



International Baccalaureate®  
Baccalauréat International  
Bachillerato Internacional

# **Social & Cultural Anthropology**

## **Higher level and standard level**

**Specimen paper 1s, 2s and 3s**

**For first examinations in 2010**

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**SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY  
HIGHER LEVEL  
PAPER 1**

SPECIMEN PAPER

1 hour

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INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES

- Do not open this examination paper until instructed to do so.
- Read the passage carefully and then answer all the questions.

*Texts in this examination paper have been edited: word additions or explanations are shown in square brackets [ ]; substantive deletions of text are indicated by ellipses in square brackets [...]; minor changes are not indicated.*

*Extract from Gordillo, Gastón, 2002. “The Breath of the Devils: Memories and Places of an Experience of Terror.” American Ethnologist 29:33-57.*

Between the early 1900s and late 1960s, the Toba [of Northern Argentina] worked in the Tabacal sugar plantation, [...] a dazzling, contradictory place of excess. This was an excess of commodities (firearms, clothing, utensils), which made them return every year in spite of harsh working conditions, and excess of disease, death, and terror. The terror of the plantation was best expressed in their belief in devils and the *KiyaGaikpi* “cannibal people”. [...]

By 1930, Toba [seasonal] labour migrations were regular. At Tabacal, the Toba became part of a diverse group of workers hierarchically organised by the administration along ethnic lines. The administration assigned different tasks to each group, [paying] wages according to what it considered to be their culturally specific working skills. The top of the hierarchy was formed by Criollo permanent factory workers.\* Next, the Chiriguano, a slash-and-burn horticulturalist group, [...] were considered the best indigenous labourers. The hunting and gathering Toba group were ranked lowest on the scale. They were considered unskilled seasonal labourers, received the lowest wages, and suffered the worst working conditions. The forms of ethnicity dominating social interactions in the cane fields were produced by the incorporation of various groups into a single political economy.

The Toba believed that devils inhabited the mountains overlooking the cane fields. Invisible, they came down from the mountains to spread diseases and death. The labour migrations threatened not just individual lives, but also the Toba’s social reproduction, as children [...] are remembered as the most likely victims of the plantation.

The Toba remembered that they buried their dead in the forests surrounding the cane fields, but the following year those forests were cleared to plant sugarcane. The Toba’s memories of the bones of their people scattered in the fields served as a grim reminder that they were leaving their most basic possession, their own bodies, literally swallowed by fields of sugarcane.

High mortality rates and fear of devils did not deter most Toba from going to the plantation. The desire for commodities available on the sugar plantation, reinforced by the Toba’s growing inability to survive through hunting and gathering, [was] stronger than the threat of death in the cane fields. [...]

According to the Toba, [as well as devils at Tabacal there were] the *KiyaGaikpi* people who ate human flesh. The nature of social relations in the cane fields shaped Toba ideas about the *KiyaGaikpi*. Many Toba considered them rich and also told stories of [how] they killed people. [One Toba said] that the *KiyaGaikpi* used to leave packages of money by the road, tied with string, to attract, capture and devour people. Other Toba remembered them using money to buy their prey. Thus the people whose only commodity while at the plantation was their labour believed that they were being bought and sold as a new type of commodity: as meat. The attitudes

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\* Criollos are a population of mixed colonial and indigenous descent.

35 projected on these cannibals reflects the Toba experience of workers reduced to consumable and disposable objects. Moreover, the Toba believed that their flesh was for the *KiyaGaikpi*, not only a commodity for consumption, but also a means of exchange. A story about a Toba man who did a day’s work for the *KiyaGaikpi* relates that they paid him with a grim commodity: the hand of a dead worker.

40 The Toba internalized the ethnic hierarchies created in Tabacal as demonstrated by their belief that the *KiyaGaikpi* thought their flesh had a “bad taste”. On the plantation, the Toba were despised, and they projected this attitude on the *KiyaGaikpi*. Yet they found that elements of their aboriginality played to their advantage. A Toba told me, “They don’t find Toba flesh tasty because they don’t eat nice things. They’d much rather eat white people, for whites have nice food and the *KiyaGaikpi*  
45 find their flesh very nice.” [...]

