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EDEXCEL AS AND A LEVEL HISTORY: QUESTIONS BY TOPIC

Option 39.1: Civil rights and race relations in the USA, 1850–2009

AS and A Level History · Paper 3 · Option 39.1

40 questions · 800 marks · Mark schemes included

Pearson Edexcel AS (8HI0) and A Level (9HI0) History, June 2016 - June 2025

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HOW TO USE THIS BOOKLET

Questions are grouped by specification sub-topic; within each sub-topic they run from the lowest mark tariff to the highest.

Click any heading or question row below to jump straight to it.

On every question page, click ANSWER in the top-right corner to jump to its mark scheme.

Diagrams, graphs, tables and data are printed exactly as they appeared in the original papers.

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7 questions · 140 marks

44

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2 questions · 40 marks

53

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QUESTIONS

40 questions · 800 marks · grouped by sub-topic, lowest tariff first



ASPECTS IN BREADTH

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION, MIGRATION AND PATTERNS OF SEGREGATION

8 questions in this sub-topic · 160 marks · lowest tariff first



-
- 7** How far do you agree that the First Great Migration (c1910–30) can be regarded as the most significant change in the pattern of black settlement in the USA in the period 1850–2009?

(Total for Question 7 = 20 marks)



- 7 'The inner-city riots in Watts in 1965 were the most damaging obstacle to desegregation in the USA in the years 1850–2009.'

How far do you agree with this statement?

(Total for Question 7 = 20 marks)



- 7 'The outcome of the Civil War for black Americans in 1865 was the key turning point in the changing geography of civil rights issues in the USA in the years 1850-2009'.

How far do you agree with this statement?

(Total for Question 7 = 20 marks)



-
- 7** 'The impact of attitudes towards segregation was the most significant reason for the changing pattern of migration of black Americans in the years 1850–2009.'

How far do you agree with this judgement?

(Total for Question 7 = 20 marks)



-
- 7** How far do you agree that push factors were more important than pull factors in explaining the changing geographical distribution of black Americans in the years 1850–2009?

(Total for Question 7 = 20 marks)



-
- 7** How far do you agree that the First Great Migration (c1910–30) was the key turning point in the changing pattern of segregation of black Americans in the 20th century?

(Total for Question 7 = 20 marks)



-
- 7** How far do you agree that the development of Levitt estates in the 1950s was the most important factor in changing patterns of segregation in the USA in the years 1910–2009?

(Total for Question 7 = 20 marks)



- 7 'The requirements of industry were the most significant reason for the changing geographical distribution of black Americans in the years 1850–2009.'

How far do you agree with this statement?

(Total for Question 7 = 20 marks)



ASPECTS IN BREADTH

ATTITUDES TO RACE IN LITERATURE, FILM, ART AND MEDIA

8 questions in this sub-topic · 160 marks · lowest tariff first



- 8 How far did the repression of black Americans portrayed in photographs, films and television produce changes in the attitudes of white Americans towards race in the period 1850–2009?

(Total for Question 8 = 20 marks)



- 8 How far was the publication of *To Kill a Mockingbird* in 1960 the key turning point in the shaping of white attitudes towards race relations in the United States in the years 1850–2009?

(Total for Question 8 = 20 marks)



- 8 How accurate is it to say that the 1977 television mini-series *Roots* was the key turning point in changing perceptions of black Americans in the years 1850-2009?

(Total for Question 8 = 20 marks)



- 8 'Malcolm X (1992) was the most significant film in changing the perceptions of race among movie audiences in the years c1900–2009.'

How far do you agree with this statement?

(Total for Question 8 = 20 marks)



- 8 How accurate is it to say that the publication of *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1960) marked the key turning point in the portrayal of race relations in novels in the years 1850–2009?

(Total for Question 8 = 20 marks)



- 8 How accurate is it to say that film was the most significant medium influencing changes in attitudes towards race relations in the years 1850–2009?

(Total for Question 8 = 20 marks)



- 8 'It was paintings, photographs and lithographs produced in the years 1850–80 that contributed most to changing perceptions of race relations in the USA in the years 1850–2009.'

How far do you agree with this statement?

(Total for Question 8 = 20 marks)



- 8 'The Birth of a Nation' (1915) was the key turning point in changing the attitudes of white Americans to the black American struggle for civil rights.'

How far do you agree with this statement about the impact of films in the years c1910–2009?

(Total for Question 8 = 20 marks)



ASPECTS IN DEPTH

RECONSTRUCTION, 1865-77

4 questions in this sub-topic · 80 marks · lowest tariff first



-
- 3** 'Constitutional Amendments introduced during the Reconstruction period significantly improved the position of black Americans in the years 1865–77'

How far do you agree with this statement?

(Total for Question 3 = 20 marks)



-
- 3** How far do you agree that it was federal government Reconstruction measures that were most responsible for improving the lives of black Americans in the years 1865-77?

(Total for Question 3 = 20 marks)



-
- 3** 'In the years 1865–77, it was the violent activities of white supremacist groups that had the most damaging impact on the civil rights of black Americans in the South.'

How far do you agree with this statement?

(Total for Question 3 = 20 marks)



-
- 3** How far do you agree that it was the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments that were most responsible for improving the lives of black Americans in the years 1865–77?

(Total for Question 3 = 20 marks)



ASPECTS IN DEPTH

BACKLASH AND JIM CROW, 1877-1900S

4 questions in this sub-topic · 80 marks · lowest tariff first



Option 39.1: Civil rights and race relations in the USA, 1850–2009

Study Source 1 in the Sources Booklet before you answer this question.

- 1** Assess the value of the source for revealing the extent of racist attitudes in the South and the relationship between the federal government and southern states in the 1890s.

Explain your answer, using the source, the information given about its origin and your own knowledge about the historical context.

(Total for Question 1 = 20 marks)

Sources for use with Section A.

Answer the question in Section A on the option for which you have been prepared.

Option 39.1: Civil rights and race relations in the USA, 1850–2009

Source for use with Question 1.

Source 1: From a speech made by Ida B. Wells at a church in Boston, Massachusetts, 'Lynch Law In All Its Phases', 13 February 1893. The speaker was a black American journalist from Memphis, Tennessee, who had seen the violent lynching of some of her friends in 1892. Here, she assesses federal and state government responses to lynching.

In the past ten years over a thousand black men, women and children have been butchered, murdered and burnt in all parts of the South. The details of these horrible outrages seldom reach beyond the narrow world where they occur. Those who commit the murders write the reports. The victims were black, and the reports are so written as to make it appear that the helpless creatures deserved their fate. This was not so with the Italian lynching of 1891. The chief of police of New Orleans was shot and some Italians were charged with murder. These were not black men, and three of them were not even US citizens. They were all tried and the jury acquitted them. The good, law-abiding citizens of New Orleans thereupon took them from the jail and lynched them. A feeling of horror ran through the nation at this outrage. All Europe was amazed. The Italian government demanded compensation, and the Federal Government promised to give the matter due consideration. The power of the Federal Government to protect its own and foreign citizens was put to the test. 5

When the US State Department called upon the authorities of Louisiana for investigation of the crime and punishment of the criminals, the United States government was told that the crime was strictly within the authority of the State of Louisiana, and Louisiana would attend to it. After a farcical investigation, the usual verdict in such cases was given: 'Death at the hand of parties unknown to the jury,' the same verdict which has been pronounced over the bodies of over 1,000 black persons! Our Federal Government has thus admitted that it has no jurisdiction over the crimes committed in New Orleans upon citizens of the country, nor upon foreign citizens. 10

Not only has our Federal Government made the confession that one of the states is greater than the Union, but it has paid \$25,000 of the people's money to Italy for the lynching of those three Italians. This is the evil-doing of one State, over which the Federal Government has no control, but for whose lawlessness the whole country must pay. The principle involved in the right of State jurisdiction in such matters was settled long ago. 15

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- 3** 'The exclusion of black Americans from the vote was the most damaging setback to their fight for civil rights in the years 1883–c1900'.

How far do you agree with this statement?

(Total for Question 3 = 20 marks)



-
- 3** 'In the years to 1900, it was the Supreme Court that was most responsible for undermining the rights that black Americans had gained from Reconstruction.'

How far do you agree with this statement?

(Total for Question 3 = 20 marks)



Opinion on civil rights and race relations in the US, 1890-1900

Study Source 1 in the Sources Booklet before you answer this question.

- 1 Assess the value of the source for revealing the US federal government approach to racial discrimination and the issues of racial separation in the late 19th century raised by Plessy v. Ferguson (1896).

Explain your answer, using the source, the information given about its origin and your own knowledge about the historical context.

(Total for Question 1 = 20 marks)



Sources for use with Section A.

Answer the question in Section A on the option for which you have been prepared.

Option 39.1: Civil rights and race relations in the USA, 1850–2009**Source for use with Question 1.**

Source 1: From the opinion of Justice John Marshall Harlan regarding the case of Plessy v. Ferguson, issued May 1896. Here Harlan is discussing the ruling of his fellow Supreme Court justices.

The ruling in Plessy v. Ferguson is inconsistent with equality of rights of citizenship and with the personal liberty enjoyed by everyone within the USA.

The Thirteenth Amendment did not permit withholding any right of freedom. It not only halted the institution of slavery but it prevented the imposition of any laws that constitute slavery by another name. The Fourteenth Amendment greatly advanced the authority of American citizenship and personal liberty by declaring that 'No state shall deny to any person the equal protection of the laws.' These two Amendments, if enforced according to their true intent, will protect all the civil rights of freedom and citizenship. 5

Finally, so that no citizen should be denied because of his race the privilege of participating in the democratic system, the Fifteenth Amendment declared that 'the right of citizens to vote shall not be limited by the USA or by any state on account of race, colour, or previous servitude.' 10

These notable Amendments were welcomed by the friends of liberty worldwide. They removed the race issue from our governmental systems. In 1883, this Court confirmed that 'the law in the states shall be the same for black as for white; that all persons shall stand equal before the law, that no discrimination shall be made against them by law because of their colour.' 15

In the eyes of the law, there is in this country no superior ruling class of citizens. Our constitution is colour blind, and does not tolerate different status among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law. The separation of citizens on the basis of race, while they are on public transport, is a sign of servitude wholly inconsistent with the civil rights established by the Constitution. It cannot be justified upon any legal grounds. 20

The ruling in this case will poison relations between the races. Nothing can more certainly arouse race hate and distrust between races, than a state law, namely the 1890 Separate Car Act, that ignores the Constitutional Amendments. For the Act, and a number of our other state laws, assume that Black Americans are so inferior and dishonoured that they cannot be allowed to sit in public coaches occupied by white citizens. 25 30



ASPECTS IN DEPTH

BLACK AMERICANS AND THE NEW DEAL, 1933-41

7 questions in this sub-topic · 140 marks · lowest tariff first



- 4 How far was the influence of southern whites in the Democratic Party the chief cause of the failure to address the grievances of black Americans during the New Deal years, 1933–41?

(Total for Question 4 = 20 marks)



Opportunity, civil rights and race relations in the USA, 1933-1965

Study Source 1 in the Sources Booklet before you answer this question.

- 1** Assess the value of the source for revealing the nature of race relations in Chicago in the 1930s and the impact of New Deal welfare on black Americans.

Explain your answer, using the source, the information given about its origin and your own knowledge about the historical context.

(Total for Question 1 = 20 marks)



Sources for use with Section A.

Answer the question in Section A on the option for which you have been prepared.

Option 39.1: Civil rights and race relations in the USA, 1850–2009**Source for use with Question 1.**

Source 1: From Studs Terkel, *Hard Times, an Oral History of the Great Depression*, published 1970. Terkel interviewed Horace Cayton, a sociologist, author and former Deputy Sheriff. During the Depression Cayton went to Chicago. Here Cayton is describing his impressions of Chicago in the 1930s.

I'll tell you how naïve I was when I first got to Chicago. I told the taxi driver to take me to the best Negro hotel. He looked at me like I was a fool. He took me to the only hotel he knew. It was a whorehouse. I was never so hurt in my life. My grandfather was the first black senator from Mississippi. I had a romantic notion about black culture, the cabarets, the jazz. 5

Once, when I was eating lunch, I saw a group of Negroes marching by. Not loud and boisterous. These people had a destination, had a purpose. I joined on the back and said to the chap next to me, 'Where are we going?' He said, 'We just gonna put some people back in their homes. They were evicted.'

It was a ramshackle building. A solid crowd of blacks had formed and they were talking great. They also used to have these 'indignation' meetings down South, where Negroes just let off steam because they couldn't contain themselves from the injustice that had been done. There they'd lock the doors and curse out white people. Here in Chicago there was action. The police came from all directions, like gangbusters, with clubs flying. I had never really felt the Depression and what it had done to human beings until then. 10 15

In spite of the Depression, there was hope. There were so many whites on relief. So, the Negro would look and he wouldn't see any great difference. Oh, there was a difference during the New Deal: more Negroes on unskilled work than on skilled jobs. But if Negroes were on relief, so were whites, so we're gonna have a better day. That was the feeling. 20

Roosevelt was something. He broke the tradition. They didn't go for Roosevelt much in 1932. But the WPA* came along and Roosevelt came to be a god. You worked, you got a paycheck. Even when a man raked leaves, he got paid, he had some dignity. When they got on the WPA they'd buy some clothes and try to get a little better place to live. The next thing was to get your teeth fixed. When you are poor, you let your teeth go. 25

*WPA – Works Progress Administration, a New Deal agency to provide jobs on public works programmes

- 4 How accurate is it to say that the New Deal brought no substantial change to the employment status and working conditions of black Americans in the years 1933–41?

(Total for Question 4 = 20 marks)



Explain how civil rights and race relations in the USA, 1933-1941

Study Source 1 in the Sources Booklet before you answer this question.

