

# Markscheme

May 2021

**Social and cultural anthropology**

**Standard level**

**Paper 1**

14 pages

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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 **structure** 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 “structure” and apply it in relation to the text.

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 awarded	Level descriptor	What you might expect to see in a response
0	The work does not reach a standard described by the descriptors below.	
1–2	<p>The response demonstrates a basic knowledge and understanding of the concept.</p> <p>There is a partial application of the concept in relation to the text.</p>	<p>Candidates will be expected to provide any conceptualization along the lines of “structure” as a term used by anthropologists –and other social scientists– to make sense of a system or organization, derived from social institutions and social relations existing in a society.</p> <p>Another possible way of defining the term is with reference to the coercive conditions and contexts that are beyond the control of the individual or the group. It refers to the multiple elements that individuals or groups perceive as being fixed or overpowering.</p> <p>Other appropriate definitions should be rewarded.</p> <p><b>An example of application:</b> Some candidates may refer to the miners as having a disadvantaged position in this socio-economic structure, which works at a global scale, and/or make reference to Africa’s position in the world economic and social structure.</p> <p>Other appropriate examples should be rewarded.</p>

<p>3-4</p>	<p>The response demonstrates sound knowledge and understanding of the concept: the concept is described in detail.</p> <p>The concept is clearly applied in relation to the text.</p> <p>.</p>	<p>More sophisticated or complex definitions of the concept are expected at this level.</p> <p><b>Examples of application may include:</b></p> <p>There are several examples from the text that can be used to show how the concept of structure can be applied in this context. For example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The experience of the miners in terms of their social and economic position in the world economic structure;</li><li>• The author's reference to capitalism as a system or structure;</li><li>• The unequal nature of the structure;</li><li>• The hierarchy and division of labour;</li><li>• That the social organization is imposed on the workers and determines what actions they can and cannot take.</li></ul> <p>Other appropriate examples should be rewarded.</p> <p>By detailed explanation we expect that some candidates may show understanding of how this term is used by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Discussing how structure manifests itself simultaneously in multiple layers or modes;</li><li>• Relating it to the concept of agency;</li><li>• Relating it to different theoretical approaches;</li><li>• Relating to the contestable nature of the concept itself;</li><li>• Relating to how the concept has changed with the development of the discipline.</li></ul> <p>Other appropriate explanations should be rewarded.</p>
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2. Analyse the ethnographic data presented in the passage using the concept of **materiality**.

[6]

This question requires candidates to develop an analysis and explanation of this ethnographic text using the key concept of **materiality** 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 analyses 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 awarded	Level descriptor	What we might expect to see in a response
0	The work does not reach a standard described by the descriptors below.	
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>A superficial understanding of the concept will make reference to objects being studied by anthropologists. The connection between objects and meaning may not be made.</p> <p><b>Application at this level may include:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• An awareness of the centrality of coltan as a mineral that is fundamental to the production of digital products;</li> <li>• That coltan is embedded within an economic and social system;</li> <li>• That coltan has a global dimension.</li> </ul> <p>Other possible examples should be rewarded.</p>

<p>3-4</p>	<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>At this level an understanding of the key concept of materiality may display any of these aspects:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It relates to the sensory dimension of social life, especially in reference to objects; and/or that it can be used to refer to sensory experiences;</li> <li>• That these objects or sensory experiences have cultural meaning;</li> <li>• That they are embedded in all kinds of social relations and practices.</li> </ul> <p>At this level, candidates may also show awareness that some anthropologists seek to understand human experience through the study of material objects as a research approach.</p> <p><b>Application at this level may include mention of:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• the ethnographic approach to the analysis of capitalism by tracking the commodity chain;</li> <li>• the ethnographer’s focus on the physical conditions of workers;</li> <li>• the demand for digital products by consumers, such as cell phones and PlayStation and its relation to the subordinated position of African miners.</li> </ul> <p>Other possible examples should be rewarded.</p>
<p>5-6</p>	<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>As above, but a more developed or sophisticated conceptualization and more detailed or in-depth interpretation of the examples. Any of the examples noted may be applied to support the analysis made by the candidate.</p> <p>At this level responses may also take into account that the concept of materiality:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• is almost always linked to a non-material/symbolic dimension, for which material objects or sensory experiences are given meaning and function within a set of social practices;</li> <li>• can also be a trigger for social conflict, in relation to access to objects and resources;</li> <li>• objects or resources can operate as substitutes for the social relations they mediate;</li> <li>• is discussed with reference to different approaches to the concept itself.</li> </ul>

		<p><b>Application at this level may include mention of:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The consequential complex set of social relations that have emerged to secure access and availability of the mineral in the hands of consumers, and whom are mostly unaware of such interconnection;</li><li>• By focusing on materiality instead of only the social relations themselves, the ethnographer is able to keep attention on the degree of physical suffering, unhealthy and physically dangerous conditions that workers are subjected to;</li><li>• That consumers in other parts of the world can lead physically more comfortable and indulgent lives, unaware of how their taste for digital products is a direct cause of physical pain and suffering for populations in other parts of the world;</li><li>• It is also possible that responses at this level may discuss the symbolic dimensions of materiality referred to in the text.</li></ul> <p>Other possible examples should be rewarded.</p>
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3. Compare and contrast the way in which the key concept of **symbolism** or **power** is evident in this passage with how it is evident in **one** other ethnographic example you have studied.

