World Anthropologies

Cosmopolitics for a New Global Scenario in Anthropology[1]

Gustavo Lins Ribeiro
University of Brasilia

Abstract ■ In this article, anthropology is seen as 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 changing roles 'alterity' may play in international and national scenarios. Some of the most fundamental changes in anthropology in the last century were due to changes in the subject position of anthropology's 'object' par excellence, native peoples all over the planet. But, currently, there is another element which was never duly incorporated by previous critiques and is bound to impact anthropology: the increased importance of the non-hegemonic anthropologists in the production and reproduction of knowledge. Changes in the conditions of conversability among anthropologists located in different loci of the world system will impact the tension between metropolitan provincialism and provincial cosmopolitanism, increase horizontal communication and create more plural world anthropologies.
Keywords ■ global diversity and anthropology ■ metropolitan provincialism ■ provincial cosmopolitanism ■ world system of anthropology

À memória de Eduardo Archetti

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 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 that 'otherness' or 'alterity' may play in such international and national scenarios.

   This article is heavily inspired by a collective movement called the World Anthropologies Network (WAN), of which I am a member (see www.ram-wan.org). The network aims 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 US anthropology, and its tendency to confound its own internal crises with a global one.

The 'world anthropologies' project wants 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 main 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. 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. 'World Anthropologies' aims at the construction of a polycentric canon, one that, similarly to polycentric multiculturalism (Shohat and Stam quoted in Turner, 1994), calls for a reconceptualization of the relationships among anthropological communities. Monological anthropology needs to be replaced by heteroglossic anthropology. Heteroglossia, as Bakhtin indicated (see Werbner, 1997: 6), 'undermines the authority of reified custom and tradition' and, I believe, opens the way to a more creative and egalitarian environment. What follows is thus a contribution to an unfolding and stimulating debate. The reader should also bear in mind my own position as an anthropologist who holds a North-American PhD and works in the Brazilian academic milieu.

Cosmopolitics

The notion of cosmopolitics seeks to provide a critical and plural perspective on the possibilities of supra- and transnational articulations. It is based, on the one hand, on the positive evocations historically associated with the notion of cosmopolitism and, on the other hand, on analysis in which power asymmetries are of fundamental importance (on cosmopolitics see Cheah and Robbins, 1998, and Ribeiro, 2003). Cosmopolitics comprises discourses and modes of doing politics that are concerned with their global reach and impact. I am particularly interested in cosmopolitics that are embedded in conflicts regarding the role of difference and diversity

in the construction of polities. I view anthropology as a cosmopolitics 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.[2]

Looking at anthropology as cosmopolitics means, right from the beginning, that the discipline is not the only discourse on the importance of diversity, 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 a Yanomami Indian in Brazil's Amazonia may also represent a cosmopolitics, and this is indeed the case. For example, see the cultural intertextuality present in the speeches of the Yanomami leader Davi Kopenawa, who articulates shamanistic and global environmental discourses on the fate of the earth (Albert, 1995). Looking at anthropology as a cosmopolitics also means that the discipline'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 has, for quite some time now, brought many different subjects to the attention of anthropologists.

Another important implication of viewing anthropology as 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 scale.[3] 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' and anthropology as a 'body of knowledge'. 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 this with ancient Indian literature going back as far as 1350 BC when the *Manava Dharmashastra* (The Sacred Science of Man) was written.

In short, anthropology is 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.[4] 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 peoples all over the planet.

But 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. What I want to emphasize is that we are also now to see a new force coming 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 in systems of power

To better understand this critical anthropology of anthropology I must present how I envision the discipline's trajectory in the 20th century. I do not focus on the discipline's many achievements. Rather I focus on issues that reveal how anthropology got entangled with geopolitics and national/global power. My 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, 2005). Anglo-Saxon anthropologies, especially North-American anthropology, represent interesting scenarios to see the intersections between national and world systems of power.

The first decades of the 20th century, until the Second World War, were moments of consolidation and expansion of anthropology in many countries. Institutions were founded 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 began to expand in such places as Japan, Mexico and Russia. The education of major founding figures of diverse 'national anthropologies' in Anglo-Saxon centers together with international exchange were often a basis for cooperation and dissemination of anthropological knowledge that created a sense of sharing the same field of research goals and disciplinary

programs. Since anthropology and traveling have always been associated, from its first moments many anthropologists tended to establish trans-national networks and frameworks.

