

# Markscheme

November 2020

**Social and cultural anthropology**

**Higher level**

**Paper 1**

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The following interpretation of the markscheme is offered as an example of the types of responses we may expect, however it is not prescriptive or exhaustive, and other possible answers should be appropriately rewarded if relevant.

### Section A

1. Define the term **exchange** and describe how it can be understood and applied in the context of the passage.

[4]

This question requires candidates to demonstrate conceptual knowledge and understanding of the term **exchange**, and apply it in relation to the text. Stronger responses will also develop a critical discussion of the concept.

Marks	Level descriptor	Specific guidance
0	The work does not reach a standard described by the descriptors below.	Doesn't answer the question.
1–2	The response demonstrates a basic knowledge and understanding of the concept.  There is a partial application of the concept in relation to the text.	Attempt at definition of <b>exchange</b> in general/vague or common-sense terms; not clearly informed by anthropology.  Includes some reference to a generally relevant example from the text, such as the documents being exchanged for “donations”.
3–4	The response demonstrates sound knowledge and understanding of the concept; the concept is described in detail.  The concept is clearly applied in relation to the text.	The definition is clearly informed by anthropology and linked to relevant examples from the text such as: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Exchange between beggars and people giving out of religious obligation</li> <li>• Between <i>documentaires</i> and business owners, perhaps as “contractual” and ongoing.</li> </ul> The discussion recognizes different forms of exchange and/or demonstrates critical thinking in other relevant ways.

2. Analyse the ethnographic data presented in the passage using the concept of **identity**. [6]

This question requires candidates to develop an analysis and explanation of this ethnographic text using the key concept of **identity** to help make sense of the ethnographic data. In order to do this, candidates are required to demonstrate an understanding of the key concept and use it to illuminate certain issues within the context of the passage, supporting their arguments by making reference to the ethnographic data of the extract.

Candidates may write in terms of any of the following outlined guidance, but other definitions or applications will also be acceptable if made relevant to the context of the passage.

Marks	Level descriptor	Specific guidance
0	The work does not reach a standard described by the descriptors below.	The candidate does not answer the question.
1–2	<p>The response offers a common-sense or superficial understanding of the key concept.</p> <p>There is an attempt to relate the key concept to the text, and some ethnographic examples are presented but these are only partially relevant.</p>	<p>Attempt at definition of identity in general/vague or common-sense terms; not clearly informed by anthropology.</p> <p>Includes some reference to one or more partially relevant examples (not necessarily from the text). Examples from the text might include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Beggar</li> <li>• Different categories of beggar</li> <li>• Donor</li> </ul> <p>Or other superficial, explicit identities.</p>
3–4	<p>The response demonstrates an understanding of the key concept and establishes its relevance to the text.</p> <p>There is an analysis of the text using the key concept, although there are some inconsistencies.</p> <p>Relevant ethnographic examples from the text are presented to support the analysis.</p>	<p>The candidate has defined identity in anthropological terms and links it to ideas such as disability/able bodied; beggars/donors; beggars' self-identity and differentiation between different types of beggars, <i>etc.</i></p> <p>Some of the examples they may use are Claude's statement about ordinary beggars and <i>documentaires</i>; beggars identifying themselves as honest workers, independent, legit.</p> <p>However, the response may be inconsistent, fragmented, disjointed.</p>
5–6	<p>The response demonstrates a clear understanding of the key concept, discussing this in the context of the text.</p> <p>There is a clearly explained analysis of the text using the key concept and a detailed interpretation of the ethnographic data.</p> <p>Clear and explicit ethnographic examples from the text support the analysis.</p>	<p>The clear understanding of identity is demonstrated by a more detailed discussion of the term in the context of the text.</p> <p>As well as the examples above, the candidate recognizes some of the ways in which identity is culturally constructed and offers generalizations that are supported by the examples in the text.</p>

3. Compare and contrast the way in which the key concept of **culture** or **symbolism** is evident in this passage and how it is evident in **one** other ethnographic example you have studied. Make reference to theory in your answer.