[10]

This passage focuses on social, economic and political inequalities in relation to capitalist labour practices. By approaching the analysis of global capitalism through the social flow of a certain mineral in the global commodity chain, the anthropologist will explore how miners in Eastern Congo finds ways of expressing and making sense of these exploitative conditions and understand their own living conditions. Candidates are expected to show an ability to think about the text in relation to other contexts and to draw explicit comparisons. Either of the key concepts chosen on which such comparison may be drawn should be made explicit and clearly linked to any anthropological issues 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 concepts.

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 **symbolism** or **power** 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, highlighting similarities and differences.

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

Marks awarded	Level descriptor	What you might expect to see in a response
0	The work does not reach a standard described by the descriptors below.	
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>	At a superficial level, the response should be focused on either symbolism or power. 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 and not presented as a comparison.



<p>3-4</p>	<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 symbolism or power.</p> <p>An attempt at defining either of these is made and may include mention of:</p> <p>For symbolism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• That it refers to the meaning or value that people attach to objects, processes or relationships.</li> </ul> <p>For power</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• An essential feature of social relations</li> <li>• Control of groups and resources</li> <li>• Inequality</li> <li>• A capacity to impose one's will over others</li> <li>• Linked to structural or symbolic power/violence</li> </ul> <p><b>Examples from the text may include:</b></p> <p>For symbolism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Metaphors which the informants use to understand and to explain to the ethnographer their position in the world and in the social system. For example: "being in the dark" "being in a hole", "being like a snake", "being like a machine", equating the mine to home, or others;</li> <li>• The adoption of nicknames;</li> <li>• The replication of the division of labour and titles used in colonial times.</li> </ul> <p>For power</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The experiences and working conditions of the group;</li> <li>• The exploitation/alienation/commodification of the workers;</li> <li>• The loss of land and resources;</li> <li>• The lack of agency;</li> <li>• The hierarchical structure and organization of the mines;</li> <li>• The armies forcing them to work.</li> </ul>
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<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>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>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>The response demonstrates anthropological understanding.</p> <p>The identification of ethnographic is mostly complete.</p>	<p>At this level we expect further conceptual discussion and detailed analysis of examples.</p> <p>Candidates who analyse and discuss the ethnographic data through the lens of <b>symbolism</b> will likely focus on examples that explore the significance that miners attach to their experience. For example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "being in the dark" as a reference to their underground working conditions, connecting this to the miners' ignorance about social forces;</li> <li>• "being in a hole" as a reference to their constricted and limited agency; structural working conditions; that they occupy the lowest position in the social system;</li> <li>• the metaphor of the "snake" as a reference to the flexibility and adaptability required of the workers;</li> <li>• The smoke metaphor which humanizes their working conditions by comparing it to home;</li> <li>• The machine metaphor as a reference to their acceptance of the dehumanization and mechanization of their labour and their assimilation to inanimate machinery; or as a reference to masculinity;</li> <li>• The workers who appropriate the nicknames of celebrities trying to assimilate; themselves to imaginary characters that represent masculinity (Chuck Norris, Rambo) or quick wealth achieved from non-hard work activities, such as creating music (Snoop Dogg, P Diddy);</li> <li>• Belgian factory-mining era symbols used by the miners to organize their labour.</li> </ul> <p>Candidates who analyse and discuss the ethnographic data through the lens of <b>power</b> will likely focus on examples that explore the experiences and working conditions of this group, within the context of an analysis of global inequalities in the capitalist economy. In addition to</p>

		<p>the examples provided before, at this level candidates may also discuss the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• the concept of ideology linked to the analysis of the global ideoscapes, or the modern narratives that hide the material conditions of existence of the digital age;</li> <li>• linking power to knowledge (Foucauldian approaches) and the mystification related to the miners' knowledge about this mineral;</li> <li>• concept of hegemony linked to global narratives;</li> <li>• the belief that their bodies are more resilient to stress and danger as a strategy of resistance;</li> <li>• the use of nicknames as a strategy of resistance.</li> </ul>
Capped marks	If fieldwork location(s), fieldwork context, group(s) studied and ethnographer(s) have not been fully identified, no more than 8 marks will be awarded.	
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>The response demonstrates anthropological understanding.</p> <p>The identification of ethnographic material is complete.</p>	At this level, as above, but comparisons are more balanced, and more critical discussion. Overall general quality is more sophisticated.

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 awarded	Level descriptor	What you might expect to see in a response
0	The work does not reach a standard described by the descriptors below.	
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 (e.g., 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 drinking beer with the informants; mentioning the nicknames; mentioning the Belgian colonial job titles; 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>• not mentioning real names;</li> <li>• considering informants as friends.</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>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 <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>The response demonstrates anthropological understanding.</p> <p>The identification of ethnographic 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 miners;</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. For example, considering informants as friends, use of their nicknames to identify them;</li> <li>• discussion of local categories/analytical categories, and the lens of theoretical perspective. For example, Geertz and "thick description", or others;</li> <li>• a historical approach, evidenced in the reference to the colonial past;</li> <li>• ethical issues.</li> </ul>

Capped marks	If fieldwork location(s), fieldwork context, group(s) studied and ethnographer(s) have not been fully identified, no more than 8 marks will be awarded.	
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>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>