

May 2017 subject reports

Social and Cultural Anthropology

Overall grade boundaries

Higher level

| Grade: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-------------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|
| Mark range: | 0-15 | 16-31 | 32-43 | 44-52 | 53-64 | 65-74 | 75-100 |

Higher level internal assessment

Component grade boundaries

| Grade: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-------------|-----|-----|-----|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Mark range: | 0-3 | 4-6 | 7-9 | 10-11 | 12-13 | 14-15 | 16-20 |

The range and suitability of the work submitted

Somewhat less than half of the reports moderated presented appropriate topics and well-focused research questions, almost the same proportion as was the case in the May 2016 session, which in turn represented a reversal of the improvement seen in the two previous May sessions. As usual, centres varied widely as to the success of their candidates in this regard.

Reversing a trend seen over a number of sessions, in this session, context-based reports outnumbered issue-based reports by a ratio of five to four. In this session, more centres encouraged students to carry out research either within the school setting, or on organized field trips. As was the case in the last two May sessions, there were many more successful context-based than issue-based reports ["successful" meaning receiving 16/20 marks or better]. Only two issue-base reports did very well, while eight context-based reports were in this category.



Two issue-based reports were equally successful: 1) a study of communication networks among gay high school and university students, and 2) a study of changing gender roles among the migrants of one ethnic group relocated in northern Europe.

The two most successful context-based reports were 1) a study of how contact with tourists impacts the identity and market behaviour of indigenous artisans in Mexico, and 2) an examination of the varieties of reciprocity carried out as part of a tradition of "flag exchange" practiced in an international school. Only slightly less successful were 1) a study demonstrating how engaging in a "gender-deviant" sport redefines "hegemonic femininity," and 2) a study of how a particular Christian denomination among a single ethnic group utilizes "impression management" in preaching.

It should be remembered that both issue-based and context-based reports have their own strengths and weaknesses. Issue-based reports frequently lack detail in data presentation, and especially if approached through a poorly-focused research question, tend to yield superficial analyses. This has been especially common in the present session. On the other hand, context-based reports often tend to be overly descriptive, frequently with unnecessary detail. Both approaches are equally likely to lack conceptual and/or theoretical frameworks for analysing data, as is required in the component (see Criterion D). These issues will be considered further below.

Candidate performance against each criterion

Criterion A: Identification of an issue or question.

As in the May 2016 session, only a slight majority presented appropriate and well-focused research questions. However, some improvement over the past several May sessions was seen in that only one candidate [of seventy-six moderated] presented an inappropriate question.

Criterion B: Research techniques.

Marked improvement was seen under this criterion in comparison to the last several sessions, as almost six out of ten candidates clearly described and justified their research techniques [corresponding to a mark of at least three or four]. As usual, centres varied widely as to their candidates' degree of success. Lack of detail supplied in describing and justifying research techniques is still the most common shortcoming under this criterion. More specifically, candidates continue to fall short of fully describing the research context, that is, candidates completely or partially ignored 1) how informants were selected; 2) what the independent or "background" variables differentiating informants might have been; 3) the numbers of informants, and 4) the circumstances under which research instruments were administered.



Criterion C: Presentation of data.

Performance under this criterion remains at almost exactly the same level as in the 2015 and 2016 May sessions, with slightly over a third of candidates presenting data appropriately and in satisfactory detail [thus receiving at least three or four marks]. A positive change this session was that no evidence of the presentation of essential data in appendices was found, in contrast to experience over the last several sessions.

Criterion D: Interpretation and analysis of data.

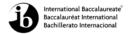
This criterion continues to be the most poorly served of the assessment criteria. Performance was only slightly lower than the level of the May 2016 session, with six out of ten candidates presenting at least a rudimentary analytic framework [achieving at least two out of four marks]. It continues to be the case that analyses are often marred by failure to adequately define key concepts. For example, "emic" and "etic," which are problematic concepts, were very commonly cited but rarely defined. "Habitus" was a popular concept, and rarely fully defined; "ethnicity" and "indigeneity" were also poorly defined. Many candidates, while clearly aware they are expected to apply anthropological concepts and theory, introduce concepts or theory they have not fully understood, with the result that they produce distorted and/or superficial analyses. Very few candidates received full marks under this criterion.

Criterion E: Ethical issues.