- 1 Assess the value of the source for revealing the way that Jim Crow Laws were applied on public transportation during the period of the New Deal and the failure to address the grievances of black Americans concerning public transportation.

Explain your answer, using the source, the information given about its origin and your own knowledge about the historical context.

(Total for Question 1 = 20 marks)



Sources for use with Section A.

Answer the question in Section A on the option for which you have been prepared.

Option 39.1: Civil rights and race relations in the USA, 1850–2009**Source for use with Question 1.**

Source 1: From *The Carolina Times* newspaper, published 6 April 1940. The newspaper was the most widely circulated African-American newspaper in North Carolina. It was distributed across the state and to the rest of the South as one of the most powerful voices for black Americans.

Every black person is aware that the Greyhound Bus Company practises subtle discrimination against black customers in the North. However, it practises brutal discourtesy towards them in the Southern states. This policy was contested in a dramatic incident at Petersburg, Virginia this week, resulting in legal action.	5
Pauli Murray and Mae McBean, two black women from New York, were arrested and thrown into prison on Saturday following a dispute with the bus driver. The young women were on their way to North Carolina.	
After the bus crossed the state line into Virginia, several people got off and the remaining passengers, both black and white, moved forward. The black people moved for more comfortable seats, the whites to make room for black people boarding the bus. Misses Murray and McBean moved forward one row, but found the seat damaged, so moved forward again, still only four rows from the back.	10
Here the fun began! The driver charged at them with the fury of an outraged bulldog, ordering them to move back. Bewildered at his behaviour, Pauli tried intelligent persuasion. Holding up the Union flag under which her grandfather had fought in Petersburg, perhaps on the identical spot, she asked a rapid series of legal questions concerning the policies of the bus company. She pointed out that she was still in the Jim Crow section. Mae added that she was ill and was entitled to every comfort that should be given to a passenger who had paid for separate but equal accommodation. The driver threatened them both with arrest if they did not move.	15 20
Pauli threatened to call upon the legal services of the NAACP, the 14th Amendment and the US Supreme Court. The driver left the bus and returned with two huge local policemen. Several white passengers expressed sympathy over the fact that one of the ladies was ill. The black passengers remained quiet, fearing to speak up. Eventually, the two women moved back one row and the journey resumed.	25
However, when the two women were leaving the bus, the driver, ignoring black passengers, distributed witness cards to white passengers. When Pauli questioned this action, the driver again left the bus. He returned with two police officers, who arrested the two women. Mae fainted and was taken to hospital before joining her companion in prison. In their trial for 'violation of the segregation laws', their defence is being supported by the NAACP.	30 35

3 'New Deal legislation barely changed the lives of black Americans in the USA.'

How far do you agree with this statement?

(Total for Question 3 = 20 marks)



Opportunity, civil rights and race relations in the USA, 1933-1965

Study Source 1 in the Sources Booklet before you answer this question.

- 1 Assess the value of the source for revealing the limited impact of the Agricultural Adjustment Act on Southern black Americans and the problems faced by migrants to Northern cities.

Explain your answer, using the source, the information given about its origin and your own knowledge about the historical context.

(Total for Question 1 = 20 marks)



Sources for use with Section A.

Answer the question in Section A on the option for which you have been prepared.

Option 39.1: Civil rights and race relations in the USA, 1850–2009**Source for use with Question 1.**

Source 1: From Richard Wright, *12 Million Black Voices*, published 1941. Wright was a black American author and editor of a communist newspaper in New York. Much of his writing concerned racial themes, especially focusing on the plight of black Americans during the New Deal era.

We hear talk of a government in far-away Washington that desires the welfare of all. We hear it wants to help us with its Agricultural Adjustment Act, but we are too far down the social ladder for government to reach us. In the South, the AAA is run by the landowners we have known all our lives, on behalf of the white man, forming a wall between us and the government. So, we are leaving! 5
We are angry no more!

We take one last look at the landowner's house, and feel glad that we are leaving. For years, we have heard that, all over the world, men are leaving the land for the city, so we are leaving too.

Our hearts are glad as we move northward. What emotions we feel as, from the train, we glimpse the sliding waters of the Ohio. It is more than a river. It is a symbol, a line running through our hearts, dividing hope from despair, just as once it cut through the nation, dividing freedom from slavery. The miles stretch behind us. Into Chicago, New York, Pittsburgh we go, looking for work. We feel freer than we have ever felt, but we are still a little scared. Timidly, we leave the train and board our first bus in the North. We have been told we can sit where we please, but we are still scared. 10 15

Our eyes cloud with bewilderment when we learn that there are not enough houses for us to live in. And competing with us for shelter are thousands of poor whites who have come up from the rural South, just as we have. 20

Gigantic companies will not employ our daughters as clerks; huge department stores will not employ our young women as saleswomen. Technical colleges refuse entry to our sons and great corporations refuse to employ them. Bosses decide that we must be porters, cooks and general servants.

We countryfolk now live behind the factories, beside steel mills, next to coal yards. White people say we are destructive, and therefore do not want us in their neighbourhoods. They say our presence lowers the value of their property. 25

Boards of education twist the boundary lines of school districts so that our children are legally 'jim-crowed'. Local governors reduce services in our districts: our streets go unlit at night; rubbish piles up in our alleyways; pavements fall into disrepair. 30

-
- 3** 'Segregation was the chief cause of grievances expressed by black Americans in the New Deal years (1933–41).'

How far do you agree with this statement?

(Total for Question 3 = 20 marks)



ASPECTS IN DEPTH

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, 1954-68

7 questions in this sub-topic · 140 marks · lowest tariff first



- 4 How accurate is it to say that it was primarily internal divisions within the civil rights movement that damaged the cause of civil rights for black Americans in the years 1960–68?

(Total for Question 4 = 20 marks)



- 4 How accurate is it to say that the status of black people in the United States changed very little in the years 1954–63?

(Total for Question 4 = 20 marks)



Opinion essay: civil rights and race relations in the USA, 1954-68

Study Source 1 in the Sources Booklet before you answer this question.

- 1 Assess the value of the source for revealing the reasons for civil rights protests in the USA in the mid-1950s and the principles on which Martin Luther King based his methods of protest.

Explain your answer, using the source, the information given about its origin and your own knowledge about the historical context.

(Total for Question 1 = 20 marks)



Sources for use with Section A.

Answer the question in Section A on the option for which you have been prepared.

Option 39.1: Civil rights and race relations in the USA, 1850–2009**Source for use with Question 1.**

Source 1: From a speech by Dr Martin Luther King Jr in support of the Montgomery Improvement Association at the Holt Street Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, 5 December 1955. Five thousand people attended this meeting.

We're here this evening because first and foremost, we are American citizens in name, and we are determined to acquire our citizenship in practice. We are also here because of our deep-seated belief that the greatest form of government is democracy transformed from theories written on paper to practical action. There comes a time when people get tired. We are here to say to those who have mistreated us for so long that we are tired – tired of being segregated and humiliated; tired of being kicked by the brutal feet of oppression. 5

We have no alternative but to protest. For many years, we have shown amazing patience. We have sometimes given our white brothers the feeling that we liked the way we were treated. But we come here tonight to be saved from this patience that tolerates anything less than freedom and justice. One of the great glories of American democracy is the right to protest for right. 10

But don't let anybody compare our actions with the Ku Klux Klan or with the White Citizens' Council. These organisations are protesting for the continuation of injustice; we are protesting for the birth of justice. Their methods lead to violence and lawlessness. But in our protest there will be no cross burnings. No white person will be taken from his home by a hooded Negro mob and brutally murdered. Our method will be that of persuasion, not brutality. Our actions must be guided by the word of our Lord. Hear the words of Jesus echoing across the centuries, 'Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, and pray for them that hurt you.' If we fail to do this, our protest will end up as meaningless. We must not become bitter, and end up by hating our white brothers. 15 20

We are not wrong in what we are doing. If we are wrong, the Supreme Court of this nation is wrong. If we are wrong, the Constitution of the United States is wrong. If we are wrong, God Almighty is wrong. 25

If you will protest with courage, and yet with dignity and Christian love, future historians will say, 'There lived a great black people who injected new meaning and dignity into the veins of civilisation.' This is our challenge and our overwhelming responsibility. 30

- 4 'It was the activities of SNCC and CORE that were mainly responsible for improvements in the lives of black Americans in the years 1957-68.'

How far do you agree with this statement?

(Total for Question 4 = 20 marks)



Option 39.1: Civil rights and race relations in the USA, 1850–2009

Study Source 1 in the Sources Booklet before you answer this question.

- 1** Assess the value of the source for revealing the obstacles to the achievement of democratic rights faced by black Americans and the methods used by President Johnson to achieve civil rights for these citizens.

Explain your answer, using the source, the information given about its origin and your own knowledge about the historical context.

(Total for Question 1 = 20 marks)

Sources for use with Section A.

Answer the question in Section A on the option for which you have been prepared.

Option 39.1: Civil rights and race relations in the USA, 1850–2009

Source for use with Question 1.

Source 1: From President Johnson's special message to Congress on civil rights, delivered 15 March 1965. Johnson had submitted a Voting Rights bill to Congress in January 1965.

In our time we have come to live with moments of great crisis. Rarely does an issue reveal the secret heart of America itself – the values, purposes and meaning of our beloved Nation. The issue of equal rights for black Americans is such an issue.

There is no black problem. There is no Southern problem. There is no Northern problem. There is only an American problem. And we are meeting here tonight as Americans – not as Democrats or Republicans – we are meeting here as Americans to solve that problem. 5

Many of the issues of civil rights are very complex and most difficult. But about this there can and should be no argument. Every American citizen must have an equal right to vote. There is no reason that can excuse the denial of that right. Yet the harsh fact is that, in many places in this country, men and women are kept from voting simply because they are black. 10

Many underhand methods have been used to deny this right. The black citizen may go to register only to be told that the day is wrong, or the hour is late, or the official in charge is absent. And if the black citizen persists, and if he manages to present himself to the registrar of voters, he may be disqualified because he did not spell out his middle name or because he abbreviated a word on the application. And if he manages to fill out an application, the black citizen is given a test. The registrar is the only judge of whether he passes this test. The black citizen may be asked to recite the entire Constitution or explain the most complex provisions of State law. 15 20

Experience has clearly shown that the existing process of law cannot overcome systematic and determined discrimination. No civil rights law that we now have – and I have helped to pass three such laws – can ensure the right to vote when local officials are determined to deny it. In such a case our duty must be clear to all of us. The Constitution says that no person shall be kept from voting because of his race or his colour. We have all sworn an oath before God to support and to defend that Constitution. We must now act in obedience to that oath. There must be no delay. 25 30



- 4 'The status of black people in American society changed very little in the years 1957-68.'

How far do you agree with this statement?

(Total for Question 4 = 20 marks)



- 4 How significant were Martin Luther King's non-violent campaigns in achieving civil rights for black Americans in the years 1954–63?

(Total for Question 4 = 20 marks)



ASPECTS IN DEPTH

BARACK OBAMA AND THE 2008 PRESIDENCY, 2004-09

2 questions in this sub-topic · 40 marks · lowest tariff first



Opinion on civil rights and race relations in the USA, 1950–2000

Study Source 1 in the Sources Booklet before you answer this question.

- 1 Assess the value of the source for revealing the reasons for the election of Barack Obama as senator for Illinois in 2004 and the nature of his subsequent campaign for the Democratic Party nomination for the presidency of the United States.

Explain your answer, using the source, the information given about its origin and your own knowledge about the historical context.

(Total for Question 1 = 20 marks)



Sources for use with Section A.

Answer the question in Section A on the option for which you have been prepared.

Option 39.1: Civil rights and race relations in the USA, 1850–2009**Source for use with Question 1.**

Source 1: From Todd Spivak, *Barack Obama and Me*, an article in the *Houston Press* newspaper, published February 2008. Spivak was an investigative reporter and a distinguished lawyer. He won national awards for his journalism. Here he is recalling Obama's rise to political prominence.

In 1999, Obama first ran for the US Congress against a highly experienced member of the Illinois Black Panther Party, the existing senator. He painted Obama, the largely unknown lawyer, as an out-of-touch elitist, and won the primary by more than 30 points. Five years later, Obama bid for the US Senate, where he eased to victory thanks to the self-destruction of his top opponents. 5
The Democrats had just taken over the Illinois Legislature because the Republican governor got caught selling drivers' licenses to truckers with bad driving records. A disastrous truck accident splashed the whole story across the newspapers and the Democrats won the next election. As a result, the white, race-baiting, hard-right Republican Illinois Senate Majority Leader was replaced by Emil Jones Jr, a Democrat. He was a dark-skinned African-American who had served in the Illinois Legislature for three decades. Jones now became Obama's kingmaker* for the US Senate election. Several months before Obama announced his US Senate bid, Jones had declared 'I'm gonna make me a US Senator, Barack Obama.' 15

One criticism of Obama is that his portfolio was mighty thin as an Illinois legislator. Well, that's not quite true. He expanded children's health insurance; introduced a state benefit for low-income families; required public bodies to tape meetings to make government more transparent and required police to videotape interrogations of homicide suspects. And the list goes on. Pretty interesting. It's a lengthy record filled with core liberal issues. But what's interesting, and almost never discussed, is that he built his entire legislative record in a single year. He sponsored a whopping 26 bills passed into law – including many he now cites in his presidential campaign when attacked as inexperienced. And how did that happen? Jones appointed Obama sponsor of virtually every high-profile piece of legislation, angering many rank-and-file state legislators who had more seniority than Obama and had spent years championing the bills. State Senator Hendon, the original sponsor of landmark civil rights legislation, taken away by Jones and given to Obama, complained to me at the time: 'I took all the insults and endured all the racist comments over the years from nasty Republican committee chairmen. Barack didn't have to endure any of it, yet, in the end, he got all the credit.' 20 25 30

*kingmaker – one who brings potential leaders to power through political influence

- 4 'The main reason for Barack Obama's victory in the campaign for the Presidency was the weakness of his opponents throughout his campaign.'

