A Companion to the Anthropology of Politics

Edited by David Nugent
and Joan Vincent

Blackwell
Publishing

A Companion to
the Anthropology
of Politics

The *Blackwell Companions to Anthropology* offer a series of comprehensive syntheses of the traditional subdisciplines, primary subjects, and geographic areas of inquiry for the field. Taken together, the series represents both a contemporary survey of anthropology and a cutting edge guide to the emerging research and intellectual trends in the field as a whole.

1 *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*
edited by Alessandro Duranti
2 *A Companion to the Anthropology of Politics*
edited by David Nugent and Joan Vincent
3 *A Companion to the Anthropology of American Indians*
edited by Thomas Biolsi
4 *A Companion to Psychological Anthropology*
edited by Conerly Casey and Robert B. Edgerton
5 *A Companion to the Anthropology of Japan*
edited by Jennifer Robertson

Forthcoming

A Companion to Latin American Anthropology
edited by Deborah Poole

A Companion to the Anthropology of Politics

Edited by David Nugent
and Joan Vincent

Blackwell
Publishing

© 2004, 2007 by Blackwell Publishing Ltd

BLACKWELL PUBLISHING
350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148-5020, USA
9600 Garsington Road, Oxford OX4 2DQ, UK
550 Swanston Street, Carlton, Victoria 3053, Australia

The right of David Nugent and Joan Vincent to be identified as the Authors of the Editorial Material in this Work has been asserted in accordance with the UK Copyright, Designs, and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, except as permitted by the UK Copyright, Designs, and Patents Act 1988, without the prior permission of the publisher.

First published 2004 by Blackwell Publishing Ltd
First published in paperback 2007 by Blackwell Publishing Ltd

1 2007

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A companion to the anthropology of politics / edited by David Nugent and Joan Vincent.
p. cm. – (Blackwell companions to anthropology)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-631-22972-8 (alk. paper)
1. Political anthropology. I. Nugent, David. II. Vincent, Joan. III. Anthropology of politics. IV. Series.

GN492.C66 2004
306.2–dc22

2003018395

ISBN-13: 978-0-631-22972-8 (alk. paper)
ISBN-13: 978-1-4051-6190-9 (pbk. : alk. paper)
ISBN-10: 1-4051-6190-6 (pbk. : alk. paper)

A catalogue record for this title is available from the British Library.

Set in 10/12.5pt Galliard
by Kolam Information Services Pvt. Ltd, Pondicherry, India
Printed and bound in the United Kingdom
by TJ International Ltd, Padstow, Cornwall

The publisher's policy is to use permanent paper from mills that operate a sustainable forestry policy, and which has been manufactured from pulp processed using acid-free and elementary chlorine-free practices. Furthermore, the publisher ensures that the text paper and cover board used have met acceptable environmental accreditation standards.

For further information on
Blackwell Publishing, visit our website:
www.blackwellpublishing.com

