

Markscheme

November 2020

Social and cultural anthropology

Standard 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.

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 exchange 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"> • Exchange between beggars and people giving out of religious obligation • Between <i>documentaires</i> and business owners, perhaps as “contractual” and ongoing. 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"> • Beggar • Different categories of beggar • Donor <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, explaining 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 explanation 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.

[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 and ethnographic material.

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.*

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.*

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 or 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.</p> <p>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 or 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"> • Organized systems of symbols, beliefs, material production, ideas etc. <p>Something produced and reproduced; dynamic not static.</p> <p>Symbolism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • refers to the meaning or value that people attach to objects, processes or relationships. <p>Examples from the text may include:</p> <p>Culture</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ideas about (in)dependency • Economic practices • Forms of structure and agency <p>Symbolism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The document symbolizing a bureaucratic transaction • The transaction symbolizing a dependent relationship
5–6	<p>Comparative ethnography or approaches are presented; relevance is established and explained.</p> <p>The response is clearly structured as a compare and contrast; however, either comparison (similarities) or contrasts (differences) are explained in detail, but not both.</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>In this markband the application may be a little contrived.</p>

<p>7–8</p>	<p>Comparative ethnography or 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>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 symbolism 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 culture 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"> • subaltern groups and strategies for survival • alternative ways in which identity is constructed.
<p>Capped marks</p>	<p>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.</p>	
<p>9–10</p>	<p>Comparative ethnography or 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>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. 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 and ethnographic material 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.

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 or 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 or 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"> • participant-observation: the ethnographer going on rounds with the beggars; detailed observation descriptions; • informal interview: quotes from the informants' narratives. <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"> • qualitative methods; • life-history; • insider/outsider; • local categories/analytical categories; • positionality; • representation.

<p>5–6</p>	<p>Comparative ethnography or approaches are presented; relevance is established and explained.</p> <p>The response is clearly structured as a compare and contrast; however, either comparison (similarities) or contrasts (differences) are explained in detail, but not both.</p> <p>The identification of ethnographic material is mostly complete.</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>7–8</p>	<p>Comparative ethnography or 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>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"> • 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; • use of oral narratives and observation focused around the core research goals; • the advantages of informal ethnographic interviews as opposed to formal interviews (or other similar contrasts); • discussion of issues of representation. • ethical issues.
<p>Capped marks</p>	<p>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.</p>	

9-10	<p>Comparative ethnography or 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>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 there is more critical discussion. 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 conceptualize 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>Capped marks</p>	<p>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.</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>