Performance was very similar to that in the May 2016 session, with six out of ten candidates offering at least some substantial discussion of ethical issues arising in the course of field research. Once again, performance varied widely between centres. Most candidates showed concern for respecting informant privacy, but once again the majority of candidates did not deal fully with the broader but less obvious issues of ethical practice, such as issues of representation of individual subjects and groups, positionality and reflexivity.

Criterion F: Anthropological insight and imagination.

Slightly more than half the candidates moderated achieved at least two out of a possible three marks under this criterion, a slight improvement over the May 2016 session, and as expected performance varied markedly between centres. To do well under this criterion, candidates must have produced anthropologically-valid and well-focused issues, and must show some awareness of what constitutes a distinctly anthropological analysis of data. Some evidence of reflexive and critical thinking about the process of gathering and interpreting data is also expected in consideration of full marks here.



Recommendations for the teaching of future candidates

Selecting and focusing the research question:

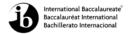
There has been little improvement in candidates' framing and focusing research questions in recent sessions, and the wide variation in performance between centres in this respect shows there is still considerable room for improvement. Teachers will find suggestions for working with candidates through the stages involved in refining a broad topic into a well-focused research question in the guidelines for the HL IA component in the Teacher Support Materials publication, accessible though the subject home page of the Online Curriculum Centre. Note that this refers to the current programme (first examinations in 2010). These materials, along with the 2010 subject guide, will guide student work through the 2018 sessions. The new Subject Guide (for first examinations in 2019) along with a new Teacher Support Materials publication must be consulted in directing students beginning the HL course in 2017.

Data Presentation:

It continues to be the case that less than half the candidates present data clearly and in sufficient detail. This component has a methodological focus, but this should not be taken to mean that data presentation should be slighted in favour of discussions of methodological issues and theory. Both teachers and students should study not only the IA guidelines and assessment criteria found in the current Subject Guide (pp. 44-48), but should also consider the marked and annotated sample reports found in the Teacher Support Material. Teachers should also plan to devote some class time to preparing candidates for the IA component, and should allocate sufficient time for individual conferences with students as their projects take shape. Teachers will of course note that the initial planning stages of the IA research project will change significantly in the new (2019) programme, as candidates will present their projects orally for peer review of their research proposals.

Defining the analytical framework:

Keeping in mind what was reported concerning candidate performance under Criterion D, there remains a disappointing gap between candidates' results and the expectations reflected in the assessment criteria. Candidates frequently state in their introductions that they will apply some specific anthropological theory, but then never actually describe the theory, or provide sources for it, leaving its supposed relevance to be implicitly discovered in their analyses. To produce an adequate analytical framework it is not necessary to lay out an entire theoretical approach in detail, in fact there would be no room for this in a short report. For example, a frequently applied concept in analysing data often used in IAs is the familiar one of "rites of passage." Candidates in this and in past sessions have applied this concept to the analysis of data on relations between young and older students, to graduation ceremonies, to religious initiations, etc. Defining the concept, providing sources for it, and systematically applying it is not an overwhelming task, and has resulted in many successful IA reports. A careful study of marked and annotated IA samples in the current Teacher Support Material publication (and in the marked samples accompanying the 2019 programme materials) is essential in introducing candidates to the notion of an "analytical framework."



On ethical issues:

In addition to what was said above in regard to candidate performance, it may be observed that ethical issues of research practice should not be approached as an isolated topic. Almost every modern ethnography presents readers with serious ethical issues the ethnographer had to face. In fact, the task of resolving such problems is often close to the central theme of the ethnography. Engaging candidates in ethical problems faced by professional ethnographers is the best way to help them anticipate ethical issues in their own research settings.

Organization and format of reports:

While there is no uniform format for the HL IA report, it is advisable for teachers to offer candidates a suggested general format for their reports. This can be designed so as to raise candidates' awareness of the requirements presented in the assessment criteria, and to encourage clarity of organization. Teachers may find that if they don't provide some sort of format, thoughtful students are likely to ask for one. Use of a table of contents, subheadings and bibliography deserve attention.

Group work for the HL IA:

Teachers are reminded that they should closely monitor the planning and progress of work undertaken by student groups. It is the teacher's responsibility to ensure that the data presentation, interpretation and analyses in each candidate's report are the candidate's own work.



