# WORLD ANTHROPOLOGY

## First Articles in the New Section

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The new World Anthropology section of *American Anthropologist* addresses the origins and ongoing concerns of the varied configurations of the discipline of anthropology around the world. The members of the section's editorial board are pleased with the high level of interest in this initiative that has been expressed by scholars from many different regions.

The first article in this issue considers the anthropological tradition of India as it has been shaped by its colonial past and internal cultural diversity. The authors, Veena Das and Shalini Randeria, show how Indian anthropologists both influence and are influenced by the work of historians and sociologists. The focus on counterhegemonic historiographies and democratic processes reflects their engagement with prominent research themes and public issues. Their professional trajectories exemplify the transnational academic identities increasingly prevalent today. The current institutional home of Das is in North America, following her long career in India. Randeria's career also began in India, but she has spent most of her career in Western Europe.

Gustavo Lins Ribeiro, author of the second article, is one of the founders of the "world anthropologies" movement. He writes about the growing influence of Brazilian anthropology—a tradition partly established by foreign anthropologists attracted to research opportunities in that country and partly by Brazilian anthropologists, like him, trained outside the country. Brazilian anthropology has become a distinctive amalgam of the local and the global, as Brazilians often do research abroad, while many students now come from other Latin American countries and elsewhere in the world to receive their training in Brazil.

Ulf Hannerz, author of the third article, provides another example of the global nature of the careers of many anthropologists. As an aspiring Africanist anthropologist in Sweden in the early 1960s who lacked opportunities at home, he decided to pursue his initial graduate studies in the United States at Indiana University. Although he eventually carried out research on national identity in recently independent Nigeria, his path toward a leading role in the world anthropologies movement began with a groundbreaking study of an African American neighborhood in Washington, DC.

The World Anthropology section will appear in every other *AA* issue, expanding on the mix of themes and regions begun here. Readers interested in contributing should consult the journal's web page at http://www.aaanet.org/publications/ameranthro.cfm and contact the associate editor or one of the editorial board members.

## Articles

# Democratic Strivings, Social Sciences, and Public Debates: The Case of India

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Although the anthropological production of knowledge is dispersed over many different traditions of scholarship, it is not unusual for metropolitan protocols of reading to consign the knowledge practices that lie outside certain dominant centers (e.g., the U.S., the U.K., France) as belonging to "regional traditions" (Das 2013). The well-intentioned gestures behind such categorical innovations as "world anthropology" notwithstanding, it is rare to find any acknowledgment, let alone a serious discussion, of the theoretical inputs from these other places, wherein concepts, methods, and the type of data that counts as "evidence" circulate in different kinds of local communities. Locality has a very strong impact on the processes of knowledge production and consumption, but we start by acknowledging that we cannot assume that the boundaries of a knowledge tradition coincide with the boundaries of a nation-state. While no one can deny the impact of differential access to resources, the histories of universities and research institutions in different regions of the world, and the impact of global flows of ideas and resources, one still cannot assume a simple hegemonic relation between metropolitan centers and so-called regional peripheries.

Our aim in this short article is to focus on a small slice of the work done in universities and research institutions in India, although we recognize at the outset that there are very strong ties between Indian scholars and their counterparts in the diasporic communities from South Asia; we also acknowledge that many Western scholars have developed strong roots in India both intellectually and socially and can hardly be treated as "foreigners." We are not attempting a comparison between the kind of scholarship on India produced in the West and that produced in India (entities connected to each other cannot be meaningfully compared), but we are particularly interested in rendering the differences of tone, intensity, and pitch on the important controversies that have marked social anthropology, sociology, and history in India. We want to emphasize that one cannot draw sharp boundaries between these disciplines because there is considerable circulation of ideas among them. In some cases, such as that of sociology and social anthropology, the distinction itself has been questioned on the grounds that the application of such criteria as the difference between simple and complex societies, or literate and nonliterate ones, cannot be meaningfully applied to India (if any part of the world today) (Béteille 2013).

## THE DESIRE FOR AND POSITIONING OF INDIAN INTELLECTUAL TRADITIONS

Colonial representations of Indian society as either "timeless" with no sense of history or as incapable of politics based on any other criteria except those of sectarian or caste identities has been challenged by Indian scholars since the 1930s. Social anthropologists such as N. K. Bose and historians such as D. D. Kosambi and Rahul Sankrtayayan worked with Gandhi and the nationalist movement, seeing their disciplines as important tools for building a new and just society. It is not that concern with Western hegemony was absent, but there has never been one particular European national or U.S. tradition that has dominated scholarship in India. The enduring theme of the "Indianness" of history, sociology, and social anthropology finds varied expressions in attempts to delineate the specific history of the disciplines in terms of institutions and of anchoring concepts that can be retrieved from Indian texts (Madan 1982; Marriott 1990). Though less frequent, there is also an attempt to reverse the subject–object relation by turning the anthropological gaze back on the West, thus affirming a picture of equality and reciprocity in the relation between Indian anthropology and its Western counterparts (Arif 2004; Chatterji 1998; Giri 2009; Uberoi 1987).

Within social anthropology and sociology, the question of whether these disciplines are like the hard sciences, with a common repertoire of concepts and methods, or whether concepts such as "secularism," "democracy," "stratification," and "equality" are the results of the particular history of social sciences in Europe and hence inapplicable to Indian contexts has been the subject of passionate debates (Béteille 2004; Madan 1993; Ramanujan 1989; Saran 1969). This contro-

versy was reflected in the column "For a Sociology of India" in the journal *Contributions to Indian Sociology*—a flagship journal founded by Louis Dumont and David Pocock and later edited by T. N. Madan and others, which provides a very interesting lens through which to see the nature of debates regarding concepts, methods, and pedagogy. While Western scholars are much more familiar with Dipesh Chakrabarty's (1992) essay on provincializing Europe, his concerns stem from a long tradition of debate, not always as evident to Western scholars in their reception of this important essay (for recent contributions on these themes, see Patel 2011).

