



Mark Scheme (Results)

Summer 2019

Pearson Edexcel GCE
In History (9HI0) Paper 2H

Advanced Level

Option 2H.1: The USA, c1920–55: boom, bust and recovery

Option 2H.2: The USA, 1955–92: conformity and challenge

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General Marking Guidance

- All candidates must receive the same treatment. Examiners must mark the first candidate in exactly the same way as they mark the last.
- Mark schemes should be applied positively. Candidates must be rewarded for what they have shown they can do rather than penalised for omissions.
- Examiners should mark according to the mark scheme not according to their perception of where the grade boundaries may lie.
- There is no ceiling on achievement. All marks on the mark scheme should be used appropriately.
- All the marks on the mark scheme are designed to be awarded. Examiners should always award full marks if deserved, i.e. if the answer matches the mark scheme. Examiners should also be prepared to award zero marks if the candidate's response is not worthy of credit according to the mark scheme.
- Where some judgement is required, mark schemes will provide the principles by which marks will be awarded and exemplification may be limited.
- When examiners are in doubt regarding the application of the mark scheme to a candidate's response, the team leader must be consulted.
- Crossed out work should be marked UNLESS the candidate has replaced it with an alternative response.

Generic Level Descriptors: Section A

Target: AO2: Analyse and evaluate appropriate source material, primary and/or contemporary to the period, within its historical context.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
	0	No rewardable material.
1	1–3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demonstrates surface level comprehension of the source material without analysis, selecting some material relevant to the question, but in the form of direct quotations or paraphrases. • Some relevant contextual knowledge is included, with limited linkage to the source material. • Evaluation of the source material is assertive with little or no supporting evidence. Concepts of reliability or utility may be addressed, but by making stereotypical judgements.
2	4–7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demonstrates some understanding and attempts analysis of the source material by selecting and summarising information and making undeveloped inferences relevant to the question. • Contextual knowledge is added to information from the source material to expand, confirm or challenge matters of detail. • Evaluation of the source material is related to the specified enquiry but with limited support for judgement. Concepts of reliability or utility are addressed mainly by noting aspects of source provenance and judgements may be based on questionable assumptions.
3	8–12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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.
4	13–16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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 sources 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.
5	17–20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interrogates the evidence of both sources with confidence and discrimination, making reasoned inferences and showing a range of ways the material can be used, for example by distinguishing between information and claim or opinion. • 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 secure 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 fully applied. Evaluation takes into account the weight the evidence will bear as part of coming to a judgement and, where appropriate, distinguishes between the degree of certainty with which aspects of it can be used as the basis for claims.

Section B

Target: AO1: Demonstrate, organise and communicate knowledge and understanding to analyse and evaluate the key features related to the periods studied, making substantiated judgements and exploring concepts, as relevant, of cause, consequence, change, continuity, similarity, difference and significance.

Level	Mark	Descriptor
	0	No rewardable material.
1	1–3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Simple or generalised statements are made about the topic. • Some accurate and relevant knowledge is included, but it lacks range and depth and does not directly address the question. • The overall judgement is missing or asserted. • There is little, if any, evidence of attempts to structure the answer, and the answer overall lacks coherence and precision.
2	4–7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is limited analysis of some key features of the period relevant to the question, but descriptive passages are included that are not clearly shown to relate to the focus of the question. • Mostly accurate and relevant knowledge is included, but lacks range or depth and has only implicit links to the demands and conceptual focus of the question. • An overall judgement is given but with limited substantiation and the criteria for judgement are left implicit. • The answer shows some attempts at organisation, but most of the answer is lacking in coherence, clarity and precision.
3	8–12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is some analysis of, and attempt to explain links between, the relevant key features of the period and the question, although descriptive passages may be included. • Mostly accurate and relevant knowledge is included to demonstrate some understanding of the demands and conceptual focus of the question, but material lacks range or depth. • Attempts are made to establish criteria for judgement and to relate the overall judgement to them, although with weak substantiation. • The answer shows some organisation. The general trend of the argument is clear, but parts of it lack logic, coherence and precision.
4	13–16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Key issues relevant to the question are explored by an analysis of the relationships between key features of the period, although treatment of issues may be uneven. • Sufficient knowledge is deployed to demonstrate understanding of the demands and conceptual focus of the question and to meet most of its demands. • Valid criteria by which the question can be judged are established and applied in the process of coming to a judgement. Although some of the evaluations may be only partly substantiated, the overall judgement is supported. • The answer is generally well organised. The argument is logical and is communicated with clarity, although in a few places it may lack coherence and precision.
5	17–20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Key issues relevant to the question are explored by a sustained analysis of the relationships between key features of the period. • Sufficient knowledge is deployed to demonstrate understanding of the demands and conceptual focus of the question, and to respond fully to its demands. • Valid criteria by which the question can be judged are established and applied and their relative significance evaluated in the process of reaching and substantiating the overall judgement. • The answer is well organised. The argument is logical and coherent throughout and is communicated with clarity and precision.