Higher level paper one

Component grade boundaries

| Grade: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-------------|-----|-----|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Mark range: | 0-3 | 4-6 | 7-10 | 11-11 | 12-13 | 14-14 | 15-20 |

General comments

It was really good to see that teachers have taken on the recommendations given in previous years. This was evident in the scripts that were marked.

The areas of the programme and examination which appeared difficult for the candidates

There were no specific areas of concern in this examination period, although some candidates struggled to offer generalisations in Q1. Several omitted to offer an explicit viewpoint of the anthropologist in Q2.

The areas of the programme and examination in which candidates appeared well prepared

The majority of candidates were well prepared and could offer one or more relevant theoretical perspectives for Q2. Almost every candidate had an ethnography to use for Q3.

The strengths and weaknesses of the candidates in the treatment of individual questions

Q1 - The better examples were clearly in the candidates' own words and attempted to deploy an overarching concept/generalisation or two to help contextualise the response - even if this was simply 'globalisation' or 'patriarchy'. Examiners look for evidence of study, and if a response is undeveloped, close to the text, and is treated like an English language comprehension exercise evident limited. then this will not be and marks will be

Q2 - Better examples could deploy one or more *relevant* theoretical perspectives and discuss



the text in the light of these as part of a sustained response. Some threw everything they could at a response in the hope that something 'stuck', which typically limited the question to three or four marks. Clearly stating a valid viewpoint of the anthropologist is important here for achieving marks in the higher mark band.

Q3 - Better examples gave full identification of the comparative ethnography, gave a reason for its applicability for the specific question, offered similarities and differences which were grounded in concepts rather than superficial features and most importantly they were focused on Agency, as called for by the question. Several scripts just compared whatever they wanted rather than answer the question, and/or had memorised one ethnography and contrived a response around it (which some managed to do better than others).

Recommendations and guidance for the teaching of future candidates

Using appropriate anthropological terminology is one of the clearest ways a candidate can show that s/he has studied the subject. Candidates should be encouraged to do this in all questions, not just Q1.

While exam conditions are often demanding and under stress many candidates simply regurgitate all they know, if they can take a moment to think about what is the most appropriate TP and then discuss that in detail they will probably pick up more marks. Perhaps more work in-class analysing the VoA of the ethnographies studied would help in this respect.



Higher level paper two

Component grade boundaries

| Grade: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-------------|-----|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Mark range: | 0-7 | 8-14 | 15-17 | 18-21 | 22-26 | 27-30 | 31-44 |

The areas of the programme and examination which appeared difficult for the candidates

Some students wrote very short essays and too many students either used just one ethnography across two essays or showed evidence of only knowing two societies in detail. Alternatively, students were able to list many societies in their answers but not to demonstrate detailed knowledge about any of them. In some scripts, there was either no reference at all to theory or no reference to a relevant theory that was linked to other materials in the answer. Students did not always seem to understand the theoretical perspectives that they referred to in their answers or appeared to include all the perspectives and theories they could, perhaps in the hope that some might be relevant.

Many answers were mostly descriptive, sometimes citing material that was not relevant, or made relevant, to the question.

Some question terms were not understood by students. In this examination the term indigenous (question 5) was sometimes misunderstood by students who then went on to use material that was not relevant to answering the question. 'Social change' (question 3) was not always defined well and was sometimes treated as an individual change rather than a social group or society wide change.

A small number of students were not able to identify the ethnographic materials they cited and a few were not able correctly to locate the fieldwork locations of the people studied. While most students did provide dates for the ethnographies they wrote about these were often publication dates – in some cases not the original publication dates – and not fieldwork dates.

In terms of the questions themselves, as in previous years, students did not always answer all parts of the question or alternatively answered all parts of a question when just one option should have been selected.



The areas of the programme and examination in which candidates appeared well prepared

As in previous sessions, there were some excellent scripts with clear focus, effective reference to theory and/or theoretical perspectives, and relevant and very well detailed ethnography. The strongest scripts showed that students were able to evaluate ethnographic material, develop sophisticated discussions and draw effective and reasoned conclusions from the material they presented. This was most evident in responses to question one (power / gender, ethnicity, social class), question eight (resistance), and question nine (ritual), showing that some students are well prepared in terms of these areas of the program. In terms of theory, there was some informed and very effective use of symbolic theory (Turner), globalization theory (Appadurai), marxism (Godelier) and political economy as well as material on feminism and theorizations of resistance (Ortner 1995 among others). A proportion of students were able to cite non-anthropologists who have developed theoretical insights which are relevant to, and used by, anthropologists in their work (e.g. Judith Butler on gender and performance theory, Michel Foucault on power and sexuality, Castells on media/ technology).

