E. P. Thompson's perhaps romanticised celebration of 'popular rights'. It is possible to argue that pro-authority direct action was more prominent in the 1790s than rioting in favour of radical causes and parliamentary reform.

#### AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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# 15 Why did the horizons of Britain's eighteenth-century overseas traders increasingly extend beyond the continent of Europe?

### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of an important theme. The theme here is overseas trade in a century of substantial growth, with a particular emphasis on explaining the geographical trends involved in that growth. Candidates should know that, historically, Britain's overseas trade had been dominated by Northern Europe. During the eighteenth century, the relative importance of that market declined (although remaining very substantial) with a greater emphasis particularly on the Americas: West Indies and North America, including Canada. Candidates might note the frequency of Britain's wars in this period and, especially, how important were the securing or expansion of trade routes in the country's war objectives. Candidates are likely to mention the importance of the slave, triangular, trade and the growth of an exchange which saw raw materials (sugars, tobacco, cotton) coming into Britain and manufactures going back out. Most candidates are likely to mention the growth of trade in the sub-continent, including the role and significance of the East India Company. Some candidates may know about more exotic ventures into the Far East, which promised more than they achieved. Some may also mention methods of recruitment into the merchant and royal navies.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the reasons why the eighteenth century saw significant changes in the direction of trade, resulting in a relative decline in the importance of Europe during a period which, overall, saw very significant increases in trading volume and value. One important reason is likely to be the need to expand trading opportunities and, in particular, to make the anticipated profit on colonial expansion, especially in the Americas. Candidates may well concentrate on British victories in the key wars and the commercial advantages which the country was able to extract, especially in India and the Americas. It is relevant to mention also the decline of Dutch competition and, from c. 1750, Britain's increasing trading dominance over France. Some good candidates might argue that it was only in this century that Britain was able to capitalise on its island status. Some may wish to argue that the creation of a 'Great Britain' after 1707 was advantageous too, since Glasgow and Liverpool could both expand westwards and, in some respects, challenge both London and Bristol. Britain in the eighteenth century had rapidly expanding ports and an increased population to provide skilled and unskilled labour. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of the debate on the extent to which massive increases in overseas trade helped to generate propitious conditions for an industrial revolution, many of the products of which went overseas, not least to the Americas.

#### AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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# 16 Is London's pre-eminence in eighteenth-century England better revealed by its economic activity or by its political influence?

### Candidates should:

AO1 - present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of an important theme. The theme here is the central role played by London in the eighteenth century. The phrasing of the question suggests that candidates should make use of material both on London's political and its economic roles. In the political sphere, candidates are likely to concentrate on London as the capital city and, specifically, as the seat of parliament, which brought significant numbers of wealthy and influential folk to London, especially in the autumn and winter months. It is also worth mentioning the specific role, part-political, part-financial, of the City of London. When in London, wealthy folk spent – on clothes, shoes, entertainment and a wide range of luxuries. Thus, as some might note, political preeminence helped nurture a buoyant economy. Economic activity was very diverse. London was by some stretch Britain's largest port and commerce was at the heart of its economic activity. It was also the home for a wide range of manufacturing activity, both luxury clothing not readily available elsewhere and also more basic to meet the needs of ordinary folk. Some candidates might note how big London was - almost ten-times larger than any other urban community. As such, it required a sophisticated economic infrastructure and an intricate network of markets to meet consumer needs.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the relative importance of political and economic factors in explaining the capital's preeminence. Candidates can argue either way and some may even wish to suggest that, although there is massive change in London over the century, its dependence on both the economic and the political dimensions remains a constant. Some will argue the pre-eminence of politics, particularly after Parliament's assertion of preeminence, and the consequential needs of a resident legislature for much of the year. Political power now depended less on a royal court than had been the case, even in the later seventeenth century. On the other hand, perhaps economic factors were more important in agitating change. London had to adapt to substantial developments in commerce, finance and manufacture and its ability to meet growing needs both cemented its role as a capital city and ensured that the capital would remain pre-eminent even when the nascent industrial revolution emerged in the north and midlands. By 1800, it was less easy to see London merely as an apparently endless series of interlocking villages, each with its distinctive economic infrastructure. It provided opportunities for an apparently endless succession of migrant workers, particularly the young unmarried looking to establish themselves. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this guestion, some candidates may be aware of recent work by Ackroyd and Conrad, among many others, on the development of the capital.

#### AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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#### Section 4: 1815–1868

# 17 How effectively did Liverpool's government tackle problems of radicalism and popular disorder in the years 1815–22?

Candidates should:

AO1 - present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of popular agitation and the response of central government in the years followed the end of the Napoleonic wars. The focus should be on the measures taken by Liverpool's government to meet threats, which it might have exaggerated, which nevertheless saw many instances of disorder and some threats of revolution. Candidates are likely to know about key aspects of radical activity including: the Spa Fields Riot; the Pentridge Rising; Peterloo; the Cato Street Conspiracy and the Queen Caroline affairs. They should also note that these took place against a background of economic downswing with crises of overproduction linking with rapid demobilisation of soldiers to produce a substantial problem of unemployment. On tackling the problem, candidates are likely to concentrate on key pieces of legislation, especially in 1817 and 1819, including the temporary suspensions of Habeas Corpus and the Six Acts. It is relevant to mention the great expansion of, and commensurate take-up for, radical literature, including Cobbett's Political Register and Hone's Political House that Jack Built. Less well known, perhaps, but equally important was the Home Secretary's intelligence network. Though spies might calculate that they were not paid to under-estimate threats to national security, the information they provided was extensive and more often reliable (if exaggerated in places) than not. Some candidates might wish to discuss economic policy, as a means of helping to bring back prosperity and thus deprive radical activity of the oxygen of mass hunger or unemployment.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the effectiveness of Liverpool's government in dealing with the threat of the reformers. Candidates can argue this either way. Some might argue that the government prevented revolution by its activities and its legislation. Radicalism, it can be suggested, was curbed when economic distress was most worrying and the government was never seriously threatened either by Pentridge or by the Spencean philanthropists who tried to blow up the Cabinet. Others might respond that it was in the government's interest to play up the radical threat, so that repressive legislation (which sometimes had a difficult passage in the Commons, although rarely so in an age of substantial Tory majorities) would be the more readily Many are likely to argue that the Peterloo 'Massacre' represented at least a accepted. propaganda defeat for a government which could not prevent the Manchester Yeomanry from creating martyrs for the radical cause. Much will turn on candidates' perception of how serious Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical the threats actually were. interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of recent work by Royle on threats of revolution, and also by Harling and others on the attack on institutionalised 'Old Corruption'.

# AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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# 18 How far was the Reform Act of 1832 the product of disunity within the Tory party from 1827?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of the circumstances leading up to the passing of the Great Reform Act. The focus will be on factors which explained why the Act was passed, and passed in 1832, so material should be selected with this in mind. Candidates should know about the rapid disintegration of the Tory party after Liverpool's resignation. Splits were revealed by the composition of Canning's government and not healed during the Goderich administration. Candidates should also know about the defection of many Liberal Tories, including Palmerston, from Wellington's administration. The splits made Wellington's administration vulnerable and contributed to his resignation in 1831. Other factors include: the return of economic depression and unemployment and consequential growth in radical activity; apparently unprecedented support for parliamentary reform in 1831–32; the work of the Political Unions and the attempt to yoke middle-class and working-class support for reform; the role of the radical press; impact of hostility to reform in the House of Lords; the 'days of May'.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the reasons why a parliamentary reform act was passed in 1832, with special reference to the explanation suggested in the question. Stronger candidates should focus, at least in part, on the 'in 1832' element of the question. Candidates should give some emphasis to the travails of the Tories, particularly under Wellington, and to the impact of the splits. However, the growth of support for radicalism from 1830 was noticeable, widely remarked upon and caused many who were by conviction anti-reformers to believe that the proreform tide could not be stopped. Candidates should be aware that they need to adjudicate between the contending forces of extra-parliamentary pressure and the increasing weakness of the anti-reform faction, especially in the Commons. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of a general trend in recent years to concentrate on the weaknesses and splits within the Tory party and thus, at least by implication, suggest that extra-parliamentary agitation was relatively less important.

AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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# 19 How successful was British foreign policy in achieving its objectives in the years 1830–56?

#### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of the key elements in foreign policy during a period when Palmerston was normally dominant. The focus will be on the success of foreign policy at this time and this will require candidates to discuss what the key objectives were. These are likely to include: the need to sustain British maritime supremacy; keeping open, and expanding upon established trade routes, especially perhaps those which led to the Middle East and India; the need to preserve a balance of power on the continent of Europe; the growing importance of the Eastern Question, especially in view of growing Russian ambitions and the apparent weakness of the Ottoman Empire; the Opium War; causes of the Crimean War. It is relevant to include references to Britain's imperial policies in this period but, given the phrasing of the question, such discussion should relate to wider foreign policy objectives.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the success of British foreign policy in this period. Candidates are likely to judge that it was, broadly, successful. British naval supremacy was not challenged. Threats of war in Europe were averted until the end of the period and the Crimean War was won. although not without significant problems. Britain contributed to alliances which preserved peace in the Iberian peninsula and took a leading role in the establishment of an independent Belgium. The Convention for peace in the Middle East (Levant) 1840 was ambitious but not specially successful in the light of developments in the late 1840s and early 1850s. Britain gained Hong Kong as a result of the Opium War and thus more than a toe-hold in the Far East, with which trade grew rapidly from the later 1840s. Some candidates may wish to argue that this period saw a shift in perceptions as to which was the greatest threat to Britain's policies in Europe, with attention rapidly moving from France to Russia. Candidates could argue that the fact that Britain went to war in 1854 was indicative of the failure of diplomacy and attempts to secure a peaceful solution to the Eastern Question. It is not necessary for the answer, but some candidates might suggest that the settlement of 1856 did not 'solve' the Eastern Question. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of discussion about the role of Palmerston in foreign policy, including whether he was overly dominant and also about the nature of the Russian threat, and whether British politicians were prone to exaggerate it.

# AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### 20 'The failure of Chartism was, in essence, a failure of leadership.' Discuss.

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of Chartism and its leaders, with special emphasis on the factors which prevented it from achieving its aims. The predominant focus should be on leadership and candidates should have knowledge about some of the leaders, especially, perhaps, William Lovett and Feargus O'Connor, although Chartism had many other prominent figures, including Bronterre O'Brien, George Julian Harney and Ernest Jones. Some candidates may have knowledge of local leaders and this should certainly be accepted within the general framework of leadership. The 'in essence' part of the question permits knowledge on other factors which contributed to the failure to achieve the 'Six Points'. See AO2 below.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about why Chartism failed in its central democratic objective. Candidates should present a discussion about the nature of leadership and may concentrate on both ideological and personality disagreements. Many will discuss 'physical' and 'moral' -force Chartism as epitomised by Lovett and O'Connor. Those who wish to argue against the proposition in the question are likely to note how well organised Chartism was in many areas. with many lectures, educational ventures and links with religious organisations, particularly nonconformist ones. Such candidates may argue that other factors were much more important. These might include the growing power of an increasingly confident national state (including logistical factors such as the development of railways to move troops) and the 'unthinkability' of democracy for most men of property, not least those sitting in parliament. A few might wish to challenge the view that Chartism failed at all, given its impressive political legacy to later nineteenth century political activism. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of attempts by Dorothy Thompson and Jay Epstein to rehabilitate Feargus O'Connor as a leader of substance and of interpretations which stress the extent to which Chartism (making every allowance for both its structural and its economic disadvantages) succeeded in alarming the authorities, not least in 1848.

AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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# 21 Why did Peel fail to retain the political loyalty of so many in his party during his ministry of 1841–46?

### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of the Peel ministry of 1841–46. The focus will be on Peel's relations with his party, so material should be selected with this in mind. Candidates should know that Peel's relations with most of his cabinet members (and especially the less experienced ones) were much more cordial than those with his backbenchers. They should be aware of the issues on which Peel increasingly disagreed with many of his supporters. These include: reneging on an apparent commitment in the 1841 election to maintain agricultural protection; disagreements about sugar duties; religion – especially support for the Irish Catholic College at Maynooth; the perception that Peel was arrogant, aloof and even rude, not explaining his policies to those outside his charmed circle; the crisis of 1845–46 over the Corn Laws and the achievement of Corn Law repeal with Whig votes since about twice as many of his own parliamentary colleagues voted against him as voted for repeal. Candidates might also mention the frustration of some talented MPs at being passed over for office. Disraeli is preeminent among these.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about causation: in this case the reasons why Peel failed to retain the loyalty of his colleagues. Some strong candidates might argue that he did retain loyalty for a surprisingly long time (and certainly into 1845) given the depth of feeling over protection and support for the landed interest. Such an approach is likely to lead to the conclusion that Protection was the key issue and that other factors (such as those listed in AO1 above) were more a trying of the patience than, in themselves, reasons for disloyalty and eventual rebellion. Good candidates should attempt to prioritise reasons as, for example, by emphasising the Protection issue, while suggesting that Peel's own attitude to the policy and his determination either to browbeat or to ignore opposition within his own party made the break of 1846 more severe and its consequences longer lasting. Some candidates might argue that Peel's own conception of the role of prime minister, acting in the national interest and ignoring sectional arguments put him on a collision course from the beginning and that the 1845/46 defections were only a delayed consequence of the nature of his rule from the beginning of his ministry. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of recent attempts, especially by Hilton and Newbould, to paint Peel in a much less favourable light than, very influentially, had Gash.

#### AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### Section 5: 1868–1914

# 22 How, in the years to 1874, were Disraeli and the Conservatives able to recover from the general election defeat of 1868?

Candidates should:

AO1 - present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of party politics in the years 1868-74. The focus will be on the nature of the Conservative recovery in the late 1860s and early 1870s, so material should be selected with an emphasis on what the Conservatives were doing to recover the position. Material on weaknesses and/or problems of the Liberals is, of course, also relevant. Candidates are likely to know about: the development of party organisation, including the work of Gorst; the identification of areas where the Conservative message was well received, including urban areas where antiCatholicism was an issue; Disraeli's oratory, including his 1872 speeches; emphasis on Tory patriotism, defence of the established order and the Liberals as 'a range of exhausted volcanoes'. Relevant also to mention apparently growing unpopularity of the Liberals: legislation designed to appeal to Nonconformists was often unpopular, including Church Rate legislation and the Education Act; the unpopularity of the Licensing Act; Liberal foreign policy, especially in respect of USA over Alabama incident, interpreted as weak. Relevant to mention the 1874 election itself where the Conservatives had a majority over the Liberals in England of more than 100 and where Liberals won only 27 of the 172 English county seats. Conservatives do disproportionately well in England, the county seats and the smaller towns.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the reasons for Conservative electoral recovery. Candidates are likely to use material along the lines of that identified in AO1 but must reach a conclusion about predisposing factors. Stronger candidates will attempt to prioritise causes and/or indicate how causes of Conservative recovery interlink (as for example Disraeli's attack on the Licensing Act showing his rhetorical skills as well as demonstrating that the working man losing cheap beer – could feel that the Liberals were not 'their' party). Candidates should at least mention both the positive steps taken by the party and the reasons why much Liberal legislation courted unpopularity in significant sections of the electorate. Some candidates, appraising how the Conservatives won their 1874 majority, might wish to suggest that the victory came as a result of winning back votes in areas of bedrock support, more than in winning votes in the larger towns, important though the 'working-man initiative' was to the Tory message. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of recent work on the nature of the Liberal party and the uneasy coalition of interests which Gladstone was not always able to keep together. Some candidates might argue that the Conservatives were the more united party in 1874.

#### AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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# 23 Why was Empire such an important element in British foreign policy in the years 1876–1902?

#### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of the key elements and directions of British foreign policy from the Imperial Titles Act to the end of the Second Boer War. The focus will be on the importance of the British Empire as a factor in policy making. Candidates might begin by discussing Britain's foreign-policy objectives as a great power. They should be aware of: the importance of India both for trade and also for Britain's wide role when it was widely considered to be the world's leading power; the significance of Afghanistan within the context of the defence of India; the nature of imperial expansion, particularly in the 1880s and 1890s and particularly in Africa; conflict in South Africa, including two wars (1880–81 and 1899–1902); other African wars include Egypt (1882) and Sudan (1884–85 and 1896–99). Candidates should also know about the 'competitive' nature of imperial expansion, with rivalries between Britain, Germany and France, and attempts to harmonise interests via the Congress of Berlin (1885).

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the reasons why the Empire played such an important role in the formulation of British foreign policy in this period. Candidates are likely to discuss the significance of the Empire, for trade, for defence and as an indicator of great power status. The reasons for the 'Scramble for Africa' are likely to figure prominently, and candidates might use these to explain why the acquisition of territory assumed greater importance in this period, rather than purely commercial links and 'informal Empire'. The Empire might also be discussed in the context of growing great-power rivalry and candidates might argue that Germany exploited Boer resentment at British rule to make mischief. It is also legitimate to consider perceptions of the economic value of Empire, both as a reason for expansion in itself and also as an important element in great-power rivalry. Candidates could make use of the frequent colonial wars as evidence of the importance of Empire to the great powers. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of recent work on great-power rivalry and perhaps particularly of work on the perceived economic importance and strategic burdens of empire.

#### AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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# 24 To what extent was Gladstone personally responsible for the waning fortunes of the Liberal party in the years 1885–94?

### Candidates should:

AO1 - present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of developments in the Liberal party from Gladstone's commitment to Home Rule for Ireland to his resignation as prime minister for the last time. The focus will be on the fortunes of the Liberal party generally and the role of Gladstone specifically. Candidates should know about the significance of the Irish question in Liberal history, and specifically about the split in 1886 and its longer-term impact. A split party was defeated in 1886 and the Liberal-Unionists remained in alliance with the Conservatives. On Gladstone, they might wish to discuss both the extent of Gladstone's involvement with Ireland and his reputation as 'an old man in a hurry' and they are likely to know about the Home Rule defeat in the Lords in 1893. The Liberal electoral victory of 1892 only produced a minority government and candidates might say that Gladstone's leadership was limited and non-galvanising at this late stage in his career. Candidates may mention those who stayed with Gladstone after the split. Were they as able, overall, as those who became 'Liberal Unionists'? For some candidates, the emergence of an Independent Labour Party in 1893 was an indication that the Liberals' long liaison with organised labour was now under threat. Some may see this as a further indication of a lack of sure-footedness in Gladstone's leadership. The loss of Chamberlain may have been important here.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the relative importance of Gladstone in explaining why the Liberals' political position weakened over the period covered by the question. Most are likely to argue that Gladstone was primarily responsible and attribute this to his waning powers as he aged and, perhaps more important, to an apparent fixation over Ireland which made it ever more unlikely that the Liberal Unionists would rejoin the party. Emphasis is likely to be on the nature of Gladstone's leadership and the extent to which he dominated his party as the 'Grand Old Man'. It is difficult to argue, however, that Gladstone's colleagues were non-entities: his 1892 government included three future Prime Ministers in Asquith, Campbell-Bannerman and Rosebery, as well as Harcourt and Brice. Good candidates should see, however, that it would be difficult to attribute everything to Gladstone. There is an element of collective responsibility. The Whig section of the party was anyway in longer-term decline, dealt an important blow by the advent of single-member constituencies, leaving the Liberals open to the charge that their strength was now disproportionately urban and that the influence of nonconformity within the party was growing - which was not necessarily a votewinner. Importantly, Salisbury proved to be a shrewd leader of the Conservatives, building up a party base broadly along the lines identified by Disraeli but also confirming that his party was able to produce important domestic reforms. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of recent reassessments of Salisbury (whose historiographical star might be mildly on the wane) and of the nature and extent of support for the Liberal party in this period.

#### AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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# 25 Which was the more important element to the development of the Labour party in the years 1900–14: trade-union support or socialist ideology?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of the early history of the Labour party. The focus will be on the relative contributions of the trade unions and of socialism. Candidates should know that this was a period of very substantial trade union growth, following the development of new unionism and that union membership doubled (to 4m) in the years 1900–14. They might see the transfer of mineworkers' allegiance from Liberal to Labour party in 1909 as a turning point. Socialism was also an important element, particularly given the role of the Fabians. Some candidates might note that many unequivocal socialists did not look to the Labour party but had struck out on their own before the party came into existence. Nevertheless, ideas about common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange were widely supported within the Labour party.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the relative importance of two key factors in the early history of the Labour party. It is likely that most candidates will suggest that trade union support was the more important factor, not least because of growing membership and the perception that only a working man's party could achieve the kind of radical change which benefited working people. A mass membership produces increased funds which the party needed to make a national impact, particularly at election time. Union support may be seen as particularly important in the main industrial areas of the country. On the other hand, socialist ideology helped to give the party a sense of direction, in the process distancing itself from a Liberal party which would happily have swallowed it up. Also middle-class supporters of Labour (especially Fabians) were important generators of ideas as well as effective organisers and, in many cases, orators. The middle classes might also have helped to make Labour seem less sectional or even 'extreme'. Emphasis should be placed on the two chosen factors but it is permissible to offer brief mention of other factors involved in the early establishment of the Labour party. These might include the MacDonald-Gladstone pact and dissatisfaction with the Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical two established parties. interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of work on the impact of socialism and the role of mineworkers and railway workers in creating a mass membership for Labour.

AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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# 26 'Britain went to war in 1914 to defend the existing balance of power in Europe against German aggression.' Discuss.

### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of factors involved in Britain's decision to go to war in 1914. The focus will be on the European balance of power and alleged German aggression. Candidates should be aware that Britain had traditionally been anxious to ensure that no one power dominated continental Europe and that the rapid growth of German power after unification was seen as a threat. They should also know about the alliance systems which seemed to divide Europe into 'two armed camps' and the extent to which these systems developed a momentum of their own which proved difficult to deflect in response to crises, particularly those which erupted in the Balkans. They should know that the stated precipitating factor which led to Britain's declaration of war was the German invasion of Belgium. It is legitimate to note the importance of Anglo-German naval rivalry, which had dimensions which went well beyond the balance of power in Europe. Material in this answer should offer a distinct emphasis on the reasons for Britain's involvement in the developments which led to war, rather than on a series of undifferentiated 'causes of the First World War'.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the relative importance of a given reason for Britain's entry into the First World War. Good candidates may note, or imply, that they are being asked to debate the validity of a mono-causal explanation and use this to argue that things were much more complicated. Arguably, the issue of the balance of power in Europe, though important, was not at the heart of Britain's calculations as a world, maritime-based, power. Candidates might suggest that Britain went to war specifically because of treaty obligations. The alliance system, however, made it much more likely that the great powers would be sucked into conflict, whenever a specific trigger was pulled. Good candidates will offer a reasoned judgement on the relative importance of the stated factor. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of recent work which reiterates an older view that German expansion and aggression was the main cause of the First World War and that Britain went to war to curb Germany, both in Europe, elsewhere in the world and, perhaps critically, to preserve its supremacy on the seas.

#### AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### Section 6: Themes, c. 1815–1914

# 27 Assess the impact of industrial change on the standard of living of British workers in the period c. 1815–70.

Candidates should:

AO1 - present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of an important theme. The theme here is how the industrial revolution affected living standards. The factors affecting living standards which are most likely to be discussed are: wage levels; unemployment; health; housing; social categories (those with skills were often able to ride out depressions better than those without). Candidates are likely to have some information about changing wage levels and, perhaps, birth and death rates, especially in the city. Some candidates may take a chronological approach, arguing that there is (albeit disputed) evidence of rising living standards for the majority of the population during the so-called great Victorian boom. Unemployment, a key factor in living standards, was a somewhat less prominent factor in the 1850s and 1860s, despite the crisis of the 1860s in the cotton districts. Good candidates are likely to offer at least implicit discussion on the factors which affect standards of living and whether quantitative measures should be considered as the predominant indicators or whether qualitative indicators are of equal importance. Broadly (and with many exceptions) the quantitative measures suggest an overall improvement; the qualitative ones (life, for example, in a grimy, ill-built industrial town with poor water supplies) suggest a pessimistic one.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the impact of the industrial revolution on the living standards of British workers. As some stronger candidates may suggest, the answer is complex and may depend on which categories of 'workers' are being studied. Comment on both urban and rural workers is permissible – though, given the nature of the debate it is acceptable for candidates to concentrate on living standards in the towns. It might be argued that, in wage terms, industrial workers did considerably better than agrarian workers and that the industrial revolution – at least eventually – reduced demand for agricultural labour. Also, wages in many trades increased over the period. Some candidates might argue that the industrial revolution created fresh opportunities for female workers, especially in the cotton trade and in domestic service. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. This question, however, is more likely to elicit historiography - slanted responses than are many. Candidates may be aware of old debates between Hobsbawm (pessimist) and Hartwell (optimist) and some will be able to track more recent contributions which emphasise the importance of definitions and which produce broadly optimistic conclusions but only on the more quantifiable measures.

#### AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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#### 28 'The Oxford Movement had little impact on the development of the Church of England.' How far do you accept this judgement for the period c. 1830–70?

Candidates should:

AO1 - present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of an important theme. The theme here is the development of the Church of England in the stated period, with particular reference to the impact of the Oxford Movement. Candidates should know that the influence of the Movement was greatest in the 1830s and 1840s, and that it was a movement directed at Christian renewal within the Anglican church based on a revival of Catholic practices. It was, therefore, a 'high-church' movement. The figures most likely to be discussed are John Keble, whose Assize Sermon of 1833 against Irish temporalities legislation was influential and John Henry Newman, who published An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine in 1845. Good candidates could use these two to refer to the impact of the movement. More widely, candidates should know about its impact on a Church which had been widely criticised for doctrinal laxity and for an excessively strong link with the State which, so its critics asserted, often defaulted to support for the existing social structure. It is relevant to discuss other factors which affected the development of the Church in this period and some candidates might know about the key elements of the reform movement (including commutation of tithes, moves to reduce disparities of clerical income, reduction in the extent of pluralism, creation of new bishoprics etc. etc.). Some may argue that the greater impact on the development of the Church was the expansion of religious nonconformity and the revelatory impact of the only clerical census (in 1851).