[10]

The target societies for this comparative question are varied and many. Candidates are expected to show an ability to think about the text in relation to other contexts and draw explicit comparisons. In order to do this, responses must demonstrate an understanding of how either the key concept of **culture** or **symbolism** relates to this ethnographic context. They should be able to establish a relevant comparison with any other group or society based on any of these concepts. The response should be structured as a comparison and contrast, highlighting similarities and differences. The passage focuses on begging as a system of exchange. It emphasizes innovations in Kinsasha that mobilize cultural ideas of dependence and independence within society. Documents come to symbolize the legitimacy of both the exchange and the identity of the *documentaires*. These allow beggars to create more sustainable relations and a more respectable image for themselves as a community. Candidates are expected to show an ability to think about the text in relation to other contexts and to draw explicit comparisons and contrasts. Either of the two key concepts chosen on which such comparison may be drawn should be made explicit and clearly linked to any anthropological issue raised by the text. Candidates must situate the comparative case in terms of place, author and historical context. The discussion should be supported with reference to concept, ethnographic material and theory.

#### **Additional guidance**

For the key concept of **culture**: candidates may draw on the differences between cultural approaches to dependence and independence. In Kinsasha, while independent work may be the ideal, being part of a network of dependency as created by the *documentaires* is still valued. In this cultural perspective, it may be a valued achievement. Dependency is not stigmatized in the way that it is in some other cultures.

Some of the concepts that candidates may draw on include: ideology, personhood, morality, classification, performance, exchange, identity, inequality, boundaries, inclusion/exclusion, *etc.*

Candidates may draw upon Neo-Marxist theories, structural functionalism, world systems theory or any other relevant theory to help interpret the ethnography.

For the key concept of **symbolism**: candidates are likely to focus on the receipt (document) given by the *documentaires*. The document symbolizes that the money received is conceptualized as a reciprocal exchange rather than a gift or charity. This symbolism depends in part on their understanding of other social institutions such as government taxation and humanitarian aid in the form of NGOs. Some of the concepts that candidates may draw on include: classification, morality, performance, globalization, governmentality, exchange, authority, sustainability, suffering, inequality and possibly development; *etc.*

Candidates may draw upon Interpretivism, other symbolic theories and possibly even structuralism and other relevant theory to help interpret the ethnography.

All of the above simply tries to anticipate what candidates *might* include in their responses. We are not implying that a response *must* include one or all of the above in order to achieve a particular mark.

Marks	Level descriptor	
0	The work does not reach a standard described by the descriptors below.	The candidate does not answer the question.
1–2	<p>Comparative ethnography <b>or</b> approaches are presented but in limited detail; relevance is only partially established.</p> <p>The response is not structured as a compare and contrast.</p> <p>The identification of ethnographic material is missing.</p>	<p>At a superficial level, the response should be focused on either culture or symbolism. There may be an attempt to define either concept. There is/are example(s) from the text and from other ethnographic material although their relevance to the question is limited/superficial and not presented as a comparison.</p>
3–4	<p>Comparative ethnography <b>or</b> approaches are presented and although this is in limited detail, its relevance is established.</p> <p>The response is structured as a compare and contrast, but this is not balanced and lacks detail.</p> <p>The identification of ethnographic material is partially complete.</p>	<p>The response focuses on either culture or symbolism.</p> <p>An attempt at defining either of these is made and may include mention of:</p> <p>Culture</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Organized systems of symbols, beliefs, material production, ideas etc. Something produced and reproduced; dynamic not static.</li> </ul> <p>Symbolism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• refers to the meaning or value that people attach to objects, processes or relationships.</li> </ul> <p>Examples from the text may include:</p> <p>Culture</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ideas about (in)dependency</li> <li>• Economic practices</li> <li>• Forms of structure and agency</li> </ul> <p>Symbolism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The document symbolizing a bureaucratic transaction</li> <li>• The transaction symbolizing a dependent relationship</li> </ul>