It is interesting to note that the debate on social science concepts was not simply a matter of claiming academic autonomy. There was also the pressing question of whether a secular and democratic nation could be built on concepts and institutions "borrowed" from elsewhere. Astute observers of Indian democracy, whether located in India or elsewhere, have argued that the reason why India has been able to sustain a democratic framework is precisely because there was some synergy between the deeper spirit of democracy that draws from civilizational concepts and the institutionalization of its apparatus, both in the colonial period and in the course of building an independent nation-state. This point is not uncontroversial: many others have argued that while India might have been successful in avoiding authoritarian rule, its democratic institutions have failed to serve the needs of the poor and the marginalized populations.

It is not our intention to take sides in these debates here. What interests us are the resonances between political debates and academic debates. On the one side, some scholars became very interested in seeing whether the founding figures of Indian nationalism drew concepts from Indian traditions that became part of the imagination of the nation. Others felt that the entry of lower castes and the more marginal populations, traditionally excluded from Sanskritic learning, accounted for the fact that, despite the many failures of the democratic process to improve their conditions of life, the lower castes and the poor (there are vast overlaps between these two categories) show such investment in the democratic processes.

What kinds of political concepts derived from Indian traditions might serve as resources for imagining a modern polity? A recent magisterial study by Ananya Vajpeyi (2012) poses the issue in terms of the backstory of Indian democracy, considering what history of thinking about the self and sovereignty might be elicited from India's precolonial archive. Vajpeyi astutely notes that no simple definition of Indian tradition will suffice for the disputed position of Sanskritic sources in relation to vernacular ones. The Islamic legacy built into political thought also makes it difficult to posit the category of "Indian tradition." In fact, others have argued that vernacular traditions in both literature and art were in continuous conversation with the Sanskritic traditions, so that it is important to recognize not only the debt that the elite Sanskritic texts owe their

vernacular counterparts but also the appropriation of subaltern forms of expression by elite writers and artists (Chatterji 2012; Wakankar 2010).

Fully aware of these contentious questions about tradition, Vajpeyi nevertheless suggests that the category might serve as a "heuristic device" that enables a discussion on these issues. She draws attention to terms from Indian sources (both Sanskritic and vernacular) that were used by the different founding figures of the Indian nation, ranging from Gandhi to Ambedkar. She perceptively observes that these concepts were not simply lifted from ancient texts but were given new meanings through their actual engagement in the political process. Thus, *swaraj* (sovereignty of the self and a claim for self-rule), *dalit* (downtrodden; a term that castes previously known as "untouchables" now use to designate themselves), *ahimsa* (nonviolence as a political strategy), and *satyagraha* (insistence on truth through civil disobedience) all had origins in different regions of tradition and were used by and for different political constituencies. One might quarrel with the rapid pace of Vajpeyi's book or contest certain specific arguments, but it hooks into an important aspiration of social sciences in India. A way of talking about tradition and modernity was needed that was different from what was available in the writings of scholars such as Edward Shils (1961), for whom attachment to tradition was seen as somehow "backward," or from the way the "new nations" concept was formulated in early and even later writings by Clifford Geertz (1963, 2004), with the attendant implications of the many deficiencies of newly independent nations, deficiencies that they would have to overcome to function in the modern world.

The question of history is a volatile one in India. Major public disputes raise the issue of facts. For example, consider the demolition of the Babri mosque in 1992: Hindu activists argued they were simply reclaiming the space for Lord Rama, whose temple they claimed had been demolished in or around 1528 to build the mosque. Muslims claimed that there was no Rama temple on that site. So, had there been a temple on that site or not? Some scholars such as Ashis Nandy (1995) have argued that posing the issue in such terms is itself the problem, for it assumes that there is only one authoritative way of constructing the past. Whatever the "truth" of the claim that Muslim rulers built mosques by demolishing temples, people created multiple stories around these sites, says Nandy, and these stories enabled people of different religious persuasions to inhabit the social world together. In his passionate prose, he asks:

> Now that the irrational savages, living in timelessness or in cyclical or other forms of disreputable nonlinear times, have been finally subjugated, should our public and intellectual awareness include a new sensitivity to the cultural priorities, psychological skills, and perhaps even the ethical concerns represented by the societies or communities that in different ways still cussedly choose to live outside history? Are they protecting or holding in trust parts of our disowned selves that we have dismissed as worthless or dangerous? [Nandy 1995:46]

Take another powerful scholar who spent a part of his scholarly life in India and still writes prolifically in Bengali, Ranajit Guha. Guha is rightly regarded as a founder of subaltern studies, but his later work on forms of history writing is somewhat different in tone than the founding essays of subaltern studies (see Guha 2002). Like Nandy, he too interrogates the idea of history, but his special focus is on Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's notion of "world history"—a concept that Guha sees as a barely disguised attempt to justify the division of the world into "civilized" and "barbarian" nations. On the side of "world history," says Guha, Hegel placed rational progress sanctioned by Christian Geist in European nations, while the rest were consigned to "protohistory"—where all religious, philosophical, and literary production in India was said to belong. Hegel thus linked a sense of history to the state—only those who had "history" could aspire to the state because the state was an embodiment of rationality, just as history was a rational relation to the past. The paradox is that, as Guha argues, Hegel used Greek mythology (and not history) to argue that it is the right of heroes to establish states and then—moving from mythology to a secularized history—claimed through analogy that what holds for mythological heroes holds for civilized nations as well. For Guha, "Thinly veiled in this philosophical language there is . . . the formula that all students of colonialism will recognize straightway as the notorious right to conquest" (2002:42). Parenthetically, we might add that Guha's argument explains why Hegel went to great lengths to show that Arjun's actions in the Bhagvad Gita were not those of a real hero because these were contaminated by a caste ethics. So, what methods might those on the other side of Hegel's model use to claim their own history? We wish to draw attention to an important insight of Guha, with which he delineates the etymology of *itihasa* (literally, "narrated past") and shows how its meaning changed as it was grafted on to "history" through an Orientalist reading. In Western notions, history is the authoritative rendering of the story by a narrator who is in full control, and its rationality is authorized by the state. For the bards who tell history in the epics in India, it is taken for granted that the story would unfold in different ways in different times and in relation to different audiences. According to Guha, by making itihasa a version of history in the colonial narrative, Indian historians could be assimilated to the statist model without ever having to confront what they had given up.