How far do you agree with this statement?

(Total for Question 4 = 20 marks)



MARK SCHEMES

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Question	Indicative content
7	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement on how far the First Great Migration (c1910-30) can be regarded as the most significant change in the pattern of black American settlement in the USA in the period 1850–2009. Arguments and evidence that support the proposition that the First Great Migration was the most significant change should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • Between 1910 and 1930, the black American population increased by about forty percent in Northern states as a result of the migration, mostly in the major cities • Migration changed the demographics of the South. In 1910, black Americans constituted a majority in several southern states; by 1930 black Americans constituted more than 40 percent only in Mississippi • Cities that had been virtually all white in 1910 became centres of black culture and politics by 1930. Informal residential segregation led to concentrations of blacks in certain areas, beginning in Harlem in 1910 • The scale of change during the First World War was hitherto unprecedented. It was World War I that established migration from the rural Jim Crow South to the industrial North and Midwest • The collapse in cotton prices during the 1920s in the Black Belt of the south intensified the movement away from the rural South. The disappearance of the Black Belt was one of the striking effects of the Great Migration. Arguments and evidence that counter the proposition that the First Great Migration was the most significant change should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: ☐ Previous periods of migration northwards, e.g. after the Civil War and emancipation, could be considered a significant change. 'Kansas Fever', 1879, can be viewed as a prelude to the later massive migration ☐ There was considerable drift northwards during the Depression of the interwar years during the Second Great Migration ☐ Migration during World War Two was more extensive in scale and wider geographically ☐ In some ways, the movement north was modified by the drift back to the south from the 1970s. Other relevant material must be credited.



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7	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement on how far the inner-city riots in Watts in 1965 were the most damaging obstacle to desegregation in the USA in the years 1850-2009. Arguments and evidence that support the proposition that the inner-city riots in Watts in 1965 were the most damaging obstacle to desegregation in the USA in the years 1850-2009 should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • The events in Watts were a symbolic turning point in the civil rights movement. They shocked liberal whites and contributed to a significant loss of support for continuing measures to aid de facto desegregation • Watts showed that a significant number of more militant black Americans distrusted increased integration and encouraged those who increasingly sought separatism and black nationalism rather than desegregation • Violence in Watts led to a political backlash and the return of a Republican majority in Congressional elections. They supported the curtailment or amendment of civil rights legislation promoting desegregation • The Watts riots were a sign that the key issue impacting civil rights campaigning was no longer desegregation, but social and economic advancement for black Americans. Arguments and evidence that the inner-city riots in Watts in 1965 were <i>not</i> the most damaging obstacle to desegregation in the USA in the years 1850-2009, and/or that other issues were more important should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • Watts occurred despite Civil Rights Acts in 1964 and 1965, indicating they did not address de facto segregation. The riots showed the need for greater integration outside the South, which the Johnson administration addressed • Attempts such as the Jim Crow laws and Ku Klux Klan intimidation to challenge radical Reconstruction by southern white segregationists in the wake of the Civil War were a hugely damaging obstacle to desegregation • Legal devices and an appeal to states' rights were the most important obstacle to desegregation employed by southern governors throughout the period until the 1980s • Segregation in the armed forces in two world wars was a powerful setback to the hopes of black Americans that they could be fully integrated into white America • The most serious obstacle to ending de facto segregation following the landmark legislation of the 1960s was a lack of educational and economic opportunity, especially for urban-based blacks, into the 21st century. Other relevant material must be credited.



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7	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement on how far the outcome of the Civil War for black Americans in 1865 was the key turning point in the changing geography of civil rights issues in the USA in the years 1850-2009. Arguments and evidence that support the proposition that the outcome of the Civil War for black Americans in 1865 was the key turning point in the changing geography of civil rights issues in these years should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • Before the coming of war black Americans lived predominantly in the Old South. The very existence of a war eventually fought over slavery, lost by slave-holding states, gave ex-slaves a chance to migrate north and west • Black Americans had fought for the Union during the Civil War, so victory enabled soldiers to resettle outside the Old South, opening up questions of civil rights to parts of the country previously largely untouched by them • The freedoms won by black Americans in three Constitutional Amendments (1866-69) had the outcome of war as their origin. These freedoms were universal, so the geography of civil rights became less tied to the South • The outcome of the Civil War enabled the federal government to attempt to assist black Americans in the transition from slavery to freedmen. Some were able to migrate from rural plantations, many to the urban north. Arguments and evidence that the outcome of the Civil War for black Americans in 1865 cannot be regarded as the key turning point in the changing geography of civil rights issues in these years and/or that other turning points were more significant, should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • The slow migration north and west, seemingly from the time of the Civil War, was really a continuation of a process by which northern abolitionists had long been aiding blacks to escape along the underground railroad • Even though migration took place, 89% of black Americans still lived in the former Confederate states by 1910. Job opportunities provided by the First World War were the key turning point in the drift north • There was a considerable drift northwards during the Depression of the interwar years. De facto segregation in the north was an increasing issue • The scale of the changing geography during the Second World War was unprecedented. 10 per cent of black Americans from the South moved north to replace conscripted workers or west to work in the aircraft industry • In some ways, the movement north was modified by the drift back to the south from the 1970s, a key turning point seen after federal government intervention against the traditions of the Old South in the liberal 1960s • The Old South still had the largest percentage of black Americans in the early twenty-first century and civil rights issues of discrimination and intimidation against black Americans remained predominantly 'southern'. Other relevant material must be credited.



Question	Indicative content
7	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about whether the impact of attitudes towards segregation was the most significant reason for changing the pattern of migration of black Americans in the years 1850-2009. Arguments and evidence supporting the view that the impact of attitudes towards segregation was the most significant reason for changing the pattern of migration of black Americans should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • Northern migration in the 1860s is largely explained by the desire of blacks to escape vindictive southern white racism and a policy of segregation, following the defeat of the Confederacy in the Civil War. • Levittown realtors and post-war federal and state housing initiatives denied house sales to black Americans, intensifying their migration to inner cities or back to the South • White resistance to integration fuelled inner-city riots, especially after World War I in Tulsa and again in the 1960s. Rioting led to widespread relocation, e.g. the black settlement of Greenwood was destroyed • Great Migration recipient states, e.g. New York, Illinois and California, contributed most to reverse migration from c1975, as adverse reactions to de facto segregation prompted blacks to return to their southern roots. Arguments and evidence that contradict the view that the impact of attitudes towards segregation was the most significant reason should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • The slow migration north, in the years 1855-c1910, was the result of changes to the Union. This was made more possible by the emancipation of slaves during the Civil War



- Push factors included the slump in the cotton industry following the boll weevil catastrophe from 1914. This had a major impact on black sharecroppers, many of whom moved north
- Pull factors in the 1920s included the blossoming of a distinct black urban culture, especially the Harlem Renaissance, and the requirement of northern industries for non-union or cheap labour in the boom years
- Both World Wars intensified northern migration by offering greater opportunities to black workers in defence industries. The drift north continued after World War II as southern black GIs were relocated
- The drift south from the 1970s was due mainly to the economic opportunities afforded by the growth of the New South.

Other relevant material must be credited.

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7	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about how far push factors were more important than pull factors in explaining the changing geographical distribution of black Americans in the years 1850-2009. Arguments and evidence supporting the view that push factors were more important in these years should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • In the slow drift north and west after the Civil War, push factors explain this migration, especially lack of job opportunities and rural poverty • From 1914, the boll weevil's destruction of the cotton crop caused a major depression in the South, a powerful push factor for the migration of black Americans out of the cotton belt • The resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan around the time of the First World War and into the 1920s, with a dramatic increase in the number of lynch-mobs, pushed many black Americans out of the South • Rioting, violent crimes and tensions with the police in many Northern and Western cities were issues that pushed black Americans back to the South from the mid sixties onwards. Arguments and evidence supporting the view that pull factors were more important in these years should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • During the 1850s, the absence of slavery outside the South was a pull factor, as northern abolitionists aided runaway slaves to migrate along the 'underground railroad' • After the Civil War, many ex-slaves moved to more integrated societies in the north, pulled by the image of the north as a land of liberation, letters home by earlier migrants and newspaper advertisements for jobs • The First World War labour shortage was a major pull factor offering greater opportunities for black Americans and greatly speeded up the migration north to work in war-related industries • The economic boom of the 1920s was a powerful pull factor, as mass production and increased demand led to great recruitment drives for black Americans in industrial cities outside the South • The Second World War intensified the earlier Great Migration, as black Americans were pulled northwards, but also westwards to the Pacific coast war industries • Pull factors were at work in the move back South from the 1960s onwards, as jobs and sports opportunities, desegregation in the New South and the modernisation of the Sunbelt, produced reverse migration.



	Other relevant material must be credited.
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7	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about how far the First Great Migration (c1910-30) was the key turning point in the changing pattern of segregation of black Americans in the 20th Century. Arguments and evidence supporting the judgement that the First Great Migration (c1910-30) was the key turning point in the changing pattern of segregation of black Americans in the 20th Century should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • Cities that had been virtually all white in 1910 became centres of black culture and politics by 1930, leading to informal residential segregation and to concentrations of blacks in certain areas, beginning in Harlem in 1910 • The scale of change during the First World War was hitherto unprecedented. This established <i>de facto</i> segregation in the industrial North and Midwest, quite different from rural and small-town segregation patterns in the South • The collapse in cotton prices during the 1920s in the Black Belt of the South intensified the movement of black farm workers away from rural Jim Crow segregation in the South to <i>de facto</i> segregation in the northern cities • Competition for housing and the creation of black-dominated areas, e.g. in the South Side of Chicago, stimulated the Red Summer of 1919, which greatly altered the pattern of segregation in a number of northern cities. Arguments and evidence opposing the judgement that First Great Migration (c1910-30) was the key turning point in the changing pattern of segregation of black Americans in the 20th Century should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • The Second World War was a turning point in changing patterns of segregation, with many blacks moving to the Pacific Coast, where segregation was not so apparent in housing, employment and recreation • The late 1940s saw a decisive turning point in the pattern of segregation in the armed forces, as desegregation was mandated by the federal government • From the 1950s, the development of new forms of suburbia outside of the South, such as Levittowns, led to a turning point in patterns of segregation, with blacks excluded from white suburbia and concentrated in the inner city • The 1960s saw a turning point in patterns of segregation as a combination of legislation and disturbances in the north and west led to large-scale black migration back to the South, where Jim Crow segregation no longer applied • Judicial decisions meant that the 1960s and 1970s were key decades for changing patterns of segregation, e.g. in the desegregation of education, especially through bussing, and on transport • The economic boom in the last quarter of the 20th century in the Sunbelt was a key determinant in new patterns, as millions of blacks moved from small towns to the city to work in new industries where they were not segregated. Other relevant material must be credited.



Question	Indicative content
7	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about how far the development of Levitt estates in the 1950s was the most important factor in changing patterns of segregation in the USA in the period 1910-2009? Arguments and evidence supporting the judgement that the development of Levitt estates in the 1950s was the most important factor in changing patterns of segregation in the USA in the period 1910-2009 should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • From the 1950s, the development of Levittowns led to a turning point in patterns of segregation, with black Americans excluded from white suburbia and concentrated in the inner city • The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) supported anti-Jewish and anti-black restrictive covenants on Levittown developments, accentuating the <i>de facto</i> segregation of cities • Levittowns grew as a result of home loans from the FHA to buyers. Most black people were priced out of the market, leaving suburbs as all-white areas • As new suburban settlements grew, the government granted tax exemptions to groups formed for the purpose of enforcing racial barriers, which made <i>de facto</i> segregation, in effect, <i>de jure</i> segregation • As the Levittown suburban pattern grew across US cities, state prosecutors and local police tolerated, even encouraged, mob violence against black Americans who dared to try to stay in white-only neighbourhoods. Arguments and evidence opposing the judgement that the development of Levitt estates in the 1950s was the most important factor in changing patterns of segregation in the USA in the period 1910-2009 should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • Cities that had been virtually all white in 1910 became centres of black culture and politics by 1930, leading to informal residential segregation and to concentrations of black people in certain areas, beginning in Harlem • The scale of change during the First World War was hitherto unprecedented. This established <i>de facto</i> segregation in the industrial North and Midwest, quite different from rural and small-town segregation patterns in the South • The collapse in cotton prices during the 1920s, in the Black Belt of the South, intensified the movement of black farm workers away from rural Jim Crow segregation in the South to <i>de facto</i> segregation in the northern cities • The Second World War was a turning point in changing patterns of racial segregation, with many black people moving to the Pacific Coast, where segregation was not so apparent in housing, employment and recreation • The late 1940s saw a decisive turning point in the pattern of racial segregation in the armed forces, as desegregation was mandated by the federal government • The 1960s saw a turning point in patterns of segregation as a combination of legislation and disturbances in the north and west led to large-scale black migration back to the South, where Jim Crow segregation no longer applied • Many more black Americans received college educations in the last thirty years of this period. The development of a black American middle class led to a blurring of racial segregation in many American cities and their suburbs. Other relevant material must be credited.