<p>5-6</p>	<p>Comparative ethnography <b>or</b> approaches are presented; relevance is established and explained.</p> <p>The response is clearly structured as a compare and contrast; however, <b>either</b> comparison (similarities) <b>or</b> contrasts (differences) are explained in detail, but not both.</p> <p>Anthropological theory has been identified although this may not be relevant or the application is limited.</p> <p>The identification of ethnographic material is mostly complete.</p>	<p>As above but including a more comprehensive discussion and structured as a comparison. Examples and conceptualization will be more detailed and balanced in terms of references to the text and another ethnography they have studied.</p> <p>Example of possible relevant theories:</p> <p>Culture</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Neo-Marxist theories</li> <li>• structural functionalism</li> <li>• world systems theory</li> </ul> <p>Symbolism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Interpretive or symbolic theories</li> <li>• Any other relevant theory</li> </ul> <p>Any other relevant theory; note that these may not necessarily be current.</p> <p>In this markband the application may be a little contrived.</p>
<p>7-8</p>	<p>Comparative ethnography <b>or</b> approaches are presented; relevance is clearly established and explained in detail.</p> <p>The response is clearly structured as a compare and contrast with comparisons (similarities) and contrasts (differences) being discussed in detail, although this is not balanced.</p> <p>Relevant anthropological theory has been identified and used as part of the analysis although there are some inconsistencies.</p> <p>The response demonstrates anthropological understanding.</p> <p>The identification of ethnographic material is mostly complete.</p>	<p>At this level we expect further conceptual discussion and detailed analysis of examples, possibly focusing on the agency of Kinshasa's beggars and the innovations they have introduced to secure a more sustainable income.</p> <p>Candidates who analyse and discuss the ethnographic data through the lens of <b>symbolism</b> will likely focus on examples that explore symbolic exchange and reciprocity, perhaps comparing the receipt/document given with a similar object which is given a value beyond its superficial economic worth. They may also consider the role of charitable giving in religious contexts.</p> <p>Candidates who analyse and discuss the ethnographic data through the lens of <b>culture</b> will likely focus on examples that explore identity in terms of (in)dependence; cultural understandings of social hierarchy; post-colonial influences on economic and bureaucratic practices. They may also consider:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• subaltern groups and strategies for survival</li> <li>• alternative ways in which identity is constructed.</li> </ul>

		<p>For theories, as above but clearly relevant and used as part of the analysis.</p> <p>At this level, candidates may be able to detect the theoretical orientation of the ethnographer. For instance, in view of the use of certain terminology and how these relate to globalization. Thus, candidates may cite globalization theories, post-colonial, Neo-Marxist, political economy, world systems, dependency theory. Some may identify the ethnographer's approach as emic and/or synchronic.</p>
<b>Capped marks</b>	<b>If fieldwork location(s), fieldwork context(s), group(s) studied and ethnographer(s) have not been fully identified, no more than 8 marks will be awarded.</b>	
9–10	<p>Comparative ethnography <b>or</b> approaches are presented; relevance is clearly established and discussed in detail.</p> <p>The response is clearly structured as a compare and contrast with comparisons (similarities) and contrasts (differences) discussed critically.</p> <p>Relevant anthropological theory has been identified and used as part of the analysis.</p> <p>The response demonstrates anthropological understanding.</p> <p>The identification of ethnographic material is complete.</p>	<p>At this level, as above, but comparisons are more balanced, and more critical discussion. For theories, as above, well applied. Overall general quality is more sophisticated.</p>

OR

4. Compare and contrast the approaches to research adopted by the anthropologist in this passage to the approaches to research used by **one** other anthropologist you have studied. Make reference to concepts, ethnographic material and theory in your answer. **[10]**

While in the previous question the stress of the comparison needs to be drawn on the key concepts which would help to frame the responses; here candidates are expected to show an ability to think about the text with emphasis on the methodological and theoretical perspectives of the anthropologists as the main principle on which such comparisons should be established.

By "approaches to research" the question essentially refers to the research methods used by the anthropologist to gather data. However, as theory is required for level 5-6 and above, it is expected that candidates will also discuss theory with reference to approaches.