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the relative importance of one important movement in the overall development of the Church of England in the middle years of the nineteenth century. Candidates can argue for a greater, or a lesser, impact of the Oxford Movement and what they conclude may well influence the balance of the information they provide. They must, however, select information about the Oxford Movement and weigh this against the impact of other factors – the growth of nonconformity, the impact of Irish and other Catholic migration, internal Church reform, the nature of leadership provided by Anglican bishops etc. Stronger candidates should see that at least some reference is necessary to factors which drew attention to the Oxford Movement, especially within the Church of England. It is difficult to deny that it had a substantial impact, especially in the early years and in the aftermath of Newman's conversion to Rome. The main focus of strong answers, however, should be on debating the specific doctrinal, and perhaps also the wider moral, impact of the Movement. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of work specifically on the Oxford Movement and of discussions on how far Wesleyan Methodism (much the largest of the Methodist groupings) threatened the Anglican Church rather than reaching a de facto accommodation with it.

#### AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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# 29 Why, in the years c. 1860–1914, did Irish nationalism exert such influence over British political life?

### Candidates should:

AO1 - present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of an important theme. The theme here is the influence of Irish nationalism. Candidates should see that this question focuses on the impact on Britain. Technically, discussion should be restricted to the impact in Great Britain rather than in Ireland. However, since relatively few candidates will presumably know that Ireland was not part of Great Britain, candidates may discuss the impact on Ireland. Inevitably, they will present information about the growth of nationalism in Ireland, including both the growth of violence ('Irish atrocities') and of movements which aimed at achieving Home Rule by peaceful means. Candidates should know about Isaac Butt's Home Government Association (later Irish National Party), the role of Charles Stewart Parnell in the 1880s, the Irish Land League (1879-82) and the tactics used by Irish Nationalists to force attention onto the Irish agenda, even though some British politicians complained that the Irish could never agree on precisely what form of nationalism they wanted full independence, or some kind of federal status involving a separate parliament. From the 1880s, the focus was increasingly on the divergent views espoused in much of southern Ireland and the strongly 'Unionist' focus of the Protestant majority in Ireland.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the reasons why Irish nationalism made such an impact on British political life in this period. Drawing on material referred to in AO1 above, candidates may argue that the tactics of the Irish nationalists (both violent and constitutional) were the main reason. Others could argue a more Anglocentric line, placing the explanation firmly with Gladstone and his influence over the Liberal Party. Gladstone's conversion to Home Rule had a very substantial impact on Britain's two-party political system. It is possible to argue that the impact on political life was at its height when Gladstone was at the centre of affairs. Some candidates might argue that Irish nationalist influence was just as strong in the 1900s as in the 1880s and 1890s, albeit overshadowed in public attention by the darkening diplomatic scene and the activities of the Suffragettes. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of work which comes predominantly from an Irish focus, or may concentrate on a predominantly British historiography, which concentrates on how Gladstone and Salisbury responded to Nationalist pressures.

# AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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#### 30 Explain why, in the years 1870–1914, mass education became such a controversial issue.

#### Candidates should:

AO1 - present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of an important theme. The theme here is popular, or 'mass' education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and especially perhaps the social and religious issues which compulsory education threw up. Candidates should select material which illustrates how debates over education developed and why popular education was a controversial topic. Candidates should know that developments in education cannot be properly understood outside a religious framework. The 'National' Schools were dominated by the Church of England and, before 1870, urban nonconformists had argued that much more was spent on educating Anglican children within an Anglican framework. Candidates should know about the significance of both the Forster (1870) and Sandon (1876) Acts and something about the cost of education. Controversy derived in part from sectarian divisions – themselves represented in Parliament – in part from growing costs and in part from differences about what opportunities should be made available to workingclass children. Candidates are likely to know about the controversies which arose over alleged 'over-education' in Higher Grade Schools. Candidates should refer to the 1902 Education Act and the creation of local education authorities to replace School Boards. They may know how that Act was driven by a Conservative/Anglican agenda and why it was such a controversial measure. They may know about the debates over the value of 'sectarian education'.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the reasons why the education question was so controversial. Candidates should concentrate here on the provision made for children of the lower orders, rather than on discussion about university education or the public schools. Good candidates will reach a reasoned judgment about relative importance of the factors briefly raised in AO1: cost; whether the state should establish Board Schools and how elementary education should be organised; religious divisions; controversy over Higher Grade Schools and the provision of Secondary Education via Local Education Authorities. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of recent debates about the provision of technical education and also put more of an emphasis on changing opportunities for women in education.

#### AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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# 31 'The tactics of the Suffragists were more effective than those of the Suffragettes in the years 1880–1914.' Discuss.

### Candidates should:

AO1 - present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of an important theme. The theme here is the movement for achieving the political equality of women and the specific focus is on the two forms of suffrage activity. Candidates should know the key differences between the tactics employed, respectively, by Suffragists and Suffragettes. They should also be aware about Suffrage campaigns in the 1880s and 1890s and about the establishment of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, founded in 1887. Candidates should know about the aims of the Women's Social and Political Union (established in 1903) and especially the work of the Pankhursts in organising and directing the WSPU. Candidates should know about the key tactics of the Suffragettes, including physical action, noncooperation and inviting imprisonment. In addition to the Pankhursts, candidates are likely to know about Emily Davison. The work of the Suffragists is lower-key and candidates may know less in detail about the tactics of persuasion, lobbying, links with favourable Liberal and Labour MPs. However, candidates should know about the work of Millicent Fawcett and perhaps also that of Catherine Marshall in heading the Elections Fighting Fund Committee in 1912. Note that candidates are not expected to carry the story of votes for women beyond the outbreak of the First World War.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the relative effectiveness of the tactics used by NUWSS and the WSPU (or, more generally, Suffragists and Suffragettes) in keeping the cause of votes for women alive and in securing its effective advocacy. Candidates can argue either way. If they opt for the Suffragists as the more effective, they might concentrate on their longevity and the high organisational efficiency evinced in their campaigns and how they made links with the political parties. They might also note that the WSPU had not clearly advanced the cause at the time war broke out and that it would be collaboration over the war which would convince many MPs to move on votes for women – although, of course, they are not expected to use any detail beyond 1914. They might also favourably assess Fawcett's personal contribution to the cause. If they take the opposite view, then they are likely to argue that WSPU galvanised the women's campaign and ensured that it was from 1903 at, or near, the centre of public attention. Direct action, they might argue, made the campaigns 'un-ignorable'. They might also argue that the more genteel methods of the Suffragists had not brought the female suffrage any nearer in the first years of the new century than it had been in the later 1880s. Candidates may refer to other factors affecting the women's suffrage cause, but the main focus of the answer should be on a comparison and contrast between the two movements and, especially, between the approaches they adopted. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of recent work which places rather less emphasis on leaders and more on the range of support for the women's cause in different areas of Britain. Opinion remains divided on how close the cause was to success by the time war broke out.

#### AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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# 32 Examine the importance of the transport and manufacturing industries to the performance of the British economy in the years 1880–1914.

### Candidates should:

AO1 - present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of an important theme. The theme here is how the British economy performed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and the specific focus should be on transport and manufacturing. Candidates should see this period as one in which industrial activity matured and in which heavy industries caught up with the early spurt of textiles. Candidates should have knowledge of how transport expanded in this period. The emphasis is likely to be on the use of railways and their contribution to economic growth. In this period, the network was extensive and intensively used both by passengers (especially in the growth of commuting) and freight. Other areas likely to be covered include coastal shipping (including the importance of overseas trade in British ships) and the development of buses. On manufacturing, while textile manufactures remained of great importance, especially to the performance of British exports, emphasis might be placed more on heavy industries, especially metals. It is relevant to mention the role of coal in providing power for these heavy industries. Many candidates might wish to identify the centres of the metal trades and of heavy industry, for example Birmingham and the West Midlands and South Yorkshire, as also the role of shipbuilding in Clydeside, Lancashire and the North-East. Candidates might wish to mention the extent to which foreign competition in textile manufacturing was developing as part of a wider consideration of the overall performance of the economy.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the importance of both transport and manufacturing industries in this period. Candidates might set up their criteria for 'effectiveness'. Candidates might offer judgements on how effectively the two sectors were organised and managed and some candidates may wish to appraise both industries in the context of the alleged 'Great Depression' and of growing overseas competition, especially from Germany and the United States. Others might notice that expansion in these industries were labour-intensive and provided jobs for a growing population. Good candidates would be expected to explain the importance of the selected areas and also reach at least a brief conclusion on how well the economy was performing. It is permissible for candidates to appraise performance in these sectors against others (as, for example, agriculture or banking or the service industries), though this is not necessary. In any event, concentration must focus, as the question indicates, on transport and manufacturing. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of recent work which emphasises at least selective success in these industries and which rather plays down the extent of the 'Great Depression'.

#### AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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# Section 7: 1914–1951

### 33 Assess the impact of World War I on opportunities for women in the years 1914–20.

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of the role of women during the First World War. The focus will be on the specific impact of World War on opportunities for women. Candidates should have knowledge of: women's supportive role as nurses and auxiliaries in the War; how new employment opportunities opened up for women in the economy and especially manufacturing in support of the war effort; women in rural work; the transfer of employment opportunity from domestic service to manufacturing; more opportunities for married women to work; opportunities for women to push the case for enfranchisement on the basis of 'real' work and supportive contributions. Candidates should see that the question goes on to 1920. This gives them an opportunity to discuss how far the employment' gains' of World War I survived the peace treaties and also the beginning of an economic downturn.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the extent of the impact of World War on opportunities for women. Stronger candidates will understand that this is not a descriptive question and that it requires judgement on the extent of the impact. They may well organise their answers in terms of continuity and change. Clearly, there were important changes in that jobs which had previously been reserved for men became open to women since so many adult males had been enlisted. There may also have been new opportunities for promotion and for higher wages to be earned. For some, at least, 'holding down a good job' also expanded horizons beyond the domestic and led on to further opportunities. Against that, continuities can be seen: many jobs remained relatively menial; it is possible to argue that women, though in more demand, remained 'second-class workers' in the eyes of their employers. Many women had to juggle work and family commitments when husbands were away fighting, or had become casualties. In some professions, the marriage bar remained. Some candidates are likely to argue that women were rapidly 'demobilised' from work when peace returned, so that any gains appeared to be short-term ones. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of recent work which has suggested that it is easy to exaggerate the First World War as a period of opportunity for women. Some, at least, of the apparent gains appeared to be evanescent.

### AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### 34 How are the fluctuating fortunes of the Labour party in the period 1918–31 best explained?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of the development of the Labour party in these years. The focus will be on the changing support for Labour during these years. The issues to which candidates are most likely to draw attention include: the 1918 Constitution; the emergence (because of the Liberal split) of Labour as the main opposition to the Lloyd George coalition; the impact of Ramsay MacDonald and the first minority government of 1924; Labour's defeat in the election at the end of that year; impact of the General Strike, especially on the fortunes of the trade union movement and, through those on Labour party finances. Union membership declined by approx 314m 1926–31, while the Trade Disputes Act made sympathetic strike action illegal and required potential members specifically to 'contract in' to a Union rather than being assumed members unless 'contracted out'. The adverse consequences of the Strike for the Unions did not prevent Labour becoming a minority government again in 1929, though now having the largest number of seats. From 1929–31: growing tensions within the party during the early phase of the depression, including disputes between Unions and the government. The Labour split and the election of a coalition government led by MacDonald.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement on why Labour fortunes seemed so volatile in this period. Selecting material from AO1 above, candidates might argue changes took place against an anyway volatile national political picture, which included a Liberal split, while tensions within the Conservative party (not least over free trade) also prevented that party from dominating government. They might also argue that Labour advances owed much to a much expanded electorate which was nevertheless itself volatile. The General Strike might be said to have damaged Labour's reputation with the electorate in the short term and also its main source of funding. However, candidates might also conclude from the fact that Labour was able to form another minority government that the damage was limited and perhaps short-term. It might also be argued that the General Strike left a longer legacy which contributed to the bad relations between organised labour and the Labour government almost from the beginning of the 1929-31 administration. A different line of argument might place the emphasis on a generally depressed economic picture from which Labour, as the 'party of protest' might have derived benefit. The two established parties might be said to have residual responsibility for the economic mess and were sufficiently blamed by the electorate to enable Labour to break up the two-party monopoly. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of new work on the complex nature of the relationship between trade unions and Labour during the 1920s.

# AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### 35 How successful was British policy towards India in the period 1919–47?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of Britain's relationship with India and specifically on how it coped with growing demands for Indian independence. The focus will be specifically on the effectiveness of Britain's India policy in these years. Candidates should know about the key policies, including changes which occurred in response to Indian pressure: Government of India Act (1920) giving limited powers to a legislature; nationalist rejection of Act and the policies of non co-operation; declaration of supremacy of Crown in India (1926); Government aim for Dominion Status (1929); Round-Table Conferences (1930–31) and their limited achievements; Government of India Act (1935) provides for federal solution with Viceroy responsible to Crown; Congress Party success in provincial elections; Viceroy declares Indian participation in Second World War (1939) without consultation. Candidates should mention the significance of the Second World War (including Indian contribution) and Labour's decision to grant independence as soon as could be arranged. Candidates should select material which focuses on British policy rather than discussion of the Indian independence movement as such.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the success of British policies in respect of India. No British government would commit to more than a federal solution during this period and such a solution was not acceptable to Indian nationalists. To that extent, and given the continued proindependence pressure, therefore, policies might seem to be unsuccessful. On the other hand, revolution (if not passive resistance) was averted and some candidates might argue that the British government, within limits, showed itself to be flexible to changing circumstances. Some might argue that this flexibility prevented more disruption and bloodshed, at least until 1947 itself. Candidates might note the division of political opinion in Britain was another factor which militated against coherent, uniform policy on the Indian question. Some candidates might argue that inter-war policies were unsuccessful because they seem to be merely reactive to pressure coming from India. Most are likely to argue that the way independence came about reflected badly on British policy. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this guestion, some candidates may be aware of recent work on the factors affecting British policy and the difficulties in formulating coherent long-term policies for disengagement.

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# 36 'The 1930s was a decade more of new economic opportunities than of deep economic depression.' Discuss.

### Candidates should:

AO1 - present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of British economic policy and performance between the wars. The focus will be on areas both of opportunity and of stagnation/depression. Candidates should know that the impact of the Depression varied considerably across the UK and that the old centres both of heavy industry and of mining (particularly NE, central Scotland and South Wales) were particularly badly hit. Textile production (for example in the North-West) was also hit by foreign competition, lower wages overseas and inadequate investment levels. The agricultural labour force also declined by about 15% between the wars. By contrast, much of the midlands and the south-east enjoyed prosperity and high levels of employment, based largely on motor car manufacture, electronics and the service industries. There was considerable mobility of labour towards these new opportunities, especially by younger workers grasping the 'opportunities' referred to in the question. Some candidates might wish to concentrate on unemployment as an indicator of economic performance. Unemployment remained obstinately high until c. 1936 but had declined by more than 50% in July 1939 from its peak early in 1933. Conventional economic indictors show that the value of both imports and exports declined for most of the 1920s and the adverse trade balance (though much lower than in wartime) also increased during the 1930s.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about how the performance of the British economy in the 1930s should best be characterised. Most candidates will be aware of the 'two nations' and thus reach a qualified judgement which makes at least some reference to different performance in different areas and sectors of the economy. Better candidates might ask for whom these opportunities were present and reach a judgement which concludes that younger, mobile and perhaps unmarried folk had more opportunities. On the other hand, cheap raw materials and low rates of interest did encourage a private housing boom which advantaged many with young families, especially in the midlands and the south-east of England. Some candidates, concentrating on unemployment evidence, might argue that the judgement in the question was broadly true but especially so if one took the later 1930s as the key yardstick. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of work which argues how valid the unremittingly bleak picture painted in The Road to Wigan Pier actually is. Other work is, however, anxious to stress the complexity of the picture and the need not marginalise either conventional indicators of recession/slump or the long-lasting misery endured by those in the 'depressed areas'.