The meanings and practices that Toba projected onto the *KiyaGaikpi* pointed to some of the disturbing experiences that shaped their work conditions. Fear of the *KiyaGaikpi* expresses a particular aspect of the Toba experience in Tabacal: the fear of losing one of the few things they still owned while working there, their own bodies, consumed by exhausting work, disease  
50 and death. Connections between exploitation and cannibalism are [not] restricted to this area. Narratives about people being “consumed” or “eaten up” in factories and mines are common among workers around the world.

1. What was the relationship between hierarchy and ethnicity on the plantation? [6 marks]
  
  2. Using one or more theoretical perspectives explain how the Toba’s beliefs about death and disease were an expression of their work conditions. [6 marks]
  
  3. Compare the Toba’s response to their work experience with the response to work experience of **one** other group you have studied in detail. [8 marks]
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# **MARKSCHEME**

## **SPECIMEN**

### **SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY**

#### **Higher Level**

#### **Paper 1**

**1. What was the relationship between hierarchy and ethnicity on the plantation? [6 marks]**

There are several descriptive examples to choose from in the passage and these begin with the pragmatic outlining of the hierarchically organized ethnic groups in relation to labour practice on the plantation. This then leads on to the discussion of the rationale for the labour hierarchy and the implications and outcomes of such ranking according to ethnicity.

Clearly there is a hierarchy of ethnicity based on subsistence, with the hunter-gatherer Toba at the bottom of the scale and the Chiriguano slash and burn horticulturalists above them. The Toba are seasonal migrant workers and are therefore expected to have alternative sources of income when the plantation does not require their labour. The Criollos are permanent workers on the plantation and can be assumed to be considered ethnically superior to the other groups on the plantation (some students might guess that they are peasants). The Criollos work indoors in the factory while the Toba and Chiriguano work outdoors in the fields. The ethnic hierarchy established at the plantation equates subsistence patterns with supposed skills and cultural abilities, and ranks groups according to this. Pay differentials follow this ranking and the outcome is a form of institutionalised discrimination against certain groups because of their assumed abilities, or lack of them, on the basis of their traditional forms of subsistence and ethnicity. Such an organization of labour keeps workers divided along ethnic lines and prevents a collective union of workers against harsh working conditions. Some candidates might also mention that the harsher working conditions of the seasonal field labourers also took a heavier toll on them in terms of disease and death. The lower down the ethnic and labour hierarchy one was, the greater the likelihood of disease and death. The poorer one was to begin with, the worse the chances of survival and well-being.

Another aspect of the inferior labour position of the Toba on the plantation was their internalization of this situation in their beliefs that the cannibal *KiyaGaikpi* would not find their flesh tasty because the Toba did not eat the nice food of the whites. In this instance relative poverty reflected in poorer diet may have worked, as far as the Toba were concerned, to their advantage when confronted by cannibals.

**Marks**

**Level descriptor**

- 0 The work does not reach a standard described by the descriptors below.
- 1–2 There is an attempt to organize the response and identify relevant points but the response relies too heavily on quotations from the text *and/or* limited generalizations are offered.
- 3–4 The response is organized, identifies and explains relevant points, and offers generalizations.
- 5–6 The response is organized, identifies and explains relevant points and links them to generalizations, demonstrating good anthropological understanding.



2. Using *one* or more theoretical perspectives explain how the Toba’s beliefs about death and disease were an expression of their work conditions. [6 marks]

This question requires candidates to develop answers which move beyond the more descriptive answer of question 1. Here the ability of candidates to show that beliefs are, to some extent, contextual and can be understood in relation to working and living conditions will produce stronger answers than those which simply list the devil and cannibal beliefs of the Toba. The level of fear of devils is correlated to the high death rates among the Toba working on the plantations and the terror of the people that they were being wiped out by death and disease as the deaths of children, in particular, compromised the ability of the Toba to reproduce themselves in the future. These death rates are themselves the outcome of the very harsh working and living conditions on the plantation and the price the Toba paid for entering the capitalist system at the very bottom of the hierarchy. The Toba recognised this but were tempted by the commodities available to wage labourers and also compelled to work in the fields by the fact that their traditional means of subsistence were no longer sufficient to meet their needs.