The history of Mexican and Japanese anthropologies well illustrates how the expansion of this period was characterized by the relationship anthropologists had with processes of nation- and empire-building. After the Mexican Revolution, the need to integrate Indians/peasants into the nation-state was the main force behind the growth of an *antropología indigenista* with the support of powerful state institutions (Krotz, 2006).[5] First concerned with 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 power was exerted (Yamashita, 2006). In sum, in the first decades of the 20th century, with different nationalisms and colonialisms at work, 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).

The Second World War, a fundamental moment of rearrangement of the world system, would radically change this panorama. It was an inflec-tion of the previous global expansion period, a moment of redefinition of the relationship between anthropology and the nation-state that would have an impact 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 the First World War. American anthropologists had been involved to some extent with intelligence efforts during the First World War, a conflict that, contrary to the Second World War, never gener-ated 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 I. 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.

A few decades later, Boas would consider abandoning his career as an anthropologist to combat Nazism (Goldman and Neiburg, 2002: 194–5), a fact that can be read as an index of the consensual climate associated with the Second World War. 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 the war effort. The Second World War, with unprecedented unanimity, proved that anthropology could be used to provide 'intelligence' (a) on the enemy, to be able to overcome it, (b) on the allies, to learn how to cooperate with them, and (c) on one's own nation to learn how to use its own force (Goldman and Neiburg, 2002: 198–9). 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 the Second World War (Suzuki, 1981). We still need a consistent history of the role of anthropology during the Second World War 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.

The Second World War 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 way 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, 2006; Vakhtin, 2006). Anthropology's real triumphant and booming period started after the Second World War. 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 and instead became 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 such as the United Nations and the World Bank.

In a period 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 50 years ago, Alfred Kroeber (1970 [1953]) surveyed world anthropology and published his findings in his well-known book *Anthropology Today*. Kroeber counted 2000 anthropologists worldwide, 600 of whom 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 the Second World War. When the Association of Social Anthropologists of
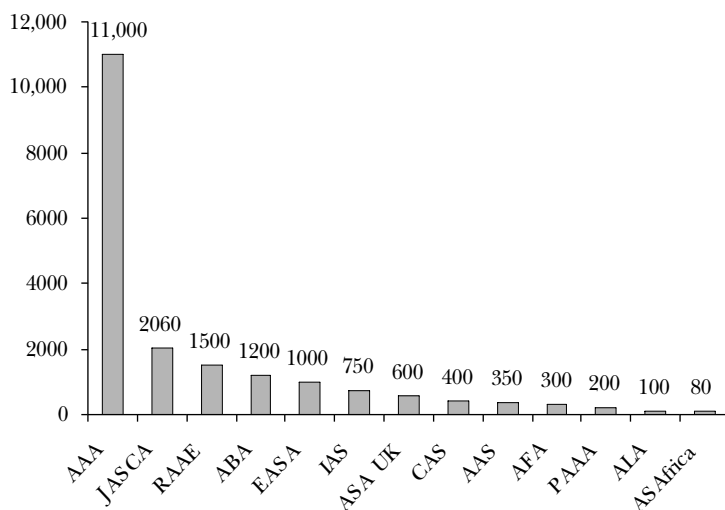
Figure 1 Membership of selected anthropological associations (2004)
Note: AAA, American Anthropological Association; JASCA, Japanese Society of Cultural Anthropology; RAAE, Russian Association of Anthropologists and Ethnologists; ABA, Brazilian Association of Anthropology; EASA, European Association 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.

the United Kingdom and the 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 the ASA has 600 members. As for Brazil, Otávio 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 1500 attended the Brazilian meeting (Figure 1 shows the approximate membership of some of the largest anthropological associations in 2004).[6]

But political processes of the post-war period were soon to converge, in the 1960s, 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 spoke back, speaking with their own voices, and criticized anthropology as an instrument 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, 2006).