Section A: Indicative content

Option 2H.1: The USA, c1920–55: boom, bust and recovery

Question	Indicative content
1	<p>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.</p> <p>Candidates must analyse and evaluate the sources to consider how far the historian could make use of Sources 1 and 2 together to investigate the objectives of the Second New Deal towards business in the USA.</p> <p>Source 1</p> <p>1. The following points could be made about the origin and nature of the source and applied when evaluating the use of selected information and inferences:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The speech is by the President, who seeks Congressional approval for his Second New Deal programme, hence his speech is tempered and conciliatory ('It seems only fair, therefore, to adjust our tax system')• As a Democrat, Roosevelt seeks to modify the undesirable impact that wealthy businesses hold over the economy as a result of previous Republican policies ('the opportunities provided for business by the government')• The speech is a political showpiece for Roosevelt's own party, making New Deal objectives appear more ideological than he intends ('transmission of vast business fortunes...is not consistent with the ideals of the American people'). <p>2. The evidence could be assessed here in terms of giving weight to the following points of information and inferences about the objectives of the Second New Deal towards business:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• It indicates that the New Deal must minimise social unrest by using federal fiscal policy to cure perceived unfair advantages for wealthy businessmen ('duty rests upon the government to restrict... incomes by very high taxes')• It suggests that an objective of the Second New Deal's policy towards business is to prevent revolution ('Social unrest and a deepening sense of unfairness are dangers to our national life which we must minimise rigorously.')• It indicates that uniform business rates are not in the public interest, hence a Second New Deal objective is to align business taxation with progressive taxes on individuals ('...apply the same principle to business.'). <p>3. Knowledge of historical context should be deployed to support and develop inferences and to confirm the accuracy/usefulness of information or to note limitations or to challenge aspects of content. Relevant points may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Roosevelt's speech marked the beginning of the Second New Deal, whereby emergency relief gave way to reform of the capitalist system dominated by wealthy Americans, particularly big business• The Revenue Act was aimed at American business through increased income tax, taxes on property and measures against corporations, but raised tiny sums compared with federal expenditure on New Deal programmes

Question	Indicative content
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The objective of the Revenue Act was to thwart the political influence of left-wing Democrats, especially the anti-business demagogue, Huey P Long; thus it appeared to be an attack on big business • Roosevelt came from a wealthy background, so the speech provoked accusations from rich businessmen that he was a traitor to his class. <p>Source 2</p> <p>1. The following points could be made about the origin and nature of the source and applied when evaluating the use of selected information and inferences:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As the owner of a newspaper generally friendly to the Roosevelt Administration, the fact that the writer offers criticism ascribes value to his points about the nature of New Deal objectives towards business in America • The purpose of the letter is to warn Roosevelt that wealthy businessmen believe a blanket attack on them will be counterproductive ('there can be no real recovery until you grant a breathing spell to industry') • The writer comes from the wealthy business class that stands to lose from the proposed fiscal attack on industry, so he is likely to focus on the blanket assault of New Deal objectives on that sector. <p>2. The evidence could be assessed here in terms of giving weight to the following points of information and inferences about the objectives of the Second New Deal towards business in America:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It claims that businessmen believed that the objective of the Second New Deal was to punish the rich ('your tax bill aims at revenge rather than revenue recovery') • It provides evidence that some opponents saw the Second New Deal's objective as a left-wing revolution against capitalism ('revolution in disguise') • It implies that the New Deal's objective is to attack businessmen and no one else ('Many are sceptics, critics, and outright opponents of your programme... no equivalent dissatisfaction coming from other sections'). <p>3. Knowledge of historical context should be deployed to support and develop inferences and to confirm the accuracy/usefulness of information or to note limitations or to challenge aspects of content. Relevant points may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Newspaper owners such as William Randolph Hearst turned against the Second New Deal when it appeared to turn increasingly ideological in its attack on wealthy America and especially big business • The American Liberty League believed that Roosevelt's objective was to change the country in a fundamental way alien to big business; the League was funded by Republican-supporting industrial magnates • The attack on wealthy businessmen was not thought by some opponents to be a serious New Deal objective and that it should be. Charles Coughlin claimed that Roosevelt was under the influence of the banking community • Socialists and communists wanted to see the destruction of the capitalist economic system. It was Roosevelt's perceived move in their direction that so frightened some in the American business community.