Some candidates may even consider the “naturalizing” effect of beliefs in devils as a cause of death and disease. If such things are caused by devils then the actual labour conditions on the plantation are not responsible and this displaces the causes of the death from the organization of labour in the fields (which could be challenged and changed) to the non-human and non-preventable action of devils (which the plantation owners cannot do anything about). The alienation of labour and its commodification is also expressed in the stories of cannibals who use human flesh as a means of exchange.

Good answers do not have to provide an exhaustive discussion of all elements of devil and cannibal belief and the alienation and commodification of labour covered in the passage. However, they do have to contextualize their answers within a suitable theoretical framework and select a sufficient range of appropriate examples from the text to justify their discussion. For example, agency, structure, conflict or material perspectives would all be acceptable choices. Of course, candidates could also choose to analyse the passage through the lens of just one of these.

### Marks

### Level descriptor

- 0 The work does not reach a standard described by the descriptors below.
- 1–2 The response is mainly descriptive and relies on quotations, but may demonstrate limited understanding of anthropological issues and concepts.
- 3–4 The response demonstrates some understanding of anthropological issues and concepts or theory, *or* the response recognizes the viewpoint of the anthropologist, *but* not all of these.
- 5–6 The response demonstrates a critical understanding of anthropological issues, concepts and theory, *and* recognizes the viewpoint of the anthropologist.

**3. Compare the Toba’s response to their work experience with the response to work experience of *one* other group you have studied in detail. [8 marks]**

The target societies for this comparative question are varied and many. The question requires candidates to demonstrate an understanding of capitalist labour practice as a force which does not impact uniformly on all members of a society. While the Toba find ways of expressing and understanding the impacts of exploitative working conditions through beliefs in devils and cannibals, other social groups may have alternative ways of conceptualising the impacts of capitalism on their social order. The ethnic inequalities that the passage highlights may be compared to class or gender inequalities in relation to work practices found in other social systems. Better answers will be able to demonstrate the variable impacts of labour conditions on different segments within a given society.

Students may choose to use theoretical perspectives (ideally introduced in their question 2 response) to help frame their comparison.

<b>Marks</b>	<b>Level descriptor</b>
0	The work does not reach a standard described by the descriptors below.
1–2	Comparative ethnography is presented in limited detail and its relevance is only partly established. It is not identified in terms of place, author or historical context. The response may not be structured as a comparison.
3–4	Comparative ethnography is presented in limited detail but its relevance is established. The comparative ethnography is identified in terms of place, author and historical context, <i>or</i> the response is clearly structured as a comparison.
5–6	Comparative ethnography is presented and its relevance is successfully established. The comparative ethnography is identified in terms of place, author and historical context, <i>and</i> the response is clearly structured as a comparison. Either similarities <i>or</i> differences are discussed in detail, <i>but</i> not both.
7–8	Comparative ethnography is presented and its relevance is successfully established. The comparative ethnography is identified in terms of place, author and historical context, <i>and</i> the response is clearly structured as a comparison. Similarities <i>and</i> differences are discussed in detail. The response demonstrates good anthropological understanding.

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**SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY  
HIGHER LEVEL  
PAPER 2**

SPECIMEN PAPER

2 hours

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**INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES**

- Do not turn over this examination paper until instructed to do so.
- Answer two questions.

Answer **two** questions. Candidates must use specific and clearly identified **ethnographic illustrations**. Each question is worth [19 marks]. Upto an additional [6 marks] are awarded across both answers.

