

WORLD ANTHROPOLOGIES: COSMOPOLITICS, POWER AND THEORY IN ANTHROPOLOGY¹

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Discussing theory in anthropology often means to discuss the discipline as a whole. Another possibility is to pinpoint certain topics to thoroughly explore them. But my option here is located more within the tradition of a sociology of knowledge. I view the issues that anthropologists address, their theoretical preoccupations, contributions to knowledge, dilemmas and mistakes, the heuristic and epistemological capabilities of the discipline, as embedded in certain social, cultural and political dynamics that unfold in contexts which, in turn, are differently and historically structured by changing power relations. The main sociological and historical forces that traverse anthropology's political and epistemological fields are connected to the dynamics of the world system and to those of the nation-states, especially regarding the changing roles "otherness" or "alterity" may play in such international and national scenarios.

Other introductory remarks must be made. This article is heavily inspired in a collective movement called the World Anthropologies Network (WAN) of which I am a member.² "World Anthropologies" aim at pluralizing the prevailing visions of anthropology in a juncture where the hegemony of Anglo-Saxon discourses on difference persists. It stems from the realization that, in an age of heightened globalization, anthropologists have failed to discuss consistently the current nature of their practice and its transformations on a global scale. This is perhaps a result of the international hegemony of U.S. anthropology, and its tendency to confound its own internal crisis with a global one.

"World Anthropologies" want to contribute to the articulation of a diversified anthropology that is more aware of the social, epistemological, and political conditions of its own production. The network has three inter-related goals: a) to examine critically the international dissemination of anthropology - as a changing set of Western discourses and practices - within and across national power fields, and the processes through which this dissemination takes place; b) to contribute to the development of a plural landscape of anthropologies that is both less shaped by metropolitan hegemonies and more open to the heteroglossic potential of globalization; c) to foster conversations among anthropologists from various regions of the world in order to assess the diversity of relations between regional or national anthropologies and a contested, power-laden, disciplinary discourse.³ Such a project is part of a critical anthropology of anthropology, one that decenters, re-historicizes, and pluralizes what has been taken as "anthropology" so far. It questions not only the contents but also the terms and the conditions of anthropological conversations.

The last introductory remarks refer to my understanding of anthropology as cosmopolitics. Cosmopolitics are discourses and modes of doing politics that are concerned

with their global reach and impact and are embedded in conflicts regarding the role of difference and diversity in the construction of polities. I thus view anthropology as a discourse about the structure of alterity (Krotz 1997) that pretends to be universal but that, at the same time, is highly sensitive to its own limitations and to the efficacy of other cosmopolitics. We could say that anthropology is a cosmopolitan political discourse about the importance of diversity for humankind.

Looking at anthropology as a cosmopolitics is not an act devoid of implications. It means, right from the beginning that anthropology is not the only discourse on diversity's importance, in spite of its sophistication. In fact, we should expect anthropology to be one of the most sophisticated cosmopolitics on diversity since it is an academic discipline. But, a shamanistic discourse of an Yanomami Indian in Brazil's Amazonia may also represent a cosmopolitics, and, this is indeed the case. See the cultural intertextuality present in the speeches of the Yanomami leader Davi Kopenawa who articulates shamanistic discourses on the fate of the earth and global environmental discourse (Albert 1995). It also means that anthropology's position in the intellectual/academic market needs not to be restricted to the savage slot, as Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1991) put it. The increased variety of alterities prompted by globalization processes have, since quite sometime now, brought many different subjects to the attention of the anthropologists. Another important implication of viewing anthropology as a cosmopolitics is the awareness that the history of North-Atlantic academic anthropology is not sufficient to account for the history of the anthropological *knowledge* on a global scale⁴. This is due not only to the specificities of the histories of anthropologies in different national settings but also to the fact that other cosmopolitics have developed in other regions of the world and have configured a variety of knowledges akin to what would later be known as anthropology, the "academic discipline that made its first appearance in the North Atlantic region" (Danda 1995: 23). Mexican anthropologists, for instance, usually locate the beginning of Mexican "anthropology" in the 16th century and refer in particular to the writings of monks such as Bernardino de Sahagún as the founding moment of anthropological thought in that country (Lomnitz 2002: 132). Ajit K. Danda rightly considers that it is necessary to distinguish between anthropology as an "academic discipline" of anthropology as a "body of knowledge". The latter comprises, in my own terms, a cosmopolitics. Danda goes on to say that it "appears as a mistaken notion to assume that the rest of the world was void of anthropological knowledge and until such impetus from the North Atlantic region had spread elsewhere, there was no significant exercise worth the reference from those areas" (Danda 1995: 23). He exemplifies with ancient Indian literature going back as far as 1350 B.C. when the *Manava Dharmashastra* (The Sacred Science of Man) was written. Anthropology is thus a Western cosmopolitics that consolidated itself as a formal academic discipline in the 20th century within a growing Western university system that expanded throughout the world.

Like other cosmopolitics anthropology reflects the historical dynamics of the world system, especially those related to the structure of alterity. Let me put it more straight: some of the most fundamental changes in anthropology in the 20th century were due to changes in the subject position of anthropology's "object" par excellence, native groups all across the planet. This also means that theory in anthropology reflects world politics and, by extension, that theory in anthropology is always/already political.⁵

To better understand this critical anthropology of anthropology a brief consideration of how I envision the discipline's trajectory in the 20th century is in need. The following arguments revolve around transformations that took place mostly within hegemonic anthropologies. Hegemonic anthropologies are discursive formations and institutional practices that have been associated with the normalization of anthropology under academic modalities chiefly in the United States, Britain and France (see Restrepo and Escobar, 2004). Anglo-Saxon anthropologies, especially North-American anthropology, represent interesting scenarios to see the intersections between national and world systems of power. I want to show by the end of the next section that, currently, there are new agents at play, a situation that opens unexpected challenges and perspectives. Such new agency is not made up of leaders of indigenous populations transformed by modernization nor of "exotic" migrants in global cities, important forces for the problematization of hegemonic anthropologies. This turn the new force comes from within anthropology itself. I am referring to the increasingly important role that non-hegemonic anthropologies play in the production and dissemination of knowledge on a global scale.