The idea that history is a term for various ways in which we might speak of the past has met with a sharp rebuttal from Velcheru Narayana Rao and colleagues (2001), who argue that we can locate with specificity the moment at which a historical consciousness emerged during the 16th through 18th centuries in parts of South India. These authors aver that historiography had established an important place for itself in the ecology of genres by the late medieval centuries. They present the sociological explanation that a middle range of scholar–scribes concerned with the selection, ordering, and evaluation of events in a historical mode emerged from

the Islamic sphere in the south of India. Therefore, these authors claim that the period of the 16th to 18th centuries marks a distinctive Indian form of early modernity and that to assume that all modes of speaking of the past can be assimilated to history is to deny the distinct appearance of a historical consciousness and thus to concede the idea that Indians had no sense of history.

It seems to us that the arguments around history end up not being a debate but, rather, run in parallel streams. On the one hand, despite the claim to be examining textures of time, Rao and colleagues do not actually engage in any depth with questions of time and ontology. It is also problematic that the appearance of a matter-of-fact tone is seen to be indicative for them of a historical consciousness. Veena Das (1977) has shown how, in earlier texts such as those of the caste Puranas of 13th-century Gujarat, long lists of *gotras* (exogamous groups) as well as names and accounts of migration of deities are written in a realistic mode despite the different ontological character of gotras and deities as social entities. On the other hand, in thinking of history's doubles, Nandy does not ask when the pressure to distinguish a historical and a mythical account is felt in the actual flow of life. But above all, the question of what kind of pressures the present puts on the historian to define what is meant by "truth" in accounts of the past is never engaged. It is as if the historian is immune from any positionality in relation to claims over the past.

Let us illustrate the pressure of the present on deciding what counts as fact in relation to the past based on that aforementioned Babri Masjid–Ramjanmabhumi conflict over sacred spaces (Babri Mosque vs. the birthplace of the Hindu God Rama), which became emblematic of the question of the future of secularism in India. Deepak Mehta (in press) carried out a painstaking study of this conflict in the legal archive that stretches from 1885, when the first suit was filed in the British courts, to the final verdict by the Allahbad High Court in 2010, which was stayed by the Supreme Court on appeal in 2011. What is most illuminating in Mehta's analysis is the shift he makes in the questions he asks. Instead of engaging the issue of whether a temple existed on the site on which the mosque was built, he asks: How does legal reasoning even address this issue? He shows that over the long history of this dispute, not only have parties to the dispute changed—it is not simply Hindus versus Muslims because different configurations of sectarian and other identities within each group emerged, waxing and waning in importance as the dispute unfolded—but also the courts have been obliged to transform this dispute to one of religious property. By using such legal mechanisms as that of status quo, the courts held that any decision for or against any party would threaten public order—so the dispute remained unsettled for more than a century. Thus we get yet another modality through which the question of what constitutes the historical truth is deferred. While there is a spate of writing by historians and social scientists on the merits of the legal judgment, we are interested in showing how an academic question such

as "What are truth conditions?" resonates with urgent issues pertaining to the secular and democratic framework of the Indian polity.

## DEMOCRACY IN THE BORDERLANDS

Scholarly opinion on how to evaluate democratic processes in India is divided, but there is agreement that these are complex issues and that the experience of democracy poses a challenge to political theory. It had been long assumed that the preconditions for establishing a democratic polity were high rates of literacy with relative homogeneity in the religious and ethnic composition of the country. None of these conditions were met in India but, since the 1960s, political scientists as well as sociologists and social anthropologists have been unequivocal in asserting that the Indian experience revealed the ethnocentrism of Western political theory itself (Kaviraj 2004).

Despite some claims to success measured in terms of widespread participation in electoral processes—also enabling previously marginalized groups such as the members of lower castes (e.g. Yadavs, Dalits) to acquire political power at regional levels (Yadav 2000)—there are disquieting limitations. Whole sections of the population have been either subjected to tremendous state violence in the name of maintaining national unity or their forms of life have been disrupted by the kinds of development projects and commercial enterprises that have stripped them of their resources (Brara 1992; Sundar 2010). Such issues raise the important question of how violence and injustice can occur within democratic societies. Work done by Indian scholars has much to offer to international debates on this very issue.

In terms of a spatial imagination of the nation, it is clear that many conflicts that mark the borderlands need to be framed in terms of the long durée. We take only one example here. The northeast part of the country has been defined in terms of the security risks India faced after independence because of the volatile borders India shared with its neighbors. Many have argued that much of this conflict stemmed from the artificiality of the borders that the demands of the nation-state created, but the historian Bodhisattva Kar (2009a, 2009b) has shown in painstaking detail that the colonial management and policing of these borders does not permit such a simple explanation. For one, there were continuities in the style of earlier regimes and the colonial government, which had to negotiate treaty obligations with the hill tribes and ended up in some cases paying taxes to them. Kar also shows that commercial activities between Marwari traders from Bengal and hill communities—which lay beyond the British-established line of control and clearly outside the legal limits—were also tolerated for practical reasons. If we factor in the impact of the opium trade and the complex map of various princely and chiefly territorial units in this region, as well as the relations of political tribute and trade between the highlands and the lowlands, the depiction in much of the international literature of indigenous

communities living in relative isolation before the advent of the nation-state becomes hard to sustain. Yet there is little doubt that new notions of citizenship and demands for full allegiance to the nation have led to virtual military occupation of these areas by larger states—China as well as India.