The vast majority of students were able to correctly identify the ethnographies used in their answers and were able to provide detailed materials from these to support their arguments. Most students were also able to compare ethnographies and in some instances also the theoretical positions of the anthropologists they had studied. It was also very positive to note the wider range of more contemporary ethnographies students have studied in preparation for this assessment.

The strengths and weaknesses of the candidates in the treatment of individual questions

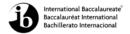
"Discuss power in relation to one of the following:

gender

ethnicity

social class."

This was one of the most popular questions on the paper and often well answered. Better answers were those where students were able to define power and the option term selected in an acceptable fashion. In a few instances students who chose the 'social class' option went on to describe non-class societies, and those who wrote on ethnicity frequently used 'race' as a synonym for ethnicity. Where gender was appropriately defined students often used feminist



theory to discuss ethnographies which also included work on masculinities and non-heteronormative sexualities. Some students also used Gardner's work on Sylhet to good effect to discuss women and power in a Bangladeshi context as well as ethnographic work on the hijra in India such as Reddy's *With Respect to Sex*, while others used Gregory's 2014 *The Devil Behind the Mirror: Globalization and Politics in the Dominican Republic* on ethnicity. On social class stronger scripts tended to incorporate Marxist and world systems theories while discussions of forms of inequality and discrimination in a variety of social contexts dominated scripts on ethnicity and power.

"To what extent has globalization altered either kinship or moral systems?"

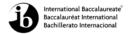
Where globalization and the chosen option were both defined and discussed in relation to each other the answers to this question were sound. A key limitation of some responses was to discuss globalization in detail but not to link this to either kinship or moral systems in anything more than very general terms. Frequently, kinship was only understood in relatively superficial terms (e.g. 'blood relations', 'family') with little discussion or use of anthropological kinship terminology. Moral systems were often not discussed as systems at all but in terms of piecemeal examples of a decline of morality as perceived by the student.

"Discuss how religion may lead to either social change or to social reproduction."

This was not a popular option on the paper. Social change was the more popular of the two options and usually focused on the change from a traditional belief system to a world religion such as Christianity. Colonisation and / or globalization were linked in most cases to the social changes that resulted from religion. Several students used Nash's, "We Eat the Mines and the Mines Eat Us" to answer both options for this question. Kendall's, "Shamans, Nostalgias, and the IMF: South Korean Popular Religion in Motion" (2009) was also used well to answer this question.

"Examine environmental issues with reference to either economic systems or political systems."

The answers to this question tended to focus on marginal environments such as those of the Skolt Lapps or northern Canada and on the indigenous peoples who live in such environments. Kottaks' 1999 work on Brazil – Assault on Paradise, was also a popular choice of ethnography for this question. Economic systems were those most often discussed and this was often in the context of globalization, colonialism, capitalism and the incursion of a wage labour and money economy. Some answers incorporated the impacts of climate change into their responses linking this with culture change resulting from global warming.



"Discuss health and illness with reference to one of the following:

indigenous groups

migrants

women"

Illness was more often discussed rather than health and illness (the assumption being that an absence of illness was health?) and neither health nor illness was routinely considered necessary to define. Given that notions of health and illness are often culture specific this was a limitation in many answers. Nonetheless there were some very good responses to the question particularly for the options of migrants (Seth Holmes, 2013. Fresh Fruit, Broken Bodies) and women (Scheper-Hughes, 1993. Death Without Weeping).

"Examine how exchange and reciprocity has been altered by either urbanization or migration."

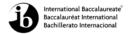
Migration was the more popular option for this question and students were able to draw on ethnographies on migrant workers who send remittances to families in a country of origin. Answers on women migrants who leave their children in the care of family while they look after the children of employers produced nuanced responses. The stronger scripts were able not only to select relevant ethnographic material but also clearly define and distinguish between exchange and reciprocity as well as to apply this to their chosen ethnographic material.