Marks	Level descriptor	
0	The work does not reach a standard described by the descriptors below.	The candidate does not answer the question.
1–2	<p>Comparative ethnography <b>or</b> approaches are presented but in limited detail; relevance is only partially established.</p> <p>The response is not structured as a compare and contrast.</p> <p>The identification of ethnographic material is missing.</p>	<p>At a superficial level, the response should be focused on the approaches taken by the ethnographer. There may not be an attempt to define the methods, but they will be mentioned (<i>eg</i> fieldwork, participant-observation). There is/are example(s) from the text and from other ethnographic material although their relevance to the question is limited and not presented as a comparison.</p>
3–4	<p>Comparative ethnography <b>or</b> approaches are presented and although this is in limited detail, its relevance is established.</p> <p>The response is structured as a compare and contrast, but this is not balanced and lacks detail.</p> <p>The identification of ethnographic material is partially complete.</p>	<p>At this level candidates will likely present descriptions of the methods. Examples of methods candidates may mention are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• participant-observation: the ethnographer going on rounds with the beggars; detailed observation descriptions;</li> <li>• informal interview: quotes from the informants' narratives.</li> </ul> <p>At this level candidates may also make mention of other relevant methodological terms, though possibly not developing this. For example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• qualitative methods;</li> <li>• life-history;</li> <li>• insider/outsider;</li> <li>• local categories/analytical categories;</li> <li>• positionality;</li> <li>• representation.</li> </ul> <p>Candidates may also highlight ethical strategies, such as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•</li> </ul>
5–6	<p>Comparative ethnography <b>or</b> approaches are presented; relevance is established and explained.</p> <p>The response is clearly structured as a compare and contrast; however, <b>either</b> comparison (similarities) <b>or</b> contrasts (differences) are explained in detail, but not both.</p> <p>Anthropological theory has been identified although this may not be relevant or the application is limited.</p>	<p>As above but including a more comprehensive methodological discussion supported by relevant evidence from the text and structured as a comparison. Examples and conceptualization will be more detailed and balanced in terms of references to the text and another ethnography they have studied.</p> <p>Examples of possible relevant theories that could be mentioned in relation to the research approach:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• interpretive or symbolic theories;</li> <li>• Marxism or Neo-Marxism;</li> </ul>

	<p>The identification of ethnographic material is mostly complete.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• post-colonial theories;</li> <li>• globalization theories;</li> <li>• post-structuralism;</li> <li>• any other relevant theory.</li> </ul> <p>Candidates may analyse theory with reference to the approaches taken by the ethnographer in terms of structure-centered theories or agency-focused theories. Better candidates will note that this passage contains evidence of the integration of both dimensions.</p>
<p>7–8</p>	<p>Comparative ethnography <b>or</b> approaches are presented; relevance is clearly established and explained in detail.</p> <p>The response is clearly structured as a compare and contrast with comparisons (similarities) and contrasts (differences) being discussed in detail, although this is not balanced.</p> <p>Relevant anthropological theory has been identified and used as part of the analysis although there are some inconsistencies.</p> <p>The response demonstrates anthropological understanding.</p> <p>The identification of ethnographic material is mostly complete.</p>	<p>At this level we expect further conceptual discussion on methodological approaches and detailed analysis of examples.</p> <p>An example of a more detailed methodological discussion could include references to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• differences between qualitative and quantitative methods in relation to the aims of the research. For instance, the ethnographer's interest in the life experiences of the beggars;</li> <li>• use of oral narratives and observation focused around the core research goals;</li> <li>• the advantages of informal ethnographic interviews as opposed to formal interviews (or other similar contrasts);</li> <li>• discussion of issues of representation.</li> <li>• discussion of local categories/analytical categories, and the lens of theoretical perspective. For example, Geertz and "thick description", or others;</li> <li>• ethical issues.</li> </ul> <p>For theories, as above but clearly relevant and used as part of the analysis.</p> <p>At this level, candidates may be able to detect the theoretical orientation of the ethnographer. Candidates may cite globalization theories, post-colonial, Neo-Marxist, political economy, world systems, dependency theory. Some candidates may cite Actor-Network Theory. Also, and linked to the interest in the actors' narratives, the symbolic approach may be discussed.</p>
<p><b>Capped marks</b></p>	<p><b>If fieldwork location(s), fieldwork context(s), group(s) studied and ethnographer(s) have not been fully identified, no more than 8 marks will be awarded.</b></p>	
<p>9–10</p>	<p>Comparative ethnography <b>or</b> approaches are presented; relevance is clearly established</p>	<p>At this level, as above, but comparisons are more balanced, and there is more critical discussion. For theories, as above, well applied.</p>