Question	Indicative content
7	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about the statement: 'The requirements of industry were the most significant reason for the changing geographical distribution of black Americans in the years 1850-2009.' Arguments and evidence supporting the statement: 'The requirements of industry were the most significant reason for the changing geographical distribution of black Americans' in these years should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • The First Great Migration pulled black Americans from the South northwards to satisfy the labour requirements of the industrial North and Midwest • The scale of change during the First World War was hitherto unprecedented as black American workers were hired in the Northeast industrial belt to work in the arms industry and its supply chain • During the Second World War, 10 per cent of black Americans from the South moved north to replace conscripted workers, or west to work in the aircraft industry • The development of modern industry in the New South and the Sun Belt required large work forces, which pulled black American workers back south, especially from the 1970s. Arguments and evidence opposing the statement: 'The requirements of industry were the most significant reason for the changing geographical distribution of black Americans' in these years should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • The slow drift north of black Americans after the Civil War was caused by continuing racial discrimination and the Jim Crow laws • The collapse in cotton prices during the 1920s in the Black Belt of the South intensified the movement of black American farm workers away from the rural South to all kinds of work in the North and Midwest • Many causes of geographical redistribution were cultural: cities in the North and Midwest, virtually all white in 1910, became centres of black American culture and politics by 1930, pulling black Americans from elsewhere • The Second World War saw great movements of black Americans out of the South as they joined the military in bases all over the USA • A combination of legislation and disturbances in the north and west led to large-scale black American migration back to the South during the last quarter of the 20th century, where Jim Crow segregation no longer applied. Other relevant material must be credited.



Question	Indicative content
8	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement as to how far the repression of black Americans portrayed in photographs, films and television produced changes in the attitudes of white Americans towards race in the period 1850-2009. Arguments and evidence that support the proposition should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: ☐ The coming of photography from the 1850s portrayed some of the excesses of white prejudice against black Americans, some of which stimulated abolitionist movements ☐ Iconic photographs of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s, especially by Bob Adelman and Bob Hudson, served as the public awareness catalyst to the passage of Civil Rights legislation through their portrayals of repression ☐☐☐☐☐ Modern film has also played a role in inducing sympathy for the black cause. Graphic portrayals of repression that changed white perceptions include <i>Mississippi Burning</i> (1988) and <i>Panther</i> (1995) ☐ The immediacy of television introduced Americans outside the South to the repression of black Americans in the South. In the Cold War context the Till Case (eg) had a profound influence on popular and governmental responses ☐ The television series <i>Roots</i> in 1977, portraying repressive slavery, had great influence in stimulating sympathy for black Americans' historic legacy, and enjoyed widespread popularity with white audiences ☐ Television news in the modern era had a great influence on moderating the behaviour of racist white police authorities and governors in high-profile cases such as Rodney King (1992) and Hurricane Katrina (2005). Arguments and evidence that counter or modify the proposition should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: ☐☐☐☐☐ The film <i>Birth of a Nation</i> in 1915, based on a racist novel <i>The Clansman</i>, portraying the repression of black people as a race, strengthened prejudice and helped fuel the revival of the KKK in the 1920s ☐ In areas where the KKK was well supported, particularly in the 1920s and 1930s, newspaper photographs served to encourage repression by portraying graphic images of 'lynching parties' that whipped up racial hatred ☐ There were many examples of fictional portrayals that merely reinforced existing perceptions such as in the film <i>Gone with the Wind</i> in 1939 ☐ Fictional portrayals often reflected changing perceptions, rather than inducing change, e.g. the film <i>In the Heat of the Night</i> in 1967 ☐ Considerable prejudice and hostility to black Americans still existed in the early twenty-first century, indicating that portrayals of repression may not have produced significant change in the attitudes of white Americans. Other relevant material must be credited.

Option 39.2: Mass media and social change in Britain, 1882–2004



Question	Indicative content
8	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement as to how far the publication in 1960 of <i>To Kill a Mockingbird</i> was the key turning point in the shaping of white attitudes towards race relations in the United States in the years 1850–2009. Arguments and evidence that support the proposition that the publication of <i>To Kill a Mockingbird</i>, was the key turning point should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • The <i>To Kill a Mockingbird</i> diagnosis of racial injustice in the rural South came at a crucial time in 1960, when racist attitudes were under severe scrutiny in the wake of the Till murder and Montgomery Bus Boycott • The novel portrays the black community as dignified and challenged southern white behaviour as lacking in dignity and provided a turning point to a better future by portraying faults in the judicial system • The immense popularity of the novel suggests that it made a great impact on its readership, particularly as it opened up the detailed horrors of a particular 'southern' mindset to northern liberals and lawmakers • The novel marked a turning point in the thinking of the young in the South. It was often their entry point into thinking about racism and justice where they lived, told through the eyes of a child, Scout Finch • The novel showed that not all white people were racists. Some, like Atticus, were against racism, and in teaching his children to reject racism and prejudice he became a symbol of change for a progressive new generation. Arguments and evidence that publication of <i>To Kill a Mockingbird</i> was <i>not</i> responsible for shaping of white attitudes towards race relations, and/or that there were more significant turning points in the years 1850–2009 should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • America is still facing some of the same challenges that Harper Lee clearly addressed in <i>To Kill A Mockingbird</i>. Despite its popularity the novel was not 'the book that changed everything', as confirmed by <i>The Help</i> (2009) • In some ways the novel was a chronicle of the early/mid-century South, so it merely reinforced existing perceptions, as <i>Gone with the Wind</i> had done in 1939. It reflected changing perceptions, rather than inducing change • Other novels produced more significant turning points. <i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i> had a profound influence on abolitionists in the 1850s and 1860s who would be instrumental in promoting the abolition of slavery • Before writers like Toni Morrison, white writers shaped white attitudes. Works like <i>Beloved</i> (1987) were significant turning points as they showed the black experience from within, creating new empathy for black histories • Other genres provided significant turning points in white attitudes. Perhaps most important was the advent of universal television, which brought the horrors of the Till case, or Rodney King, directly into the living room. Other relevant material must be credited.

Option 39.2: Mass media and social change in Britain, 1882–2004



Question	Indicative content
8	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement as to how accurate it is to say that the 1977 television mini-series <i>Roots</i> was the key turning point in changing perceptions of black Americans in the years 1850-2009. Arguments and evidence that support the proposition that the 1977 television mini-series <i>Roots</i> was the key turning point should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • <i>Roots</i> transformed the role of black Americans on US television and played a major role in changing perceptions of race and race relations. It became a topic of national discussion and led to college courses based on the series • Following a family tree involving the life of real black Americans brought the story of slavery to life in a way that documentaries had failed to do, and changed white perceptions of the plight of rural black people • Most of the white characters were played by leading Hollywood actors usually known for playing 'good' people. In <i>Roots</i>, they appeared as villains, a revolution in character portrayal, as blacks were the heroes • <i>Roots</i> had a lasting effect on changing the perceptions of black Americans and led to greater interest in the research of the issues raised. Arguments and evidence that the 1977 television mini-series <i>Roots</i> was <i>not</i> responsible for changing perceptions of black Americans, and/or that there were more significant turning points in the years 1850-2009 should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • America continued to regard blacks in the same way that Alex Haley clearly portrayed in <i>Roots</i>. Despite its popularity, it was not 'the programme that changed everything' as some black poor still could not escape rural poverty • In some ways, the mini-series was a chronicle of the unchanging southern mind set, so it merely reinforced existing perceptions, as <i>Gone with the Wind</i> had done in 1939 • Literature produced more significant turning points. <i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i> had a profound influence on abolitionists in the 1850s and 1860s who would be instrumental in promoting the abolition of slavery • Before writers like Toni Morrison, white writers shaped white attitudes. Works like <i>Beloved</i> (1987) were significant turning points as they showed the black experience from within, creating new empathy for black histories • The <i>To Kill a Mockingbird</i> diagnosis of racial injustice in the rural South came at a more crucial time in 1960, when racist attitudes were under severe scrutiny in the wake of the Till murder and Montgomery Bus Boycott • <i>The Wire</i> (2002-08) was another mini-series regarded as a significant turning point because in each year it dealt with new and different sections of black society, changing perceptions across a wider field of experience. Other relevant material must be credited.

Option 39.2: Mass media and social change in Britain, 1882-2004



Question	Indicative content
8	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about the accuracy of the statement that <i>Malcolm X</i> (1992) was the most significant film in changing the perceptions of race among movie audiences in the period c1900-2009. Arguments and evidence supporting the statement that <i>Malcolm X</i> (1992) was the most significant film should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • <i>Malcolm X</i> was not an assault on white America but an explanation of civil unrest, and was not exclusionary; it deliberately addressed all races in its audience • <i>Malcolm X</i> was notable for engaging directly with contemporary events. Its opening sequence is an audacious montage comprising grainy, genuine footage of the Rodney King incident, challenging perceptions of US racism • <i>Malcolm X</i> helped to change perceptions of race in a powerful closing sequence, an optimistic coda featuring Nelson Mandela addressing a classroom of black schoolchildren, suggesting racism could be overcome • The hip-hop generation adopted the Malcolm of the movie as he offered black youth a blueprint for self-invention fashioned out of the ghetto, rising black male murder rates, 'neocon' apathy and ongoing racism.

Arguments and evidence supporting the statement that other films were more significant should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include:

- The impact of *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) was significant because it was a key factor in the re-emergence of the Ku Klux Klan, leading to a major deterioration in race relations
- *Gone With the Wind* (1940) reinforced and reflected racist attitudes held by white Americans in the Old South, but thereby gave liberal white Americans outside the South more ammunition for change
- *In the Heat of the Night* (1967) was a liberal message movie aiming to soothe increasing racial tensions. Tibbs's treatment of a handcuffed white murder suspect was an enduring image of the healing process
- *Home of the Brave* (2004) hardened opposition to white male racist extremism, especially in the South, as it explored the legacy of Viola Liuzzo, the only white woman killed during the civil rights movement.

Other relevant material must be credited.

Option 39.2: Mass media and social change in Britain, 1882–2004



Question	Indicative content
8	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about how accurate it is to say that the publication of <i>To Kill a Mockingbird</i> (1960) marked the key turning point in the portrayal of race relations in novels in the years 1850-2009. Arguments and evidence supporting the view that the publication of <i>To Kill a Mockingbird</i> (1960) marked the key turning point in the portrayal of race relations in novels in these years should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • <i>To Kill a Mockingbird</i> marked the key turning point as, unlike most previous novels, it portrayed the black community as dignified in the face of southern white behaviour, which is shown to lack dignity • The novel was among the first to portray significant faults in the law when it dealt with black Americans. This marked a key turning point, as several subsequent novels continued this theme, e.g. <i>Beloved</i> and <i>The Help</i> • The portrayal of racism through the eyes of the child, Scout Finch, marked a key turning point as it targeted the thoughts of the young in the South. It became their entry point into thinking about racism and injustice • The portrayal of Atticus marked a key turning point, showing that some whites opposed racism. In teaching his children to reject racism and prejudice he became a symbol of change for a progressive new generation. Arguments and evidence supporting the statement that other novels were the key turning points should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • In <i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i> (1852), Stowe's portrayal of the heroic struggle of one woman, Eliza, was a key turning point, as it was the first time that a black woman had been portrayed in this light • In <i>Huckleberry Finn</i> (1885), the portrayal of Jim as a caricature of black Americans used irony, satire and subtlety. This marks it as a turning point in literary strategies used to change attitudes and portray race relations • The portrayal of race relations in <i>Gone With the Wind</i> (1936) reinforced and reflected racist attitudes held by white Americans in the Old South, proving to be a 're-turning' point in glorifying poor race relations • Adapted from the novel <i>Roots</i> (1976), the TV portrayal of one black family through 200 years' experience marked a key turning point by the sheer scale of its influence on white perceptions of historical racism • <i>Beloved</i> (1987) was the key turning point in high school studies: the impact of the portrayal of race relations on pupils was so powerful that it led to court judgements forbidding its removal from curricula by objectors. Other relevant material must be credited.



Option 39.2: Mass media and social change in Britain, 1882–2004



Question	Indicative content
8	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about how accurate it is to say that film was the most significant medium influencing changes in attitudes towards race relations in the years 1850-2009. Arguments and evidence supporting the judgement that film was the most significant medium influencing changes in attitudes towards race relations in these years should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • The film <i>Birth of a Nation</i> (1915) was significant as a shocking new medium to illustrate the repression of black people as a race; it strengthened prejudicial attitudes and helped fuel the revival of the KKK in the 1920s • The movie <i>In the Heat of the Night</i> (1967) was significant in changing attitudes as one of the film's most fascinating and challenging elements is the suggestion that Tibbs sees racism as a natural extension of violent crime • Film was significant as a medium as it was able to show most graphically portrayals of repression that changed white perceptions. Such graphic movies included <i>Mississippi Burning</i> (1988) and <i>Panther</i> (1995) • It was black film directors like Spike Lee who were most able to produce alternative media to change attitudes towards race relations by showing that black culture was more inclusive than stereotypes portrayed elsewhere. Arguments and evidence supporting the judgement that other media were more significant in influencing changes in attitudes towards race relations in these years should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • The coming of photography from the 1850s significantly portrayed some of the excesses of white prejudice against black Americans, many of which stimulated abolitionist movements • Iconic photographs of civil rights protests in the 1960s, especially by Bob Adelman and Bill Hudson, served as the public awareness catalyst to the passage of Civil Rights legislation through their portrayals of repression • In literature, <i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i> (1852), Stowe's portrayal of the heroic struggle of one woman, Eliza, was significant, as it did much more than hundreds of abolitionist publications to turn liberal minds against slavery • In <i>Huckleberry Finn</i> (1885), the portrayal of Jim as a caricature of black Americans used irony, satire and subtlety. This marks it as a significant literary strategy, used to change attitudes and to improve race relations • The immediacy of television introduced Americans outside the South to southern repression of black Americans and enlightened them through series such as <i>Roots</i> (1977) • Television news in the modern era had a significant influence, moderating the attitudes of racist white police authorities and governors in high-profile cases such as Rodney King (1992) and Hurricane Katrina (2005). Other relevant material must be credited.