Anthropology had a role to play in the portrayal of the tribals—a picture of innocence that Nehru imbibed from the anthropologist Verrier Elwin. Such constructions made it difficult for Indian leaders to understand the aspirations for political autonomy on the part of various groups such as the Nagas or the Mizos in the initial period of India's independence (Guha 1999; Nag 2009). In areas such as the Kutch desert, which lies between India and Pakistan, Farhana Ibrahim's (2008) excellent ethnographic work shows that different kinds of border-making practices were put in place involving both force and negotiation by each country, causing various groups to constantly reshape their sense of belonging in this changing milieu. Other works vividly show violence of a different kind, as when commercial cartels engaged in extractive economies make the habitat of many indigenous groups unlivable (Baviskar 2001; Padel and Das 2010; Randeria 2007).

Political urgencies often require that we speak of human rights violations and environmental degradation and that we use our work to hold the state responsible for its actions. Scholars in India are constantly trying to balance this need for immediacy with more patient explorations of the complex relations between the social sciences and the making of a more just polity in India.

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# Brazilian Anthropology Away from Home

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Transnational networks have been central to anthropology since its inception, given the role traveling to faraway lands has played in the constitution and consolidation of the discipline. Anthropologists have always been prone to cosmopolitanism. Think of Franz Boas (1858–1942). He was a German and for many a founder of U.S. anthropology. His participation in the establishment and direction of the International School of American Archaeology and Ethnology in Mexico City (Krotz 2006:93) and in the development of Siberian ethnological research (Vakhtin 2006:51) are other examples of his cosmopolitanism. Think also of Bronislaw Malinowski (1884–1942), the mythical Polish figure who developed his career and helped set the course of the discipline in Great Britain. One of his students, Fei Xiaotong (1910–2005), would later become a leading anthropologist in China. But perhaps most emblematic of this charismatic period in the history of anthropology is the career trajectory of Alfred Radcliffe-Brown (1881–1955). He worked in Tonga, Cape Town, Sydney, Chicago, Oxford, and São Paulo in a crusade of anthropological and sociological knowledge dissemination hard to match even in today's jet era. This allusion to a few famous scholars is a means of drawing attention to the thousands of anthropologists of lesser or greater reputation who, over the course of more than a century, have woven global webs of influence.

## NETWORKS

From the early 20th century on, Brazilian anthropologists established relations with many trailblazers who came to live, teach, and do research in their country. The entire list would be too long to print, but it is impossible not to mention—in addition to Radcliffe-Brown—the following: Curt Nimuendajú (1883–1945), Roger Bastide (1898–1974), Herbert Baldus (1899–1970), Donald Pierson (1900–1995), Alfred Métraux (1902–1963), Emilio Willems (1905–1997), Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908–2009), Charles Wagley (1913–1991), Marvin Harris (1927–2001), and David Maybury-Lewis (1929–2007). The internationalization of the discipline in Brazil, as elsewhere, is a longstanding and multifarious social process involving hundreds of colleagues from different parts of Brazil and many other countries. In the beginning, most of them were from São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Salvador, Recife, and Belém, as well as from Germany, the United States, France, and the United Kingdom. Currently, these networks include colleagues from additional Brazilian urban centers where anthropology is taught

in graduate programs (Aracaju, Belo Horizonte, Campinas, Curitiba, Dourados, Florianópolis, Goiânia, Manaus, Natal, Porto Alegre, São Carlos, Teresina). Other connections became relevant with an increasing presence of Latin Americans (especially Argentinians and Mexicans) and colleagues from other European countries such as Portugal.

These networks created important international links among different academic communities. Consequently, Brazilian anthropologists developed "strong relationships with Europe (particularly with France), with the United States and Latin America" (Ribeiro and Souza Lima 2004:10; see also Fry 2004).[1] Until the 1980s, there were few graduate programs in anthropology, and it was not uncommon for young scholars to study abroad in pursuit of a doctoral degree. But as the quantity of practitioners increased in Brazil, this situation started to change. The numbers of graduate programs rose in the 1990s and 2000s, and many students chose to do their advanced degrees in their own country. At the same time, Brazilian agencies introduced a new doctoral grant to fund short stays, of one year or two, at universities abroad. This allowed doctoral students to establish relationships with specialists on their subjects or to do field research in other countries.

In the past 15 years, Brazilians increasingly have been doing research outside of their country. Ruy Coelho was probably the first Brazilian to complete field research abroad for a doctoral degree in anthropology, which he obtained in 1955 at Northwestern University. Melville Herskovits was the adviser for his dissertation on "The Black Carib of Honduras: A Study in Acculturation" (Coelho 1955). Coelho was certainly an exception (Pontes 2000) because by that time, and even in the present, the Brazilian social science community saw as its foremost mission to study Brazilian issues and, in this way, to contribute to nation-building processes. But in the 1980s and 1990s, some of us who went abroad in pursuit of a Ph.D. also did doctoral research outside of Brazil and later became professors in leading Brazilian graduate programs (see, for instance, Cardoso de Oliveira 1989; Eckert 1991; Rial 1992; Ribeiro 1988; Trajano Filho 1998; Víctora 1997).[2] More importantly, in the late 1990s and 2000s, a trend became established: students in Brazilian graduate programs started to do field research in other countries. Research has been carried out not only in neighboring South American countries but also in China, East Timor, India, Mozambique, Portugal, South Africa, and the United States, for instance.