Question	Indicative content
	<p data-bbox="336 264 584 297">Sources 1 and 2</p> <p data-bbox="336 315 1302 349">The following points could be made about the sources in combination:</p> <ul data-bbox="336 405 1401 786" style="list-style-type: none"><li data-bbox="336 405 1401 506">• There is evidence that Roosevelt’s objectives against business in America were ideological: ‘not consistent with the ideals of the American people’ (Source 1); ‘revolution in disguise’ (Source 2)<li data-bbox="336 551 1401 651">• Both sources indicate that Roosevelt is using the tax system to direct his objectives regarding wealth. Whereas Source 1 sees this method as social justice, Source 2 sees it as an unwarranted attack on one social sector<li data-bbox="336 696 1401 786">• Both sources agree that New Deal objectives should be set against rogue elements in the business community, whether it be ‘transmission of vast business fortunes from generation to generation’, or New Deal opponents.

Option 2H.2: The USA, 1955–92: conformity and challenge

Question	Indicative content
2	<p>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.</p> <p>Candidates must analyse and evaluate the sources to consider how far the historian could make use of Sources 3 and 4 together to investigate how President Johnson was able to persuade Congress to support his civil rights programme.</p> <p>Source 3</p> <p>1. The following points could be made about the origin and nature of the source and applied when evaluating the use of selected information and inferences:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• As Johnson's chief domestic policy adviser, Califano was in a good position to know about the strategy the President employed to push legislation through Congress• To appeal to readers of his personal memoirs, he is likely to choose selected highlights as entertaining anecdotes from the White House years, which may not be representative of the President's day-to-day strategy• As Johnson's former adviser, Califano wishes to emphasise the President's political strengths. <p>2. The evidence could be assessed here in terms of giving weight to the following points of information and inferences about how President Johnson was able to persuade Congress to support his civil rights programme:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• It indicates that Johnson's attention to detail was relentless and all-consuming ('It was never too late to make one more call or hold another meeting to secure an uncertain vote.')• It provides evidence that Johnson believed that bipartisan support was vital in attracting a majority ('LBJ would sit for hours with his friend, Senate Republican Minority Leader Dirksen, seeking his support.')• It suggests that Johnson was pragmatic and not very principled in being prepared to use dirty tricks to secure the support of congressmen ('The reason the so-and-so won't talk about his vote is his mistress'). <p>3. Knowledge of historical context should be deployed to support and develop inferences and to confirm the accuracy/usefulness of information or to note limitations or to challenge aspects of content. Relevant points may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Johnson faced considerable potential opposition to his civil rights programme from a large section of his own party, the Southern Democrats, and from conservative Republicans• Johnson enjoyed unusually strong cross-party congressional support in the so-called 'honeymoon period' immediately after the assassination of President Kennedy, indicating that he had to try less hard to gain support• When Kennedy was assassinated and Johnson became President, he promised to fulfil JFK's hopes of civil rights reform by overcoming the conservative blocking majority of Southern Democrats and Republicans• The media played a vital part in helping Johnson to obtain congressional