Option 39.2: Mass media and social change in Britain, 1882–2004



Question	Indicative content
8	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about the statement that it was paintings, photographs and lithographs produced in the years 1850-80 that contributed most to changing perceptions of race relations in the USA in the years 1850-2009. Arguments and evidence supporting the judgement that it was paintings, photographs and lithographs produced in the years 1850-80 that contributed most to changing perceptions of race relations in the USA in these years should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • The coming of photography from the 1850s significantly portrayed some of the excesses of white prejudice against black Americans, many of which stimulated abolitionist movements • Several American painters, in the years 1850-80, made realistic depictions of black Americans' lives, changing perceptions that they could only do unskilled, menial work, e.g. Thomas Eakins • The Civil War created such turmoil that artists like Eastman Johnson chose to reinforce the idea of unity, sometimes showing black soldiers as loyal to the Union, changing perspectives of black Americans outside the South • In the 1870s, Winslow Homer painted in a style dubbed as 'perfect realism' that sometimes shocked viewers as to the plight of freedmen • <i>Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper</i> was not afraid to use lithographs of black Americans being killed by white supremacists, raising the issue of lynching to a shocked American public outside the South. Arguments and evidence challenging the judgement that it was paintings, photographs and lithographs produced in the years 1850-80 that contributed most to changing perceptions of race relations in the USA in these years should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • From its inception in 1850, <i>Harper's Monthly/Weekly</i> magazine reinforced popular stereotypes, with lithographs depicting a fictional idyllic life for black Americans living in the Old South • In literature, <i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i> (1852), Stowe's portrayal of the heroic struggle of one woman, Eliza, was significant, as it did much more than hundreds of abolitionist publications to turn liberal minds against slavery • In <i>Huckleberry Finn</i> (1885), the portrayal of Jim as a caricature of black Americans used irony, satire and subtlety. This marks it as a significant literary strategy, used to change attitudes and to improve race relations • Throughout the years from 1915 to the end of the period, film had the effect of changing perceptions of race relations, from negative views portrayed by <i>The Birth of a Nation</i> to more positive movies such as <i>The Help</i> (2009) • The immediacy of television introduced Americans outside the South to Southern repression of black Americans. In the Cold War context, the Till Case had a significant influence on popular and government attitudes • Iconic photographs of civil rights protests in the 1960s, especially by Bob Adelman and Bill Hudson, served as the public-awareness catalyst to the passage of Civil Rights legislation through their portrayals of repression • Television news in the modern era had a significant influence, moderating the attitudes of racist white police authorities and governors in high-profile cases such as Rodney King (1992) and Hurricane Katrina (2005). Other relevant material must be credited.

Option 39.2: Mass media and social change in Britain, 1882–2004



Question	Indicative content
8	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about how accurate is the statement that, in considering the impact of films in the years c1910-2009, <i>The Birth of a Nation</i> (1915) was the key turning point in changing the attitudes of white Americans to the black American struggle for civil rights. Arguments and evidence supporting the judgement that <i>The Birth of a Nation</i> (1915) was the key turning point in changing the attitudes of white Americans to the black American struggle for civil rights in these years should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • The film <i>The Birth of a Nation</i> (1915) was significant as a shocking new medium to promote the repression of black people as a race; it strengthened white prejudicial attitudes against black civil rights • The film convinced many white Americans that black Americans did not deserve full civil rights as they had proved to be brutal and bestial towards the Southern white population during Reconstruction • The film helped fuel the revival of the KKK, an intimidating barrier in some northern and midwestern states to the liberal attitudes towards black American civil rights that had been developing with the First Great Migration • The film's success was a turning point as it drowned out the voices of those who tried to protest. The civil rights movement was still quite young at the time; the NAACP had just incorporated a few years earlier. Arguments and evidence supporting the judgement that other turning points were more significant in changing the attitudes of white Americans to the black American struggle for civil rights should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • It was the film version of <i>Gone With The Wind</i> (1939) that convinced Southern whites that they could eschew support for black civil rights through the film's depiction of all black people as stupid and childlike • The film <i>In the Heat of the Night</i> (1967) was significant in changing attitudes in favour of civil rights as one of its most challenging elements is the suggestion that Tibbs sees racism as a natural extension of violent crime • The film <i>Mississippi Burning</i> (1988) effectively confronted audiences with virulent racism (including the institutional racism of the courts, the police, and city government) and reminded them of the need to support civil rights • It was black film directors like Spike Lee who were most able to produce a counter media to change attitudes in favour of black civil rights by showing that black culture was more inclusive than stereotypes portrayed elsewhere. Other relevant material must be credited.

Option 39.2: Mass media and social change in Britain, 1882–2004



3

Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant.

Candidates are expected to reach a judgement on the suggestion that Constitutional Amendments introduced during the Reconstruction period (1865–77) significantly improved the position of African Americans.

Arguments and evidence that support the proposition that Constitutional Amendments introduced during the Reconstruction period (1865–77) significantly improved the position of black Americans should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include:

- ☐ The 13th Amendment confirmed Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and abolished slavery. A Freedman's Bureau was set up to oversee black rights
- ☐ The 14th Amendment provided a loosely worded guarantee to blacks of equality before the law and against discrimination by states
- ☐ The 15th Amendment secured the vote for black men, the result of which was that black Americans were elected to office in all southern states, including two federal Senators and 14 members of the House
- ☐ Grant's administration passed Enforcement Acts (1870-71) sanctioning military force to suppress Southern violence against the 14th Amendment and Congress to control federal elections to support the 15th Amendment
- ☐ It was only in southern states, not across the whole union, that restrictive laws developed to challenge the Amendments.

Arguments and evidence supporting the statement that the Amendments did not improve the position of black Americans should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include:

- ☐☐☐☐☐ Southern states passed discriminatory Black Codes that attempted to remand black Americans into servitude. Radical Republicans were disillusioned by the lack of enforcement of the spirit of the 13th Amendment
- ☐ The Codes undermined the 14th Amendment. Black Americans could not bear arms and could only bring legal cases or testify against their own caste. Some states enacted discrimination in transportation this early
- ☐ The Freedman's Bureau challenged the 13th Amendment through the development of sharecropping as more agreeable than contract labour
- ☐ Virginia challenged the 14th Amendment by requiring segregated public schools; many Southern states made no effort to compel acceptance of black Americans in white schools
- ☐ Practically no effort was made to encourage black land ownership which was implicit in the Amendments. Federal policy allowed original owners to run plantations or lease land to northern white entrepreneurs
- ☐ Northern whites found it relatively easy to abandon black Americans' fundamental new constitutional rights when they acquiesced in the Compromise of 1877.

Other relevant material must be credited.



Question	Indicative content
3	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement on to what extent it was federal government reconstruction measures that were most responsible for improving the lives of black Americans in the years 1865-77. Arguments and evidence that support the proposition that it was federal government reconstruction measures that were most responsible for improving the lives of black Americans in these years should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • The 13th Amendment had abolished slavery, creating a new class of freedmen who were granted equal protection under the law by the 14th Amendment and the right to vote by the 15th Amendment • Federal reconstruction went further than political gestures when Congress passed a Military Reconstruction Act, enforcing provisions designed to improve the lives of black Americans • The Freedmen's Bureau was set up by federal government to support freed slaves in providing education. It trained black lawyers, scientists and teachers • The Civil Rights Act (1866) gave black Americans full citizenship and equal rights • The Ku Klux Klan was driven underground by the Enforcement Acts passed by Congress, improving the lives of black Americans intimidated by the racist demagogues. Arguments and evidence supporting the statement that other factors, not federal government reconstruction measures, were more responsible for improving the lives of black Americans in these years should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • Black education was supported mainly by philanthropic organisations in the north • Some Black Code regulations set up by southern states improved the lives of black Americans. Marriages were allowed, property could be owned and blacks could testify in court, sue and draw up contracts • Liberty of worship led to organisations linked to the church giving black Americans their first taste of self-help activities and a sense of community • Radical Republicans in Congress, disillusioned with the deterioration of race relations in the South, argued from 1872 that black Americans should no longer look to the federal government for help, but rely on self-help • Congressional reconstruction succeeded politically, but brought no great practical benefit. The Southern Homestead Act (1866) set aside land but, lacking money, blacks were forced instead to begin a great migration. Other relevant material must be credited.

Question	Indicative content
3	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about the accuracy of the statement that in the years 1865-77, it was the violent activities of white supremacist groups that had the most damaging impact on the civil rights of black Americans in the South. Arguments and evidence supporting the statement that, in these years, it was the violent activities of white supremacist groups that had the most damaging impact should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • The Ku Klux Klan developed into a major terror organisation, carrying out burnings, beatings and lynching against black Americans in the South • White League intimidation damaged black civil rights in Louisiana from 1874. It was responsible for the most violent racism, e.g. the Coushatta massacre, during which five black Americans were murdered • The Knights of the White Camellia launched hundreds of attacks on the newly-won black civil rights, including murder. Theirs was the biggest single atrocity, killing 280 black Americans in Louisiana in 1873 • White supremacist terror had the most significant political impact, e.g. violence during election campaigns undermined support for Republicans supporting black civil rights, ensuring the election of Democrats. Arguments and evidence supporting the statement that, that, in these years, the violent activities of white supremacist groups did not have the most damaging impact should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • The 1871 Enforcement Act (aka Ku Klux Klan Act) severely restricted the effectiveness of the Klan's tactics of intimidation • The implementation of the Black Codes by many provisional state governments in the South was most damaging, ensuring that ex-slaves were forced to accept an inferior position in southern society • Black Codes did more to undermine Reconstruction civil rights measures than anything else, dealing with restrictions of the rights of black Americans to own property, to marry and to appear as court witnesses • The regulation of the labour market was most damaging to black civil rights as ex-slaves who refused to work on a white man's terms were punished, a situation as near to slavery as possible • Weak provisions in federal responses to racism were damaging to the most fundamental constitutional rights of black southerners, e.g. the Slaughterhouse decision (1873) and the Civil Rights Act (1875).



	Other relevant material must be credited.
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3	8–12	• Demonstrates understanding of the source material and shows some analysis by selecting key points relevant to the question, explaining their meaning and selecting material to support valid inferences • Deploys knowledge of the historical context to explain or support inferences as well as to expand, confirm or challenge matters of detail. • Evaluation of the source material is related to the specified enquiry and explanation of utility takes into account relevant considerations such as nature or purpose of the source material or the position of the author. Judgements are based on valid criteria but with limited justification.
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Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Other relevant material not suggested below must also be credited.

Candidates must analyse and evaluate the source to consider its value in revealing the extent of racist attitudes in the South and the relationship between the federal government and southern states in the 1890s. The author of the extract is not named in the specification, and candidates therefore cannot be expected to know about her.

1. The following points could be made about the origin and nature of the source and applied when giving weight to information and inferences:

- ☐ Ida B. Wells was in a good position to know about the racist attitudes of state governments against black Americans as she was a black American who wrote for a living and came from a southern state
- ☐ The recent lynching of some of her friends may have made Wells particularly bitter against white people and government
- ☐ Wells' race may taint her view of a Constitution that fails black people and she makes comments about it that are not strictly true ('Our federal government has thus admitted that it has no jurisdiction...')
- ☐ Wells is targeting an audience in a liberal northern state and may wish to over-emphasize the extent of southern racist attitudes to promote her civil rights cause.



Question	Indicative content
	2. The following inferences and significant points of information could be drawn and supported from the source: Extent of racist attitudes in the South: ☐ It provides evidence that Southerners had similar nativist views about how to deal with both black Americans and white foreigners ('the same verdict...') ☐ It provides evidence that a process of censorship enables a blind eye to be turned to the excesses of the racist southern attitudes ('Those who commit the murders write the reports') ☐ It suggests that there are double standards in assessing what white law breakers deserve compared with their black counterparts ('This was not so with the Italian lynching') ☐ It suggests that the South is out of touch with the rest of the nation in some of these prejudices ('A feeling of horror ran through the nation...'). The federal government's relationship with southern states: ☐ It indicates that States' Rights are supremely powerful in the South ('...our federal government made the confession that one of the states is greater than the Union') ☐ It suggests that the Federal Government has long recognised officially that the South has a right to deal with its black citizens how it sees fit: ('...the principle involved... Settled long ago') ☐ It suggests that the Louisiana State Government uses States' Rights as a smokescreen for discrimination ('strictly within the authority of the State of Louisiana... a farcical investigation...') ☐ It suggests a very bleak view of the dysfunctional relationship between federal and state authorities ('federal government made the confession that one of the states is greater than the Union'). 3. Knowledge of historical context should be deployed to support and develop inferences and to confirm the value of the source in revealing racist attitudes in the South and the relationship between the federal government and southern states in the 1890s. Relevant points may include: ☐ ☐ Knowledge of the Supreme Court judgement of 1883 - discrimination by individuals not prohibited by the 14th Amendment ☐ After the 1877 Compromise the withdrawal of the Federal Government troops meant that black Southerners found themselves defenceless, with a new race system supplanting slavery as a means of social control ☐ Southern attitudes were characterised by some as having too great an attachment to racial values and a tendency to justify cruelty and injustice in the name of those values ☐ Almost any attempt of blacks to realise their hope for a racially egalitarian society would call forth violent repression from whites. Lynching was part of this process, especially in the rural South ☐ There was an attempt by some Southern Republicans to align with blacks.