"Examine inequality with reference to either technology or communication systems and media."

Abu-Lughod's work on television and the use of cassettes continues to be popular for questions of gendered inequality and media. Some students tried to answer the question in terms of inequality that results from the proletarianization of a population when factories (making new technologies) are built or when indigenous peoples encounter western technologies. Students produced stronger work when they were able to define technology and apply a reasoned understanding of this to their chosen ethnographic material. On occasion students appeared to assume that any form of difference constituted inequality or were not able to define inequality in a manner that allowed for a considered and focused response.

Discuss the forms resistance has taken in one society.

This was another very popular question and often answered using Bourgois's *In Search of Respect* as well as Scott's *Weapons of the Weak*. In general, this question was reasonably well answered when resistance was well defined and not simply used in a common sense manner or to describe virtually any social encounter. The best responses were able to link resistance to relevant concepts and theories and to discuss the term in relation to individual and social



forms of resistance as well as to evaluate the limitations of the use of resistance to understand the social world.

"Compare and contrast the social uses of ritual in two societies."

Again, a reasonably popular question which allowed students to describe Van Gennep's tripartite rites of passage and to show how this could be applied in a range of social situations. Interesting ethnographic examples included the Catholic-Protestant divide in Northern Ireland as well as Kuper's now older material on the Swazi. Students tended to be better at comparing than contrasting the social uses of ritual and some did neither explicitly but simply described first one society and then the second in list form.

"Examine the relationship between consumption practices and either modernity or colonialism."

This was not a very popular question and in the few cases where it was answered, modernity was not often well defined or understood. Colonialism was dealt with rather better and where colonial policies of raw material extraction in peripheral societies was linked to increased consumerism in core societies this resulted in sound and convincing scripts. In a few cases examples of consumption and modernity were linked to gendered identity as in the work of Yano, 2013. *Pink Globalization: Hello Kitty's Trek across the Pacific*.

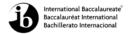
Recommendations and guidance for the teaching of future candidates

Teachers need to emphasize the importance of reading questions carefully and to make sure that responses answer the question and do not simply produce essays that only include vaguely or partially relevant material.

Students should be encouraged to make sure they answer all parts of the question.

In terms of knowledge, teachers need to continue to work with students to help them find effective ways to incorporate their knowledge of theory and theoretical perspectives in this paper, and to make this relevant to the question. Sometimes students included theoretical references, but too often this was unconnected to the rest of the response, and seemed to represent something learned by rote rather than something understood, that could be used to think about ethnographic materials.

While most students are usually able to present some descriptive ethnographic materials, quite often these lack sufficient detail and/or the details are not made relevant to the question. Again, as with theory, this seems to be a key issue - how to help students learn to think both with and about the materials and to address a range of different questions that require them to do



something more than simply reproduce what has been learned, often it seems, somewhat mechanically.

Too many students were not able to show evidence of having studied at least three societies in detail and a small number only cited one society on their scripts. Students should be strongly encouraged to write on three societies across the examination paper and to select questions to answer that make this possible.

Most students were able to give publication dates for the ethnographic material they selected but this was often not supplemented with fieldwork dates – so, for example, on occasion Malinowski's work was described as taking place in the 1970s (publication date) rather than during the first world war.

Students should be encouraged to read contemporary ethnographic studies, but they should also be carefully guided in their choices of material as several students cited doctoral research or 'ethnographies' that were not by anthropologists but rather by researchers in other disciplines including medical sociology, education and religious studies where ethnographic methods had been used by non-anthropologists.

Many students described work by journalists, geographers, documentary films and even personal memoirs as "ethnography". If students use this material they should be able clearly to distinguish this from ethnographies and ethnographic films by anthropologists.



Higher level paper three

Component grade boundaries

| Grade: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-------------|-----|-----|-----|------|-------|-------|-------|
| Mark range: | 0-3 | 4-6 | 7-8 | 9-11 | 12-14 | 15-17 | 18-20 |

General comments

The areas of the programme and examination which appeared difficult for the candidates

Some students struggle to distinguish between a theoretical perspective and a theory with some simply stating, for example, that 'conflict perspectives' and 'conflict theory' (which is rarely explained in terms of any specific theorist or particular theory seeking to understand forms of social or other conflict) are the same and not elaborating beyond this.