Question	Indicative content
	<p>support for civil rights at first by publicising Dr King's campaigns, but later helped to thwart him by highlighting Black Power excesses.</p> <p>Source 4</p> <p>1. The following points could be made about the origin and nature of the source and applied when evaluating the use of selected information and inferences:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The tone of the statement reveals a very negative view of existing legislation to solve the problems of black Americans. In this way, it clearly emphasises the urgent need to find congressional support for voting rights • Johnson is speaking in the wake of a well-publicised campaign by Dr King and his words seem to be a mission statement to persuade Congress to support civil rights legislation. Its sincerity gives the speech reliability • The fact that Johnson is making a special message to Congress reveals the importance Johnson attaches to its content for persuading the legislature to accept responsibility for civil rights causes. <p>2. The evidence could be assessed here in terms of giving weight to the following points of information and inferences about how President Johnson was able to persuade Congress to support his civil rights programme:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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 here tonight as Americans – not as Republicans or Democrats.') • It states that many American law-makers are determined to resist existing civil rights laws by finding loopholes, which Johnson must persuade Congress is an unworthy tactic ('Every device... has been used to deny this right.') • It states both the importance Congress should attach to the problem of voting rights as well as the pressing urgency of the need for them to resolve the problem ('no duty that weighs more heavily on us'... 'there must be no delay') • It suggests that a whole new system of politics is necessary to support black Americans, rather than permitting the status quo ('We... must not refuse to protect the right of every American to vote in every election'). <p>3. Knowledge of historical context should be deployed to support and develop inferences and to confirm the accuracy/usefulness of information or to note limitations or to challenge aspects of content. Relevant points may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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 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 <p>Sources 3 and 4</p> <p>The following points could be made about sources in combination:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Both sources emphasise the importance of obtaining bipartisan support, with Source 3 stressing the use of practical action, while Source 4 shows

Question	Indicative content
	<p data-bbox="363 150 766 183">the importance of fine words</p> <ul data-bbox="328 208 1417 392" style="list-style-type: none"><li data-bbox="328 208 1417 275">• Both sources suggest Johnson’s complete commitment to the cause of civil rights for black Americans<li data-bbox="328 297 1417 392">• The sources contrast in their purpose – Source 3 acknowledges the primacy of the skill of lobbying as a vehicle for reform, Source 4 targets corrupt legislators and uses a display of rhetoric as a means to secure reform.

Section B: Indicative content

Option 2H.1: The USA, c1920–55: boom, bust and recovery

Question	Indicative content
3	<p>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.</p> <p>Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about how accurate it is to say that Jazz music was the most significant feature of the changes in American culture during the 1920s.</p> <p>Arguments and evidence that Jazz music was the most significant feature should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Jazz was associated not just with instrumental music but with a more general cultural revolution encompassing singing and dancing. For the first time, black performers such as Louis Armstrong achieved universal popularity• Jazz was at the forefront of the 1920s revolution in female culture. Bessie Smith became a household name for a generation of newly-independent women, many of them flapper girls• Jazz was the music that accompanied the dynamic new dance crazes, such as the Charleston and the Turkey Trot, replacing more sedate styles, such as the waltz• Jazz was associated with the Great Migration of black Americans who spread their music to new areas and to white Americans. Their influence was to prove to the world that America was leading a cultural revolution• Jazz was influential enough to give its name to the era of good feelings known as 'The Jazz Age'. <p>Arguments and evidence that Jazz music was not the most significant feature and/or that other developments were more significant should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Jazz was only part of the development even of black American culture, where the New Negro Movement encompassed black American achievement in literature, art and drama as well as music, not all of it Jazz• In the 1920s baseball became America's national pastime. Most American cities had big stadiums, with huge spectator capacity, indicating a cultural revolution in popular participation• The 1920s was the decade when radio brought the entire country close together through the airwaves. Radio also led to a huge growth in advertising, which was behind a cultural revolution achieved through consumer spending• Cinema had a greater claim to represent a cultural revolution. By 1929, films were the premier form of popular entertainment and, through newspapers and magazines, the lives of Hollywood stars were a national obsession. <p>Other relevant material must be credited.</p>