Contents

Synopsis of Contents viii

Preface xv

Notes on Contributors xvi

Introduction 1
Joan Vincent

1 Affective States 4
Ann Laura Stoler

2 After Socialism 21
Katherine Verdery

3 AIDS 37
Brooke Grundfest Schoepf

4 Citizenship 55
Aihwa Ong

5 Cosmopolitanism 69
Ulf Hannerz

6 Development 86
Marc Edelman and Angelique Haugerud

7 Displacement 107
Elizabeth Colson

8 Feminism 121
Malathi de Alwis

9 Gender, Race, and Class 135
Micaela di Leonardo

10 Genetic Citizenship 152
Deborah Heath, Rayna Rapp, and Karen-Sue Taussig

11 The Global City 168
Saskia Sassen

12 Globalization 179
Jonathan Friedman

13 Governing States 198
David Nugent

14 Hegemony 216
Gavin Smith

15 Human Rights 231
Richard Ashby Wilson

16 Identity 248
Arturo Escobar

17 Imagining Nations 267
Akhil Gupta

18 Infrapolitics 282
Steven Gregory

19 "Mafias" 303
Jane C. and Peter T. Schneider

20 Militarization 318
Catherine Lutz

21 Neoliberalism 332
John Gledhill

22 Popular Justice 349
Robert Gordon

23 Postcolonialism 367
K. Sivaramakrishnan

24 Power Topographies 383
James Ferguson

25 Race Technologies 400
Thomas Biolsi

26 Sovereignty 418
Caroline Humphrey

27 Transnational Civil Society 437
June Nash

28 Transnationality 448
Nina Glick Schiller

Index 468

Synopsis of Contents

1 Affective States

Ann Laura Stoler

In this essay, Stoler challenges the assumption that the mastery of reason, rationality, and the exaggerated claims made for Enlightenment principles have been at the political foundation of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century colonial regimes and should be at the center of critical histories of them. Colonial states and their architects were focused instead on the racially appropriate distribution of sentiments, on racialized assessments of affective dispositions, and their beneficent and dangerous political effects. Analyzing the staging and aftermath of a demonstration of Dutch-born and creole Europeans in Java in May 1848, she examines the strain between parental feelings and political allegiance and what urgent efforts Dutch authorities made to educate the affective habits of both.

2 After Socialism

Katherine Verdery

A defining characteristic of former socialist societies was their property order, distinctive from that of capitalist societies. This chapter discusses how socialist property was organized, with examples drawn from agriculture, and explores the implications for post-1989 transformations toward private ownership in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

3 AIDS

Brooke Grundfest Schoepf

Political and economic interests have shaped response to the AIDS pandemic from the outset. Struggles over meanings and resources, and their effects on prevention and treatment policy, are analyzed with special reference to Africa, where the author has conducted AIDS prevention research since 1985. The results of these struggles

have implications for the rest of the world, wherever poverty, violence, and inequality create HIV risk that cannot be overcome by individual actions.

4 Citizenship
Aihwa Ong

Against the background of debates that globalization has led to claims for mutlicultural citizenship, this chapter considers how neoliberal techniques are remaking the spatial, social, and moral borders of the nation. The capacity of entrepreneurial figures to manipulate and transform borders into values of trade and production has restructured the value of capital and labor across transnational space, leading to a "splintering" of citizenship. Two alternative interventions to the proliferation of transborder assemblages of human needs are suggested. Strategies can be informed by an ethics of corporate reciprocity on the one hand, or by an informal moral economy on the other, requiring many agents to distribute different kinds of material, technical, and social goods in the interest of achieving a kind of complex equality across the spaces of global capital.

5 Cosmopolitanism
Ulf Hannerz

There is a cosmopolitanism of culture and a cosmopolitanism in politics – is there a connection between them? This chapter explores that issue, and several other questions relating to this complex concept and its place in an interconnected world. Are cosmopolitans always members of the elite, or are the social bases of cosmopolitanism now changing? Can cosmopolitans have roots? Does cosmopolitanism in politics aim at a world government, or are there other alternatives in building an acceptable world order? What are bottom-up and top-down cosmopolitanisms? What is the place of cosmopolitanism in an unequal world?

6 Development
Marc Edelman and Angelique Haugerud

"Development" is a slippery concept that has attracted attention from an astonishing array of scholars. This essay explores the Enlightenment roots of debates about development; the clash of radical and mainstream paradigms such as twentieth-century theories of imperialism, modernization, and dependency; and the rise of economic neoliberalism. Anthropology absorbed the seismic changes of the new free-market regime partly by culturalizing and dehistoricizing globalization, and by downplaying its political-economic and legal dimensions.

7 Displacement
Elizabeth Colson

The political implications of the massive population displacements characteristic of the current world are a challenge to those concerned with how people engage with one another in political action. Political anthropologists who study displacement deal with questions of identity, processes of estrangement and stigmatization, definitions

of boundaries and citizenship, the strategic resources of diasporas, and how all of this impacts upon evolving definitions of an international political order.

8 Feminism
Malathi de Alwis

This chapter revisits the Strathernian formulation of an awkward relationship between anthropology and feminism. It explores the category of the "political" through an ethnography of a Sinhalese women's protest movement, but seen from the perspective of the anthropologist as feminist, who struggles with the contradictions inherent in participant observation.

9 Gender, Race, and Class
Micaela di Leonardo

Feminist scholarship on gender, class, and race politics has matured over the last quarter-century. But globalizing neoliberal capitalism and the growth of purblind idealist postmodern scholarship have conjoined to deflect attention from progressive scholarly and popular analyses. An historical and ethnographic consideration of "home" in America illustrates the productiveness of a feminist "culture and political economy" epistemic frame in political analysis.

10 Genetic Citizenship
Deborah Heath, Rayna Rapp, and Karen-Sue Taussig

This chapter examines the dispersed power relations and cultural-technical alliances that characterize the geneticization of contemporary science and social life. Illustrated with examples from our multi-site fieldwork on genetic knowledge production, our analysis draws on insights from science studies, feminist scholarship and queer theory, disability studies, and ongoing discussions of emergent forms of citizenship. Within a technically mediated public sphere, identities and alliances are transformed, calling into question the distinction between the subjects and objects of scientific inquiry.