	<p>and discussed in detail.</p> <p>The response is clearly structured as a compare and contrast with comparisons (similarities) and contrasts (differences) discussed critically.</p> <p>Relevant anthropological theory has been identified and used as part of the analysis.</p> <p>The response demonstrates anthropological understanding.</p> <p>The identification of ethnographic material is complete.</p>	<p>Overall, the general quality is more sophisticated.</p>
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5. What does it mean to live in society? Discuss with reference to **at least two** sources of ethnographic material and examples from the passage.

[10]

This question requires candidates to develop an argument which is built on an understanding of the following “big anthropological question”: **what does it mean to live in society?** This argumentative response includes discussion and analysis that should be supported by relevant, detailed ethnographic material that gives evidence of the understanding of this big question in different cultural contexts. This “big” anthropological question should be the very backbone of the response, and be informed by the ethnographic material studied. The aim of this question is to facilitate students to think with and through ethnographic material; to explore these materials analytically, aided by the focus on a “big” anthropological question. A broad variety of ethnographic data can be put forward in order to create meaningful responses.

In the development of their response, candidates may make reference to a number of ideas or propositions connected to the relevance of anthropology. For this reason, below are some ideas that may appear in candidates' responses. However, any other relevant lines of thought should be rewarded.

The unseen passage, which is the focus of questions 1–4, shows that anthropology gives voice to subaltern groups and attempts to understand how they themselves conceptualise society, their own roles within it, and their strategies for survival and sustainability. These voices might not emerge in other methods of research such as census-based data gathering.

This particular passage shows that not all societies have the same understanding of dependence and independence, and that in some societies beggars have their own role to play rather than being considered as marginalized or a social burden.

Marks	Level descriptor
0	The work does not reach a standard described by the descriptors below.
1–2	<p>There is limited understanding of the big anthropological question.</p> <p>The response refers to ethnographic material; relevance to the question is superficial or not established. There is no reference to the passage.</p> <p>The identification of ethnographic material is missing.</p>
3–4	<p>There is partial understanding of the big anthropological question.</p> <p>The response presents some of ethnographic material and establishes its relevance to the question, but this lacks detail. There is no or limited reference to the passage.</p> <p>There is an attempt to analyse and interpret the ethnographic material in relation to the big anthropological question, but this lacks clarity and coherence.</p> <p>The identification of ethnographic material is partially complete.</p>

<p>5–6</p>	<p>There is an understanding of the big anthropological question.</p> <p>The response presents a range of relevant ethnographic material and establishes its relevance to the question. There is some reference to the passage.</p> <p>There is some analysis and interpretation of the ethnographic material and passage in relation to the big anthropological question but there is a limited or an undeveloped argument.</p> <p>The identification of ethnographic material is mostly complete.</p>
<p>7–8</p>	<p>There is clear understanding of the big anthropological question in different cultural contexts.</p> <p>The response presents detailed comparative ethnographic material and establishes its relevance to the question. There is clear reference to the passage.</p> <p>The analysis and interpretation of the ethnographic material and passage support the development of an argument; however minor inconsistencies hinder from the strength of the overall argument.</p> <p>The identification of ethnographic material is mostly complete.</p>
<p><b>Capped marks</b></p>	<p><b>If fieldwork location(s), fieldwork context(s), group(s) studied and ethnographer(s) have not been fully identified, no more than 8 marks will be awarded.</b></p>
<p>9–10</p>	<p>There is clear understanding of the big anthropological question in different cultural contexts.</p> <p>The response presents detailed comparative ethnographic material and establishes its relevance to the question. There is clear reference to the passage.</p> <p>The analysis and interpretation of the ethnographic material and passage in relation to the big anthropological question support the development of a reasoned argument; any minor inconsistencies do not hinder from the strength of the overall argument.</p> <p>The identification of ethnographic material is complete.</p>

## Section B

6. With reference to **either** stimulus A **or** stimulus B **and** your own knowledge, discuss the defining features of anthropological ethics.