In some instances students failed to include any reference to theory in their answers or, if they did mention a theory failed to discuss this, explain how it was relevant to the question, or link it to ethnographic materials or perspectives.

Alternatively, some students this session appear to have decided that they should incorporate as many references to as many theoretical perspectives and theories as possible in their answer, presumably in the hope that some of them might be relevant.

Where questions had options for a student to select it was not always clear which option had been chosen and some students wrote on all available options. When questions asked for one anthropologist students sometimes wrote on more than one and when a question required two not all wrote on two.

In some instances, students wrote as though individuals and groups in society were actively trying to shape their social world to fit a theory rather than recognizing that the theory is an analytical tool used by the anthropologist to make sense of the social world.

Some perspectives, in particular agency-centred and universalistic, were often poorly understood and misapplied. Not everything that might constitute a pair – usually described as a 'binary' in some scripts – is evidence of structuralism and structuralism is not the same as structure-centred.

Some students misunderstand what constitutes complete identification: the ethnographic present is not the same as the publication date.



Not all students answered all parts of a question and not all were able to incorporate theoretical perspectives, theory and ethnography and make relevant connections between these.

Some answers were very short, barely a couple of paragraphs and this meant that students were not able to develop full answers. In some other cases, scripts were longer but written in the form of P2 answers and so primarily focused on ethnographic material rather than using ethnographic examples to support a theoretically-oriented discussion.

"The areas of the programme and examination in which candidates appeared well prepared"

Many students had an impressive command of theory, and were able to correctly cite the work of Ortner, Appadurai, Foucault, Butler and Bourdieu among others (and in many cases also to recognize theorists who are anthropologists and those who are not). A good number also had a solid understanding of the nuances of structural functionalism, feminism, performance theory, practice theory, Marxism, world systems theory, political economy and postmodernism and were able to apply this knowledge to relevant ethnographic material.

In some cases, students were able critically to evaluate anthropological texts in appropriate theoretical terms and to demonstrate an ability to construct reasoned and detailed essays with relevant evidence to support their discussion.

Some students were clearly well practiced in answering paper 3 questions and had a good understanding of the assessment criteria. These students were able to achieve high scores and this included a number who achieved maximum, or very nearly maximum, points.

The strengths and weaknesses of the candidates in the treatment of individual questions

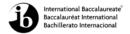
"Compare the work of two anthropologists in relation to one of the following perspectives:

structure-centred

synchronic

particularistic"

This was a fairly popular question and Bourgois's *In Search of Respect*, Nash's *We Eat the Mines*, Scheper-Hughes's *Death without Weeping*, as well as older ethnographies by Turnbull



on the Mbuti, among many others were used by students to answer all possible variations of the question. Godelier's Marxist approach to understanding the social world was utilised by some students as were both functionalism and structural functionalism in relation to structure-centred perspectives. Structure-centred was the most popular option with synchronic the least popular. The stronger answers went beyond simply listing the features of two anthropologists in terms of the chosen perspective and sought to make explicit the comparison between them with the very best also evaluating the work of the anthropologists in relation to the chosen perspective.

"Discuss why an anthropologist would choose to use one of the following perspectives:

universalistic

diachronic

agency-centred."

In relation to a particular ethnographic context, rather than examine ONE theory or school of thought candidates chose to write on two or more. Diachronic and agency-centred perspectives were the favourite options on this question. For all options, stronger answers were those where the student was able to clearly define the option term, apply this systematically to ethnographic material and show how the option term was linked to specific anthropological theories.

For the diachronic option, ethnographies with a focus on change over time to demonstrate the persistence of cultural elements or their transformation because of, usually, external factors were popular and sensible choices. For this perspective many ethnographies were chosen including work on the Sami reindeer herders, on indigenous peoples including the Kayapò and the Inuit, as well as studies outlining how understandings of gender have developed over time or have been affected by those in power at different points in time with reference, for example, to the hijra of India using Nanda's work, or Reddy's *With Respect to Sex: negotiating hijra identity in South India.*

Some students only recognized agency when individuals acted *against* social norms or expectations and so presented a limited and partial understanding of the term. Others used the term to justify any action by anyone in any situation and so rendered the term virtually meaningless. Popular anthropologists to answer on agency included Hall writing on Sikh girls in the UK, Gardner on Sylhetis in both the UK and Bangladesh, Stephen on *Transborder Lives: indigenous Oaxacans in Mexico, California and Oregon*, Yano's *Pink Globalization* (on Hello Kitty in Japan).

