

# **MARKSCHEME**

**November 2003**

## **SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY**

**Higher Level**

**Paper 1**

1. **Explain how the Kayapó have responded to the new perspectives they have encountered in the struggle to protect their interests, and why their response has taken the shape it has.** [5 marks]

The question requires candidates to present relevant materials from the passage in descriptive fashion, but to do so in an organized way and in their own words. They may frame their answers in a variety of ways, and not one presentation style is necessarily better than others. However, one expects responses to describe in broad terms what the “new perspectives” consist of. These new perspectives are the international concerns for environmentalism and indigenous rights, represented by such diverse entities as international organizations, Western political leaders, Western ecologists, and rock stars. Responses will demonstrate that the Kayapó response to these new interlocutors consists of a selective revival of traditions previously set aside, and based on criteria of selection corresponding to Western constructions of “Indianness”. These constructions view Indians as near-naked and exotically adorned persons, who perform “war dances” in conflictual contexts. Their body adornments bear witness to the harmony that Westerners believe exists between their lifestyles and the natural environment. This harmony presumes a benign attitude towards nature, so that, for Westerners and hence for the Kayapó who astutely pick up on Westerners’ ideological constructs, bird feathers are in but monkey or jaguar teeth are out.

2. **Discuss whether we should consider the Kayapó response to Western intrusion in its various forms as accommodation or resistance to the dominance of the State and of the Western world.** [7 marks]

Here, candidates will demonstrate their ability to discuss the complexities of a potentially contradictory political picture. The passage makes it clear that the State and the Western world do not form a unified entity. The Kayapó are perfectly aware of this lack of unity, and use the divisions (between, say, the Brazilian legal system and international environmentalism) to their own advantage. On the one hand, they accommodate Western dominance by allowing elements of the West to dictate how their struggles are going to be framed (*e.g.* by accepting the “greening” of their concerns), how they are going to dress in contexts where their struggles are foregrounded, and what elements of their past are to be revived or downplayed (*e.g.* bird feathers vs. jaguar teeth). At the same time, they engage in resistance on several fronts. The most explicit example is the case of the two Kayapó leaders facing legal prosecution, and showing up to the courtroom in “traditional” dress, answering the judge’s orders with a defiant and strategically worded retort. The “war dance” in front of the machine guns is another dramatic example of carefully devised resistance, particularly since the media cameras captured it for international consumption (had the cameras not been there, the effectiveness of the resistant action might have been greatly reduced). The Kayapó also engage in resistance in more subtle ways. One may think of their response to the expectations of Western environmentalists as a subtle and highly effective form of resistant manipulation. They do not ask environmentalists to revise their views of what Indians are like, probably because that would be too difficult. Rather, they play to Western romantic preconceptions, and empower themselves through Westerners’ ignorance.

The best answers will articulate the complex constitution of accommodation and resistance, in this context as in all other contexts in which these categories come into play. Good answers will remain focused on the framework set by the question, and will demonstrate explicitly the relationship between the ethnographic materials selected from the text and the wording of the question.

- 3. Compare the political strategies of the Kayapó with those of another marginalized subgroup or group you have studied, that is struggling for its interests in the context of a society, a state, or the international arena. [8 marks]**

This comparative question gives candidates a wide berth in their choice of a comparative case. They may choose a social subgroup of a society based on some identity form (*e.g.* ethnicity, race, gender, social class, religion, sexuality), but they are also free to take a broader or more complex context, focusing for example on an entire nation or would-be nation answering to national, international or global interlocutors, such as independence struggles in the Balkans or in Central America. The best responses will take the particular features that the Kayapó situation offers and discuss the similarities, differences and generalizations between the two situations. Responses must be organized in a clear manner, and must be framed as comparisons. Responses must situate the comparative case in terms of group, place, author, and ethnographic present.

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