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# 37 'The true architect of Labour's domestic achievements in the years 1945–51.' How accurate is this assessment of the role of Aneurin Bevan in these years?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of the domestic achievements of the Labour government. The specific focus will be on the work of Aneurin Bevan during the period of the post-war Labour governments. Candidates should restrict their discussions to this period specifically, and not stray into Bevan's later career. Candidates should know about: his role as Minister of Health; his contribution to both the establishment, and the early development, of the National Health Service; his resignation (1951) on the introduction of prescription charges and its significance in terms of the formation of a 'Bevanite group'. Since the question implies judgement about relative importance, candidates should include some material on other key figures in the 'domestic achievements', including Attlee's role as prime minister but also, perhaps, the contributions of Dalton and Cripps at the Exchequer.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the relative importance of a major figure in the Labour governments of the 1945-51 period. If candidates are inclined broadly to agree with the judgement in the quotation, then they are likely to concentrate on Bevan's vision in respect of social policy and especially the Health Service. They may discuss the importance of his conflict with the medical profession, its resolution and the broadly successful early years of the Health Service. Some candidates may stress Bevan's charisma in giving leadership and focus to a particular set of policies. Good candidates should see that their judgement will depend, in effect, on precisely how important they consider the founding of the NHS to have been and, if so, how much Bevan should be given virtually total credit for this. Some will want to contest the proposition entirely and suggest, for example, that Attlee's coolness, strategic vision and control of a cabinet filled with able, but fractious, colleagues was more important than the individual, even attention-grabbing, contribution of an arrogant, self-glorifying boat-rocking, and very able, politician. They could note the damage done to Labour by Bevan's resignation in 1951. Others, again, might argue that in a term of post-war austerity funds had to be found for an organisation which would become as expensive as it became iconic. Thus, the work of Dalton and Cripps might be worth a mention. Whichever way candidates jump, they need to present a judgement about relative importance, though the predominant focus should be on Bevan as the selected individual. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, for example, some candidates may be aware of the very different evaluations of Attlee by Michael Foot (as hagiographic as it is long) and by John Campbell.

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### Section 8: 1951–2005

# 38 'The relationship between Britain and the United States in the years 1945–81' was an uneasy partnership of obvious unequals.' Discuss.

Candidates should:

AO1 - present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of Anglo-American relations in the stated period. The focus is specifically on the nature of that relationship. Candidates should know about the key aspects: the attempt at postwar reconstruction and the US relations with Britain in the later 1940s; the significance of Britain's status as the only undefeated major European power; US and UK as nuclear powers and extent of agreement on the features, and also the feasibility of deterrence; the extent of the 'special relationship' and whether it was deemed special on both sides of the Atlantic; Anglo-American views on UK relationship with Europe; US views on British decolonisation; whether the powers felt that they had separate spheres of influence. Candidates might also wish to discuss the specific relationship between Prime Minister and President (as for example whether Macmillan believed in his obviously greater experience than J. F. Kennedy in the early 1960s or Wilson's relationship with Johnson, including his resistance to the idea of committing British troops in Vietnam). On 'unequal', candidates might examine how far the US took UK advice on major issues of policy or strategy and whether the apparent ideological (and even ethnic) closeness militated against the US considering itself demonstrably more powerful, or at least ensuring that Britain's views were taken into consideration in policy-making.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the extent to which Anglo-American relations were 'uneasy' and also the extent to which the partnership was an unequal one. Good candidates are likely to see this also as an invitation to discuss the extent to which the relationship changed and whether the quotation might be more appropriate for one period than another. On 'uneasy', candidates might argue that the fairly obvious differences in power and resources made too close a relationship between the powers difficult, though there are significant differences concerning British imperial policy, relations with the European community and on what the special relationship meant. On 'unequal', candidates might argue that while, on one level, it was demonstrably so, there were nevertheless ties of history, common culture and ideology which made the relationship less 'unequal' than demographic, economic or strategic considerations might otherwise have suggested. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of recent work on Anglo-American relations, much of which has suggested that the phrase 'special relationship' is of more sentimental or presentational than practical value.

### AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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### 39 Why did the Conservative party enjoy such electoral success in the 1950s?

Candidates should:

AO1 - present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of British politics in the 1950s. The focus will be on the Conservative party and particularly on its political dominance of the decade. Candidates should know that the Conservatives won three general elections in this period (1951, 1955 and 1959), the last two by substantial majorities. Some may mention that the Conservatives remained in power for thirteen years, though comment is not required after 1959. Candidates are likely to have knowledge of relevant factors such as: the revival of the economy after the so-called 'Years of Austerity'; a decade of substantially rising output; higher real wages (up by more than 25% over the decade) and low unemployment; major expansion of the house-building programme; increased living standards and the expansion of leisure opportunities, particularly, perhaps, the rapid expansion of television viewing. Relevant to mention also that the imbalance between North and South was somewhat reduced by social policies and increased economic opportunities. There is, however, little to suggest that this produced any redrawing of the heartlands of Conservative and of Labour support. In terms of politics, the Conservative exploitation of free-trade opportunities while remaining committed to key elements of the Labour programme, especially mass secondary education and the National Health Service. In terms of personalities, candidates might argue that Churchill (though physically much more frail than the electorate in general knew about) was enjoying delayed credit for his wartime leadership, that Eden, representing continuity though also a change of generation, seemed a more appealing prospect than the now fading Attlee and a more experienced one than Gaitskell and that Macmillan's image of unflappability, cool head in a crisis and also someone benefiting from economic success ensured that a third election victory in a row was presented (not least in a predominantly Tory press) as little more than a formality. Candidates should also be aware of problems within the Labour party. Perhaps Attlee should have resigned earlier. Certainly, the huge rows between Bevanites and the right wing of the party suggested that Labour was far less united than the Conservatives.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the reasons for Conservative electoral dominance from 1951 onwards. Good candidates will see the need to examine both apparent Conservative strengths and Labour weaknesses. Candidates should select from among the factors mentioned in AO1 above, and any others which seem relevant. They will need to decide how far success is attributable to an expanding economy and to growing feelings of well-being and greater prosperity after the so-called 'Years of Austerity'. They might debate the importance of political leadership and whether Labour made mistakes, both in colluding with Attlee's decision to delay retirement and in the choice they made to replace him. They should be aware of the impact of Labour disunity. Some may note that the press was predominantly pro-Conservative and argue that press bias was a factor, especially perhaps in the narrow victory of 1951. Strong candidates are likely to explain which they consider to be the more important factors in explaining Conservative success. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of work on the nature of economic progress in the 1950s or on the impact of the media.

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# 40 'Over-mighty subjects who contributed substantially to Britain's growing economic difficulties in the 1960s and early 1970s.' Assess this judgement on Britain's trade union leaders.

### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of trade-union leadership in the 1960s and early 1970s. The focus will be on the impact of those leaders, and their policies, on the British economy, so there should be some knowledge of the key problems: poor labour productivity leading to decreased competitiveness overseas; the prevalence of 'restrictive practices'; rising levels of inflation; perhaps insufficient labour mobility and investment in new technology. It is not necessary for candidates to recognise the origin of the term 'over-mighty subjects', though some will know it. The phrase should be interpreted as indicating an excess of power which, in the trade union context, might elicit material on the lack of accountability of union leaders within the political process and/or their links with Labour, with the party dependent on trade-union funding. Candidates should be able to identify some of the key union leaders of the period such as Frank Chappell, Frank Cousins (in the cabinet as Minister for Technology 1964–66), Joe Gormley and Mick McGahey. Candidates are likely to concentrate on labour disputes (especially perhaps the Miners' strikes during the Heath government and also on Labour's attempts to work with trade unions, including the Donovan Commission on Labour relations and *In Place of Strife*).

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about a contentious proposition concerning the leaders of the trade union movement. Candidates may well argue that union leaders did have a privileged position, which derived from their Unions' role as paymasters of the Labour party (especially when Labour was in government). Whether they abused that position is a matter for debate. Many candidates will say that they did, citing contemporary phrases about 'holding the country to ransom', 'wildcat strikes' and the rest. The alternative position might suggest that the union leaders generally acted responsibly and were seeking to rectify a strong imbalance in power between capital and labour. In discussing the impact on the economy, most candidates are likely to use evidence cited in AO1 above to indicate that restrictive practices and the rest made Britain less competitive in world markets. Some candidates might argue that problems such as this pale into insignificance compared with conservative managements and inadequate investment. Few would contest the view that Britain's economic difficulties were, indeed, 'growing'. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of literature which evaluates the 'blame' for poor economic performance to be attributed, respectively, to unions, management and government.

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# 41 How much can be said in favour of the prime ministership of *either* James Callaghan *or* John Major?