1. How may shared historical experience lead to changes in economic **or** political organization?
  2. Discuss the relationship between moral systems and **one** of the following:
    - ethnicity
    - kinship
    - power.
  3. “Minorities are often negatively stereotyped and this may legitimize and maintain forms of inequality.” Discuss this statement with reference to **one** society.
  4. Discuss relations between power and work.
  5. Compare and contrast gender relations across generations in **one** society.
  6. Explain how the meaning of symbols changes over time.
  7. Discuss **one** of the following pairs:
    - globalization and localization
    - industrialization and proletarianization
    - development and underdevelopment.
  8. Assess some of the long-term social and economic effects of colonialism **or** tourism.
  9. What factors need to be considered in order to increase the likelihood of a successful development project?
  10. Show how **one** ritual may be understood in a variety of ways.
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**SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY  
HIGHER LEVEL  
PAPER 3**

SPECIMEN PAPER

1 hour

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**INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES**

- Do not turn over this examination paper until instructed to do so.
- Answer one question.

Answer **one** question. The answer must refer to **theoretical perspectives in anthropology** and their application to specific and clearly identified **ethnographic illustrations**. Each question is worth [20 marks].

1. Choose **one** anthropologist and discuss how his/her theoretical perspective(s) informs his/her ethnography.
  2. Evaluate the assumptions, goals and methods of **one** theoretical school from the twentieth century in light of recent theoretical developments in the discipline.
  3. Explain how **one** or more of the following have helped you to understand **one** aspect of social life:
    - structure
    - agency
    - idealist perspectives
    - materialist perspectives.
  4. Why do many anthropologists argue for a particularistic perspective?
  5. Evaluate synchronic and diachronic approaches to ethnography.
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**SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY  
STANDARD LEVEL  
PAPER 1**

SPECIMEN PAPER

1 hour

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By 1930, Toba [seasonal] labour migrations were regular. At Tabacal, the Toba became part of a diverse group of workers hierarchically organised by the administration along ethnic lines. The administration assigned different tasks to each group, [paying] wages according to what it considered to be their culturally specific working skills. The top of the hierarchy was formed by Criollo permanent factory workers.\* Next, the Chiriguano, a slash-and-burn horticulturalist group, [...] were considered the best indigenous labourers. The hunting and gathering Toba group were ranked lowest on the scale. They were considered unskilled seasonal labourers, received the lowest wages, and suffered the worst working conditions. The forms of ethnicity dominating social interactions in the cane fields were produced by the incorporation of various groups into a single political economy.

The Toba believed that devils inhabited the mountains overlooking the cane fields. Invisible, they came down from the mountains to spread diseases and death. The labour migrations threatened not just individual lives, but also the Toba’s social reproduction, as children [...] are remembered as the most likely victims of the plantation.

The Toba remembered that they buried their dead in the forests surrounding the cane fields, but the following year those forests were cleared to plant sugarcane. The Toba’s memories of the bones of their people scattered in the fields served as a grim reminder that they were leaving their most basic possession, their own bodies, literally swallowed by fields of sugarcane.

High mortality rates and fear of devils did not deter most Toba from going to the plantation. The desire for commodities available on the sugar plantation, reinforced by the Toba’s growing inability to survive through hunting and gathering, [was] stronger than the threat of death in the cane fields. [...]

According to the Toba, [as well as devils at Tabacal there were] the *KiyaGaikpi* people who ate human flesh. The nature of social relations in the cane fields shaped Toba ideas about the *KiyaGaikpi*. Many Toba considered them rich and also told stories of [how] they killed people. [One Toba said] that the *KiyaGaikpi* used to leave packages of money by the road, tied with string, to attract, capture and devour people. Other Toba remembered them using money to buy their prey. Thus the people whose only commodity while at the plantation was their labour believed that they were being bought and sold as a new type of commodity: as meat. The attitudes

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\* Criollos are a population of mixed colonial and indigenous descent.