Option 39.2: Mass media and social change in Britain, 1882–2004

Question	Indicative content
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Question	Indicative content
3	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement on the suggestion that 'The exclusion of black Americans from the vote was the most damaging setback to their fight for civil rights in the years 1883-c1900'. Arguments and evidence that support the proposition that their exclusion from the vote <i>was</i> the most damaging setback to their fight for civil rights in this period should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • The 15th Amendment was bypassed by Southern state governors (and sometimes in the north). They disallowed black American voting through devices such as literacy clauses, fundamentally damaging their civil rights • Any attack by the Supreme Court was seen as most damaging to black American civil rights. In <i>Williams v Mississippi</i> (1898) the Court ruled that devices blocking the vote were constitutional • With African-Americans unable to vote, Democrat political dominance of the South was seen by the white community as a guarantee of their way of life and the maintenance of segregation • The lack of enforcement of the 15th Amendment caused the reversal of a trend by which black Americans had been elected to office in all southern states, including two federal Senators and 14 members of Congress • As black Americans disappeared from voting registers they lost any right to serve as jurors and to give their race any chance of legal equality. Arguments and evidence supporting the statement that other factors, <i>not</i> exclusion from the vote, most damaged the fight for civil rights of black Americans, and/or that exclusion from the vote <i>did not</i> damage their fight for civil rights should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • Violent threats in general, and lynching in particular, produced a climate of fear among black American communities that had a profound practical impact on their civil rights • The Supreme Court (1883) undermined the Civil Rights Act, 1875, opening the door to social segregation. The Act had upheld the 14th Amendment against discrimination in transport and public accommodations • Many Supreme Court decisions beyond voting rights were hostile to black civil rights, e.g. <i>Plessy v. Ferguson</i> (1896), which effectively validated Jim Crow laws and <i>Cumming v Richmond</i> (1898) extended them to education • Segregation laws formalised the loss of black American civil rights in the South. The development of public transport in this period produced increased opportunities for this trend • As black Americans began to migrate in greater numbers from the South, <i>de facto</i> segregation and discrimination grew in the North, undermining existing civil rights for blacks outside the South • The loss of black American voting rights did no serious further damage to civil rights, as equal opportunities had never seriously taken root by 1883.



	Other relevant material must be credited.
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Question	Indicative content
3	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about the accuracy of the statement that, in the years to 1900, it was the Supreme Court that was most responsible for undermining the rights that black Americans had gained from Reconstruction. Arguments and evidence supporting the statement that the Supreme Court was most responsible should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • Supreme Court decisions in five cases in 1883 severely restricted the power of the federal government to guarantee equal status under the law, granted in the 14th Amendment to black Americans • <i>Pace v Alabama</i> (1883) upheld a state's right to apply laws banning interracial marriage despite its apparent violation of a 14th Amendment clause on equal protection • In <i>Plessy v Ferguson</i> (1896), the Supreme Court affirmed the concept of separate but equal public facilities, ensuring racial segregation and discrimination. Whites could keep minorities in separate, unequal facilities • <i>Williams v Mississippi</i> (1898) upheld measures designed to curtail black voting in the South. Other southern states soon adopted similar laws that would keep blacks away from the polls for decades. Arguments and evidence supporting the statement that other factors were more responsible should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • Throughout the period, blacks would lose almost all they had gained during Reconstruction through a series of codes and statutes passed by southern state governments, e.g. black codes and the Jim Crow laws • The Plessy case merely confirmed what had long been happening in southern courts, e.g. state courts in Georgia (1887) and Louisiana (1890) upheld segregated railway transportation enforced by their governments • The Williams case merely confirmed poll tax and literacy test provisions in the Mississippi Constitution of 1890 and others, which had already greatly reduced the number of black voters, contrary to the 15th Amendment • The foundation of labour unions in the 1880s undermined the work of the Freedmen's Bureau during Reconstruction by keeping black



	Americans' membership to a minimum, thereby restricting their working conditions • Lynching enforced southern white supremacy through racial terror. The rate of lynching was strongly associated with economic strains, especially low cotton prices, undermining legal gains achieved during Reconstruction. Other relevant material must be credited.
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1.

Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Other relevant material not suggested below must also be credited.

Candidates must analyse and evaluate the source to consider its value for revealing the US federal government approach to racial discrimination and the issues of racial separation in the late 19th century raised by Plessy v. Ferguson (1896). Plessy v. Ferguson is named in the specification – candidates can therefore be expected to know about the issues raised by the case, and be aware of the context of the source, namely separate but equal public accommodations.

1. The following points could be made about the origin and nature of the source and applied when giving weight to information and inferences:

- The tone of the opinion reveals a very negative view of the enforcement of existing protections for black Americans. It clearly emphasises the urgent need for the Judiciary to support the meaning of the US Constitution
- As a Supreme Court justice, Harlan conveys detailed knowledge of three constitutional Amendments and his words seem to be a mission statement to persuade the American people of the misjudgement made in this case
- The tone is clearly liberal towards civil rights and does not represent the views of the Harlan's colleagues on the Court or those of Southern state legislators.

2. The following inferences and significant points of information could be drawn and supported from the source:

The US federal government approach to racial discrimination:

- The source suggests that the federal government approach was positive, amending the Constitution to end slavery, the most pernicious feature of racial discrimination ('halted...slavery', 'prevented... slavery by another name.')
- It gives evidence that the federal government's approach was to challenge racial discrimination by enacting the 14th Amendment providing equal legal rights for all ('No state shall deny... the equal protection of the laws'.')
- It suggests that the federal government approach was to clarify the Constitution by removing discrimination from the democratic process ('the right of citizens to vote shall not be limited ... on account of race, colour...')
- It suggests that the federal government sought a universal solution to the problem of racial discrimination, with which every American state should comply ('They removed the race issue from our governmental systems.').

The issues of racial separation in the late 19th century raised by Plessy v. Ferguson (1896):

- It suggests that Plessy raised inconsistencies between federal and state government policies on racial separation by ruling on state government discrimination ('state laws, assume that coloured citizens are so inferior...')
- It states that Harlan believed that separation of the races on public transportation was unconstitutional, even though the Court's judgement allowed it ('It cannot be justified upon any legal grounds.')
- It suggests that the Supreme Court's ruling on racial separation would be directly responsible for creating a major deterioration in race relations ('...this case will poison relations between the races...')
- It suggests that 'separate but equal' was a contradiction as state laws imply that 'coloured citizens are so inferior and dishonoured that they cannot be allowed to sit in public coaches occupied by white citizens.'.



Question	Indicative content
	3. Knowledge of historical context should be deployed to support and develop inferences and to confirm the value of the source in revealing the US federal government approach to racial discrimination and the issues of racial separation in the late 19th century raised by Plessy v. Ferguson (1896). Relevant points may include: • Southern governors had resorted to Jim Crow laws to find loopholes in the 13th and 14th Amendments, requiring the separation of white from black people on public transport and in schools, e.g. in Florida and Mississippi • The case of Plessy v. Ferguson arose when Homer Plessy, who was one-eighth non-white, was prosecuted for taking a ticket in a railway carriage reserved for white passengers, in violation of a Louisiana state law • The majority judgement (7-1, with Harlan dissenting) ruled that the state law, based on separate but equal accommodations, did not violate the 14th Amendment, which intended to secure only legal, not social equality.

Option 39.2: Mass media and social change in Britain, 1882–2004



Question	Indicative content
4	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about the extent to which the influence of southern whites in the Democratic Party was the chief cause of the failure to address the grievances of black Americans during the New Deal years, 1933-41. Arguments and evidence supporting the statement that the influence of southern whites in the Democratic Party was the chief cause of the failure to address the grievances of black Americans during the New Deal years should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • States such as Georgia, run by Democrats, intended to maintain white supremacy, segregation, cheap black labour and a white electorate, so they ignored black American grievances • Almost all Southern Democrat politicians were keen segregationists, e.g. Eugene Talmadge attacked integrated education and ignored black criticisms of an unfair school system • Southern Democrat whites played the race card to get elected. Their failure to address black grievances gained votes from poor, racist whites who saw ethnicity as the one thing keeping them off the bottom of the social ladder • Franklin Roosevelt was reluctant to use Congress or executive orders to address black American grievances, as he did not wish to alienate a significant proportion of his own party in the South • Social security aid during the New Deal was devolved to state governments. Southern Democrats ensured that such benefits would not reach black Americans, most of whom worked in excluded jobs. Arguments and evidence that counter the proposition that the influence of southern whites in the Democrat Party was the chief cause of the failure to address the grievances of black Americans during the New Deal years, or that other factors were the cause should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • Some Southern Democrats campaigned to address black American grievances, notably Huey P. Long • A significant cause of the failure to address black American grievances was the all-pervading depression, which focused minds elsewhere, principally unemployment among whites, and for FDR on 'saving America' • Most black grievances focused on relief, as they were not covered by the Social Security Act or the National Labour Relations Act. This was the fault of the whole federal system rather than simply southern white Democrats • The Supreme Court remained unhelpful to the cause of black American grievances, e.g. <i>Trudeau v Barnes</i> (1933) insisted on all state appeals being exhausted before it would hear cases • Black Americans outside the South continued to suffer de facto segregation and discrimination in housing, employment and education. Their grievances could not be blamed on southern whites. Other relevant material must be credited.

Option 39.2: Mass media and social change in Britain, 1882–2004



1.

Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Other relevant material not suggested below must also be credited.

Candidates must analyse and evaluate the source to consider how far the historian could make use of it for revealing the nature of race relations in Chicago in the 1930s and the impact of New Deal welfare on black Americans. The author of the source is not named in the specification but candidates should be aware of the New Deal and race relations.

1. The following points could be made about the origin and nature of the source and applied when giving weight to information and inferences:

- Horace Cayton was in a good position to know about the nature of race relations in Chicago as he had come to live there during the 1930s
- As a sociologist Cayton should take an expert detached view of the nature of the Depression without his views being coloured by his personal experience: 'I had never really felt the Depression'
- It is clear through the tone of his article that Cayton believes that Roosevelt's New Deal was a saving grace for black Americans: 'Roosevelt was something. He broke the tradition... [He] came to be a god'
- Cayton's responses have been edited by Studs Terkel, who may be looking for a particular impression in a book entitled *Hard Times*.

2. The following inferences and significant points of information could be drawn and supported from the source:

The nature of race relations in Chicago on race relations:

- It provides evidence that black people were motivated to defend themselves by self-help from disadvantages of discrimination: 'These people had a destination, had a purpose.'
- It suggests that law enforcers were racially motivated, endangering good race relations: 'The police came from all directions, like gangbusters'
- It provides evidence that Chicago had poor race relations similar to those endemic in the South: 'They also used to have these 'indignation' meetings down South...curse out white people.'
- It suggests that common cause in the Depression of the 1930s may have moderated poor race relations: 'There were so many whites on relief. So, the Negro would look and he wouldn't see any great difference'.

The impact of New Deal welfare on black Americans:

- It provides evidence that there was a narrowing of the gap in welfare between the races: '...if Negroes were on relief, so were whites'
- It states that the New Deal brought new job opportunities for black Americans: 'You worked, you got a paycheck. Even when a man raked leaves, he got paid'
- It suggests that the New Deal improved the health of black Americans: 'The next thing was ... when you are poor, you let your teeth go'.
- It provides evidence that the New Deal did not entirely benefit black workers: '...during the New Deal: more Negroes on unskilled work than on skilled jobs'.

3. Knowledge of historical context should be deployed to support and develop inferences and to confirm the value of the source for revealing the nature of



Question	Indicative content
	race relations in Chicago in the 1930s and the benefits of New Deal welfare for black Americans. Relevant points may include: • Some of the damage to race relations caused by discrimination against black workers in New Deal agencies was ameliorated by the introduction of racial quotas in PWA construction projects in Chicago and elsewhere • Race relations remained poor in Chicago during the 1930s as deprivation brought out the worst in the some of the poorest whites. Lynching of black citizens rose to levels not seen since the First World War • Black Americans bore the brunt of job losses when the Depression hit, particularly in the North East and Mid-West, including Chicago, which had seen mass migration to industrial centres • New Deal relief agencies offered hope and jobless totals fell significantly as a result of the PWA, administered by former president of the Chicago NAACP, Harold Ickes • The creation of the Congress of Industrial Organisations, the Wagner Act and the National Labour Relations Board brought benefits to unskilled workers, a disproportionate number of whom were black.

Option 39.2: Mass media and social change in Britain, 1882–2004

Question	Indicative content
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Question	Indicative content
4	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about the view that the New Deal brought no substantial change to the employment status and working conditions of black Americans in the years 1933-41. Arguments and evidence supporting the statement that the New Deal brought no substantial change should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • Black farmers did not benefit from New Deal legislation. The Social Security Act, the National Labour Relations Act and the Fair Labour Standards Act did not extend to agricultural workers • Half of black workers were employed in domestic service, whose employment status was not covered by labour reform legislation • Local Housing Authority boards from across the US reported no progress towards New Deal guidelines setting aside a portion of the public housing construction work for black Americans, owing to local racial customs • The FEPC (1941) did not require compliance with its decisions; directives and advances for black Americans in federal employment, particularly in higher status employment, were deeply disappointing. Arguments and evidence supporting the statement that the New Deal did bring substantial change should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • By 1935, the WPA was employing approximately 350,000 black Americans annually, about 15% of its total workforce, a clear change for the better for many previously unemployed as a result of the depression • With the government paying big Southern growers to reduce production within the AAA, the growers had now-unemployed black sharecroppers and tenants on their land, making their status substantially worse • The NYA hired more black administrators than any other New Deal agency and employed African American supervisors to oversee the work the agency was doing on behalf of black youth for each state in the South • Though segregated from 1935, the percentage of black workers in the CCC rose from 3 to 13 percent by 1941 and hiring quotas meant many blacks received skilled, higher status employment on PWA projects

- Labour laws encouraging union organisation and defining a minimum wage also supported black workers. The formation of the CIO in 1935 meant many black workers benefited from union improvement of their conditions.