With the increased interest of funding agencies in the "internationalization of science," doing research away from home became a desirable mark of distinction. However, the growth of research abroad (see Table 1) may also be a sign of the size and maturation of the Brazilian graduate system and a result of a greater availability of funds in the past 10–15 years.[3]

The participation of Brazilians in international academic networks has also changed. As professors and researchers, they now more often are peers of colleagues in other parts of the world, including in the hegemonic centers of the

**TABLE 1.** *Total Dissertations Based on Field Research Abroad* Total = 134
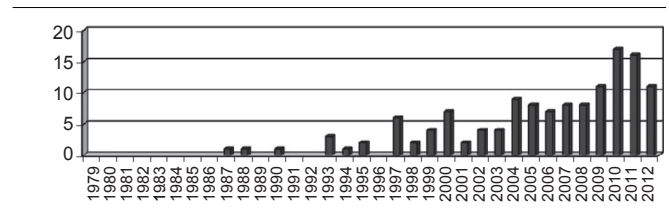


discipline. Brazilian graduate programs increasingly attract foreign students. Between 1996 and 2001, 85 master's and doctoral degrees in anthropology were conferred to non-Brazilian students. Latin Americans (esp. from Argentina) and Europeans made up the largest groups by far (Fry 2004:234). These numbers grew in the past decade, and currently there is a noticeable presence of Colombian students.

A few major sociological factors need to be considered for a better understanding of the current internationalization of Brazilian anthropology. Globalization processes stimulate greater international exchanges everywhere. But the growth of the Brazilian economy in the past 20 years is surely a major determinant, generating more resources for the development of scientific research and higher education. Moreover, this growth made Brazilians aware of the country's role as a "global player."

Brazilian anthropologists appear to be following the increase of economic and political influence of their country in some world regions, as corroborated by the survey of dissertations based on field research abroad (see Table 1). Brazil's roles and interests in other South American countries and in Africa are reflected in the numbers of researchers who went to those areas. Out of 134 dissertations, 59.9 percent of the research projects were carried out elsewhere in South America and 12.6 percent in Africa. The fact that much of the recent research focuses on Portuguese-speaking countries (Cape Verde, Mozambique, East Timor, for instance) and on Haiti, where the Brazilian army leads a United Nations peacekeeping force, is equally telling. However, it is also worthwhile to consider that (a) there is a diversity of field sites and resulting insertions in different international networks and (b) in the past and in the present many of the researchers went abroad to investigate theoretical problems of personal interest to them in different countries.

## INFLUENCE

I agree with Wilson Trajano Filho, for whom the internationalization of Brazilian anthropology should be related to its "capacity of being *heard* 'out of the national community of anthropologists'" (Trajano Filho, quoted in Fry 2004:229, emphasis in original). It is hard for me as a Brazilian anthropologist to assess the impact of my own academic community abroad. I do not want to be guilty of making overblown statements. This task would surely be better and more objectively accomplished by non-Brazilian colleagues, and whenever possible I will defer to their opinions. Notwithstanding

my own limitations, I will explore two factors with which to consider whether Brazilian anthropology has a growing influence beyond its borders: (1) the growth of publications in languages other than Portuguese and (2) Brazilians' political impact on the discipline's global politics.

At least 200 articles, 169 book chapters, and 25 books—almost 20 percent of the works of Brazilian anthropologists—were published abroad between 1996 and 2001. A fifth of the professors in graduate programs contributed to these writings (Fry 2004:236–238). Twenty-two percent of the articles, 18.3 percent of the chapters, and 32 percent of the books were published in the United States, followed by 18.7 percent of the articles and 13.6 percent of the chapters in France, and 28 percent of the books in Argentina. The United Kingdom, Portugal, and Spain are some of the other countries in which Brazilians frequently have had their work published. Interestingly enough, 38.1 percent of what is published abroad is related to the study of indigenous populations, a ratio that contrasts with the fact that researchers working with Indians represent a smaller minority within the anthropological community in Brazil. On this subject, Peter Fry raises the following questions:

> These are compelling data. Do they mean that anthropologists working on indigenous societies have stronger links with anthropologists abroad? Do they reflect a greater demand for indigenous ethnology abroad? Do they show that the Brazilian forests, with their indigenous languages and cultures, are what most interests the world outside Brazil? [2004:239–240; my translation]

Whatever the answers to these questions may be, they touch upon a complex issue: What does it mean to be "heard abroad"? The unequal exchange of theory and data among different anthropological communities was a major motivation for the creation of the world anthropologies movement—one in which Latin American scholars have been playing important roles (see Restrepo and Escobar 2005; Ribeiro 2006; Ribeiro and Escobar 2006). This question likewise leads us to consider the dissemination of other anthropological knowledges and the capacity that theories produced in nonhegemonic centers may have for reaching global visibility. Brazilian anthropologists are aware of these issues. In 2004, the Brazilian Association of Anthropology founded *Vibrant—Virtual Brazilian Anthropology*, an open-access e-journal that publishes works in foreign languages—mostly in English, French, and Spanish—written not only by Brazilians but also by non-Brazilians working in Brazilian institutions. In a review of the journal in the *American Anthropologist,* Janet Chernela (2010:461) praised *Vibrant* as "an appropriate label for a journal that presents . . . one of the most dynamic bodies of scholarship in the discipline." She pointed out that

> in spite of linguistic constraints, Brazilian anthropologists have been important actors in the international scholarly conversation, making significant contributions to the production of theory and furthering worldwide exchange through expanding participant networks. *Vibrant* moves that project another step forward. [Chernela 2010:460]

Chernela also considered that, in comparison to the "troika of influences facilely labeled French, British, and U.S. schools," Brazilian anthropology, which is seen as a "tradition rich in theoretical, ethical, and political insights," offers "a new synthesis" (Chernela 2010:460). Portuguese anthropologist João de Pina Cabral (2004) certainly could agree with this viewpoint. In the last chapter of *The Field of Anthropology in Brazil,* he added the German tradition to the troika of influences to which Chernela refers. For him, current Brazilian anthropology has accumulated a theoretical and empirical body of work and is characterized by a

> high qualification of its scientific personnel [through the] consolidation of its teaching and associative institutions [that enables it to] contribute to . . . [a] fifth tradition which, while reclaiming the fruits of scientific modernity, does not identify itself with any of the imperial projects that, historically, moved scientific development. [Pina Cabral 2004:263; my translation]

In the introduction to an anthology of articles in Spanish written by Brazilians, Argentinian anthropologists Alejandro Grimson and Pablo Semán recognized the growing importance of Brazilian anthropology in the transnational networks of the discipline and indicated that what makes Brazilian anthropology interesting is its "peripheral" and "cutting-edge" quality. They also concluded that "Brazilian anthropology offers analysis and theoretical attitudes that constitute a powerful and inspiring interpellation for the practitioners of social anthropology" (Grimson and Semán 2004:15). Judging from the assessment of these North American, European, and Latin American colleagues, I consider it fair to assume that there is an international acknowledgment of the growing influence of Brazilian anthropology on the global level.