Afro-Americans forced the US 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 Vietnam War mobilized hearts and minds against the simplistic and fierce Cold-Warrior's geopolitics and nationalism. The 'age of innocence' of anthropology (Wolf, 1974 [1969]) was over 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, raising new ethical and political problems (Wolf and Jorgensen, 1975).[7] 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-representations (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 has pervaded anthropology since the end of the 19th century, phrases it this way: anthropology is either co-responsible for the problems created by the expansion of the West or it is a tool for better human understanding.[8]

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' volume, *Reinventing Anthropology* (1974 [1969]), Talal Asad's *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (1973), 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 (1989–91), finishing the Cold War period and inaugurating the present moment which may be called an era of really existing globalization. A triumphant capitalism lost its counterpart, became increasingly transnationalized and extended its capillarity to previously closed territories and markets. Real globalization created ever 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 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 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, and the structures of sociocultural 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 were internationalized, thus reinforcing 'native' political movements and the culturalization of politics.

The two major crises of anthropology described above were closely 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 increased importance of the non-hegemonic anthropologists in the production and reproduction of knowledge. However, in spite of this new situation international cross-fertilization has happened within a very limited universe composed of a restricted number of partners. I am not so much concerned with 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 (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, however, is particularly interesting when noticed in a discipline that praises diversity so dearly.

Heteroglossia in anthropological production should start with the recognition of an enormous production in different world locales that needs to gain visibility if we take seriously the role of diversity in the construction of denser discourses and in cross-fertilization. Second, it should mean an awareness of the unequal exchanges of information that occur within the world system of anthropology (Kuwayama, 2004) and a deliberate political position that intends to go beyond this situation towards a more egalitarian and hence enriching environment. Finally, it should also

mean 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 as to changes in the relationships among anthropologists located in different loci of the world system. Esteban Krotz (2002: 399) also envisions profound transformations in this same direction. For him, there is a need for '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 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 past 15 years, how can we establish new conditions of academic exchange and regimes of visibility?

Towards world anthropologies

The existing uneven exchange of information and theory within anthropology 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, 2002); 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. Indeed, the international circulation of ideas is heavily intertwined with power relations and may itself 'have the effect of constructing and reinforcing inequality' (L'Estoile et al., 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, 2006). On the one hand, state elites impose a control of the critical potential of anthropological production and theories. On the other hand, they strive to 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 mentioned before,

even in non-authoritarian regimes, such as the North-American one, anthropology may be called on to develop similar roles and also 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). Suffice it to say that anthropologists (re)create contradictory ideologies of national unity or diversity that are anchored in the perceived authority of academic production and often are reflected through policies of state apparatuses (in education and culture or in the administration of ethnic conflicts) and through the political positions of civil society's agents such as NGOs. The dilemmas that Australian anthropologists (Toussaint, 2006) are facing regarding the authority of anthropology in aboriginal land struggles that reach the national judiciary system are 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 in relation to the national and international interests of states regarding the status of the native populations 'found' in the territories and states traditionally controlled or in new colonial areas (L'Estoile et al., 2002).

We need to dwell a little more on the relationships between anthropology and empire-building, anthropology and colonialism. Notwithstanding works such as those by Asad (1973) and Stocking (1991), we are still to see a study that thoroughly sorts out the complicated relationships between the discipline and colonial administration (Ben-Ari, 1999). On the one hand, anthropology may have provided support for local opponents of colonialism. On the other hand, Ben-Ari (1999) 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, L'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.[9]

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 part of post-colonial debates on nation-building (Visvanathan, 2006), 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, 2006). Nativist approaches may also be a reaction to the existence of a body of literature and of foreign intellectuals who maintain the valid standards of interpretation of a given culture or country. Velho (2006) argues that the absence of Brazilianists – foreign scholars specializing in Brazil – contributed to hindering 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 Smart, 2006; Vakhtin, 2006). 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 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 in 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 only at the highest levels as the language of administration, science and high culture, and 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 (2006) 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, 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 those of methodological order, regarding mainly the nature of the intersubjective encounter and the role of estrangement in the construction of anthropological knowledge.