11 The Global City
Saskia Sassen

The organizing theme of this chapter is that a focus on cities allows us to see a variety of processes as part of globalization in a way that the typical focus on macrolevel cross-border processes does not. What are often barely visible or recognizable localizations of the global assume presence in cities. The global city in particular enables global corporate capital, by providing specialized capabilities and world-class supplies of professional workers. But it also can function as a space of empowerment for disadvantaged groups because it enables forms of politics and types of political actors excluded from the formal national political system.

12 Globalization
Jonathan Friedman

This chapter focuses on the relation between class formation and the dynamics of global process. It suggests that class is an extremely important parameter of analysis that has been overlooked by most of the anthropological literature on globalization. After arguing that class relations have a definite cultural content and are susceptible to ethnographic scrutiny, the chapter locates class as a process in relation to larger global processes, suggesting that class structure in European states represents something of a "structure of the long run." The chapter continues with a comparative historical analysis of the discourses of global elites, and argues that current multicultural/hybrid discourses about globalization are a rerun of earlier elite discourses. This implies that many of the contemporary assumptions concerning globalization are socially positioned ideological products rather than examples of scientific analysis.

13 Governing States
David Nugent

This chapter develops a critical commentary on Weberian and post-Weberian approaches to the state. Drawing on ethnographic material from the northern Peruvian Andes, it shows the importance of distinguishing state (in the Weberian sense) from governmentality (in the Foucauldian sense). Most scholars have treated the governmental states of Western Europe as normative, and in the process have obscured the broad range of forces that have sought to order national societies in relation to the extraction of wealth and the accumulation of capital.

14 Hegemony
Gavin Smith

A term made important in social science and the humanities by Antonio Gramsci, hegemony refers to the complex way in which power infuses the various levels of the social world: social reproduction, social practices, and the constituting of the social person. Beginning with an understanding of how the term emerges from the historical context and epistemology of Gramsci's writings, the essay then explores the possible usefulness and limitations of the term for current social and political analysis.

15 Human Rights
Richard Ashby Wilson

Cultural relativism in the Boasian tradition obstructed the anthropological study of human rights in the years immediately after World War II, but the rise of Marxism and opposition to the Vietnam war raised the profile of social justice issues in the discipline. This focus became more explicitly rights-oriented in the 1990s with the rise of globalization literature and global justice institutions such as the UN International Criminal Courts. Anthropological studies during this time have enhanced debates about globalization by emphasizing social agency, context, and history, and the plurality of the global order.

16 Identity
Arturo Escobar

Identity has become a major topic in the battlefields of theory and of politics. When connected to the study of social movements, identities can be shown to be central to the contestation over meanings and practices of world-making. This chapter features the novel ethnic identities of black groups in the Colombian Pacific rainforest region, showing their contribution to alternative forms of understanding nature, development, globalization, and modernity itself.

17 Imagining Nations
Akhil Gupta

This essay revisits theories of nationalism by focusing on questions of time and temporality, in particular, the question of whether the ideas of time central to Anderson's influential work on nationalism may not be usefully rethought from the perspective of Third World nationalism. Accordingly, notions of homogeneous, empty time, the modularity of the nation form, the seriality of the contingent, contested effort to forge a hegemonic nationalism, and the impact of late capitalism on national sovereignty are questioned.

18 Infrapolitics
Steven Gregory

This chapter examines the impact of neoliberal economic reforms associated with "globalization" on two communities on the southeast coast of the Dominican Republic. It is argued that an ethnographic perspective is critical to understanding how global processes are differentially materialized within the political and historical context of specific nation-states.

19 "Mafias"
Jane C. and Peter T. Schneider

Attempts to analyze "mafias" in general rely on a market model that pays scant attention to differences among groups, or to their respective political and cultural contexts. This approach makes it easy to imagine the coalescence of many organized crime formations into a global criminal network – the underside of capitalist globalization. Anthropological analyses of organized crime point rather to significant differences among criminal traditions, and to the importance of specific processes through which *mafiosi* "condition" and "provision" their respective environments.