The importance of Brazilian anthropologists is also noticeable in the international politics of the discipline. The Brazilian Association of Anthropology (ABA [Associação Brasileira de Antropologia]) was a driving force in the establishment—in 1992, in Florianópolis, Brazil—of the Latin American Association of Anthropology. Brazilian anthropologists also conceived the biannual Anthropology Meeting of the Mercosur that, since 1993, has brought together anthropologists from South America's Southern Cone and other areas of the world. The creation of the World Council of Anthropological Associations (WCAA) is perhaps the most relevant move in the recent history of the internationalization of anthropology. The WCAA was founded in 2004, in Recife, Brazil, at the meeting of the Brazilian Association of Anthropology as the result of three daylong conversations hosted by the association before its national congress. Fourteen presidents of some of the largest national and international anthropological associations were present. I had the honor of serving as the WCAA's first chair. Today the World Council is made up of almost fifty members and is a most influential presence on global anthropological politics. In 2009, after the 16th World Congress of Anthropology held in Kunming, China, several of the WCAA leaders became members of the executive committee of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnolog-

ical Sciences. They contributed to its reorganization in a process that included the writing of new statutes and culminated with the successful World Congress in Manchester, in August 2013. During this meeting, Brazil was elected to host the next World Congress in 2018.[4] Brazilians have also been active in the American Anthropological Association's Committee on World Anthropologies (CWA) launched in 2010. Bela Feldman-Bianco, a former ABA president and a member of the editorial board of the *American Anthropologist*'s new World Anthropology section, in which this article appears, is currently the CWA co-chair with Carla Guerrón Montero. Setha Low and I were its first co-chairs from 2010 through 2012.

Politics depends on many different people, networks, articulations, and junctures. This makes it hard to assess the degree to which the participation of Brazilian anthropologists has been central to the outcomes I just mentioned because they are the end result of the cooperation of many colleagues and institutions from different countries. However, this brief description is surely an indication of the extensive engagement of Brazilians over the past two decades in the international politics of the discipline. It also leads me back to the first paragraph of this article, in which I noted the importance of transnational networks for the growth of global anthropology.

It is possible to conclude that Brazilian anthropologists are more and more influential actors on a global level in various ways. They are perceived as members of a large, established, creative, and well-organized anthropological community. The role of the Brazilian Association of Anthropology, founded in 1955, cannot be underestimated in this historical process. Finally, we can expect the size of the Brazilian anthropological community to grow consistently with the current 22 graduate programs in public universities spanning the length and breadth of the country. There is reason to believe that this virtuous trend is far from reaching its end.

## NOTES

1. I will often refer to Fry (2004), who has written an article based on quantitative research carried out by the Brazilian Association of Anthropology. Although these data on the internationalization of Brazilian anthopology are not current, they still are the best source available. Numbers surely increased in the past ten years.

2. In 2004, there were 125 professors of anthropology in ten graduate programs. According to Fry (2004:230–231), 37.6 percent had done their doctoral studies abroad, mostly in the United States (15.2 percent), France (12 percent), and the United Kingdom (8 percent). Before the 1980s, George de Cerqueira Leite Zarur wrote his dissertation on "Seafood Gatherers in Mullet Springs" (1975), advised by Charles Wagley at the University of Florida.

3. I thank Júlia Capdeville of the University of Brasilia for her work. She researched all the websites of the graduate programs and identified the dissertations based on field research abroad. The records for 2012 are incomplete because not all graduate programs keep up-to-date information online. 1979 is the year of the first records available, but no dissertation based on research abroad was written until 1987. These data also include foreign students doing their doctoral degrees in Brazil.

4. The Brazilian bid received 267 votes. Croatia, with 98 votes, received the second highest number.

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# Confessions of a Hoosier Anthropologist

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I was in my late teens, a beginning student at Stockholm University, and I had started taking a serious interest in Africa—exciting times there, as much of the continent was moving quickly out of colonialism and into independence. But what could I do at the university to satisfy my curiosity? Not much, it seemed. In the early 1960s, the human sciences at Swedish universities were mostly complacently inward turning, occasionally concerning themselves with European themes, casting a glance toward North America mostly as it related to Swedish emigration as a topic in history but certainly not paying much attention to the rest of the world. The one discipline, it seemed, that might legitimate my preoccupation with Africa was something called "general and comparative ethnography"—which would be relabeled "social anthropology" about a decade later.

Beyond a sort of academic legitimation, however, it did not offer much of a response to my kind of African interests either. The minimal department was really an appendix to the rather sleepy state ethnographic museum, where elderly curators gave lectures on their specialties and showed the collections. Some of them had done field studies, mostly in their younger years and of a more archaeological sort, but their own concerns were more with their artifact collections. Yet there was change in the air. A small handful of students was assembling, committed to learning more about what in the news and in current debates were referred to as "the developing countries," or even "the Third World." We

made our own way to other readings and imagined ourselves dispersing in the future to distant fields.

Indeed, on our first official reading lists were items like Ruth Benedict's *Patterns of Culture* (1934) and Robert Lowie's *The History of Ethnological Theory* (1937). As I was finishing my undergraduate work in Stockholm, it was thus clear to me that there was more anthropology to be had in the United States. I applied for an exchange scholarship and was offered a year at Indiana University, where I would be hosted by the rather new African Studies program. Numerous such programs were being set up at the time, in the period of Afro-optimism after the achievement of independence and before the times of military coups.