When the universalistic option was selected, some students misunderstood the term and considered it a synonym for whatever they imagined all people would want or need or do. Stronger answers recognized the term as underpinning anthropological theories that can be



applied to any society and based on an understanding of our shared humanity (as in structuralism for example) or shared needs as social beings (functionalism).

"Discuss the importance of either an idealist or a materialist perspective in the study of one of the following:

globalization

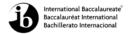
moral systems

gender relations"

In relation to a particular ethnographic context. er than examine ONE theory or school of thought chose to write on two or moreThere were many possible choices of anthropologist and schools of thought with which to answer this question. Stronger answers were those where the work of the anthropologist or the school of thought could be clearly and sensibly discussed in relation to either idealist or materialist perspectives. While globalization and gender relations, as options linked to one of the perspectives was often well answered the weakest scripts tended to be those that discussed moral systems. Often the 'system' in moral system was ignored and/or what constitutes 'moral' was simply assumed to be self-evident, treated as unproblematic and hence neither defined nor discussed. Weaker essays tended to focus on sociological material to do with prostitution as evidence of moral systems in decline in a context of globalization (the latter term also rarely defined or alternatively only poorly defined). Equally, where idealist was poorly understood and treated as a striving towards an 'ideal', answers tended to be superficial and the theories used, if any, were not well integrated. Students who chose materialist perspectives and linked this to cultural materialism (Marvin Harris) or Marxist anthropology (including some very good work on Godelier this session) to explain pertinent features of ethnographic material tended to do well. Popular choices for ethnographies included Ong's work on Malaysian factory women (materialism and gender relations) and Nash's work on Bolivian miners (materialism and globalization - when discussed as a continuation of colonialism). For gender relations Yano's Pink Globalization was discussed as was Nanda and Reddy on the hijra and for globalization some students used Tsuda's Strangers in the Ethnic Homeland: Japanese Brazilian return migration in transnational perspective. Appadurai was discussed as a theorist of globalization.

"Evaluate the contribution of either a cohesion-centred or a conflict-centred perspective to an understanding of the nature of society."

The options on this question were both evenly selected. Students were able to outline the chosen theory and related theoretical perspectives linked to the work of an anthropologist. Lee's work on the !Kung was relatively popular and usually linked to cohesion-centred perspectives while Bourgois remains a popular ethnographic choice for conflict-centred perspectives as does Scott's *Weapons of the Weak* and Chavez's *Shadowed Lives*. Conflict-centred perspectives incorporated world systems theories, post-modernism, practice theory, feminism and Marxist



approaches while cohesion-centred scripts tended to interpret ethnographic material using functionalist and structural functionalist theories. A weakness among the less strong scripts was the omission of any discussion of theory, or more often a short statement that conflict-centred perspectives and conflict theory (not usually described or discussed to make clear what this conflict theory might consist of) were the same.

"Examine how one school of thought and one theoretical perspective inform the work of one anthropologist."

This was a relatively popular choice and when students did as the question asked (one perspective, one school of thought and one anthropologist) it was often well answered. A wide range of ethnographies and theories were used to answer this question and these included ethnographies that were described as feminist. One issue with the responses on feminism was a tendency among some students to outline three historical waves of feminism over the 20th century and then to seek to discover 'evidence' of first wave, second wave and third wave feminism in the ethnographic material itself, or to describe the people in the ethnography as embodying first, second or third wave feminism in their actions and words. This betrays a misunderstanding of feminist theory understood as a history of theoretical development over the 20th century and the application of theory in specific ethnographies.

Recommendations and guidance for the teaching of future candidates

Students should be taught the difference between theory and theoretical perspective and what a "critical" treatment of the material entails.

The responses can only be as good as the ethnographic materials selected to answer the question. Teachers should select ethnographic materials carefully to ensure that they have wide ranging relevance and can be used to discuss both theory and theoretical perspectives.

Where a question has more than one option students should clearly state which option has been chosen.

Students should ensure that they have answered all parts of the question and included theory, perspectives and ethnography in their response.