- 35 projected on these cannibals reflects the Toba experience of workers reduced to consumable and disposable objects. Moreover, the Toba believed that their flesh was for the *KiyaGaikpi*, not only a commodity for consumption, but also a means of exchange. A story about a Toba man who did a day’s work for the *KiyaGaikpi* relates that they paid him with a grim commodity: the hand of a dead worker.
- 40 The Toba internalized the ethnic hierarchies created in Tabacal as demonstrated by their belief that the *KiyaGaikpi* thought their flesh had a “bad taste”. On the plantation, the Toba were despised, and they projected this attitude on the *KiyaGaikpi*. Yet they found that elements of their aboriginality played to their advantage. A Toba told me, “They don’t find Toba flesh tasty because they don’t eat nice things. They’d much rather eat white people, for whites have nice food and the
- 45 *KiyaGaikpi* find their flesh very nice.” [...]

The meanings and practices that Toba projected onto the *KiyaGaikpi* pointed to some of the disturbing experiences that shaped their work conditions. Fear of the *KiyaGaikpi* expresses a particular aspect of the Toba experience in Tabacal: the fear of losing one of the few things they still owned while working there, their own bodies, consumed by exhausting work, disease

50 and death. Connections between exploitation and cannibalism are [not] restricted to this area. Narratives about people being “consumed” or “eaten up” in factories and mines are common among workers around the world.

1. What was the relationship between hierarchy and ethnicity on the plantation? [6 marks]
  
  2. Explain the relationship between Toba beliefs about death and disease and their work conditions. [6 marks]
  
  3. Compare the Toba’s response to their work experience with the response to work experience of **one** other group you have studied in detail. [8 marks]
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# **MARKSCHEME**

## **SPECIMEN**

### **SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY**

#### **Standard Level**

#### **Paper 1**

**1. What was the relationship between hierarchy and ethnicity on the plantation? [6 marks]**

There are several descriptive examples to choose from in the passage and these begin with the pragmatic outlining of the hierarchically organized ethnic groups in relation to labour practice on the plantation. This then leads on to the discussion of the rationale for the labour hierarchy and the implications and outcomes of such ranking according to ethnicity.

Clearly there is a hierarchy of ethnicity based on subsistence, with the hunter-gatherer Toba at the bottom of the scale and the Chiriguano slash and burn horticulturalists above them. The Toba are seasonal migrant workers and are therefore expected to have alternative sources of income when the plantation does not require their labour. The Criollos are permanent workers on the plantation and can be assumed to be considered ethnically superior to the other groups on the plantation (some students might guess that they are peasants). The Criollos work indoors in the factory while the Toba and Chiriguano work outdoors in the fields. The ethnic hierarchy established at the plantation equates subsistence patterns with supposed skills and cultural abilities, and ranks groups according to this. Pay differentials follow this ranking and the outcome is a form of institutionalised discrimination against certain groups because of their assumed abilities, or lack of them, on the basis of their traditional forms of subsistence and ethnicity. Such an organization of labour keeps workers divided along ethnic lines and prevents a collective union of workers against harsh working conditions. Some candidates might also mention that the harsher working conditions of the seasonal field labourers also took a heavier toll on them in terms of disease and death. The lower down the ethnic and labour hierarchy one was, the greater the likelihood of disease and death. The poorer one was to begin with, the worse the chances of survival and well-being.

Another aspect of the inferior labour position of the Toba on the plantation was their internalization of this situation in their beliefs that the cannibal *KiyaGaikpi* would not find their flesh tasty because the Toba did not eat the nice food of the whites. In this instance relative poverty reflected in poorer diet may have worked, as far as the Toba were concerned, to their advantage when confronted by cannibals.

**Marks**

**Level descriptor**

- 0 The work does not reach a standard described by the descriptors below.
- 1–2 There is an attempt to organize the response and identify relevant points but the response relies too heavily on quotations from the text *and/or* limited generalizations are offered.
- 3–4 The response is organized, identifies and explains relevant points, and offers generalizations.
- 5–6 The response is organized, identifies and explains relevant points and links them to generalizations, demonstrating good anthropological understanding.