So I came to Bloomington, Indiana, and a major Midwestern university campus with all its facilities. I was on my way to a Friday afternoon lecture when I heard that President Kennedy had just been shot in Dallas; later in that academic year, Governor George Wallace of Alabama came to speak as part of his presidential primary campaign, and a small group of Southern students whistled "Dixie" from the auditorium balcony. I divided my time over the year between anthropology and the interdisciplinary African Studies program. Indiana had a big-tent anthropology department, offering me a chance to sample most of the specialties in U.S. anthropology as it was at the time: a course on "culture and personality," one on kinship, and one on British social anthropology, taught by a junior professor who had just returned from a year with Max Gluckman's department in Manchester.[1] I could also learn that some of my teachers were, academically, Franz Boas's grandchildren; they had

been the students of Boas's students. With my student peers (meeting just off-campus at places like Nick's English Hut), I discussed the emergent scholarly stars of 1960s anthropology, although as a foreign newcomer to the field I was also anxiously catching up on a slightly older generation: Redfield, Kluckhohn, Linton, and so on.

Then there was the African Studies program, offering great openings of interdisciplinarity. I could take a course on contemporary African politics with a political science professor with Liberia as his own specialty, audit a course on African art with a prominent art historian, even try out an introductory Swahili class. Perhaps the reputation of area studies programs at U.S. universities came under a cloud several decades later, taken to be academic extensions of the Cold War. At the time, this was not something I ever noted. For me, on the other hand, they were examples of the way U.S. universities are often notably successful in constructing arenas for mutual exploration and exchange between disciplines. The structure of degree programs and careers, as well as meager resources, often seem to make this more difficult elsewhere.

I spent only one academic year at Indiana University, but it is one that I look back on fondly. Occasionally, when I learn that a colleague from somewhere else in the world, be it someone from Cyprus or from Ghana, also has spent time in Bloomington, I greet him or her with "So you are a Hoosier, too!" This tends to lead to a puzzled look, and then a smile. (For those who might not know, *Hoosier* is a native term for someone from Indiana.) I could perhaps have stayed on, but to meet the requirements for a doctorate I might have had to spend most of my remaining course time in the other three fields of the four-field conception of anthropology, and I had no inclination to do that. So I returned to Stockholm to help engage with the challenge of renewing the discipline there. (Immediately, I found myself in charge of teaching the introductory course, which was really the only fixed item on the anthropology curriculum.)

I had completed the course requirements for a master's degree at Indiana University, however, so a year or so after my departure, I could mail in my thesis; and before that, back in the U.S. again for a brief visit, I returned to Bloomington for a meeting with my advisor. After that, I continued to Denver for my first encounter with an American Anthropological Association annual meeting. (I had acquired a habit of doing a lot of traveling by Greyhound bus by then.) So here, in 1965, was my first full experience of the entire diversity of U.S. anthropology—in scholarly topics as well as personal styles. The ill-fated Project Camelot was in the news, and the youngish Marshall Sahlins gave a widely noted speech.

The next year I was back in the United States again. My plans for field research in Africa were on a back burner: Nigeria, which is where I had planned to go, was moving quickly toward a civil war. One of my mentors at Indiana University realized that I might be available for something else and recommended me for a position as staff ethnographer for a sociolinguistic project about to begin in Washington,

D.C.—a study of "urban dialect" (which was a current euphemism for African American dialect). I spent the next two years, in interesting times, on fieldwork in a low-income black neighborhood. The "War on Poverty" was going on at the same time as the war in Vietnam. Toward the end of my period in the field, National Guard troops were briefly in my neighborhood after the assassination of Martin Luther King led to violent responses in Washington as well as many other cities.

"First fields" often seem to leave enduring marks on anthropologists' preoccupations. For me this involved an engagement with the public debate over relationships among poverty, culture, race, and ethnicity, as well as a more theoretical and conceptual concern with anthropology's encounter with media and urban life—topics hardly foregrounded in the classic ethnographies I had been reading. Then I went back to Stockholm, turning my Washington field data into a doctoral dissertation (Hannerz 1969) while involving myself again in departmental work. Not the least of this was departmental politics, as the time had arrived when European as well as U.S. universities were in upheaval.

Thirty-some years after my fieldwork in Washington, my last major field study—of the work of news-media foreign correspondents (Hannerz 2004)—also came to an end in Washington. I interviewed the correspondent of Radio Sweden in her basement studio within walking distance of my old neighborhood. Afterward, I wandered over to that first field site of mine and could see that gentrification had transformed it (although perhaps "lumpengentrification" would be more precise). Some years later, I learned that a few days before his inauguration, in the company of Washington's mayor, President-elect Obama had been to Ben's Chili Bowl on U Street. I used to go there, when it still was far less than a celebrated tourist spot, on my way to Howard Theatre to hear the best of 1960s soul music. At the inauguration itself, Aretha Franklin, one of the artists I had heard at the Howard, sang "My Country 'Tis of Thee" in an interesting gray hat. So, in a way, after forty years or so, my field had arrived at the White House.

By then, I had retired at age 65 from the department in which I had started my career as a 19-year-old and had become its first professor emeritus. That could seem like extreme sedentariness, but in between there had of course been several periods of fieldwork—I did make it to Nigeria, more or less for the kind of research I had intended when I was first attracted to anthropology—and over the years, I have also held some variety of visiting teaching and research positions in the United States and elsewhere. At one time or another, I have lived on the East Coast, in the Midwest, in the Rustbelt, and in California.