Anthropologies of empire-building/anthropologies of nation-building

One of the best established dichotomies that exist 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 of anthropology tout court/anthropology at home (a rather popular phrasing in the US) indicates that for the so-called imperial anthropologies the discipline means research abroad and that doing research at 'home' is not similarly valued. But Stocking's dilemma 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 the reverse 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 just not the case. First, there are anthropologies of difference-building. Second, there are 'national anthropologies', such as the Australian, Brazilian, Canadian and Mexican ones, that may go international without succumbing to 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 (2006) has also shown that one hegemonic anthropology, such as France's, may be 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 both 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, 2005a) points to the existence of post-national and post-imperial anthropologies in which several reversals of power positions are to be sought. Since an important post-imperial quest is to provincialize the United States through the critique, for instance, of its mediascapes and ideascapes (on these notions see Appadurai, 1990), 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. At the same time that we need to do research on the subalterns of the South, we need 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 for providing certain groups, powerful or powerless ones, with knowledge that 'legitimates' claims over ethnic and cultural diversity as well as over access to natural and social resources.

Post-imperial world anthropologies will develop through theoretical critique but also, and perhaps more importantly, through the political activity of those who 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 the main factor underpinning the existence of the World

Anthropologies Network (www.ram-wan.org). This is also why Arturo Escobar and I organized an International Symposium on World Anthropologies in March 2003, in Italy, from which a book emerged (Ribeiro and Escobar, 2006). This is also the reason why Paul Little and I organized a meeting in Recife, Brazil, in June 2004, that brought together 14 presidents of major national and international anthropological associations to discuss new 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 awareness of the importance of the Recife meeting and the enthusiasm of all the representatives of these anthropological institutions showed that the time was 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 goal to promote more diverse and equal exchanges between anthropologies and anthropologists worldwide (see www.wcaanet.org).

Much more is yet to be done. I considered, in another article, other possible initiatives to enhance cosmopolitanism in the global anthropological scenario. Translation of different anthropological materials into English, for instance, is highly necessary but not enough.

> If we want to avoid linguistic monotony, we also need to increase the quantity of heterodox exchanges and translations. German anthropologists should be translated into Japanese, Mexicans into German, Australians into Portuguese, Brazilians into Russian, and so on. National congresses of anthropology could always include sessions and debates on other forms of anthropological knowledge and on how to improve anthropological diversity within the international community of anthropologists. . . . We can take advantage of several means and processes that are already in place, such as online communication and the increased presence of international participants at national anthropology congresses. An electronic collection of classics from different countries and a global anthropology e-journal are real possibilities. (Ribeiro 2005b: 5)

Asymmetric ignorance: metropolitan provincialism and provincial cosmopolitanism

In an article inspired by 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' (2005: 100). Two notions are helpful to understand this situation. They refer to what Dipesh Chakrabarty (2000: 28) called asymmetric ignorance and I call a tension between metropolitan provincialism and provincial cosmopolitanism.

Metropolitan provincialism and provincial cosmopolitanism are based on the existing unequal relations in the global symbolic economy. I will give a brief definition of both notions. Metropolitan 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 curious albeit common situations as the fact that the history of universal anthropology (i.e. of hegemonic anthropologies) is known and studied by non-hegemonic anthropologists but the reverse 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 at best are seldom taught, even in their own countries. Classics include almost exclusively foreign anthropologists.

In many graduate programs outside the hegemonic core, being able to read at least two languages other than one's own is mandatory. Indeed both metropolitan provincialism and provincial cosmopolitism 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). Renato Ortiz (2004) 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 into it. In the United States and England, less than 5 percent of the publications are translations, while in France and Germany this number is around 12 percent and in Spain and Italy it is up to 20 percent. Here is an important angle of the sociolinguistic basis from which metropolitan provincialism stems. We may suppose that the opposite is true: the less important a language the more translations there will be. This would be one of the sociolinguistic sources 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 of our passing 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 broad and serious critiques, mono-style anthropology can be considered an impediment for a multicentric global anthropology.

Centrality is both 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 major centers of production 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 specific 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 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 for cross-fertilization scattered in different 'glocales', with a potential for creativity impossible to be found in a single place. There is sociological and linguistic evidence that such a creativity is located in and coming from non-hegemonic locales, since provincial cosmopolitanism allows for a more differentiated vision of the discipline as an international discourse. This is not a call for ignoring the important contributions hegemonic anthropologies have made and continue to make to knowledge. Quite the contrary, I mentioned 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 Atlantic-centric interpretations suppose. It is time to strive for multicentrism in lieu of one or a few kinds of centrism.