2. **Explain the relationship between Toba beliefs about death and disease and their work conditions.** [6 marks]

This question requires candidates to move from the more clearly descriptive answer of question 1 to consider the nature of beliefs in devils and cannibals and analyse how these relate to the working conditions on the plantation. The plantation itself is located in the vicinity of devils who can descend from the nearby mountains to spread disease and death. In this way the place of work in a capitalist system is also a place of death and this is reinforced by the descriptions of the bones of deceased Toba buried in the cane fields. The death caused by devils arouses fear which encompasses the future as well as the present as the deaths of children compromise the Toba's ability to reproduce themselves in the future. The belief in devils, however, reflects the brutality of the working conditions and the fear these aroused but does so in a manner which deflects blame for the working conditions from the plantation owners to the devils. In this way brutal working conditions become naturalized and beyond the scope of human intervention to alter.

The belief in the cannibal *KiyaGaikpi* adds a further dimension to the Toba conceptualization of their position on the plantation. They are commodified in the most basic way – literally becoming food for consumption or no more than meat body-parts for exchange. However, the low social position of the Toba on the plantation is internalized by them and reflected in their belief that the *KiyaGaikpi* do not find Toba flesh tasty. This is because, as poor labourers, the Toba do not eat good food and so they do not taste as nice as the whites who eat the best food. Although a reflection of the way in which they are despised and subjected to the worst of everything on the plantation, this Toba belief is also a way of finding some advantage in their lowly position. Other examples could also be chosen from the text to answer this question.

Candidates should draw on relevant anthropological concepts in their answers. This could be anything that the candidate has studied relevant to the passage. For example power, class or ethnicity.

Strong answers will incorporate examples from the text in order to present coherent and well argued discussions revealing some of the complexities of belief in relation to social context.

<b>Marks</b>	<b>Level descriptor</b>
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3–4	The response demonstrates some understanding of anthropological issues and concepts, <i>or</i> the response recognizes the viewpoint of the anthropologist, <i>but</i> not both of these.
5–6	The response demonstrates a critical understanding of anthropological issues and concepts, <i>and</i> recognizes the viewpoint of the anthropologist.

**3. Compare the Toba’s response to their work experience with the response to work experience of *one* other group you have studied in detail. [8 marks]**

The target societies for this comparative question are varied and many. The question requires candidates to demonstrate an understanding of capitalist labour practice as a force which does not impact uniformly on all members of a society. While the Toba find ways of expressing and understanding the impacts of exploitative working conditions through beliefs in devils and cannibals, other social groups may have alternative ways of conceptualising the impacts of capitalism on their social order. The ethnic inequalities that the passage highlights may be compared to class or gender inequalities in relation to work practices found in other social systems. Better answers will be able to demonstrate the variable impacts of labour conditions on different segments within a given society.

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**SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY  
STANDARD LEVEL  
PAPER 2**

SPECIMEN PAPER

2 hours

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**INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES**

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- Answer two questions.

Answer **two** questions. Candidates must use specific and clearly identified **ethnographic illustrations**. Each question is worth [19 marks]. Upto an additional [6 marks] are awarded across both answers.

1. How may shared historical experience lead to changes in economic **or** political organization?
  2. Discuss the relationship between moral systems and **one** of the following:
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  3. “Minorities are often negatively stereotyped and this may legitimize and maintain forms of inequality.” Discuss this statement with reference to **one** society.
  4. Discuss relations between power and work.
  5. Compare and contrast gender relations across generations in **one** society.
  6. Explain how the meaning of symbols changes over time.
  7. Discuss **one** of the following pairs:
    - globalization and localization
    - industrialization and proletarianization
    - development and underdevelopment.
  8. Assess some of the long-term social and economic effects of colonialism **or** tourism.
  9. What factors need to be considered in order to increase the likelihood of a successful development project?
  10. Show how **one** ritual may be understood in a variety of ways.
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