Transformations of world systems of power

The first decades of the 20th century, until World War Two, were moments of great expansion and consolidation of anthropology in many countries. Institutions were found and international networks were created in ways that replicated existing geopolitical relationships among loci of the world system in a period when both empires and nation-states were firmly established. It was a foundational and triumphant moment. Anthropology started to be a discipline with a profile of its own, to have a growing number of institutions dedicated to its growth and reproduction as well as an increasingly visible mass of practitioners. Besides the North-American, British and French hegemonic anthropologies, various anthropologies were starting to expand in such places as Japan, Mexico and Russia. The education of main founding figures of diverse "national anthropologies" in Anglo-Saxon centers together with international exchange often were a basis for cooperation and dissemination of anthropological knowledge that created a sense of sharing a same field of research goals and disciplinary programs. Since anthropology and traveling have been always associated, from its first moments anthropology tended to develop within cosmopolitan frameworks and networks.

The history of Mexican and Japanese anthropologies well illustrate how the expansion of this period was characterized by relationships of anthropology with processes of nation- and empire-building. After the Mexican revolution, the need to integrate Indians/peasants to the nation-state was the main force behind the growth of an *antropología indigenista* with the support of powerful state institutions (Krotz, forthcoming).⁶ First worried about the origins of Japanese culture, Japanese anthropologists were soon to follow the colonial expansion of their nation-state and do field research in countries, such as Korea and China, where imperial Japanese hegemony was exerted (Yamashita, forthcoming). In sum, the first decades of the 20th century were moments of foundation and expansion that coincided with the growing power of nation-state and imperial systems. With different nationalisms and colonialisms in place, natives were mostly viewed through modern eyes as peoples who

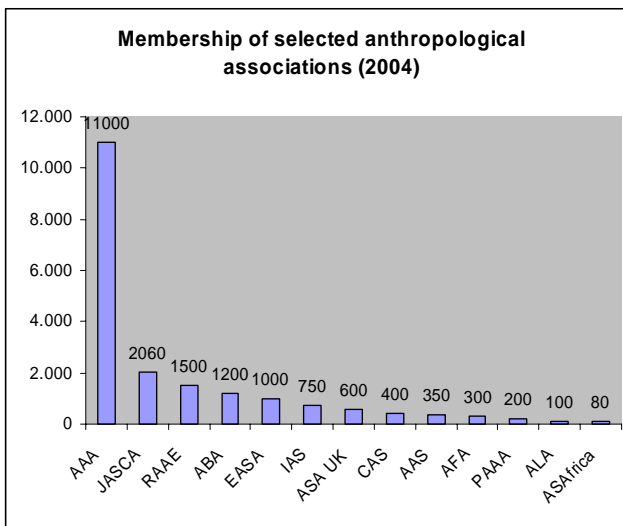
needed to be known in order to propitiate their integration to nation-states or empires (on French colonialism and anthropology see L'Estoile 2002).

Second World War, a fundamental moment of rearrangement of the world system, would radically change this panorama. It was an inflection of the previous global expansive period, a moment of redefinition of the relationship between anthropology and the nation-state that would have impacts for generations to come. If, in many situations, the British providing the most visible case, anthropology's relationships with state interests happened under the umbrella of colonial administration, now, war invaded the very core of the discipline in a much more intense and complete way than during First World War. American anthropologists had been involved to some extent with intelligence efforts during First World War, a conflict that, contrary to World War Two, never generated a total consensus on the part of North-American intellectuals. Many of them defended a neutral position. According to Marcio Goldman and Federico Neiburg (2002: 188), "in the field of anthropology, disagreements reached a culminating point when, right after the War, in its annual meeting of 1919, a censorship vote removed Franz Boas from the presidency of the American Anthropological Association. In spite of the fact that the explicit reason was the public denouncement of the participation of anthropologists in federal agencies of intelligence and espionage, in reality the AAA was also censoring Boas for his pacifist positions against the American intervention in World War One. As Stocking observed, the climate of exacerbated patriotism after 1918 could not tolerate pacifist ideas formulated by an author who was seen by some as a suspect German immigrant of Jewish origin" (Goldman and Neiburg 2002: 188). A few decades later, Boas would consider abandoning his career as an anthropologist to combat Nazism (*idem*: 194-195), a fact that can be read as an index of the consensual climate associated with World War Two. Several of his former students, such as Margaret Mead, led the participation of anthropology with the war effort. In some cases, natives became enemies, such as in Ruth Benedict's, "The Chrysanthemum and the Sword" (written in 1942 for the Office of War Information and published in 1946), perhaps the most famous example of association between anthropological knowledge and war effort. Second World War, with unprecedented unanimity, proved that anthropology could be good to provide "intelligence" on the enemy, to be able to overcome it, on the allies, to learn how to cooperate with them, and on one's own nation to learn how to use its own force (Goldman and Neiburg 2002: 198-199). The spurious relations between anthropological research and state interests had a more concrete example in the participation of several anthropologists in the administration of concentration camps of Japanese-Americans during World War Two (Suzuki 1981). We still need a consistent history of the role of anthropology during World War Two in different countries (see Weber 2002, for some of the dilemmas of French ethnology under the Vichy government). This was an important period because it crudely revealed modes of interaction between anthropology and state elites that would certainly be more unlikely to happen in periods of peace.

