Political Anthropology and Anthropology of Politics: An Overview

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Abstract

In this short review, I have tried to sketch an overview of historical development of political anthropology and its recent trends. I was enthused to prepare this review article as there does not exist any of such simplified introduction of one of the prominent sub-fields in cultural anthropology for the Nepalis readers, in particular. I believe this particular sub-field has to offer much to understand and explain the recent trends and current turmoil of the political transition in the country. Political anthropologists than any other could better explain how the politics is socially and culturally embedded and intertwined, therefore, separation of the two – politics from social and cultural processes – is not only impossible but methodologically wrong, too.

Keywords: cultural anthropology, political system, political process, ethnography, democracy

1. Introduction

A sub-discipline of political anthropology is considered to have formally begun during 1940s (c.f., Vincent 1996). After more than a decade later, David Easton (1959), in Biennial Review of Anthropology, Vol. 1 wrote, “The burden of my argument will be that although the title of this essay is "political anthropology," such a subfield does not yet exist and will not exist until a great many conceptual problems are solved” (1959:210-262). And, after a decade of Easton (1959), Winkler (1969), in his highly recognized work on political anthropology, reaffirmed ‘whether political anthropology as a distinct sub-field yet existed’.

Around the same time, Kathleen Gough (1968, ‘New Proposals for Anthropologists’ took up the concern shared by many anthropologists of her time, which was a ‘complain’ that cultural and social anthropologists are failing to tackle significant problems of the modern world. In Political Anthropology, a book published in 1972, Geroges Balandier introduced political anthropology as ‘a late specialization of social anthropology’. It further strengthened by the argument that political anthropology is believed to have come ‘late and comparatively short lived subfield specialisation within social and cultural anthropology’ (Vincent, 1996:228).

Spencer (2007), in his latest book Anthropology, Politics and the State, indicating to the ‘strange death’ of political anthropology, asks, “What happened to the anthropology of the politics?” However, optimistic he is about the rediscovering of the anthropology of politics, maintains that, “A sub-discipline which had seemed moribund in the 1980s has moved back to the centre of anthropological argument” (Spencer, 2007:1). Victor Turner while writing foreword for Lewellen’s Political Anthropology an Introduction, was an evidence of Spencer’s claim, where Turners writes, “…that (the book) we have all been waiting for …It is at once a summation and a new start” (Turner: 2007, foreword, new edition). This is, however, highly indicative that political anthropology as a sub-field of cultural anthropology was neither out of scene nor was distinct and prominent at any point of time over the years. Probably responding to this situation, Seymour-Smith (1986) summarises, “…it is true to say that while analysis of political dimension had formed an important part of the majority of anthropological studies, this dimension has usually been interpreted as an aspect of or as embedded in other domains such as kinship, religion, economy, and so on, and has been little analysed for the features of political system per se (Seymour-Smith, 1986:226).

Political anthropology, for Swartz, Turner and Tuden (1966, first paperback printing 2006) is the study of politics, meaning “the study of processes involved in determining and implementing public goals and in the differential achievement and use of power by the members of the group concerned with these goals. They view politics as a process of competition to influence outcomes. And, arguably the anthropologist should study the ‘dynamic
processes’, ‘a continuum’ related to the past as well as to the present and continually influenced by pressure within and outside of a society (Swartz et.al 1966). Thence, political anthropology as a sub discipline of social anthropology has the long-reigned body of knowledge, which is well exemplified in The Anthropology of Politics (2002), a comprehensive reader in ethnography, theory, and critique, an edited volume by Joan Vincent.

In the following paragraphs, I will sketch an overview of the attempts made by anthropologists to explore the issues of politics and political power within anthropology. Materials on political anthropology are not abundant. Moreover, I have picked up only some selected works that are more helpful in this regard. Beginning with the cursory treatment of the issues related to the formation of the sub-discipline of cultural anthropology, i.e., political anthropology, I intend to contextualize my work within the larger tradition of anthropology but it should by no means be confused with an exhaustive treatment of the subject.

In this endeavour, a brief history and recent trends of political anthropology by exploring anthropological works that establish close affinity with the political anthropology stand as a point to begin. I have drawn heavily from Vincent (1996), since her contribution, to borrow from Gledhill (2000), is considered as ‘a magisterial survey of anthropological perspectives on politics’. Similarly, I will be following the works and analysis of Swartz, Turner and Tuden (1966/2006); Winkler (1969); Lewellen (1983); Gledhill (1994/2000), Spencer (2007) and Paley (2007, 2002). In addition, I will be reviewing some seminal works by Evans-Pritchard (1940/1969) and Leach (1954) among others. I have based my review on some basic texts therefore, may not be dealing with the regional variations or specificity. However, references will be drawn from particular case studies illustrated in the texts reviewed.

Lewellen (2003) proposes eight basic phases in the history of the anthropology of politics/political anthropology, which include, 1) Nineteenth-Century Evolutionists; 2) a Reaction period, including American historical particularists and a European shift toward sociological/Durkheimian conceptions of socio-cultural organization; 3) British Functionalism, an extension or outgrowth of earlier work in the Durkheimian theoretical paradigm; 4) a Transitional period, approximately beginning the political anthropology era, associated with a shift toward a political anthropology associated with describing process rather than static interpretations of political institutions; 5) Neo-Evolutionism, a return to the idea that cultural processes change in an (admittedly non-unilinear) evolutionary way; 6) Conflict and Criticism, a period characterized by assaults on the status quo, both as a theoretical objective and as a more general challenge to the accepted world order and including movements toward political economy, feminism, and similarly politically charged interpretations of human behavior; 7) Postmodernism; and, finally, 8) Globalization. On the other hand, Vincent has recognised three phases of anthropology’s relationship with the politics, Formative era (1879-1939), when anthropologists studied politics almost incidentally to their other interests (anthropology of politics); second phase (1944-66) political anthropology developed a body of systematically structured knowledge and self-conscious discourse; and the third phase began in the mid-1960s when all such disciplinary specialisation come under sever challenge (Vincent, 1996). As I find it logical and comprehensive to follow Vincent (1996) in general to discuss the sub-discipline.