20 Militarization
Catherine Lutz

This chapter suggests a theoretical account of militarization and its relationship to broader social changes, from the emergence of nation-states to the course of racialization and other inequalities to the convergence of interests in military spending. It gives a terse account of the twentieth-century history of the militarization process and

of the distinct modes of warfare that have developed over that time, and suggests how we can connect these global and national histories with specific ethnographically understood places and people.

21 Neoliberalism
John Gledhill

Starting from debates about whether neoliberalism as originally understood is now behind us, this analysis demonstrates that the neoliberal model of a market society is far more radical than that of classical liberalism and continues to play an important role in shaping the logic of political processes. The chapter concludes with examples of contemporary challenges to this "deep neoliberalization."

22 Popular Justice
Robert Gordon

Increasing disorder in many parts of the world has led to the rise of vigilantism, a phenomenon that raises questions about academic and popular conceptualizations of the state and law. Vigilantism is non-state-sponsored activity that mimics formal judicial processes. Focusing on vigilantism in South Africa, this chapter emphasizes the public spectacularity of its punishments and argues that vigilantes are double agents of law and order: In seeking to create it they undermine it.

23 Postcolonialism
K. Sivaramakrishnan

This chapter develops a commentary on the postcolonial condition in India through an analysis of representations of wildness, nature, and civility, and the practices of nature conservation. It also suggests new directions for postcolonial theory grounded in a political anthropology that simultaneously examines questions of interest and identity. It recommends multi-scale analyses of situations like the politics of nature conservation, where colonial oppositions between the wild and the civilized are reinvented in contemporary struggles over recognition and resources.

24 Power Topographies
James Ferguson

"Nation-building" and "state and society" approaches to African politics, while apparently opposed, in fact operate with an identical "topography of power" that imagines the national and the local as distinct "levels," one "above" and the other "below." By questioning this topography, and exploring the role of transnational institutions and processes in constituting and empowering both the national ("state") and the local ("civil society"), it is possible to obtain a different perspective on a range of theoretical and practical issues in the politics of contemporary Africa.

25 Race Technologies
Thomas Biolsi

This chapter disaggregates "Race" into the dispersed and strategic practices that produce racial identity and alterity in local settings. Drawing on the examples of White, Black, and Indian race-lines in the United States, four technologies of race are described: Making differentiating statements about the racial self and others, techniques of racial classifying, practices of racial mixing, and regimes of racial spacing, which together produce the apparently stable "races" we live both within and against.

26 Sovereignty
Caroline Humphrey

Most theories of sovereignty operate at the level of states and nations. This chapter interrogates these theories by investigating the everyday foundations of sovereign rule in a post-Soviet, Siberian city. The emphasis is on how spontaneous and ad hoc – almost molecular – accretions form into new structures of power, which can be recognized as "sovereign." An ethnography of a non-legal, "Mafia"-run urban domain is used to explore the relation between everyday and state sovereignty.

27 Transnational Civil Society
June Nash

Indigenous peoples throughout the Western hemisphere are seeking a new relationship with the nations within which they are encompassed. They are calling for full participation in civil society as autonomous subjects. This expansion of civil society is the culmination of earlier challenges to the seventeenth-century vision of a citizens' monitoring body by women and pluriethnic constituents. Indigenous struggles for autonomy thus extend the libertarian values that animated civil society of the eighteenth century to embrace collectivist principles derived from distinct traditions that reject the patriarchal premises of modern nations.

28 Transnationality
Nina Glick Schiller

Past scholarship that normalized and naturalized the nation-state hindered the emergence of transnational studies and distorted the study of migration. Stimulated by contemporary globalization, a transnational perspective on migration has emerged. The new perspective highlights the significance of transnational social fields, differentiating between *ways of being* and *ways of becoming*. However, the emergence of transnational studies may impede analysis of new global concentrations of imperial power.

Preface

In the course of completing this book we have accumulated many debts, personal and professional. It is impossible to thank everyone who has helped us, but certain people stand out. First and foremost, we would like to thank our contributors, whose stunningly original and insightful scholarship fills these pages. We have learned a great deal from them, and trust that readers will enjoy and benefit from their work as much as we have.

We would also like to express our gratitude to Blackwell's Jane Huber – the most human of editors. It was she who solicited the volume as a Companion to Blackwell's *Reader in the Anthropology of Politics: Theory, Ethnography, and Critique*, which appeared in November 2002. Jane's warmth, care, and inspiration have been indispensable throughout the long months we have worked on this project, and we will miss her humor and grace. May all authors be so fortunate as to have an editor as concerned and understanding as she. We also thank Jane's assistant editors, Sarah Coleman and Annie Lenth, for their contribution to the volume's final appearance.