World War Two was a turning-point in the history of the world system. Among other things, it represented the exhaustion of the classic imperialist-colonialist era and the beginning of a new moment under the hegemony of the United States. Colonialist ideologies of expansion gave place to developmentalist ones (Escobar 1995). The Cold War created a world divided into two antagonistic halves, a division that had strong impacts on the development of anthropologies in countries such as China and the Soviet Union (see Smart forthcoming and Vakhtin, forthcoming). Anthropology's real triumphant and booming pe-

riod started after World War Two. In part it coincided with the modernizing drive of the time that called for educated masses that had greater access to a rapidly expanding university system in many countries. But it also coincided with a renewed demand for “scientific” knowledge about strange and exotic natives for the sake of “development” needs worldwide. Increasingly, natives ceased to be colonial subjects of Western empires to become citizens of “underdeveloped” nation-states. Inequalities and differences within the world system were now to be managed through peaceful and rational means such as development plans and ideologies fostered by multilateral agencies as the United Nations and the World Bank.

In a time full of confidence in the modernizing drive and in the role of science and technology in the great destiny of humankind, the number of practitioners of anthropology rose steadily. Over fifty years ago, Alfred Kroeber (1953) surveyed world anthropology and published his findings in his well-known book “Anthropology Today.” Kroeber counted 2,000 anthropologists worldwide, 600 of which were members of the American Anthropological Association (AAA). Today, the American Association has some 11,000 members. World anthropologies have surely grown and diversified since World War Two. When the Association of Social Anthropologists of the British Commonwealth (ASA) was founded in 1946 it had approximately 20 members. It grew to more than 150 members in 1962 and to approximately 240 members in 1968 (Asad 1973). Today ASA has 600 members. As for Brazil, Otavio Velho (1980) points out that 41 persons attended the first Brazilian meeting of anthropology, in 1953, 109 in 1959, 141 in 1968, and 408 in 1979. In 2004, more than 1,500 attended the Brazilian meeting (Graphic 1 shows the approximate membership of some of the largest anthropological associations in 2004).⁷



(AAA, American Anthropological Association; JASCA, Japanese Society of Cultural Anthropology; RAAE, Russian Association of Anthropologists and Ethnologists; ABA, Brazilian Association of Anthropology; EASA, European Association of Social Anthropology; IAS, Indian Anthropological Society; ASA, Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and the Commonwealth; CAS, Canadian Anthropology Society; AAS, Australian Anthropological Society; AFA, French Association of Anthropology; PAAA, Pan-African Anthropological Association; ALA, Latin American Anthropological Association; ASA, Anthropology Southern Africa).

But political processes of the post-war period, the golden years of anthropology, were soon to converge, in the 1960's, to a major crisis of representation of hegemonic anthropology caused by a clear change in the subject position of native and/or powerless groups, anthropology's classic research "object." Decolonization impacted British anthropology in ways that are still being digested, while the Civil Rights Movement and the reaction against the Vietnam War changed the North-American scenario. Natives stroke back speaking with their own voices and criticized anthropology as a close aid of colonialism, especially in Africa where the last wave of decolonization was happening and the role of anthropology during colonial times was an issue (see Nkwi, forthcoming). Afro-Americans forced the American nation-state to a new national pact where culture and identity were highly politicized, in a movement that would open the way for multiculturalism and the politics of difference. The imperialist war mobilized hearts and minds against the simplistic and fierce coldwarrior's geopolitics and nationalism. The "age of innocence" of anthropology (Wolf 1974) was finished as the relationship between knowledge and power became more and more explicit with the involvement of anthropologists in counter-insurgency intelligence in countries such as Thailand rising new ethical and political problems (Wolf and Jorgensen 1975)⁸. All those exotic and subalternized others needed to be seen as subjects of their own destiny. Critique of anthropology became a "literature of anguish" (Ben-Ari 1999) deepening one of anthropology's strongest ambivalent self-representation (Wolf and Jorgensen 1975) according to which the discipline is either the child of Western imperialism (Gough 1975), the child of violence, as Lévi-Strauss (1966) called it, or the revolutionary discipline questioning Western claims to superiority (Diamond 1964). Ben-Ari (1999), who sees such an ambivalence as a dichotomy that pervades anthropology since the end of the 19th century, phrases it this way: anthropology is either corresponsable for the problems created by the expansion of the West or it is a tool for better human understanding⁹.

This critique was articulated in the 1960s and 1970s largely from a Marxist political economy approach, and usually in the name of Third World struggles against colonialism and imperialism. Dell Hymes edited volume, *Reinventing Anthropology* ([1969] 1974), as well as Jean Copans, *Anthropologie et Impérialisme* (1975), represent the best illustrations of this literature. Even though the contributions to these volumes were unevenly developed and had different emphases, they shared the insistence on the need for a shift in the basic epistemological, institutional, and political foundations of Anglo-American anthropology.

The world system underwent another round of profound transformations with the events that led to the end of the Soviet Union (1989-1991), finishing the Cold War period and inaugurating the present moment which may be called of really existing globalization. A triumphant capitalism lost its counterpart, became more and more transnationalized and extended its capillarity to previously closed territories and markets. Real globalization created even more complex flows of commodities, people and information, reshuffling the relationships among fragmented global spaces, the local and the global. Time-space compression (Harvey 1989) gained further impulse with new advancements of the communication industries under the hegemony of computer and electronic capitalism. Digital technologies and the internet epitomized what Castells (1996), for instance, called the informational mode of development. Cyberspace, in special, propitiated an enormous increase of the global exchange of information and the emergence of a transnational virtual-imagined community (Ribeiro 1998) which is a strategic means of creation and support of an ever more noticeable global civil society. New international migrations created more diverse

ethnic segmentation within nation-states almost everywhere reinstating the role of distance in the definition of ethnographic subjects. For hegemonic anthropologists, natives were no longer those exotic people living thousands of kilometers far from their homes, they became neighbors.