Other relevant material must be credited.



1. Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Other relevant material not suggested below must also be credited.
- Candidates must analyse and evaluate the source to consider its value for revealing the way that Jim Crow Laws were applied on public transportation during the period of the New Deal and the failure to address the grievances of black Americans concerning public transportation. The report is not named in the specification – candidates cannot therefore be expected to know about its authorship, but should be aware of the context of the source, namely the application of Jim Crow laws.
1. The following points could be made about the origin and nature of the source and applied when giving weight to information and inferences:
- A newspaper with a wide circulation in a section of the USA where the Jim Crow Laws were rigorously applied, it is a valuable journal to assess the workings of day-to-day segregation issues
 - The newspaper's purpose as a voice for black Americans is to bring news to a black readership, so the description of events may be skewed
 - The language and style the report uses is more sympathetic towards the black passengers (on first-name terms) than to the driver
 - The newspaper is reporting on an incident in just one state. The report may not be typical of the situation elsewhere in the South.
2. The following inferences and significant points of information could be drawn and supported from the source:
- The way that Jim Crow Laws were applied on public transportation:**
- The source suggests that Jim Crow Laws resulted in harsher treatment of black passengers in the South ('...subtle discrimination against black customers in the North...brutal discourtesy ... in the Southern states.')
 - The source suggests that the separate but equal principle within Jim Crow segregation laws was ignored on buses ('entitled to every comfort that should be given ... separate but equal accommodation')
 - The source states that despite obeying the Jim Crow demarcation, the black passenger was still being intimidated and not listened to ('The driver charged at them... she was still in the Jim Crow section.').
- The failure to address the grievances of black Americans:**
- The source implies a requirement for a fairer application of the Jim Crow Laws, as black passengers have the law of the United States on their side ('... the 14th Amendment and the US Supreme Court')
 - The source suggests that discrimination on public transportation, de facto, was not being addressed by the federal government in spite of legislation ('call upon the legal services of... the 14th Amendment')
 - The source suggests that neither the white bus driver nor local law enforcers paid any attention to the grievances of black Americans ('The driver left the bus. He returned with two huge local policemen....')



Question	Indicative content
	- The source suggests that black grievances were not addressed as, in the South, state laws were ignored by state prosecutors ('paid for separate but equal accommodation...trial for 'violation of the segregation laws'...'). 3. Knowledge of historical context should be deployed to support and develop inferences and to confirm the value of the source in revealing the way that Jim Crow Laws were applied on public transportation during the period of the New Deal and the failure to address the grievances of black Americans concerning public transportation. Relevant points may include: - Jim Crow Laws in the South were largely as a result of the Supreme Court judgement <i>Plessy v. Ferguson</i> (1896), but subsequent violations of 'separate but equal' had not been addressed - The years to 1940 brought full extension of segregation to all southern public transportation. Multiple state laws, constitutional amendments, and city ordinances legalised segregation during the New Deal era - Virginia's bus operators in this period were supposed to separate their coaches into two sections: whites up front and blacks at the back. As whites boarded, their section was assumed to extend toward the back - The stand taken by Murray and McBean led quickly to a number of key court cases about segregation on inter-state buses and trains, with some notable successes for black Americans seeking redress of grievances.

Option 39.2: Mass media and social change in Britain, 1882-2004



Question	Indicative content
3	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about the statement that New Deal legislation barely changed the lives of black Americans in the USA. Arguments and evidence supporting the statement that New Deal legislation barely changed the lives of black Americans in the USA should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • NIRA provisions covered the industries from which black workers were usually excluded. Neither farm nor domestic labour, two sectors where black Americans were well represented, were covered under NIRA • The 1935 Social Security Act did not provide old-age pensions for farm and domestic workers, which automatically excluded a substantial number of senior black Americans from potentially life-changing relief in old age • Black participation in the work programmes created by New Deal legislation did not change rampant discrimination, e.g. in the CCC. Black workers were still given the most menial jobs and largely segregated • New Deal relief programmes were implemented at state level by governors who, especially in the South, discriminated against ethnic minorities as to how relief was distributed - black lives were unchanged • The TVA provided much-needed housing for whites but excluded black people from such benefits. Arguments and evidence challenging the statement that New Deal legislation barely changed the lives of black Americans in the USA should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • Some educated black Americans benefited. Roosevelt employed more to work on New Deal laws. The employment of black American civil servants tripled, significantly changing their lives and those of their families • Coming as a result of relief payments and jobs through the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act, the swing of grateful black voters to the Democrats was a reflection of changes they saw in their lives • There was significant change in black livelihoods as a result of legislation providing positive discrimination for black Americans through the NYA (National Youth Administration) • Legislation led to a dedicated black group in the WPA set up to provide insight into the needs of black Americans. There had never been so many blacks chosen at one time to work together to improve black lives • New Deal legislation led to some agencies that changed black lives decisively for the worse, e.g. AAA subsidies to white farmers to reduce production drove black sharecroppers from the land • Though black Americans were not specifically targeted by New Deal programmes, they benefited as many citizens did. Labour laws that encouraged unionisation and defined minimum wages changed black lives. Other relevant material must be credited.

1. Finding the right level

The first stage is to decide which level the answer should be placed in. To do this, use a 'best-fit' approach, deciding which level most closely describes the quality of the answer. Answers can display characteristics from more than one level, and where this happens markers must use the guidance below and their professional judgement to decide which level is most appropriate.

For example, one stronger passage at L4 would not by itself merit a L4 mark, but it might be evidence to support a high L3 mark, unless there are substantial weaknesses in other areas. Similarly, an answer that fits best in L3 but which has some characteristics of L2 might be placed at the bottom of L3. An answer displaying some characteristics of L3 and some of L1 might be placed in L2.



Question	Indicative content
3	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about the statement that segregation was the chief cause of grievances expressed by black Americans in the New Deal years (1933-41). Arguments and evidence supporting the statement that segregation was the chief cause of grievances expressed by black Americans in the New Deal years should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • The fiction of 'separate but equal' accommodation in public housing and other public facilities indicated that segregation was the chief cause of black grievances in the South, as it continued throughout these years • <i>De facto</i> segregation in northern cities drove black Americans' grievances; even when they escaped from Jim Crow <i>de jure</i> segregation in the South they faced new forms of segregation that underpinned most grievances • Separate schools and colleges were a chief cause of grievances, as education continued to be underfunded and inferior throughout the New Deal period in the South, and was an issue elsewhere for black Americans • Black American workers were largely segregated in the work programmes created by New Deal legislation, e.g. the CCC. This failed to address grievances regarding the central plank of New Deal policy on employment. Arguments and evidence challenging the statement that segregation was the chief cause of grievances expressed by black Americans in the New Deal years should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • The Social Security Act was a cause. It failed to provide old-age pensions for farm and domestic workers, which automatically excluded substantial numbers of senior black Americans from life-changing relief in old age • Racist state governors in the South were a cause of grievances. New Deal relief programmes were implemented by them, discriminating against black Americans as to how relief was distributed • NIRA was a cause of grievances. Its provisions failed to deal with black Americans' deprivation. Neither farm nor domestic labour, two sectors where black Americans were well represented, were covered under NIRA • New Deal agricultural legislation changed black lives decisively for the worse, making their grievances greater, e.g. AAA subsidies to white farmers, to reduce production, drove sharecroppers from the land • FDR's Administration was a cause of grievances because it failed to address the lynching of black Americans as it needed the support of white Southerners, many of whom supported lynching. Other relevant material must be credited.

Question	Indicative content
4	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about how accurate is it to say that it was primarily internal divisions within the Civil Rights Movement that damaged the cause of civil rights for black Americans in the years 1960-68. Arguments and evidence supporting the statement that it was primarily internal divisions in the Civil Rights Movement that damaged the cause of civil rights for black Americans in the years 1960-68 should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: ☐ Some high profile campaigns were damaged by divisions between SCLC and SNCC, principally at Albany (1961-62) and Selma (1965). The grass roots resented decisions made by Martin Luther King ☐ King's Chicago campaign was mired in controversy as his 'Southern' methods were not regarded as appropriate by northern-based protest groups, who felt they had too much to lose in protesting about housing ☐ The Civil Rights Movement was always a broad coalition. The conservative NAACP regarded even King as a dangerous radical for his non-violent direct action, whereas SNCC and CORE grew frustrated at King's pacifism ☐ There were strains in tactics, such as the failure of the Mississippi Freedom Summer (1964) to achieve a political solution. There was a rift between non-violence and black nationalist proposals of violence in self-defence ☐ The rift between Muslim Black Nationalism and organisations loyal to King, especially in separation versus integration, saw SNCC and CORE move toward the nationalists, losing white support. This damaged the Movement. Arguments and evidence that other factors were the cause of damage to the civil rights movement should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: ☐ The Civil Rights Movement was damaged far more by external factors, principally the distraction posed by the Vietnam War. Liberal white support was diluted and King's Riverside Speech made him seem unpatriotic ☐ The opposition of the KKK, Southern governors and racist law enforcers inflicted far more damage ☐ The Movement was materially damaged far more by the return to Congress of large numbers of Republicans in the 1966 mid-term elections, which undermined Johnson's Civil Rights programmes, than by internal divisions ☐ The Civil Rights Movement was damaged by the growth of black American groups claiming to be outside the Movement. The Black Panthers were seen as a 'lunatic fringe', or communists, by previous supporters of Civil Rights ☐☐☐☐☐ The Civil Rights Movement was damaged by the unpopularity of solutions to segregation such as busing. Other relevant material must be credited.

Option 39.2: Mass media and social change in Britain, 1882–2004



Question	Indicative content
4	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about how accurate it is to say that the status of black people in the United States changed very little in the years 1954-63. Arguments and evidence supporting the statement that the status of black people in the United States changed very little in these years should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • Victories in the Supreme Court achieved by the NAACP in education were more apparent than real. Obstructionism by Southern governors and 'de facto' segregation elsewhere meant there was little change in black schools • Many black Americans continued to find their voting rights challenged by intimidation or legal loopholes, especially in Southern states • The necessity of bringing the case <i>Boynton v Virginia</i> and the subsequent Freedom Rides in support of its ruling, showed that there was still widespread discrimination against black Americans on transportation • Progress in the workplace for black Americans ground to a halt as union membership in the old staple industries dropped by more than 50% in these years • Both rural and urban black Americans remained disproportionately poor. Restrictive covenants kept blacks out of new Levittowns; majority black depressed rural counties and inner-city ghettos remained poverty-stricken. Arguments and evidence that counter the proposition that the status of black people in the United States changed very little in these years should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • <i>Brown v Topeka</i> was a landmark judgement that changed the legal status of black students, paving the way for increased integration in schools and colleges later • The Montgomery Bus Boycott forced Southern cities to reconsider local segregation laws and much progress was made in desegregating downtown areas by 1963 • The federal government was obliged to intervene to improve the status of black Americans through two Civil Rights Acts (1957 and 1960) • The active involvement of the Kennedy administration brought advances in status for some black students, e.g. University of Alabama and 'Ol' Miss' and also for bus passengers • Black Americans drew benefits from the campaigns of SLCC, CORE and SNCC, which challenged segregation and discrimination. The Birmingham campaign persuaded Kennedy to draw up a bill to outlaw the Jim Crow laws. Other relevant material must be credited.

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1. Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Other relevant material not suggested below must also be credited.
- Candidates must analyse and evaluate the source to consider its value for revealing the reasons for civil rights protests in the US in the mid-1950s and the principles on which Martin Luther King based his methods of protest. Martin Luther King, who wrote and delivered the speech, is named in the specification, and candidates can therefore be expected to know about his work.
1. The following points could be made about the origin and nature of the source and applied when giving weight to information and inferences:
- King was a young black American, clearly literate and politically aware, making a major speech to a large audience on the methods for which he became synonymous
 - King's purpose is to persuade his audience to accept a rationale of protest unfamiliar to them
 - The language and style King uses is that of a pastor, which would have been familiar to his audience and conform to what his audience expected
 - He was keen to make his mark by clearly expressing the principles of the Montgomery Improvement Association.
2. The following inferences and significant points of information could be drawn and supported from the source:
- The reasons for civil rights protests in the US in the mid-1950s:**
- The source suggests that previous reluctance to protest has sent misleading messages to white Americans ('given our white brothers the feeling that we liked the way we were treated')
 - The source provides evidence that black Americans are frustrated by their mistreatment and that a new wave of protest is the only way forward ('tired of being segregated ... no alternative but to protest')
 - The source suggests that protest is more effective than complete pacifism or inaction ('we come here tonight to be saved from this patience that tolerates anything less than freedom and justice')
 - The source implies that both the US federal government and the Constitution allow for legitimate protest in support of civil rights ('If we are wrong, the Supreme Court... the Constitution...wrong').
- The principles on which Martin Luther King based his methods of protest:**



Question	Indicative content
	- The source implies that one principle behind the protests must be to avoid playing the oppressor at his own game ('Our method will be that of persuasion, not brutality') - The source gives evidence that the principle of non-violence is rooted in the Christian gospel ('Our actions must be guided by the word of our Lord') - The source suggests that active avoidance of violence must be part of the protest movement ('If we fail to do this, our protest will end up as meaningless... end up by hating our white brothers') - The source suggests that King's rationale is based in law, that he is determined to invoke the Constitution, realising that paper promises are insufficient ('democracy transformed from theories ... to practical action'). 3. Knowledge of historical context should be deployed to support and develop inferences and to confirm the value of the source in revealing the reasons for civil rights protests in the US in the mid-1950s and the principles on which Martin Luther King based his methods of protest. Relevant points may include: - King was a local pastor with an obvious gift of oratory who had been invited to support a bus boycott in the wake of the arrest of Rosa Parks - As a newcomer to Montgomery, King was a good choice to lead new forms of civil rights action by MIA, as he was less likely to be targeted by white law enforcers than more well-known figures - E.D. Nixon of the NAACP had been frustrated by the reluctance of other pastors to join in a boycott - Montgomery was a good place to kick-start non-violent protest: King had a support network of individuals in local organisations, e.g. Jo Ann Robinson and also grass-roots fund-raising by the Club From Nowhere - King was willing to work within a legal framework and although he appeared to be the public face of the boycott, he agreed to cooperate with the NAACP in its court case, recognising the dual process.