Finally, we would like to thank family and friends, whose support and encouragement have been essential to the completion of this book.

The editors would like to dedicate this volume to Elizabeth Colson, in gratitude for her incomparable scholarship and a career of critical engagement with "things political."

David Nugent
Waterville, Maine

Joan Vincent
New York
21 June 2003

Notes on Contributors

Thomas Biolsi teaches Anthropology at Portland State University in Oregon. He has been conducting fieldwork on Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota for 20 years, and his research interests center on the history of United States Indian policy and the politics of Indian–White relations. His most recent book is "*Deadliest Enemies": Law and the Making of Race Relations on and off Rosebud Reservation*.

Elizabeth Colson is retired from the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley. She has also been attached as faculty or research associate to Manchester, Boston, and Brandeis Universities, the University of Zambia, and the Refugee Studies Centre at Oxford University. Much of her research over the past 50 years, especially that in Zambia where she is involved in a longitudinal study of a resettled population, has focused on the consequences of displacement.

Malathi de Alwis is a Senior Research Fellow at the International Centre for Ethnic Studies, Colombo, and Visiting Associate Professor of Anthropology at the Graduate Faculty, New School for Social Research, New York. She is the co-author, with Kumari Jayawardena, of *Casting Pearls: The Women's Franchise Movement in Sri Lanka*, the editor of *Cat's Eye: A Feminist Gaze on Current Issues*, and the co-editor (with Kumari Jayawardena) of *Embodied Violence: Communalizing Women's Sexuality in South Asia*.

Micaela di Leonardo is the Board of Lady Managers, Chicago Columbian Exposition Chair and Professor of Anthropology, Gender Studies, and Performance Studies at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. She writes both about race/ethnicity, gender/sexuality, and political economy in the United States and the intertwined American histories of scholarly work and popular culture. Her most recent book is *Exotics at Home: Anthropologies, Others, American Modernity*.

Marc Edelman teaches anthropology at Hunter College and the City University of New York Graduate Center. He has done research on agrarian history, rural development, social movements, and the nineteenth- and twentieth-century roots of national-

ism and contemporary politics in Latin America. In recent years he has been involved in research on transnational peasant and small farmer networks in Latin America, Europe, the United States, and Canada. His books include *The Logic of the Latifundio* and *Peasants Against Globalization*.

Arturo Escobar was born and grew up in Colombia. He teaches at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. His main interests are political ecology and the anthropology of development, social movements, and new technologies. He is the author of *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, and co-editor (with Sonia Alvarez and Evelina Dagnino) of *Cultures of Politics/ Politics of Culture: Revisioning Latin American Social Movements*. He is currently completing a book based on ten years of research in the Colombian Pacific.

James Ferguson is Professor of Anthropology at Stanford University. He has done research in Lesotho and Zambia, and has written about questions of power and the state; "development"; rural/urban relations and the question of modernity; and the theory and politics of ethnography. His most recent book is *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt*.

Jonathan Friedman is Directeur d'Études at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, and Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Lund, Sweden. He has done research in Southeast Asia, Oceania and Europe, and written widely on general issues concerning structuralist and Marxist theory, models of social and cultural transformation, global process, cultural formations, and the practices of identity. He is a co-editor of *Social Analysis, Anthropological Theory, Ethnos,* and *Theory,* and the author of *Worlds on the Move: System, Structure and Contradiction in the Evolution of "Asiatic" Social Formations* and (with Kajsa Ekholm-Friedman) *Essays in Global Anthropology.*

John Gledhill is Max Gluckman Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Manchester. His research has focused on rural society, politics, and social movements in Latin America, most recently the ethnography and history of the Nahuatl-speaking communities of the coastal sierras of Michoacán state in Mexico. His most recent book is *Power and Its Disguises: Anthropological Perspectives on Politics.*

Nina Glick Schiller is an anthropologist at the University of New Hampshire, Durham. Examining the constructions of categories of identity, she has worked with Haitians, the homeless mentally ill, and people with AIDS. Her most recent research explores the simultaneity of homeland ties and immigrant incorporation in small cities in the United States and Germany. Her latest book, co-authored with Georges Fouron, a Haitian scholar, is *Georges Woke up Laughing: Long Distance Nationalism and the Search for Home*.