Final comments

Ben-Ari (1999: 402–3) 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' yet another chapter of 'disciplinary politics' made possible by this moment of increased globalization? While it is correct to say that, as in any power field, anthropologists and other scholars also strive for power, in our discipline critiques play other roles besides being a part of 'electoral politics', as Trouillot (1991) called it.[10] Critiques 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. Proposing 'world anthropologies' is obviously not a resentful claim of authenticity nor a resentful perspective on hegemonic anthropology. The pretension of a nativist perspective has been 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, 2006). 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 (2006) 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' (p. 287).

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 for widening 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) realize that diversity is an asset of humankind.

In this text, I wanted to avoid an intellectualist approach to the problems that theory in anthropology has faced in the past and still faces 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 to do with the relations between anthropologists and differentiated sociocultural segments, and those related to the pretension of anthropology to be the universally valid discourse on alterity.

I wrote in another text (Ribeiro, 2004) that 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 and turn its critique onto itself, magnifying and redefining its interests, attributes and theories. The abundance of alternatives has become 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 and subjects 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 in any assessment of the frontiers of anthropological knowledge. Indeed, a globalized world is a perfect scenario for anthropology to thrive since one of our discipline'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   This article is a result of several exchanges with different colleagues. I first presented it as a conference in the international seminar '¿A dónde va la antropología?', 23 September 2004, in celebration of the 30 years of the Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana – Iztapalapa, Mexico City. I also benefited from a presentation I did in a colloquium in the Department of Anthropology of the University of North Carolina in August 2004. In February 2005 I discussed these issues with colleagues of the Japanese Society of Cultural Anthropology, in a meeting in the Department of Anthropology of the University of Osaka. In July 2005 it was presented at a conference in the First Latin American Congress of Anthropology in Rosario, Argentina. The present text is, to a great extent, the result of a process that also included the organization, with Arturo Escobar, of an International Symposium sponsored by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research and held in Podernone, Italy, in March 2003. In Ribeiro and Escobar (2006) the reader will be able to find the results of the Symposium 'World Anthropologies: Disciplinary Transformations within Systems of Power'. Several passages of this text are also part of the introduction of the book by that name. I thank Alcida Ramos, Eduardo Restrepo, Marisol de la Cadena and Susana Narotsky for their comments and suggestions as well as all the colleagues who took their time to discuss it with me. The reviewers of *Critique of Anthropology* helped me to introduce a few changes that made, I hope, my arguments clearer.

2   But if it is true that the distinction of anthropology lies in its history of thinking alterity and diversity, it cannot be exclusively reduced to it. For many anthropologists notions such as 'otherness' and 'alterity' are problematic. I thank Eduardo Restrepo for reminding me of this.

3   Esteban Krotz (2002: 353) calls 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.

4   In the early 1970s, 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) considered 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'.

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

6   This graphic 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.

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

8 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'.

9 '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: 75–6). Scientific superiority would be a peaceful and convincing means to show the legitimacy of the colonial enterprise, something that in France enjoyed 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' (p. 77).

10 Electoral politics is 'the set of institutionalized practices and relations of power that influence 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).

References

Albert, Bruce (1995) 'O Ouro Canibal e a Queda do Céu: Uma Crítica Xamânica da Economia Política da Natureza', *Série Antropologia* 174. Brasília: Universidade de Brasília.

Anderson, Benedict (1991) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso.

Appadurai, Arjun (1990) 'Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy', in Mike Featherstone (ed.) *Global Culture*, pp. 295–310. London: Sage.

Archetti, Eduardo P. (2006) 'How Many "Centers" and "Peripheries" in Anthropology? A Critical View on France', in Gustavo Lins Ribeiro and Arturo Escobar (eds) *World Anthropologies: Disciplinary Transformations in Systems of Power*, pp. 113–32. Oxford: Berg.

Asad, Talal (1973) 'Introduction', in Talal Asad (ed.) *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*, pp. 1–19. Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press.

Askew, David (2003) 'The Debate on the "Japanese" Race in Imperial Japan: Displacement or Coexistence?', *Japanese Review of Cultural Anthropology* 3: 79–96.

Barnes, J.A. (1982) 'Social Science in India: Colonial Import, Indigenous Product, or Universal Truth?', in Husseim Fahim (ed.) *Indigenous Anthropology in Non-Western Countries*, pp. 19–34. Durham: Carolina Academic Press.