All these transformations prompted another crisis of representation in hegemonic anthropology. The lines between natives and non-natives were blurred, the structures of socio-cultural otherness (Krotz 1997) in global and national contexts increased in complexity. Other disciplines, such as cultural studies, and theoretical approaches, such as post-colonialism, that did not carry anthropology's original sin of cooperation with colonialism, entered the scene. Globalization reinforced the contradictions between ethnic segments and nation-state power. Multiculturalism and the politics of difference internationalized themselves reinforcing "native" political movements and the culturalization of politics.

The two major crisis of anthropology described above were highly related to the changing positions of anthropology's classical subjects, native or powerless groups, or to changes of anthropology's relationship to the "savage slot" (Trouillot 1991). But currently there is another element which was never duly incorporated by previous critiques and is bound to impact anthropology: the foreign presence and importance in the production and reproduction of knowledge in hegemonic academia. This is not really a novelty, since the academic and scientific milieu, and anthropology is a confirmation of such a statement, has always been prone to internationalization. However, international cross-fertilization has happened within a very limited universe composed of a restricted number of partners. It may be true that in locations such as the North-American university system the diversity of faculty and researcher's nationalities have increased in the past decades, a function of the very central place of the American scientific, technological and academic systems in the globalized world. But this increase in diversity, in anthropology and elsewhere, has not corresponded to an intense growth in the consumption of a variegated foreign production, an indication of the normalization of the work of what Aijaz Ahmad (1994) calls the "ethnic intellectuals." In fact, I am not so much worried about the migration of persons and the contributions that many foreign scholars have historically made to the strength of hegemonic centers. My main preoccupation is with what could be called the migration of texts, concepts and theories.

The monotony of international cross-fertilization is not an exclusive problem of anthropology. Sociolinguist Rainer Enrique Hamel, in his study on "Language Empires, Linguistic Imperialism, and the Future of Global Languages" (2003), considered that "it may be taken as a symptom of English scientific imperialism in itself that ... most authors from English speaking countries and their former colonies who write about the world as a whole do so without quoting a single non-English language text in their vast bibliographies" (p. 20). This problem, though, is particularly interesting when noticed in a discipline that praises diversity so dearly. Polyphony in anthropological production means first the recognition of an enormous production in different world locales that need to gain visibility if we take seriously the role of diversity in the construction of denser discourses and in cross-fertilization. Secondly, it means an awareness of the unequal exchanges of information that occur within the world system of intellectual production and a deliberate political position that intends to go beyond this situation towards a more egalitarian and hence enriching environment. Finally, it also means an intellectual critique, and subsequent critical action, on the mechanisms that sustain such uneven exchanges not only within the academic milieu but

also without it, involving other forms of knowledge production, other cosmopolitics about otherness.

The present is another moment of reinvention of anthropology that is not so much linked to a crisis in the subject position of native populations, the discipline has already gone through this experience, but to changes in the relationships among anthropologists located in different loci of the world system. Steban Krotz (2002: 399) also envisions profound transformations in this same direction. For him, “in spite of the fact that the main impulses for the production of anthropological knowledge continue to come from the countries where this science originated, such impulses are also increasingly happening in places where live those who were until recently exclusively favorite anthropological objects. This requires the creation of new structures of knowledge production that, precisely in the universe of knowledge, do not submit cultural diversity to a model that pretends to be unique and eternal in an exclusive way.” Many anthropologies are ready to come to the forefront. Indeed, their greater international visibility is a prerequisite for reaching a more heteroglossic and egalitarian community of world anthropologists and more complex forms of creating and circulating theory and knowledge on a global level. Much of the improvement of anthropology will depend on how we answer this question: in an era of heightened globalization, and after the intense epistemological and methodological critique of the last 15 years, how can we establish new conditions of academic exchange and regimes of visibility?

Power and hegemony in anthropology

Our debate on world anthropologies aims at showing the existence of other loci of knowledge production on diversity, such as those represented by the experience of *interculturalidad* (see Walsh, Schiwy and Castro-Gómez 2002; De la Cadena forthcoming). It also aims at criticizing the existing uneven exchange of information and theory within anthropology. This inequity often gets discussed under different labels: central versus peripheral anthropologies (Cardoso de Oliveira 1999/2000); international versus national anthropologies or anthropologies of nation-building and anthropologies of empire-building (Stocking 1982); hegemonic and non-hegemonic anthropologies (Ribeiro and Escobar 2003); anthropologies of the South (Krotz 1997); etc. Such classifications are helpful to think about the existing inequalities. But we need to transcend these dualities since, as Verena Stolcke stated (personal communication), they are not capable of dealing with transnational orders. They also reflect various kinds of power relations. In sum, the international circulation of ideas is heavily intertwined with power relations and may itself “have the effect of constructing and reinforcing inequality” (L’Estoile, Neiburg and Sigaud 2002: 23).