Robert Gordon professes anthropology at the University of Vermont, Burlington. He has research experience in Papua New Guinea, Lesotho, South Africa, and Namibia. Among his publications are *The Bushman Myth* and *Law and Order in the*

New Guinea Highlands (with Mervyn Meggitt). Current research interests range from Tarzan to the history of colonial anthropology to domestic violence.

Steven Gregory teaches anthropology and African American studies at Columbia University, New York. He is the author of *Black Corona* and *Santería in New York: A Study in Cultural Resistance*. His most recent research examines the impact of neoliberal economic reforms and global processes in the Dominican Republic.

Akhil Gupta is Associate Professor in the Department of Cultural and Social Anthropology at Stanford University, California. He has done ethnographic research on agricultural communities and state bureaucracies in India, and has written extensively on space, place, and fieldwork. He is currently working on a project that looks at the implications of reincarnation for social theory, and another that is attempting to rethink theories of the state from the perspective of everyday practices and representations. He has edited *Caste and Outcast*, the autobiography of the first major Indo-American author, Dhan Gopal Mukerji.

Ulf Hannerz is Professor of Social Anthropology, Stockholm University, Sweden. He has taught at several American, European, and Australian universities and is a former Chair of the European Association of Social Anthropologists. His research has been especially in urban anthropology, media anthropology, and transnational cultural processes, and his most recent books in English are *Cultural Complexity*, *Transnational Connections*, and *Foreign News*. He was the anthropology editor for the 2001 edition of the *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*.

Angelique Haugerud is on the anthropology faculty at Rutgers University in New Jersey. She has conducted field research in East Africa during the past two decades and is the author of *The Culture of Politics in Modern Kenya*. She is co-editor (with M. Priscilla Stone and Peter D. Little) of *Commodities and Globalization: Anthropological Perspectives*.

Deborah Heath is Associate Professor of Anthropology, Lewis and Clark College, in Portland, Oregon. An early advocate of multi-site anthropology of science, her research on genetic knowledge production, including a stint as a full-time DNA sequencing technician, has tracked the translocal links between the lab and its wider worlds. She initiated the collaborative project "Mapping Genetic Knowledge," and is launching a new project on Beauty Science. Recent publications include the co-edited collection *Genetic Nature/Culture*.

Caroline Humphrey is Professor of Asian Anthropology at the University of Cambridge and a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. She has worked since 1966 in Asian parts of Russia, Mongolia, Inner Mongolia (China), India, and Nepal. Among her publications are *Karl Marx Collective: Economy, Society and Religion in a Siberian Collective Farm*; *Marx Went Away but Karl Stayed Behind*, and *The Unmaking of Soviet Life*.

Catherine Lutz teaches anthropology at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. She is the author of *Homefront: A Military City and the American Twentieth*

Century, Reading National Geographic (with Jane Collins), and *Unnatural Emotions.* She has also conducted studies on militarization and on domestic violence for activist organizations, including the American Friends Service Committee.

June Nash has done fieldwork in Chiapas, Mexico, Pathengyi, Burma, the tin-mining communities of Bolivia, and a de-industrializing city in Massachusetts. She returned to her first field site in Chiapas in 1989, where she has worked for the past decade analyzing the rise of the Zapatista rebellion and its impact on highland Mayan Communities as well as the Lacandón rainforest where it began. She recently published *Mayan Visions: The Quest for Autonomy in an Era of Globalization.*

David Nugent is Professor of Anthropology, Emory University. He is President-Elect American Ethonological Society and North American Editor of the journal *Critique of Anthropology.* He is the author of *Modernity at the Edge of Empire: State, Individual, and Nation in the Northern Peruvian Andes* (1997), and the editor of *Locating Capitalism in Time and Space* (2002).

Aihwa Ong is Professor of Anthropology and of Southeast Asian Studies at the University of California, Berkeley. She has conducted field research in Southeast Asia, south China, and California. Her books include the award-winning *Flexible Citizenship* and *Ungrounded Empires.* New works are *Buddha is Hiding: Refugees, Citizenship, the New America* and, with co-editor Stephen J. Collier, *Global Assemblages: Technology, Politics, and Ethics as Anthropological Problems.*

Rayna Rapp teaches anthropology at New York University. Her scholarship has its roots in her early work as a founder of US women's studies and as a reproductive rights activist. Numerous publications include *Testing Women, Testing the Fetus: The Social Impact of Amniocentesis in America*. Her two current collaborative projects focus on how new genetic knowledge is made and how it impacts different constituencies; and on the social epidemic of learning disabilities in the USA.