Ben-Ari, Eyal (1999) 'Colonialism, Anthropology and the Politics of Professionalization', in Jan van Bremen and Akitoshi Shimizu (eds) *Anthropology and Colonialism in Asia and Oceania*, pp. 382–409. Hong Kong: Curzon.

Benedict, Ruth (1946) *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Cardoso de Oliveira, Roberto (1999/2000) 'Peripheral Anthropologies "versus" Central Anthropologies', *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 4(2)/5(1): 10–30.

Castells, Manuel (1996) *The Rise of the Network Society*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh (2000) *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Cheah, Pheng and Bruce Robbins (eds) (1998) *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Clifford, James (1992) 'Traveling Cultures', in L. Grossberg, C. Nelson and P. Treichler (eds) *Cultural Studies*, pp. 96–116. New York and London: Routledge.

Copans, Jean (1974) *Antropologia: ciência das sociedades primitivas?* Lisbon: Edições 70.

Copans, Jean (ed.) (1975) *Anthropologie et impérialisme*. Paris: François Maspero.

Danda, Ajit K. (1995) *Foundations of Anthropology: India*. New Delhi: Inter-India Publications.

De la Cadena, Marisol (2006) 'The Production of Other Knowledges and its Tensions: From Andeanist Anthropology to Interculturalidad?', in Gustavo Lins Ribeiro and Arturo Escobar (eds) *World Anthropologies: Disciplinary Transformations in Systems of Power*, pp. 201–24. Oxford: Berg.

Diamond, Stanley (1964) 'A Revolutionary Discipline', *Current Anthropology* 5: 432–7.

Escobar, Arturo (1995) *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Fabian, Johannes (2006) '"World Anthropologies": Questions', in Gustavo Lins Ribeiro and Arturo Escobar (eds) *World Anthropologies: Disciplinary Transformations in Systems of Power*, pp. 281–95. Oxford: Berg.

Goldman, Marcio and Federico Neiburg (2002) 'Da nação ao império: a Guerra e os estudos do "caráter nacional"', in Benoît de L'Estoile, Federico Neiburg and Lygia Sigaud (eds) *Antropologia, impérios e estados nacionais*, pp. 187–217. Rio de Janeiro: Relume Dumará/FAPERJ.

Gough, Kathleen (1975) 'Des propositions nouvelles pour les anthropologues', in Jean Copans (ed.) *Anthropologie et impérialisme*, pp. 17–59. Paris: François Maspero.

Hamel, Rainer Enrique (2003) *Language Empires, Linguistic Imperialism and the Future of Global Languages*. Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, México (mimeo).

Harvey, David (1989) *The Condition of Post-Modernity*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Hymes, Dell (ed.) (1974 [1969]) *Reinventing Anthropology*. New York: Vintage Books.

Kashoki, Mubanga E. (1982) 'Indigenous Scholarship in African Universities: The Human Factor', in Hussein Fahim (ed.) *Indigenous Anthropology in Non-Western Countries*, pp. 35–51. Durham: Carolina Academic Press.

Kroeber, Alfred L. (1970 [1953]) 'Introduction', in Alfred L. Kroeber (ed.) *Anthropology Today*, pp. xiii–xv. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Krotz, Esteban (1997) 'Anthropologies of the South: Their Rising, Their Silencing, Their Characteristics', *Critique of Anthropology* 17(3): 237–51.

Krotz, Esteban (2002) *La otredad cultural entre utopía y ciencia: Un estúdio sobre el origen, el desarrollo y la reorientación de la antropología*. Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana – Unidad Iztapalapa/Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Krotz, Esteban (2006) 'Mexican Anthropology's Ongoing Search for Identity', in Gustavo Lins Ribeiro and Arturo Escobar (eds) *World Anthropologies: Disciplinary Transformations in Systems of Power*, pp. 87–109. Oxford: Berg.

Kuwayama, Takami (2004) *Native Anthropology: The Japanese Challenge to Western Academic Hegemony*. Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press.

L'Estoile, Benoît de (2002) 'Ciência do homem e "dominação racional": saber etnológico e política indígena na África Colonial Francesa', in Benoît de L'Estoile, Federico Neiburg and Lygia Sigaud (eds) *Antropologia, impérios e estados nacionais*, pp. 61–93. Rio de Janeiro: Relume Dumará/FAPERJ.