Anthropology has had a long-standing relation with state power everywhere. In fact, in many ways the discipline was shaped by these relations. Whenever there is an authoritarian regime, as in Stalinist times in Russia, the anthropology/state relation becomes more obvious (Vakhtin, forthcoming). On one hand, state elites impose a control of the critical potential of anthropological production and theories. On the other hand, they convert anthropology into a technique of social control, into a kind of social engineering aimed at managing the relations between ethnic minorities and powerful central governments. In wartimes, as we mentioned before, even in non-authoritarian regimes, such as the North-American one, anthropology may be called to develop similar roles plus to become a source of intelligence on the enemy. The role of anthropology in nation-building is well known and we do not need

to expand much on it (for the Brazilian case see, for instance, Peirano 1991). It suffices to say that anthropologists (re)create contradictory ideologies of national unity or diversity that are anchored on the perceived authority of academic production and often are reflected in policies of state apparatuses (in education and culture or in the administration of ethnic conflicts) and in the political positions of civil society's agents such as NGOs. The dilemmas that Australian anthropologists (Toussaint, forthcoming) are facing regarding the authority of anthropology in aboriginal land struggles that reach the national judiciary system is an example of the intricate modes of relations between anthropology, state apparatuses, and the discipline's self-representation especially regarding the authority of its "scientific" status. Anthropology developed everywhere in relation to the national and international interests of states regarding the status of the native populations "found" in the territories states traditionally controlled or in new colonial areas (L'Estoile, Neiburg and Sigaud 2002).

We need to dwell a little more on the relationships between anthropology and empire-building, anthropology and colonialism. There are good reasons to think of British anthropology when this is the subject. However, we still are to see a study that sorts out the complicated relationships between the discipline and colonial administration. According to Ben-Ari (1999: 385) "we simply do not know how, or whether at all, any anthropological knowledge was used by colonial powers." On the one hand, anthropology may have provided support for local opponents of colonialism. On the other hand, Ben-Ari (idem) also argues that anthropological knowledge, together with the census, the map and the museum, was part of what Anderson (1991: 163) called the grammar of the colonial state style of thinking about its domain. For Ben-Ari (1999: 388), the crucial question is to understand anthropology's place in the making of colonial taxonomies and discourses. In his analysis of the relationships between French colonialism and French ethnology, D'Estoile (2002) showed how several research and educational institutions, such as the *Institute d'Ethnologie* and the *Musée de l'Homme*, were supported by the French colonial apparatus, in a continuous movement of exchange of people, information and knowledge between "modes of administrative knowledge and scientific discourse" aimed at legitimating a rational domination over African natives.¹⁰

This discussion also brings to the fore the limits of anthropology as a universal discipline. The need to set apart the real or imagined links between anthropology and colonialism in African and Asian countries (Barnes 1982, Kashoki 1982) leads to a more acute critique by post-colonial intellectuals of these regions. Africa represents the best scenario to consider the efficacy of the universalist anthropological discourse, even more so than India. In Africa the universalist pretension of anthropology was soon related to Eurocentrism and developed a debate on the need for an African epistemology. Much more intensively than in India, where anthropological thought was a part of post-colonial debates on nation-building (Visvanathan, forthcoming), in Africa the discipline was caught between isolation and nativism. However, any pretension to a nativist epistemology is a paradox since, as Mafeje (2001) noted, *d'après* Rabinow, there is nothing more Western than the discussion of epistemology. Furthermore, claims to cultural and scientific authenticity may well be a kind of neo-Orientalism (see Velho forthcoming). Nativist approaches may also be a reaction to the existence of a body of foreign intellectuals and literature who maintain the valid standards of interpretation of a given culture or country. Velho (idem) argues that the absence of Brazilianists, foreign scholars specialized in Brazil, contributed to hinder the development of a nativist approach in that country.

The existence of an anthropology -- meaning the discipline that was institutionalized in university systems during the 20th century -- totally isolated from Western hegemonic anthropologies is an impossibility even in authoritarian regimes (see Vakhtin forthcoming and Smart forthcoming). Anthropology, from its inception, is a cosmopolitics on otherness with a Western origin. If acknowledgement of a given statement in anthropology depends on its validity, validity itself, in the last instance, depends on its consecration by a community of argumentation that is also a cosmopolitan community. Even nativist perspectives would have to go through this kind of process. This is why it is impossible to believe in an isolated anthropology the validity of which would be entirely recognized and fulfilled solely within the confines of nation-states. The examples of anthropology in Russia and in China are, again, strong reminders of such a predicament (see Vakhtin, forthcoming, and Smart, forthcoming). The fact that anthropology expanded from the North Atlantic region to other corners of the world does not mean it cannot benefit from its many different existing versions and from the different tensions it created with pre-existing local systems. I agree with Shinji Yamashita (1998: 5) when he argues that “if cultures travel, as James Clifford (1992) puts it, anthropology travels too. Through traveling the world, it can be enriched and transformed by its encounters with different local situations. I firmly believe that the anthropology of the 21st century will be constructed on the basis of the ‘glocal’, namely ‘global-local’ relations (Robertson 1995), in the same way as other major forms of cultural production in the world are constructed.” But it is also true that there are different travelers and ways of traveling. Hierarchies of knowledges and of cosmopolitics are always predicated upon hierarchies of social and political power. The Indian situation brings about interesting considerations. The way through which anthropology displaced vernacular forms of producing knowledge in India (Danda 1995) cannot be understood without considering the geopolitics of language, knowledge and prestige implemented by British colonialism that ascribed power to the colonizers’ language, culture and science. English was not to be universally taught in colonial India but at the highest levels as the language of administration, science and high culture, of the university system (Hamel 2003). Such a move created a need to identify with the colonizer’s language, to desire and practice it if certain social agents and agencies were to be seen as part of the elite. Anthropology was since the beginning placed and taught in a larger context that prefigured its own privileged power over other cosmopolitics. This is certainly also the case in countries such as Peru, where the subordination of indigenous knowledge is the counterpart of the hegemony of Euro-American academic-economic-formations, as De la Cadena (forthcoming) puts it. A final word on the discussion on native, indigenous anthropology in contrast to an international or universal anthropology: if there is anything left of it is that, in the end, the “insider” is a citizen while the “outsider” is not. At stake are different kinds of social responsibility and of political roles of the anthropologists. Other possible associated issues are of methodological order, regarding mainly the nature of the intersubjective encounter and the role of strangement in the construction of anthropological knowledge.