Option 39.2: Mass media and social change in Britain, 1882-2004

Question	Indicative content

Question	Indicative content
4	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about the view that it was the activities of SNCC and CORE that were mainly responsible for improvements in the lives of black Americans in the years 1957-68. Arguments and evidence supporting the view that it was the activities of SNCC and CORE that were mainly responsible for improvements in the lives of black Americans in the years 1957-68 should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • The advent of SNCC, in 1960, substantially moved the campaign for black lives from court to street as the group's sit-in tactics prompted a federal response, culminating in the great civil rights acts of the sixties • CORE's Freedom Rides, in the early 1960s, were successful in moving forward arguments about desegregation by eliciting the support of Attorney-General Robert F Kennedy • CORE's support for the Mississippi Freedom Summer (1964) and the murder of three of their white activists garnered greater liberal white support for improvements in the lives of black Americans • SNCC took the lead in bringing about federal support for voting rights, culminating in the Voting Rights Act (1965), which led to the election of local black leaders and subsequent improvements in black lives • SNCC leader, Stokeley Carmichael, pioneered improvements in black lives in the South by setting up the Black Panther Party in Alabama, which spread ideas about self-help community action to other parts of the USA. Arguments and evidence supporting the view that SNCC and CORE were not mainly responsible/other factors were mainly responsible for the improvements in the lives of black Americans in the years 1957-68 should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • Because he attracted the media spotlight, the dominant force in bringing about improvement in black lives during the period was Dr King, whose campaigns struck a chord with the Kennedy and Johnson administrations • A powerful factor in bringing about improvements in the lives of black Americans was the Cold War. The USA could not win a war of words on human rights with the USSR without improving civil rights at home • The contributions of SNCC and CORE to the improvement of black lives faded from the mid-1960s as they expelled white members. Increasingly, separatism damaged their search for federal government support

	Black lives were improved less by civil rights groups than by thousands of unheralded grass-roots leaders in communities across the South and in the major cities, often in churches. Other relevant material must be credited.
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Option 39.2: Mass media and social change in Britain, 1882–2004



1.

Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Other relevant material not suggested below must also be credited.

Candidates must analyse and evaluate the source to consider its value for revealing the obstacles to the achievement of democratic rights faced by black Americans and the methods used by President Johnson to achieve civil rights for these citizens. President Johnson is named in the specification – candidates can therefore be expected to know about the authorship of the source, and be aware of the context of the source, namely the introduction of comprehensive voting rights laws.

1. The following points could be made about the origin and nature of the source and applied when giving weight to information and inferences:

- The tone of the statement reveals a very negative view of the enforcement of existing legislation with regard to black Americans. It clearly emphasises the urgent need to find congressional support for voting rights
- Johnson conveys detailed knowledge of franchise avoidance techniques and his words seem to be a mission statement to persuade Congress to support remedial legislation. Its apparent sincerity gives the speech reliability
- These are the Chief Executive's thoughts. The fact that Johnson is making a special message to Congress reveals the importance he attaches to its content for persuading the legislature to take responsibility for civil rights.

2. The following inferences and significant points of information could be drawn and supported from the source:

The obstacles to the achievement of democratic rights faced by black Americans:

- It provides evidence that racial discrimination is the overarching obstacle to the achievement of democratic rights for black people ('... men and women are kept from voting simply because they are black.')
- It states that many American law-makers are determined to resist existing democratic rights by finding loopholes, a tactic that Johnson must persuade Congress is unworthy ('Many underhand methods... to deny this right.')
- It suggests that the imposition of obstacles is sectional ('There is no Southern problem. There is no Northern problem. There is only an American problem.'). The quote implies the opposite is true.
- It provides evidence that tests applied by election officials in order for a black citizen to qualify to vote are impossible to pass ('...may be asked to recite the entire Constitution or explain the most complex provisions...').

The methods used by President Johnson to achieve civil rights:

- The speech suggests that there is no bipartisan consensus for civil rights legislation and that Johnson's goal is to find it by use of lofty rhetoric ('we are meeting... as Americans – not as Republicans or Democrats.')
- It suggests that a whole new system of politics is unnecessary to support black Americans, rather there needs to be a reaffirmation of the existing Constitution ('... to support and to defend that Constitution')
- It states that the current laws must be overhauled to allow black voting rights ('... the existing process of law cannot overcome systematic and determined discrimination.')



Question	Indicative content
	- It states that Johnson sees Congress, as the legislative body of all of the country, as pivotal to the achievement of civil rights ('There is only an American problem'; 'we are meeting here...to solve that problem.'). 3. Knowledge of historical context should be deployed to support and develop inferences and to confirm the value of the source in revealing the obstacles to the achievement of democratic rights faced by black Americans and the methods used by President Johnson to achieve civil rights for these citizens. Relevant points may include: - Southern congressmen and state governors were opposed to civil rights legislation; the Southern Manifesto (1956), signed by the entire delegations to Congress of seven Southern states, was still active in the mid-1960s - Martin Luther King had appealed to President Johnson for federal support in the wake of the police riot during the first Selma March against obstacles to voter registration earlier in the month - Johnson used King's words in appealing to Congress to pass the Voting Rights Bill: 'we shall overcome'. Johnson had already been successful in using stirring phrases to ensure the passage of the Civil Rights Act, 1964.

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4	13–16	• Analyses the source material, interrogating the evidence to make reasoned inferences and to show a range of ways the material can be used, for example by distinguishing between information and claim or opinion, although treatment of the two enquiries may be uneven. • Deploys knowledge of the historical context to illuminate and/or discuss the limitations of what can be gained from the content of the source material, displaying some understanding of the need to interpret source material in the context of the values and concerns of the society from which it is drawn. • Evaluation of the source material uses valid criteria which are justified and applied, although some of the evaluation may be weakly substantiated. Evaluation takes into account the weight the evidence will bear as part of coming to a judgement.
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Question	Indicative content
4	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about how significant Martin Luther King's non-violent campaigns were in achieving civil rights for black Americans in the years 1954-63. Arguments and evidence supporting the view that Martin Luther King's non-violent campaigns were significant in achieving civil rights for black Americans in these years should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • The Montgomery Bus Boycott (1955-56) was headlined by King's oratory and resulted in the desegregation of the city's buses, a success that spread to other Southern cities • The success of King's non-violent tactics led to the creation of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which was able to mobilise support against legal segregation across most of the Old South • King's non-violent tactics in Birmingham (1963), including the use of children, so captivated the media that President Kennedy made a nationwide broadcast announcing the introduction of a civil rights bill • King led the March on Washington Movement, culminating in his speech from the Lincoln Memorial that captivated the nation, aiding the development of a comprehensive civil rights measure in Congress. Arguments and evidence challenging the view that Martin Luther King's non-violent campaigns were significant in achieving civil rights for black Americans in these years should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • King's significance at Montgomery was less significant than was apparent; the work of the NAACP and local leaders, like Jo Ann Robinson, culminated in the legal case of Browder v. Gayle, which achieved bus desegregation • King's campaigns were not always successful, e.g. at Albany, SCLC was out-thought by police chief Pritchett and the campaign was marred by disagreements with SNCC • King's campaigning was not always at the forefront of the civil rights struggle, especially as the next major campaigns after Montgomery were led by SNCC's sit-ins and CORE's Freedom Rides • King's significance was exaggerated by the media. His four major campaigns in the years 1955-63, compared with c900 less-reported campaigns led by others in 1962 alone, illustrate this • Great significance lay with grass roots leadership in Southern churches. Other relevant material must be credited.

Option 39.2: Mass media and social change in Britain, 1882–2004



Question	Indicative content
1.	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Other relevant material not suggested below must also be credited. Candidates must analyse and evaluate the sources to consider how far the historian could make use of them in revealing the reasons for the election of Barack Obama as senator for Illinois in 2004 and the reasons for the success of his subsequent campaign for the Democratic Party nomination for the presidency of the United States. The author of the source is not named in the specification but candidates can be expected to be aware of the context. The following points could be made about the origin and nature of the source and applied when giving weight to information and inferences: • Todd Spivak was in a good position to know about the reasons for Obama's political rise to prominence as he was clearly a prominently positioned and award-winning journalist • As a distinguished lawyer, Spivak may have sympathetic connections with established lawmakers who feel upstaged by Obama. Such evidence may affect his judgement: 'Senator Hendon complained to me...at the time' • It is clear through the tone of his article that Spivak believes the responsibility for Obama's electoral successes lies with others and that his mass appeal was down to good fortune • The source was written before Obama's nomination as the Democratic presidential candidate. Spivak was concentrating his fire on one candidate's weaknesses, perhaps to influence the primary campaign. The following inferences and significant points of information could be drawn and supported from the source: Linked to Obama's election as senator for Illinois: • It provides evidence that Obama owed more to his opponents' weaknesses than to his own strengths: 'the Republican governor got caught selling drivers' licenses to truckers with bad driving records' • It suggests racial politics were a key issue, as a Republican 'white, race-baiting' Senate Majority Leader had been replaced by a black American Democrat sympathetic to Obama • It provides evidence that Obama owed everything to a personal political project by Jones to get a fellow African-American elected: 'I'm gonna make me a U.S. Senator'. Linked to Obama's success in winning the Democratic Party nomination for the presidency: • It suggests that Obama's reputation as an effective lawmaker was manufactured rather than earned 'landmark civil rights legislation, taken away by Jones and given to Obama...' • It provides evidence that Obama's success as a lawmaker, and therefore as a prospective presidential candidate, was due to the hard work of others whose skills he turned to his advantage: '...he got all the credit' • It suggests that Obama was very skilled at selecting policies that had been popular with the party for many years: 'state legislators had spent years championing the bills'



Question	Indicative content
	- It suggests Jones was behind both Obama's election to the Senate and as presidential nominee: 'Jones appointed Obama sponsor of virtually every high-profile piece of legislation he now cites in the campaign'. Knowledge of historical context should be deployed to support and develop inferences and to confirm the value of the source in revealing the reasons for the election of Barack Obama as senator for Illinois in 2004 and the reasons for the success of his subsequent campaign for the Democratic Party nomination for the presidency. Relevant points may include: - In the 2004 Senate primary Obama received many high-profile endorsements, benefited from television ads recounting his life's story and defeated the Democrat front runner, who was damaged by a divorce case - During the 2004 election itself the high-flying Republican Jack Ryan had to be replaced following his messy divorce case. The Republicans unwisely chose an out-of-state candidate, Alan Keyes, as Ryan's replacement - Obama's Keynote Address at the Democratic Convention (2004) electrified the nation, introducing Americans to the man who would become President. Admiration for the Founding Fathers appealed to whites - In 2008 Obama ran extremely well among African-Americans and other minorities, white urban dwellers, liberals and the young. His speeches and an autobiography (2006) appealed to independents and suburbanites - The primaries showed a striking contrast between Obama and Hillary Clinton's campaign methods. Other relevant material must be credited.

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Question	Indicative content
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4	Answers will be credited according to candidates' deployment of material in relation to the qualities outlined in the generic mark scheme. The indicative content below is not prescriptive and candidates are not required to include all the material which is indicated as relevant. Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about whether the main reason for Barack Obama's victory in the campaign for the Presidency was the weakness of his opponents throughout his campaign. Arguments and evidence supporting the statement that the main reason for Barack Obama's victory in the campaign for the Presidency was the weakness of his opponents throughout his campaign should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • Obama's march to victory in 2008 began with his nomination by the Democrats, achieved largely as a result of the weaknesses in Hillary Clinton's campaign and her association with her now-tainted husband • Dislike of the aftermath of the Iraq War and the economic crisis proved pivotal weaknesses for the campaign of John McCain • McCain was portrayed as yesterday's man, 72 years old and linked to the unpopular outgoing Republican administration • McCain's wealth worked against him at a time of economic downturn associated with failed mortgage schemes, especially when he told a journalist that he could not remember how many homes he owned • The 'Palin effect' became decisive. McCain's running mate displayed a lack of knowledge of foreign affairs and a series of gaffes led to her being ridiculed and portrayed as a bumpkin on TV, damaging McCain's chances. Arguments and evidence challenging the statement that the main reason for Barack Obama's victory in the campaign for the Presidency was the weakness of his opponents throughout his campaign should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include: • Obama's Keynote Address at the Democratic Convention (2004) electrified the nation, introducing Americans to the man who would become President. Admiration for the Founding Fathers appealed to whites • In 2008, Obama ran extremely well among black Americans and other minorities, white urban dwellers, liberals and the young. His speeches and an autobiography appealed to independents and suburbanites • Obama's policies appealed to both wings of the Democratic Party, e.g. an emergency economic plan, but with fiscal responsibility; the end of involvement in Iraq, but the turning of the tide against global terror • Obama's use of social media proved decisive, helping to get across his message by emphasising him as the candidate for change, representing a young generation • Obama secured 95% of the black vote, up from 84% who had voted Democrat in 2004 and an even steeper rise in Latino support • Obama's ability to raise funds through local networking was crucial, enabling him to support four times as many campaign offices as McCain and outspending him by 4:1 in the vital swing states. Other relevant material must be credited.

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