[10]

Candidates can either offer sustained discussion on one issue or shorter, less developed discussions on several issues as long as they are supported by examples from the text and other examples.

This question requires candidates to develop a response in which they demonstrate an understanding of the anthropological ethical issues raised by the stimulus material, and an ability to engage in a critical discussion applying the student's own knowledge of the defining features of anthropological ethics.

### **If stimulus A is used:**

The text is likely to encourage candidates to think about fieldwork ethics, and the ways in which ethnographers, by their very presence, often impact on the data they are trying to gather. Allied to this, candidates might discuss: the spectrum of observation to participation and “where” the ethnographer is on this; the Hawthorne Effect; the ethics of field relations; positive or negative impacts that ethnographers have had on societies studied; the reputation of anthropology as a rigorous academic discipline. Better responses may include discussion of how relevant ethical problems have been mitigated by fieldworkers.

Candidates may develop a discussion based on the ethical issues related to the methodological decision of conducting covert or overt research roles. It is likely that candidates will discuss anthropological ethics in relation to the nature of interaction between fieldworkers and research participants, and in particular, issues related with being open and honest regarding anthropological work, informed by notions such as informed consent, right to privacy, confidentiality, anonymity, credits/references and necessary permissions. Another issue is how the reciprocal benefit of the studied group is being considered and what types of compensation the members are being offered for participation in the research, since in a covert study it may be difficult to determine compensation.

### **If stimulus B is used:**

There are many potential ways in which the photograph can stimulate discussion on ethics. Some may take a superficial view and write about the past and present treatment of First Nations' Peoples; unless this is done with reference to anthropology such a response is unlikely to achieve more than 4 marks. Better responses will discuss the ethics of representation in anthropology, these might include the generation of such images (eg the power dynamic implicit in the image regarding subject and photographer); the staged/idealized quality of the composition; speculation over the use of the image (documenting the “exotic”; perpetuating a way of characterizing a people such as the “Noble Savage”; or, more positively, documenting a culture at risk of extinction) – preferably such speculation will be recognized as such and not stated as fact. Other more sophisticated approaches will place the image in the context of 19<sup>th</sup> century anthropology and will develop a discussion of how “the other” is represented in contemporary ethnographic images.

Marks	Level descriptor
0	<p>The work does not reach a standard described by the descriptors below.</p>
1–2	<p>The response identifies one or more ethical concerns but their relevance to anthropology is not established.</p> <p>There is little or no reference to the stimulus.</p>
3–4	<p>The response identifies one or more ethical concerns and partially establishes their relevance to anthropology.</p> <p>There is an attempt to engage with the stimulus, but understanding of the ethical issue presented is superficial or limited.</p>
5–6	<p>The response develops an analysis of one or more ethical concerns and establishes their relevance to anthropology.</p> <p>There is clear understanding of the ethical issues presented in the stimulus.</p> <p>An argument is presented that indicates the student’s perspective on the relative importance of the ethical issue(s) in relation to anthropological practice, but this is only partially developed.</p>
7–8	<p>The response discusses one or more ethical concerns, is anthropologically informed, and incorporates the student’s own knowledge of the defining features of anthropological ethics.</p> <p>There is clear and relevant engagement with the stimulus, and the ethical issues presented are explained demonstrating sound understanding.</p> <p>An argument is presented that indicates the student’s perspective on the relative importance of the ethical issue(s) in relation to anthropological practice; however, there are inconsistencies that hinder the overall strength of the argument.</p>
9–10	<p>The response critically discusses one or more ethical concerns, is anthropologically informed, and integrates the student’s own knowledge of the defining features of anthropological ethics.</p> <p>There is relevant and thorough engagement with the stimulus, and the ethical issue(s) presented are fully explained demonstrating excellent understanding.</p> <p>A reasoned argument is presented that indicates the student’s perspective on the relative importance of the ethical issue(s) in relation to anthropological practice; any minor inconsistencies do not hinder the overall strength of the argument.</p>