One of the best established dichotomies when anthropologists think of anthropology on a global scale could be dubbed Stocking’s dilemma. According to Stocking (1982) there are anthropologies of nation-building and anthropologies of empire-building. The effectiveness of this formulation stems from the fact that it points to the scope of the reach of the anthropological work and imagination depending on whether anthropologists do field research mainly in their own countries or abroad. The opposition anthropology tout court / anthropology at home (a rather popular phrasing in the U.S.) indicates that for so called im-

perial anthropologies the discipline means research abroad and that doing research at “home” is not similarly valued. But Stocking dilemma’s may well be transcended if we think that behind empire building there is always a nation-state. The importance of colonialism in creating and reinforcing national ideologies in the metropolises is well-known. In fact, anthropologies of empire-building are also anthropologies of nation-building, but vice-versa is not true. Furthermore, this dichotomy may create the impression that there are only two options for world anthropologies. Anthropologists everywhere would be trapped in either serving the nation or the empire, which is obviously not the case. First, there are anthropologies of difference-building. Second, there are the cases of “national anthropologies” that may internationalize themselves, such as in the Australian, Brazilian, Canadian and Mexican cases, without falling in the temptation of becoming empire-building anthropologies. Portuguese anthropologist, João de Pina Cabral (2004: 263), inspired by the reading of a book on Brazilian anthropology, mentions the possibility of a fifth anthropological tradition, different from the American, British, French and German ones, a tradition “that does not identify itself with any of the imperial projects that, historically, moved scientific development.” Archetti (forthcoming) has also shown that one hegemonic anthropology, such as France’s, maybe at the same time geared towards nation and empire-building. The Japanese example is also interesting for it shows that given external constraints one anthropology can be national or imperial over time (Askew 2003), and, indeed, today, post-imperial. Currently, Japanese anthropological research is rather internationalized but has no relationship with imperial expansion as may have been the case in the past.

The project of developing Latin American post-imperialist cosmopolitics (Ribeiro 2003) points to the existence of post-national and post-imperial anthropologies in which several reversions of power positions are to be sought. Since an important post-imperial goal is to provincialize the United States through the critique of its mediascapes and ideascapes, one of the tasks of Latin American researchers would be to generate knowledge through field research on North American subjects, especially on those that powerfully prefigure cosmopolitics and ideologies of power and prestige. Instead of doing research on the subalterns of the South, to do research on the elite of the North. Up and North the anthropologist goes. Since hegemony is the art of exerting power silently, let’s not only let the subalterns speak, let’s make the powerful speak!

The relationships between anthropologies and systems of power are complex since in many ways anthropology is part of much larger power relations and constraints, including those created by unequal development on a global scale. For example, there are educational, academic and scientific systems differently developed throughout the world with different access to resources and to nation-state power. It is clear, however, that such relationships cannot be reduced to a disjunction between anthropologies of empire-building and anthropologies of nation-building. The underlying factors are the kinds of positions, perspectives and practices anthropologists have regarding powerful and powerless groups and projects. A way of looking at it is to consider that anthropology is good to provide certain groups, powerful or powerless ones, with knowledge that “legitimizes” claims over ethnic and cultural diversity as well as over access to natural and social resources.

Currently, the relationships among anthropologies on the global level reflect different kinds of power imbalance. As we know, there is no anthropology without dialogues with the hegemonic anthropologies since anthropology historically came from metropolitan countries and disseminated as a cosmopolitics through expanding university systems. World

anthropologies will develop through theoretical critique but also, and perhaps more importantly, through the political activity of those that are interested in such propositions. World anthropologies imply, for instance, the construction of other conditions of conversability, by bringing together in networks anthropologists and, I submit, anthropological institutions to discuss how we can make the heterogenizing forces of globalization work in favor of heteroglossic initiatives. This is why Arturo Escobar and I organized an international symposium on World Anthropologies, in March 2003, in Italy, of which a book will come out in the United Kingdom next year (see also endnote ii). This is also the reason why Paul Little and I organized a meeting in Brazil, in June 2004, that brought together 14 presidents of national and international anthropological associations to discuss and negotiate more democratic modes of global interaction, production and dissemination of knowledge. In both initiatives we counted on the support of the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. The president of the associations from the following countries were present in the meeting in Recife: Australia, Brazil, Canada, France, India, Great-Britain, South-Africa and the United States. Japan sent the director of international relations of the association. The presidents of the following international associations were also there: European Association of Social Anthropologists, Latin American Association of Anthropology, Pan-African Anthropological Association and the International Union of Ethnological Sciences. The awareness of the importance of the meeting and the enthusiasm of all the representatives of these anthropological institutions showed that the time is ripe to create more horizontal and diverse modes of interaction and exchange on the global level. As a consequence the World Council of Anthropological Associations was created. WCAA has as its primary goals to promote more diverse and equal exchanges between anthropologies and anthropologists worldwide (see the founding agreement of WCAA in www.abant.org.br). A by-product of this meeting was a debate among Australian, Brazilian and Canadian anthropologists about the many problems and issues surrounding the engagement of anthropologists in native people's struggles for land.