Saskia Sassen is the Ralph Lewis Professor of Sociology at the University of Chicago, and Centennial Visiting Professor at the London School of Economics. She is currently completing a forthcoming book, *Denationalization: Territory, Authority, and Rights in a Global, Digital Age* based on her five-year project on governance and accountability in a global economy. Her most recent works are *Guests and Aliens* and her edited book *Global Networks/Linked Cities.*

Jane C. Schneider teaches anthropology at the City University of New York Graduate Center. She is the co-editor (with Annette B. Weiner) of *Cloth and Human Experience*, and the author of several essays on cloth and clothing. Her anthropological field research has been in Sicily and has led to three books, co-authored with Peter Schneider: *Culture and Political Economy in Western Sicily*; *Festival of the Poor: Fertility Decline and the Ideology of Class in Sicily*; and *Reversible Destiny: Mafia,*

Antimafia, and the Struggle for Palermo. She is the editor of *Italy's Southern Question; Orientalism in One Country.*

Peter T. Schneider teaches sociology at Fordham University College at Lincoln Center, New York. He is co-author, with Jane Schneider, of *Culture and Political Economy in Western Sicily*, *Festival of the Poor: Fertility Decline and the Ideology of Class in Sicily*, and *Reversible Destiny: Mafia, Antimafia, and the Struggle for Palermo*. He is pursuing his interests in organized crime and criminalization through a new section on these issues at the New York Academy of Sciences.

Brooke Grundfest Schoepf went to Zaire (now Congo) in 1974–8 to teach economic and medical anthropology. Since that time she has led research and training teams in ten African countries. In 1985–90 she and colleagues conducted multidisciplinary AIDS prevention research in Kinshasa and other cities of Congo. Their work has appeared in books and journals from 1988. Schoepf's forthcoming book is *Women, Sex, and Power: A Multi-Sited Ethnography of AIDS*. She is a senior fellow at the Institute for Health and Social Justice, Department of Social Medicine, Harvard Medical School, Boston.

K. Sivaramakrishnan is Associate Professor of Anthropology and International Studies, and Director, South Asia Center, at the University of Washington, Seattle. He is the author of *Modern Forests: Statemaking and Environmental Change in Colonial Eastern India*, and the co-editor (with Arun Agrawal) of *Agrarian Environments: Resources, Representations, and Rule in India*, and *Regional Modernities: The Cultural Politics of Development in India*.

Gavin Smith has worked in Latin America and Europe. His book, *Livelihood and Resistance*, was an ethnographic study in Peru of the relationship between people's forms of livelihood and their political expression. His *Confronting the Present* reports on his European research, and also explores issues related to political engagement and scholarship. He has also edited, with Gerald Sider, a book on the selectivity of history – *Silences and Commemorations*.

Ann Laura Stoler is Professor of Anthropology and History at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. She has worked for some 30 years on race and the politics of colonial cultures in Southeast Asia and on the historical and contemporary face of race in France. Her most recent books include *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*, and *Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in Colonial Studies and U.S. Empire*.

Karen-Sue Taussig is an Assistant Professor of Anthropology and Medicine at the University of Minnesota. She has conducted ethnographic research on genetics and social life in the Netherlands and the United States since 1993. She is currently completing a book about genetic practices and social life in the Netherlands.

Katherine Verdery teaches Anthropology at the University of Michigan. She has conducted both field and archival research in Romania and for the last decade

has been working on property restitution, specifically of land, in Transylvania. The results of that work are forthcoming as *The Vanishing Hectare: Property and Value in Postsocialist Transylvania*. Previous books include *What Was Socialism, and What Comes Next?* Her next project concerns the process of collectivizing land in Romania in the 1950s.

Joan Vincent is Professor of Anthropology Emerita at Barnard College, Columbia University. She is the author of numerous books and encyclopedia articles on political anthropology. These include *Anthropology and Politics* (1990, reissued 1995) and Blackwell's *The Anthropology of Politics: A Reader in Ethnography, Theory, and Critique*. She has most recently completed *Seeds of Revolution: The Cultural Politics of the Irish Famine* (forthcoming).

Richard Ashby Wilson is the Gladstein Chair of Human Rights and the Director of the Human Rights Institute at the University of Connecticut. His most recent books are *The Politics of Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa* and *Human Rights in Global Perspective* (co-edited with Jon P. Mitchell). He is editor of the journal *Anthropological Theory*.