L'Estoile, Benoît de, Federico Neiburg and Lygia Sigaud (2002) 'Antropologia, impérios e estados nacionais: uma abordagem comparativa', in Benoît de L'Estoile, Federico Neiburg and Lygia Sigaud (eds) *Antropologia, impérios e etados nacionais*, pp. 9–37. Rio de Janeiro: Relume Dumará/FAPERJ.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude (1966) 'Anthropology: Its Achievement and Future', *Current Anthropology* 7: 124–7.

Lomnitz, Claudio (2002) 'A antropologia entre fronteiras: dialética de uma tradição nacional (México)', in Benoît de L'Estoile, Federico Neiburg and Lygia Sigaud (eds) *Antropologia, impérios e estados nacionais*, pp. 125–58. Rio de Janeiro: Relume Dumará/FAPERJ.

Mafeje, Archie (2001) 'Anthropology in Post-Independence Africa: End of an Era and the Problem of Self-Redefinition', in Archie Mafeje (ed.) *African Social Scientists Reflections, Part 1*, pp. 28–74. Nairobi: Heinrich Boll Foundation.

Nkwi, Paul Nchoji (2006) 'Anthropology in a Post-Colonial Africa: The Survival Debate', in Gustavo Lins Ribeiro and Arturo Escobar (eds) *World Anthropologies: Disciplinary Transformations in Systems of Power*, pp. 157–78. Oxford: Berg.

Ortiz, Renato (2004) 'As ciências sociais e o Inglês', *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais* 19(54): 5–22.

Peirano, Mariza (1991) 'The Anthropology of Anthropology: The Brazilian Case', *Série Antropologia no. 110*. Brasília: Universidade de Brasília.

Pina Cabral, João de (2004) 'Uma história de sucesso: a antropologia brasileira vista de longe', in Wilson Trajano Filho and Gustavo Lins Ribeiro (eds) *O campo da antropologia no Brasil*, pp. 249–65. Rio de Janeiro/Brasília: Contracapa/ABA.

Restrepo, Eduardo and Arturo Escobar (2005) 'Other Anthropologies and Anthropology Otherwise: Steps to a World Anthropology Network', *Critique of Anthropology* 25(2): 99–128.

Ribeiro, Gustavo Lins (1998) 'Cybercultural Politics: Political Activism at a Distance in a Transnational World', in Sonia Alvarez, Evelina Dagnino and Arturo Escobar (eds) *Cultures of Politics/Politics of Cultures: Revisioning Latin American Social Movements*, pp. 325–52. Boulder: Westview.

Ribeiro, Gustavo Lins (2003) *Postimperialismo. Cultura y política en el mundo contemporáneo*. Barcelona/Buenos Aires: Gedisa.

Ribeiro, Gustavo Lins (2004) 'Practicing Anthropology in Brazil: A Retrospective Look at Two Time Periods', *Practical Anthropology* 26(3): 5–9.

Ribeiro, Gustavo Lins (2005a) 'Post-imperialism: A Latin American Cosmopolitics', *Série Antropologia no. 375*. Brasília: Universidade de Brasília.

Ribeiro, Gustavo Lins (2005b) 'A Different Global Scenario in Anthropology', *Anthropology News* 46(7): 5–6.

Ribeiro, Gustavo Lins and Arturo Escobar (2002) 'World Anthropologies: Disciplinary Transformations within Systems of Power.' Organizers' Statement, International Symposium of the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. Mimeo.

Ribeiro, Gustavo Lins and Arturo Escobar (eds) (2006) *World Anthropologies: Disciplinary Transformations in Systems of Power*. Oxford: Berg.

Robertson, Roland (1995) 'Glocalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity/Heterogeneity', in Mike Featherstone et al. (eds) *Global Modernities*, pp. 25–44. London: Sage.

Smart, Josie (2006) 'In Search of Anthropology in China', in Gustavo Lins Ribeiro and Arturo Escobar (eds) *World Anthropologies: Disciplinary Transformations in Systems of Power*, pp. 69–85. Oxford: Berg.

Souza Lima, Antonio de (2002) 'Indigenismo no Brasil: migração e reapropriações de um saber administrativo', in Benoît de L'Estoile, Federico Neiburg and Lygia Sigaud (eds) *Antropologia, impérios e estados nacionais*, pp. 159–86. Rio de Janeiro: Relume Dumará/FAPERJ.