The critique of the power imbalance between hegemonic and non-hegemonic anthropologies is made by world anthropologies in order to go beyond the existing ossified power structure, to show that there are many possible contributions coming from other subject positions and that one may expect a more complex cross-fertilization if we are able to construct other conditions of conversability that foster the creation of a more heteroglossic transnational community of anthropologists. In a paper inspired in several debates that occurred within the World Anthropologies Network collective, Eduardo Restrepo and Arturo Escobar wrote that the project of 'world anthropologies' is an "intervention geared at the implosion of the disciplinary constraints that subalternized modalities of anthropological practice and imagination have to face in the name of an unmarked, normalized and normalizing model of anthropology" (2004: 2). There are two notions that are helpful to understand the present situation. They refer to what Restrepo and Escobar called assymetrical ignorance and I call a tension between cosmopolitan provincialism and provincial cosmopolitanism.

**Assymetrical ignorance:
cosmopolitan provincialism and provincial cosmopolitanism**

Cosmopolitan provincialism and provincial cosmopolitanism are based in the existing unequal relations on the global symbolic economy. I will give a brief definition of both no-

tions. Cosmopolitan provincialism means the ignorance that hegemonic centers usually have of the production of non-hegemonic centers. Provincial cosmopolitanism means the knowledge that non-hegemonic centers usually have of the production of hegemonic centers. This asymmetrical ignorance may express itself in such common curious situation such as the fact that the history of universal anthropology (i.e. of hegemonic anthropologies) is known and studied by non-hegemonic anthropologists but vice-versa is not true. The processes through which these anthropologies without history, to use Krotz's apt expression, became institutionalized and grew are not taught or in the best cases are seldom taught even in their own countries. Classics include only foreign anthropologists.

In many graduate programs outside the hegemonic core, being capable of reading in at least two languages other than one's native language is a mandatory prerequisite. Indeed both cosmopolitan provincialism and provincial cosmopolitanism can be better understood if we consider the language issue, a rather complicated one when transnational communication is at stake. English has been the most expansive language in the past five centuries (Hamel 2003: 16). Brazilian sociologist Renato Ortiz, in an unpublished paper on "The Social Sciences and English", shows that world English is framing the sociological debates on a global scale. He also comes to the conclusion that "the more central a language is in the world market of linguistic goods, the smaller the proportion of texts which are translated to it" (p. 27). In the United States and England, less of 5% of the publications are translations, while in France and Germany this number is around 12%, and in Spain and Italy it grows to 20%. Here is an important angle of the sociolinguistic basis from which metropolitan provincialism stems. If the opposite is true, that is the less important a language the more translations there will be in it, we are equally facing the sociolinguistic basis of provincial cosmopolitanism.

Rainer Enrique Hamel (2003: 24) warns that "scientific monolingualism might not only deepen the existing inequalities in the access and diffusion of scientific findings, but also threaten scientific creativity and conceptual diversity itself as a basis for scientific development as such." He sees the danger that we pass from "a strong hegemony of world English to a monopoly, from a plurilingual paradigm of diversity that admits language conflict to a monolingual paradigm of English only" (2003: 25). If scientific monolingualism raises such general and serious critiques, monostylous anthropology can be considered an impediment for a polycentric global anthropology.

Centrality is a positive and a negative asset when dealing with disciplines that rely on interpretation and context to improve their heuristical capacities, which is the case of anthropology. It is positive because in the main centers there are the best working conditions (wages, libraries, research funds, access to dissemination and visibility). It is negative because of a linguistic, cultural and political reduction that working for a same national university system implies (it does not matter how big and diverse it may be it will not match world diversity) and because of metropolitan provincialism, a linguistic and sociological closure that implies in a big loss of diversity and of interest in other productions. In this sense, if we think of the practice of anthropology on a global scale, we will see a strong potential of cross-fertilization scattered in different locales. A potential of creativity impossible to be found in a single place. There is sociological and linguistic evidence indicating that such a creativity is located in and coming from non-hegemonic locales since cosmopolitan provincialism allows for a more complex vision of the discipline as an international discourse. This is not a call for ignoring the important contributions hegemonic anthropologies have made and make to knowledge. Quite the contrary, I men-

tioned how closely the history and production of hegemonic anthropology are followed everywhere. But it means a need for other academic practices that include more horizontal exchanges and the recognition that today anthropology is a much more diverse discourse than what most North Atlanticentric interpretations suppose. It is time to strive for multicentrism in lieu of one or a few kinds of centrisms.

Final Comments

Ben-Ari (1999: 402-403), in an instigative manner, refers to the importance that critiques of anthropology's involvement with colonialism have for the career of academic generational groups. Is the notion of "world anthropologies" but another chapter of "disciplinary politics" made possible by this moment of increased globalization? While it is right that, like in any power field, anthropologists and other scholars also strive for power, in our discipline critique play other roles besides being a part of "electoral politics", as Trouillot (1991) called it.¹¹ Critique should not be seen simply as unfavorable judgments, but as thorough examinations and positions that are fundamental for the advancement of any discipline and for the constant enhancement of its practitioners' heuristic capacities and ethical standards. World anthropologies are obviously not a resentful claim of authenticity neither a resentful perspective on hegemonic anthropology. The pretension of a nativist perspective was clearly rejected in this text in favor of an openly dialogical and heteroglossic vision. Furthermore, any idea of a "periphery" that is the essential source of authenticity, pristine otherness or unparalleled creativity and radicalism is doomed to be another sort of Orientalism (see Velho forthcoming). If we were to draw a map of current interconnections and exchanges among anthropologies as well as to make a directory of world anthropologists, we would immediately agree with Johannes Fabian's (forthcoming) statement that "anthropology has succeeded in making many of its practitioners into transnationals, that is, into scientists whose frame of mind is no longer set by an unquestioned national identity".