### Candidates should:

AO1 - present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of either James Callaghan as prime minister (1976-9) or John Major as prime minister (1990–97). The focus will be on selecting material from which a judgment can be made about the extent of his success. Candidates should know: either that Callaghan was PM at a time of considerable turbulence: the need to seek an IMF loan; substantial financial retrenchment; continuing problems in Northern Ireland; lack of a workable majority and Lib-Lab pact; strikes and increasing labour unrest leading to the so-called 'winter of discontent'; rising unemployment, though falling rate of inflation. In foreign/commonwealth affairs: continuing problems in the way of achieving a settlement in Southern Rhodesia; relations with United States and with other members of EU or that John Major was PM at a time of considerable political instability following the 'defenestration' of Margaret Thatcher: trying to unify the Party in the early 1990s and relatively limited success, largely because of continuing conflicts over Europe; his success, against the odds, in the 1992 general election; the economic crisis - short- and long-term impact of 'Black Wednesday' in September 1992; need to submit himself for re-election as party leader; success in that contest does not improve his position in the party; many of his own party consider him a weak leader, an opinion confirmed by the Tories' largest election defeat since 1832 in 1997, whereupon Major resigns immediately.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the success, or otherwise of: either Callaghan as prime minister. Candidates who argue that not much can be said in favour of his primeministership may point to the apparent inability of a ministry headed by a man known to have close links to the Unions to reach a workable compromise on labour relations. Such an approach is likely to lead to a judgement that he failed to prevent the winter of discontent and thus gave the Conservatives an opportunity to win an election they might well have lost (and especially so had Callaghan called it in autumn 1978 rather than waiting for defeat in the Commons in spring 1979). Few achievements in foreign affairs either. A more favourable view of Callaghan might concentrate on the weak hand he inherited from Wilson - no real majority and major economic crisis. It is possible to argue that Callaghan's apparently emollient leadership prevented, or at least delayed, crises, that he was generally popular with the public and that he kept an improbable Lib-Lab alliance on the road. Albeit under IMF diktat, economic policy produced a declining inflation rate and generally adequate husbandry. Similarly, Callaghan had good relations with cabinet colleagues - better, some candidates might suggest, than those experienced by Wilson or Thatcher. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of recent attempts to rehabilitate Callaghan and see him as a necessarily calming influence after the strife of Heath and the paranoia of Wilson. Or Major as Prime Minister. Candidates who argue that not much can be said in favour of his primeministership may point to the catalogue of problems he faced, and failed to face-down, in the 1990s. His reputation as a weak leader could be argued to have been reinforced as his period in the highest office lengthened. Major presided over a humiliating economic crisis in autumn 1992, from which the fortunes of the Conservatives never recovered. Difficult also to argue that British foreign policy could claim many successes either - European policy divided the party; policy in respect of the United States brought few obvious benefits either. Rail privatisation brought more passengers but was carried through hastily and controversially. As a 'pet project' for Major, it is valid to judge his leadership by initiatives such as this, and most experts considered the process far too expensive and anyway inefficient. It is possible, however, to take a much more generous view of Major. Those who do so are likely to argue that he won a personal-style general election

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victory which most commentators thought he would lose, thus buying the Conservatives a fourth consecutive term and, arguably, causing the Labour party to borrow more Conservative clothes than it would otherwise have done. Major could even be said to have been a prime reason why Blair's government was so cautious with business and so 'relaxed' about rising economic inequality. A more likely line of argument, however, is that Major did stay in power for seven years, no mean achievement in itself and that he was trying to lead a party dangerously split on a range of issues, but particularly the extent to which the UK should distance itself from Europe and continue to follow a strongly pro-US policy. Those arguing this could suggest that the emollience of Major (which his opponents thought a weakness after the experience of Thatcher) actually prevented the party from splitting altogether. Despite the disaster of 1997, the Conservatives lived to fight other days and for this Major may be said to deserve more credit than he has normally received. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of biographies of Major which attempt to defend him from the charge of weakness and of being carried along by a tide of events which he could not control.

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# 42 Why, in the 1980s, did Margaret Thatcher attract both such strong support and such deep opposition?

### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of Thatcher's career in the 1980s. The focus will be on the controversial nature of her leadership. Candidates are likely to know about: monetarism as a controversial economic policy and its effects in dividing the country (very crudely between Scotland and the North on one side and the Midlands and the South on the other); rising unemployment; Falklands War; crisis in relations with Northern Ireland – hunger strikes etc.; tackling the Unions, including the Miners' Strike 1984–85; conflict with the EU over rebate and discussions about moves towards greater unity; divisions within the party, including the resignation of Heseltine and conflict with Lawson over economic policy.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the reasons why Thatcher was a controversial prime minister. Candidates are likely to argue that the apparently unswerving implementation of monetarist policies was deeply controversial; Thatcher's confrontational style also polarised opinion; seemed to provoke disagreement and conflict, rejecting 'middle-of-the road' policies. Opponents saw her policies as unnecessarily brutal and anyway wrong-headed. Supporters argued that Thatcher's medicine was exactly what the country needed after two decades of drift. Supporters also argued that the Falklands War was necessary and increased Britain's standing in the world; opponents that it wasn't and didn't. Opponents also argued that Thatcher's foreign policy was excessively pro-American. Candidates may select as they wish but the focus should be on the reasons why her policies produced such strong reactions. Some will attempt to suggest which were the most important factors in explaining controversy. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates are likely to be aware that Thatcher's leadership style would divide contemporaries as well as (slightly) later commentators. Her own explanation of the need for strong medicine and her attack on the professions produced a strong oppositional reaction from many intelligent folk in the arts and professions. Perhaps the most recent assessments are more measured.

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### Section 9: Themes: c. 1914–2000

# 43 How substantial were the changes in the state's educational provision in the years 1918–c. 1970?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of an important theme. The theme here is change and development in state education and candidates should select material which enables them to discuss how it operated. Candidates are likely to concentrate on the impact of the Fisher Act (1918) and raising the school leaving age, the impact of government cuts in the 1920s, the Spens Report of 1938 and the Butler Act (1944) which followed it, establishing free primary and secondary education, abolishing elementary education and raising the school leaving age to 15 (achieved in 1947), the impact of selection for grammar and secondary modern schools and the development of a 'comprehensive' system of education from the 1950s. Candidates should be aware that primary responsibility for educational provision in the state sector was the local education authority and that this meant that change was achieved quicker in some places than others.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the extent and importance of changes in educational provision in this period. Candidates are likely to argue that the State introduced much major legislation over the period and that much of it was significant both in intent and effect. Children were educated freely, for longer and with a requirement for 'secondary' as well as 'primary' education. Against that, however, they might argue that the potential for rapid change which the Fisher Act offered was affected by government expenditure cuts, although these were not so great as had been recommended by Geddes in 1922. They might also suggest that the Butler Act quickly proved controversial, partly because selection at 11+ was unpopular, especially with 'failures' and their parents. Also, the system worked inconsistently because some LEAs 'passed' a larger proportion of 11-year-olds than others. The Act failed to stimulate the opening of many' secondary technical' schools and some candidates may argue that the opportunity to introduce parity of esteem between academic and vocational education was missed. Some might also argue that education for the minority of children who thrived in grammar schools was excellent and rivalled that produced in private education, but that the majority (including those who struggled in grammar schools) were given fewer opportunities for advancement that educationists wanted. Some might also argue that the introduction of comprehensive education had by 1970 been a messy and piecemeal process. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of recent work on the early impact of comprehensive education, including why this form of education was itself criticised from the early stages of its implementation.

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### 44 When, in twentieth-century Britain, was the popular press at its most influential?

Candidates should:

AO1 - present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of an important theme. The theme here is the popular press and the impact of newspapers on British society in the twentieth century. Candidates should be able to name key popular newspapers, such as the Daily Express, the Daily Mirror and the Daily Mail and also be aware that the newspaper industry expanded substantially in this period. Well-informed candidates should note that the most popular newspapers increased their circulation three or four times over this period. Candidates should indicate the importance of newspapers with radio in its early stages and television only just beginning. Relevant to mention, as examples of substantial influence: how the newspapers covered the two world wars; their political orientation and their influence with voters (as, for example, in the publication of the Zinoviev letter in 1924). Popular newspapers also willingly embraced a duty to entertain as well as inform and candidates can discuss their influence in giving readers news of film stars and other 'celebrities'. Some candidates may wish to discuss the impact of newspapers in respect of stimulating the advertising industry.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about when the popular press exercised greatest influence. Most are likely to argue that the influence was substantial for much of the century. In the early part of the century, this was because of the absence of alternative sources of up-to-date news and also because of new efforts made to sell newspapers to their readers. These efforts included research on 'targeting' and innovative ways of making news both accessible and, as appropriate, racy. Good candidates are likely to discuss the extent to which popular newspapers flourished at a time when mass democracy became a reality. They may argue that the press was at its most influential in the early part of the century when catering entertainingly for a newlyeducated mass population. Other periods are, of course, possible and some may suggest that the popular press was particularly influential in the late twentieth century when feeding off other forms of popular entertainment to sustain a celebrity culture. Some, perhaps more seriousminded, candidates might concentrate on political influence and note the significance of a predominantly right-wing press. It is also possible to argue that a combination of censorship and restrictions on availability of newsprint (especially in World War 2) made newspapers less reliable at this time although, as some shrewd candidates might note, this did not necessarily make them less influential. Nevertheless, the rapid growth of radio from the early 20s produced formidable competition for newspapers and perhaps accelerated the process by which popular newspapers increasingly put the emphasis on entertainment news and gossip rather than on high politics, since these sold. Against this, the clear political biases of Express and Mirror (especially after c. 1935) may cause some candidates to argue that the influence of the popular press lay predominantly in influencing the political views of those not in the elite. The example of the outcome of the 1992 general election could be cited as an instance when an anti-Labour press was particularly influential. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of studies of particular newspapers, especially, perhaps, the Mirror.