Question	Indicative content
4	<p>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.</p> <p>Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about whether the Second World War was more beneficial for the economic progress of black Americans than it was for other ethnic minorities in the USA.</p> <p>Arguments and evidence that black Americans benefited more than other ethnic minorities should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Because of Executive Order 8802, overt racism in the workplace for black Americans decreased. In government and defence-related industries there were larger advances in the number of black American workers than others • Union membership among black workers grew steadily and in greater numbers than other ethnic groups, helping them to achieve better pay and conditions • Black women found greater opportunities than had existed before the war, with many finding work more rewarding and paying better than domestic service. This was not the case for Japanese American women • Black Americans did not have their livelihoods and businesses taken away from them in the same way that Japanese Americans did. Black-owned business benefited from the war, notably media companies • Black Americans did not have large areas of land seized from them for war use as did Native Americans, whose migration was thus enforced. Migration proved of greater benefit to black Americans than Native Americans. <p>Arguments and evidence that black Americans did not benefit more than other ethnic minorities and/or that the latter benefited more, should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hispanic Americans benefited as least as much as black Americans in war employment as there were great employment opportunities offered by the need for workers, particularly in agriculture • There were equally important economic opportunities for hundreds of thousands of Mexican Americans allowed to work in the USA under the Bracero Agreement • Poor working conditions among Hispanics led to workers organising strikes, resulting in higher wages in some cases, often achieving greater improvements than black urban factory workers • Some factories refused to hire blacks; Executive Order 8802 was largely circumvented by Southern employers and many blacks were kept in menial jobs. <p>Other relevant material must be credited.</p>

Option 2H.2: The USA, 1955– 92: conformity and challenge

Question	Indicative content
5	<p>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.</p> <p>Candidates are expected to reach a judgement about whether film and television, rather than music, were most significant in creating teenage culture in the years 1955–63.</p> <p>Arguments and evidence that film and television, rather than music, were the greatest cause of teenage culture in these years, should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Television documentaries often portrayed teenagers as 'juvenile delinquents', roaming inner cities in gangs encouraging violence. This made teenagers resentful and actually encouraged some towards a rebellious culture• Films such as 'Rebel Without a Cause' (1955), starring the iconic James Dean as a moody youth, dealt with teenage alienation and encouraged teenagers to play up to the stereotype• 'The Blackboard Jungle' (1955) has been seen as a film marking the start of a visible teenage cultural identity in the late 1950s and 1960s• Parents claimed television took teenagers away from schoolwork, destroyed the natural maturation process and caused a loss of innocence, introducing them to subversive representations of the world they were to rebel against. <p>Arguments and evidence that music, rather than film and television, was most significant in creating teenage culture in these years should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Music has at least as great a claim to the invention of a new teenage culture in these years. The musical 'West Side Story' (1957) had just as great an influence on teenage gang culture as the film of the same name (1961)• It was the music in 'The Blackboard Jungle' that really captured the phenomenon of teenage rebellion and encouraged a cultural following for rock'n'roll• Teenage culture was most associated with rock'n'roll music, especially in the guise of Elvis Presley• Adults went to greater extremes reacting to music than to film and television, trying to ban rock'n'roll music from radio stations because they were frightened of their children acting and dressing as those musicians• While popular music offered youth culture an expression of their feelings, television in the same period steered clear of developments in youth culture, instead reinforcing stereotypes about conformist suburbia. <p>Other relevant material must be credited.</p>

Question	Indicative content
6	<p>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.</p> <p>Candidates are expected to reach a judgement on how accurate it is to say that the style of leadership of US presidents changed significantly in the years 1973–80.</p> <p>Arguments and evidence that the style of leadership changed significantly in these the years should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nixon's role in the Watergate scandal revealed his leadership style to be 'crooked' and secretive. Such an approach changed after his resignation, as presidential style appeared more honest and open to public scrutiny • Ford's approach suggested a style different from Nixon's 'Imperial Presidency'. Ford, a former Congressional leader, was more amenable to the legislative process and knew how to keep Congress onside • The involvement of First Lady, Betty Ford in presidential projects seemed a pleasing change of style and contributed to the popularity of the White House • Carter was a Washington outsider of ostentatious piety, which seemed refreshing in the wake of Nixon's corrupt administration • Carter's change of style was revealed by his environmentalist credentials and by the opposition he provoked from establishment insiders. <p>Arguments and evidence that the style of leadership did not change significantly in these the years should be analysed and evaluated. Relevant points may include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There was a continuity of style, with no general change in leadership characteristics, only a series of slightly differing approaches, reflecting the individual characters of successive presidents • Ford showed he was little different from his predecessors. John Dean claimed Ford had secretly stopped investigations into Watergate • Ford was tainted by rumours about his corporate friends taking special favours. The Carter Administration was also tainted by scandal: 'Billygate' and Bert Lance seemed to suggest Nixon's style had not been overcome • Each of the presidents surrounded themselves with seemingly secretive policy advisers associated with failure, from Nixon's 'president's men' and Ford's golfing partners to Carter's 'Georgia mafia'. <p>Other relevant material must be credited.</p>