It would be ironic if the project of world anthropologies is seen as the new capacity of the "periphery" to strike back, a simplistic frame of mind akin to some interpretations of the aims of the post-colonial critique regarding former imperial metropolises. I'd rather think that this is a moment of enlargement of the anthropological horizon that will make anthropology a richer academic cosmopolitics, one that is capable of dealing with the new challenges arising in the 21st century. World anthropologies provide a window of opportunities for all those who (a) know that hegemony of a certain universalism is not a natural given; (b) understand that difference is not inequality and (c) that diversity is an asset of humankind.

In this text, I wanted to avoid an intellectualist approach to the problems that theory in anthropology have faced in the past and face today. Instead, I chose a sociological perspective in order to suggest that challenges and horizons in anthropological theory are embedded in several historical predicaments. My goal was to show that changing the relationships and flows of information within a yet to be fully developed global community of anthropologists is a powerful way of changing theoretical orientations today. Two other equally necessary changes are in order. Those related to the relations between anthropologists and differentiated socio-cultural segments, and lastly, those related to the pretension of anthropology of being the universally valid discourse on alterity.

It is almost a truism to say that a given discipline and its practitioners are influenced by specific historical, social, economic, political and cultural contexts. Within this framework, it is important to note that transformation is a constant in the history of anthropology anywhere. Indeed, anthropology is a phoenix whose death, or drawn-out agony, has been pronounced several times, at least since the 1920s when Malinowski urged anthropologists to conduct more ethnographic fieldwork in face of a vanishing native world. Anthropology's many deaths and rebirths indicate the discipline's ability to transform itself over the past century and project its critique onto itself, magnifying and redefining its interests, attributes and theories. The abundance of alternatives became a powerful stimulus leading to a constant reappraisal of the discipline's fate, field, objectives, programs, characteristics and definitions. The many resurrections and reincarnations of anthropology can only be understood if we consider that it is a highly reflexive discipline that projects itself onto and receives feedback from the topics it studies. As a consequence, anthropology is fine-tuned to the sociological changes that historically occur. In a globalized world we need to have more diverse international voices and perspectives participating at any assessment of the frontiers of anthropological knowledge. Indeed, a globalized world is a perfect scenario for anthropology to thrive since one of anthropology's basic lessons is respect for difference. A discipline that praises plurality and diversity needs to foster these standpoints within its own milieu. The time is ripe for world anthropologies.

Notes

1. Conferencia magistral en el coloquio internacional "¿A dónde va la antropología?", 23 de septiembre de 2004, en la UAM-Iztapalapa, con motivo del Trigésimo Aniversario de la Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana.
2. Some of the most active members of this network are Arturo Escobar, Eduardo Restrepo, Marisol de la Cadena, Sandy Toussaint and Susana Narotzky.
3. Inspired in debates triggered by WAN, Marisol de la Cadena and I organized a session in the 2002 AAA meeting; Arturo Escobar and I put together an international symposium in Italy; and Paul Little and I organized a meeting in Brazil of 14 presidents of national and international anthropological associations in order to discuss ways of having a more plural global community of anthropologists. As a result of the symposium in Italy, a book will come out next year on *World Anthropologies*. The Recife meeting was an opportunity to create the World Council of Anthropological Associations. See more on this below.
4. Esteban Krotz (2002: 353) calls the attention to a "certain predisposition", of authors who write on the history of anthropology, "determined by the language, history and culture of their countries of origin. For instance, Frenchman Claude Lévi-Strauss considers that anthropology began with Rousseau and Durkheim, while British Lucy Mair highlights the importance of Adam Smith; on the other hand, the German Wilhelm Mühlmann emphasizes Herder's distinguished role, and for the Italian Ernesto de Martino, Giambattista Vico is, naturally, of special importance."
5. In the beginnings of the 1970's, Jean Copans (1974: 52) stated that "the history of ethnology is also the history of the relations between European societies and non-European

societies”. He anticipated that decolonization would have an impact on the theory and practice of the discipline. Archie Mafeje (2001: 49) considers that “the important lesson to be drawn from the experience of the African anthropologists is that anthropology is premised on an immediate subject/object relation. If for social and political reasons this relation gets transformed, anthropologists might not be able to realize themselves, without redefining themselves and their discipline”.

6. Antonio Carlos de Souza Lima (2002) shows how Mexican *indigenismo* migrated to other Latin American countries especially to Brazil.

7. It was made after a survey conducted during the meeting “World Anthropologies: Strengthening the International Organization and Effectiveness of the Profession”, held in June 2004, in Recife, Brazil, with the presence of 14 presidents of anthropological associations.

8. In the AAA meeting of 1966, a motion against the role of the U.S. government in Vietnam was highly controversial in another indication of how ideologically torn apart were American anthropologists (see Gough 1975).

9. Ben-Ari states (1999: 400) that the literature of anguish is “now seen to be as important to an understanding of a sociology of knowledge as the more conventional issues of methodology, the study of language or gaining good entrances to, and rapport, in the field.”

10. “In the colonial situation, the scientific study of natives appears, together with actions in the areas of education and health, as a privileged means to simultaneously demonstrate the ‘profound humanity’ (a preoccupation with indigenous populations and their costumes) and the scientific superiority of the tutelary power” (L’Estoile 2002: 75-76). Scientific superiority would be a peaceful and convincing means to show the legitimacy of the colonial enterprise, something that in France got a life of its own in a Colonial School, kept by the government in the first half of the 20th century, to train administrators through a specialized education that could impart to colonization “a good quality scientific spirit” (idem: 77).

11. Electoral politics is “the set of institutionalized practices and relations of power that influenced the production of knowledge from within academe: academic filiations, the mechanisms of institutionalization, the organization of power within and across departments, the market value of publish-or-perish prestige, and other worldly issues that include, but expand way beyond, the maneuvering we usually refer to as ‘academic politics’” (Trouillot 1991: 143).

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