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# 45 In what ways, and to what extent, did leisure opportunities for working people increase in the second half of the twentieth century?

### Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of an important theme. The theme here is the growth of leisure after the Second World War. Candidates should be aware of rapidly rising real incomes for the working and middle classes, especially from the 1950s. Candidates are likely to make reference to some, or most, of the following: rapid increase in television (with the Coronation in 1953 as some kind of watershed), including more channels and a greater emphasis on entertainment; the established leisure and entertainment opportunities provided by the radio and the cinema; the increase in paid holidays; attendance at sporting events, especially association football; the movement away from holiday weeks or fortnights at British resorts and, from the 1960s, cheaper package holidays (including flights) to Europe and, by 1980, increasingly to the Americas. At home, shopping for luxuries became an increasingly popular activity. Technological change itself might be cited as an example of leisure opportunity from the 1980s, as increasing time was being spent with PCs and computer games. Candidates might wish to place emphasis on a revolution in popular culture, especially via rock (stronger on rhythm than on either melody or form) and on young people as increasingly knowledgeable and selective consumers.

AO2 - be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about leisure opportunities and, especially, on how far these increased in the second half of the twentieth century. It will be difficult for candidates to deny that a combination of greater disposable income, usually low levels of unemployment, technological change and effective marketing provided working people far greater opportunities by the 1970s (despite inflation and rising unemployment) than had been possible in the 'austerityladen' years immediately after 1945. Some candidates will, however, argue that improvement was uneven. Perhaps younger people benefited most; perhaps family responsibilities and a continued search for 'respectability' constrained many in the older generation. Nevertheless, the huge expansion in car ownership from the 1960s clearly liberated many working people, making 'a nice Sunday run' a newly enjoyable experience. Some candidates might note that leisure opportunities began earlier and expanded faster for most of this period in the South and East than in the North of England and Central Scotland. Geographical diversity of opportunity is relevant. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of recent work on the impact of youth culture.

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# 46 How did social and technological change affect opportunities for women in the years after 1945?

## Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of an important theme. The theme here is the impact of technological change on the lives of women since c. 1945. Candidates should have knowledge of: the wider availability of labour-saving devices (especially, perhaps, washing machines and vacuum cleaners); changing patterns of labour (with the expansion of the service sector and fewer occupations requiring substantial manual strength); relevant legislation (including that on equal pay and sex discrimination); social changes might include: the relative decline of the nuclear family, the increase in the number of single-parent families (the great majority of which were headed by women) and the substantial increase in the proportion of married women who remained in the labour force (either part-time or full-time). The total female labour force increased over this period from c. 7m to c. 11m, while the numbers of married women increased from c. 2.5m to c. 7m.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the changing roles of, and opportunities for, women from the end of the Second World War. On opportunities, most candidates will argue that women had far more opportunities open to them. It is, of course, possible to argue that the impact of peer pressure forced some women into employment and, thus, away from full-time child care. Against this, greater availability of labour-saving devices enabled more women to spend less time on the drudgery aspects of domestic work. Candidates could argue that legislation gave women more options and helped contribute to the greater contribution made directly by women to economic growth and productivity. Some candidates might argue that new opportunities have not necessarily changed the status of women and that legislation has not secured equal pay for equal work in many occupations. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of the impact of feminist historiography. Many consider the positive benefits enjoyed by women as a consequence of social and technological change to have been limited.

AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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47 Explain why, in the second half of the twentieth century, all political parties were concerned to express their support for the continuation of the welfare state.

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of an important theme. The theme here is the welfare state and the specific focus a discussion of the reasons why it received such extensive crossparty support. Candidates should know about key aspects of the Welfare State since 1946, including: concept of universality of provision; the range of benefits designed to be catered for by NI contributions; National Assistance replacing the poor laws; the commitment to medical treatment free at point of use; the availability of doctors within the NHS. Some candidates will want to identify key changes to the NHS, including reorganisation in 1973 and the establishment of Trusts and GP control of budgets in an attempt to ape private-sector practices. Candidates should show awareness that, although the NHS was a central plank in Beveridge's concept of a 'welfare state', much more was involved in terms of welfare provision. Some candidates will identify other features, such as the development of a graduated state pension and the legality of abortion.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the reasons for the apparent uniformity of view among political parties about the need to preserve a 'welfare state'. Many candidates will argue that attempts to change provision (unless by extending it) were politically impossible because of the inter-war legacy of need and patchy provision. The idea of universal provision was also powerful as a political slogan. For some candidates, support for welfare will be seen as part of the 'Butskellite consensus' which militated against radical divergence of opinion on a range of social issues. Some good candidates may argue that, even when the welfare state became demonstrably much more expensive and deficiencies of management became apparent, 'welfare' retained a totemic appeal, requiring even the most sceptical of politicians to assert that 'the welfare state' was safe with them. It was also difficult to gainsay the view that living standards, longevity and the overall quality of life all improved substantially in the generation after the Welfare State was established. Good candidates might note, nevertheless, the importance of changes which saw a larger proportion of the population relying on private insurance and private treatment and also radical changes in the way the NHS, in particular, was organised. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of discussion about topics which exceed normal levels of political importance because they seem in some way to symbolise a shared national identity.

### AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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# 48 Why, in the period 1945 to c. 2000, was immigration to Britain the cause of frequent political controversy?

Candidates should:

AO1 - present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge of an important theme. The theme here is immigration to Britain and the specific focus should be the impact which immigration had within Britain. The question refers to 'social tension' as well as to controversy, so candidates should include material which indicates why many in Britain were apprehensive about immigration and also why questions such as the nature and numbers of immigrants caused considerable political debate. Candidates should know about the main chronology of immigration, especially in response to the British Nationalities Act (1948) which conferred the status of 'British subject' on all Commonwealth citizens. The early phase of immigration brought black citizens, especially from the West Indies. Later immigrant groups included Asians from East Africa (particularly late 1960s and early 1970s). Candidates should know that unrestricted immigration was halted by the Commonwealth Immigrants Act (1962) and the Immigration Act (1971). They should also know about the British Nationality Act (1981) and the articulation of three separate categories of citizen. The 1988 Immigration Act further tightened controls. Candidates are likely to know about the impact of Enoch Powell in the late 1960s and especially his 'rivers of blood speech' (1968). They should also be aware of instances of rioting which had racial origins - at least in part. These include those in Notting Hill (1958), St Pauls, Bristol (1980), Birmingham and London (1985). Candidates might also note that racial hostility appears to have declined as prosperity increased and particularly, perhaps, in the 1990s. Candidates should select material which relates to the issue of immigration specifically, and not to racial minorities in Britain, most of whose members are no longer specifically 'immigrants'.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and of arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the focus is on reaching a judgement about the reasons why immigration became a controversial issue, which sometimes raised levels of social tension. A number of possible reasons are likely to be adduced, including: the scale of immigration; the broad distinction (allowing large number of specific differences both of reaction and over time) between left-wing parties which tended to be more welcoming of immigrants and right-wing ones, which tended to be more cautious; fears among host communities that newcomers would 'steal' jobs or at least accept lower wages; sheer prejudice and/or fear of 'the other'; genuine disagreement among the established parties about how many immigrants could be absorbed into Britain in a short space of time; the extent to which Britain should recognise obligations to ex-colonial or Commonwealth citizens who were in difficulty or danger in the countries of their birth; the growth of extremist elements in existing parties (perhaps particularly the far right in the Conservative party in the 1960s and 1970s) and the development of new, fringe parties and groups (particularly the National Front and the British National Party). Good candidates should indicate which of factors such as this were the most important and may also explain why social tensions tended to be greatest in working-class areas of larger cities and also the effects of restricting immigration from the 1960s onwards. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. In this question, some candidates may be aware of work which examines the experience of immigration from the immigrant perspective and writings which explain why immigration became somewhat less controversial at the end of the twentieth century. Good candidates should make clear distinctions between immigration, particularly of ethnic minorities, which is relevant to this question, and second- and thirdgeneration ethnic minorities in British society who are not themselves 'immigrants'. This is a question primarily about the impact of immigration rather than about racism.

AO3 [Not applicable to Outlines]

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