Introduction

Joan Vincent

Certain attributes of anthropology make its research into politics an exhilarating if, at times, a dangerous project. Anthropology has its beginnings not, as many suppose, in European colonialism but in the observation and study of the problematic nature of political relations among marginalized populations in the home territory: in the United States, among Native Americans; in Britain along the Celtic fringe of Scotland and Ireland; in continental Europe among the "folk" or "peasant" peoples; and in Asia among minorities, some "enclaved," some religious converts. All had in common rapid, even cataclysmic, change. For some this accompanied conquest or territorial expansion and the uprooting that modernity demanded. For some it meant isolation, assimilation, or under-development. Characteristic of all such peoples among whom anthropologists worked was change in place, change of fortunes, change in their human condition. These are the worldwide conditions that shaped anthropology in its beginnings and continue to do so today.

The anthropology of politics has certain specific characteristics that distinguish it from other disciplines in the social sciences and humanities that study the political realm. First and fundamentally, it is grounded in its practitioners' *field* research and analyses and syntheses derived from the fieldwork of others. Equally important to the anthropology of politics (as, perhaps, this *Companion* documents too profusely) is reading. Anthropologists read in the vernacular language of their respondents and in the language of their discipline. They read the ethnographies and analyses of other anthropologists utilizing iconic comparative frameworks that contribute to, but do not delimit, their own findings – or, better – constructions. And they read politics as written by political scientists and historians, sociologists and literary critics, philosophers, theologians, and medical scientists that project concerns and concepts that cross disciplines and languages. Our *Companion* readers will find all these practitioners within its pages – and veterinarians, police officers, and protesters besides.

And, as anthropologists read, so, surely, do they write. For this dimension of their craft they have retained the somewhat old-fashioned (and not always apt) term "ethnography" (*ethnos*, Greek for nation, used in Aristotle's sense as "public," as

in "public domain" or "public health"). It is because anthropology's sense of self is rooted in ethnography that, in this *Companion*, not simply reading but field experience – formative of what is perceived as awareness and knowledge for transmission to others – figures large in some of the chapters that follow. This is not an anecdotal ploy, a colorful interlude in the exegesis; it is a device to empower the reader. God – or the Devil – is in the detail. Ethnography is the anthropologists' pride and joy, the discipline's life-blood on which all else in their craft depends. It empowers the reader and it empowers the critic. It is detailed but principled. It permits the comparisons and contrasts – some, perhaps, unexpected – that move the discipline along to engage with changed forms of political activity, new ideologies. It expands anthropology's horizons. As Richard Fardon has observed, "Anthropologists are at their best when spotting what other commentators have missed, underplayed, or simply not been willing to do. *They go where other researchers do not go, and for longer.*" And, as this quotation indicates, they are *au courant*. That remark (with emphasis added) appeared in the *Times Literary Supplement* on 9 May 2003!

In the most abstract terms, the political anthropologist's goal is to understand, interpret, and transmit the ideologies and circumstances of political structure, political organization, and political action. These relate to each other as choreography does to dance, and as dance does to performance. They may address issues of temporality in discerning political systems and political processes. And, having read across these parallel tracks in the study of politics, placing a new light or providing a new insight, here or there, the palimpsest of "deep politics" is enriched and the nature of universal human politics made less obscure.

There is nothing quite like this in primarily Western-oriented textbooks and training manuals in political science, political sociology, or political philosophy. Political anthropology's depth of field research underpins its critiques of stereotypes and misinterpretations of political systems of oppressed and abused populations from the Colonial to the Cold War era and, alas, today – in the twenty-first millennium's newly flaunted Age of Empire. But anthropology's contribution to political knowledge is necessarily dyadic: the power-full, as well as the power-less, Western corporate capitalist as well as subaltern Third Worlders are integral parts of the fieldwork milieu, although the one may be more spectral, the other more embodied. For anthropologists, irrespective of where they are working in the world, in Silicon Valley or South African township, in post Cold War Russia or postcolonial Dominican Republic, a particularly valued contribution lies in discerning and laying bare the politics below the surface realities they seek to understand – in a word, infrapolitics.

The *Companion*

The readers' *Companion* is rich fare. In the pages that follow, you will find that the anthropology of politics is, like anthropology itself, always in crisis. It is poised on thresholds or cusps: postcolonialism; after socialism. Some chapters address what are increasingly seen as global crises: AIDS, refugees, displaced persons, the disappeared, the spread of corporate capitalism, lack of access to neoliberal (purportedly) "free" trade, environmental "disasters." They contribute knowledge of what really happens