Stocking, George W. (1982) 'Afterword: A View from the Center', *Ethnos* 47(1): 173–86.

Stocking, George W. (1991) *Colonial Situations: Essays on the Contextualization of Ethnographic Knowledge*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Suzuki, Peter T. (1981) 'Anthropologists in the Wartime Camps for Japanese-Americans: A Documentary Study', *Dialectical Anthropology* 5(1): 33–46.

Toussaint, Sandy (2006) 'A Time and Place Beyond and of the Centre: Australian Anthropologists in the Process of Becoming', in Gustavo Lins Ribeiro and Arturo Escobar (eds) *World Anthropologies: Disciplinary Transformations in Systems of Power*, pp. 225–38. Oxford: Berg.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph (1991) 'Anthropology and the Savage Slot: The Poetics and Politics of Otherness', in Richard Fox (ed.) *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*, pp. 18–44. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

Turner, Terence (1994) 'Anthropology and Multiculturalism: What Is Anthropology that Multiculturalists Should Be Mindful of It?', in David Theo Goldberg (ed.) *Multiculturalism: A Critical Reader*, pp. 406–25. Cambridge, MA and Oxford: Blackwell.

Vakhtin, Nikolai (2006) 'Transformations in Siberian Anthropology', in Gustavo Lins Ribeiro and Arturo Escobar (eds) *World Anthropologies: Disciplinary Transformations in Systems of Power*, pp. 49–68. Oxford: Berg.

Velho, Otávio G. (1980) 'Antropologia para Sueco Ver', *Dados. Revista de Ciências Sociais* 23(1): 19–91.

Velho, Otávio G. (2006) 'The Pictographics of *Tristesse*: An Anthropology of Nation-building in the Tropics and its Aftermath', in Gustavo Lins Ribeiro and Arturo Escobar (eds) *World Anthropologies: Disciplinary Transformations in Systems of Power*, pp. 261–79. Oxford: Berg.

Visvanathan, Shiv (2006) 'Official Hegemony and Contesting Pluralisms', in Gustavo Lins Ribeiro and Arturo Escobar (eds) *World Anthropologies: Disciplinary Transformations in Systems of Power*, pp. 239–58. Oxford: Berg.

Weber, Florence (2002) 'A ciência social em guerra: folclore, história e estado na França (1937–1945)', in Benoît de L'Estoile, Federico Neiburg and Lygia Sigaud (eds) *Antropologia, impérios e estados nacionais*, pp. 219–34. Rio de Janeiro: Relume Dumará/FAPERJ.

Werbner, Pnina (1997) 'Introduction: The Dialectics of Cultural Hybridity', in Pnina Werbner and Tariq Modood (eds) *Debating Cultural Hybridity. Multi-Cultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-Racism*, pp. 1–26. London: Zed Books.

Wolf, Eric R. (1974 [1969]) 'American Anthropologists and American Society', in Dell Hymes (ed.) *Reinventing Anthropology*, pp. 251–63. New York: Vintage Books.

Wolf, Eric R. and Joseph G. Jorgensen (1975) 'L'Anthropologie sur le sentier de la guerre en Thaïlande', in Jean Copans (ed.) *Anthropologie et impérialisme*, pp. 61–93. Paris: François Maspero.

Yamashita, Shinji (1998) 'Introduction: Viewing Anthropology from Japan', *Japanese Review of Cultural Anthropology* 1: 3–6.

Yamashita, Shinji (2006) 'Reshaping Anthropology: A View from Japan', in Gustavo Lins Ribeiro and Arturo Escobar (eds) *World Anthropologies: Disciplinary Transformations in Systems of Power*, pp. 29–48. Oxford: Berg.

■ **Gustavo Lins Ribeiro** is a researcher at the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development of Brazil (CNPq). He was a member of the Advisory Council of the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research and Advisory Editor of *Current Anthropology*, president of the Brazilian Association of Anthropology (ABA) (2002–4) and the facilitator of the World Council of Anthropological Associations (2004–5). He has published books and articles in Latin America, North America, Europe and Asia on development, globalization and transnationalism. *Address*: Department of Anthropology, University of Brasilia, Brasilia, DF, 71910-900, Brazil. [email: gustavor@unb.br]