Moreover, I came quite regularly to the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association, on sites from Philadelphia in the east to San Francisco in the west, from Montreal in the north to New Orleans in the south. Since that first experience in Denver, meetings have not only grown in size but also in diversity. Back in 1965, there were very

few participants from outside the United States. Now they make up a very considerable number, from virtually all over the world. I suspect my international colleagues must have a more pleasantly relaxed time at the meetings than their U.S. counterparts—they are mostly not job hunting, not interviewing job seekers, not attending so many committee meetings. So they take the opportunity to go to sessions, talk to colleagues, and, not least importantly, browse in the book exhibit. For a few years now, Scandinavian anthropologists have had their own "happy hour" at some nearby bar on one of the first evenings of the meetings.

Back in Stockholm in the 1970s, my Washington experiences—in the field and of intensifying debates over race, ethnicity, and multiculturalism—were useful as similar issues appeared in Sweden: what had been a quite homogeneous society was now changing with extensive immigration. My department quickly developed a high profile in this area, in both research and teaching. As undergraduates were impatient about what they saw as anthropology's preoccupation with the local, I also edited a small reader in Swedish, with case studies opening toward wider horizons—an early attempt in the genre of bridge building between "the global and the local." But most chapters were translations from the work of U.S. and British scholars. In this way, Marvin Harris, Sydel Silverman, Peter Worsley, and others made their debut in Swedish. (All three later became friends and made their way through Stockholm.)

Such experiences drew my curiosity toward the ways anthropology in its global diversity was influenced, on the one hand, by local circumstances and traditions, and, on the other hand, by the currents of the international discipline (mostly those old and strong anthropologies of the United States, Great Britain, and France). I was also inspired to take a comparative perspective toward such matters as I moved about at the large international anthropological conference in Chicago in 1973, superbly organized by Sol Tax. At such conferences, everything called anthropology somewhere in the world is on show. So with my local colleague Tomas Gerholm (sadly, too early deceased), I edited an issue of the journal *Ethnos* on "The Shaping of National Anthropologies," with authors from India, Canada, Sudan, Poland, and Brazil (Gerholm and Hannerz 1982). Not that we need national*ist* anthropologies, but taking a historical and ethnographic view of constraints and resources seemed like a useful reflexive undertaking. This was a period during which anthropology in some countries was already well established, while elsewhere it was fairly new but quickly growing. Yet, as George Stocking (1982) noted in his afterword to the issue, some of the national anthropologies were at the time hardly larger than his home department in Chicago.

To an extent, work on that collection prepared me for an early involvement with the European Association of Social Anthropologists (EASA), which held its first biennial conference in Coimbra, Portugal, in 1990. EASA has had a remarkable capacity to strengthen interactions between anthropologists in countries that were not in much direct contact before. Most strikingly, this has involved East–West contacts—the organization was formed just as the Iron Curtain crumbled, allowing new exchanges, visits, and reading patterns.[2] The fact that a number of scholars returned to East and Central Europe from exile, in the United States and elsewhere, also played a part here. Moreover, some of the students who had participated in bringing down the Iron Curtain from the inside (for that was in large measure a youth rebellion) went abroad to get anthropology degrees, then came back home. North–South contacts within European anthropology intensified as well.

All of this certainly has to do with the wider regional political context. The European Union has had its ups and downs, but the structures it has built have stimulated research collaboration, as well as student mobility, across the continent. EASA conferences have continued to grow; there is a well-established journal and various specialized topical and area studies networks; and the organization is now a smaller but fairly similar counterpart of the AAA. In a keynote talk to the inaugural conference, Ernest Gellner (1992) took his point of departure in the "sterling zone" of the discipline—there was of course no Euro yet. But while there are undoubtedly more European anthropologists at AAA meetings than U.S. anthropologists at EASA meetings, the mutual visiting between them is now considerable. A number of the recent EASA presidents and board members have had strong personal as well as academic links to the United States. So it seems the U.S. dollar is also an acceptable intellectual currency in this community (although it is also true that there have been some specialties and fashions in U.S. anthropology that were never much noticed in Europe).

Looking back at my writings, I am aware that (inevitably) some of my articles over the years have drawn more attention than others—thus, for one thing, leaving more of a mark in citation indexes and other dubious machineries of contemporary academic audit culture (which is no friend of books). I would note, too, that the traces of my U.S. engagements are often strong in the works most often cited. One of my first published papers, on "The Rhetoric of Soul" (1968), was quickly reprinted in several anthologies—it seems instantly to have found a market at a time when the vocabulary of soul music, soul food, and soul brothers and sisters was all over the place. The title was inspired by Kenneth Burke, the literary theorist; Clifford Geertz on ideology was also among the references. A considerably later paper on "The World in Creolisation" (1987) drew on the basic familiarity with Creolist sociolinguistics, which I had from some of my early linguist colleagues in Washington. This attuned me to Johannes Fabian's (1978) launching, in an article on new African popular culture, of creolization as a root metaphor for the interplay between transnational connections and cultural creativity. (Fabian was more or less a U.S. anthropologist at the time, although he has been European before and after.) Another oft-cited paper on "Cosmopolitans and Locals in World

Culture" (1990), first presented at a conference in Seoul, was provoked by a seminar at Berkeley. Paul Rabinow inquired whether I had thought about cosmopolitanism, at that time a mostly neglected notion, and I had to admit that I had not. To start, I sought out from my interdisciplinary memory a couple of classic texts by U.S. sociologists that I had read long ago.

In sum, then, while I identify a little nostalgically with another hit tune from my early years in the United States— Frank Sinatra's "I Did It My Way"—I recognize that the working materials, whatever I have done to them, have often been stamped "made in the U.S.A." And so the early Hoosier anthropologist has remained a transatlantic anthropologist.

## NOTES

1. This was Richard T. Antoun, tragically killed in Binghamton in 2009, as he came in the way of a distraught foreign graduate student. I remember him as a very careful, committed teacher, greatly respected by his Indiana students.

2. Incidentally, one session at an EASA conference resulted in a book edited by a Serbian colleague, in which contributors reported on anthropology in 11 countries around the world, somewhat along the lines of my early endeavor with Tomas Gerholm (Boškovic 2008).

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