2. Structural-Functionalism and System theory in Political Anthropology

A generation of political anthropologists, between 1940s and the mid-1960s, was exceptionally cohesive, “establishing a canon and setting out a programme for the subfield” (Vincent 1996, pp. 428). Gledhill (2000), however, remarked that the political anthropology of the 1940s and 1950s tended to offer a ‘commentary on the tension that colonial rule produced and on the reason why it might be resented’ (Gledhill, 2000:2). Nevertheless, Gledhill (2000) further observes “the critical strands of an anthropological approach to politics were not those that became hegemonic in the discipline in the period of 1940s. This was the period when the British structural-functionalists established political anthropology as a formalised sub-field (p. 3). The case of Nuer, a pastoral people in the southern Sudan, by Evans Pritchard (1940) was a seminal
work to represent that period in British structural-functionalists, where he details the political system of the Nuer as an ‘ordered anarchy’ based on the principle of ‘segmentary opposition’. Though the earlier structural-functionalist contributed little to political anthropology per se., particularly Malinowski and A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, nevertheless, their works ‘cleared the way for the type of specialisation that would later become commonplace’ as their ‘intense works’ of African societies would establish a political anthropology as a ‘legitimate sub-discipline’ (Lewellen, 1983:6). The major works to represent that era was African Political System (1940), a collection of eight essays, edited by Meyer Fortes and E.E. Evans-Pritchard, which has remained as a classic in the field (cf. Spencer, 2007; Vincent, 1996 and 1990; Lewellen, 1983).

Vincent observed that with the end of the World War II, a ‘more orthodox political anthropology emerged to capture the field, which focused more on the ‘structure of the government and the systemic nature of political anthropology’ (1996:431). The political anthropology had gained its prominence in colonial era, as most of them carried out field research in imperial and quasi-imperial settings (Vincent, 1996, p. 429). Later the construction of the colonial ‘other’ entered the political anthropology. Roy Franklin Barton’s multifaceted monographs on Ifugao law, society, economy and religion (published between 1919 and 1930) reflected the modern ethnographer’s goal of providing a rounded description of the way of life of a ‘native’ people at the particular moment in time. Barton’s case materials were a rich source of political anthropology. And, his works are equated with or even considered as more grounded than Malinowski’s landmark Crime and Custom in Savage Society (1926). For many, a distinction between society and politics was meaningless (Vincent, 1996: 429-30).

After all, these works made a valuable contribution to illustrate ‘how indigenous notion of authority and justice might conflict with Western notions during the era of formal colonial rule. Their approach and assumptions, as those of most of the anthropologists of the ‘colonial era’, were, ‘the West and its way of doing things represented the future for all humanity, and hence, in this regard, political anthropology became an analysis of the ‘tensions and transitions’ (Gledhill, 2000:4).

Franz Boas’ works among Native North Americans, Robert Redfield’s fieldwork in Tepoztlan in Mexico and Malinowski’s studies in the Pacific Islands, exemplified the growing interest in political anthropology equally in Europe and America. These studies, however, did focus not on political contact and change but on the structure of government and the systematic nature of political organisation” (c.f.,Vincent, 1996; Gledhill 2000). The publication of African Political Societies (1940), a collection of eight essays, edited by Meyer Fortes and E. E. Evans-Pritchard proved to be the major achievement of 1940s, which not only established the system theory in political anthropology, Evans-Pritchard’s own structural analyses of the Tallensi and Nuer set the trend in the field. For two decades after its publication, African Political System constantly influenced the African political ethnography (Aiden, 1969).

3. From Structural to Agency, Process to Action

‘Constitutional approach’ of structural-functionalists focused on ‘political institutions’, ‘offices, ‘rights, duties and rules’, but no or little attention was paid to ‘individual strategies’, ‘strategies’, ‘processes’, struggle for power and political change (Vincent, 1996:431). However, Edmund Leach’s Political Systems of Highland Burma (1954) provided an internal critique of the system paradigm established by Evans-Pritchard (1940) offered political alternatives with change coming about through individual and group decision making (Leach, 1954; also see Vincent, 1990). Leach in his work suggested that individual’s choice are the result of conscious or unconscious power-seeking, which, is a universal human trait (Leach, 1954). Hence, after Leach, in particular, political anthropology set out to establish a distinctive agenda for itself. Victor Turner’s rich ethnography of schism among the Ndembu of Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) and his hand in writing long expository introduction to a challenging new set of essays, Political Anthropology (1966) brought about a paradigmatic shift in the subfield. In the volume, politics was defined as, ‘the processes involved in determining and
implementing public goals and in the differential achievement and use of power by the members of the groups concerned with these goals’ (Swartz, Turner & Tuden, 1966:7). Bailey’s trilogy on Indian politics (published between 1957 and 1963) was a tour de force (Vincent, 1996) within the genre of process and action theory. Bailey’s political ethnography followed the action from the village through the district level to national electoral politics.

4. The Recent Trends

With the new and unconventional issues and agenda, concerns and voices, modern social science era of political anthropology came to an end in late 1960s. By late 1960s, ‘six paradigms had emerged and co-existed successfully within the subfield: neo-evolutionism, cultural historical theory, political economy, structuralism, action theory and processual theory (Vincent 1996: 432). But, since 1960s, political anthropology began to confront with new areas of study, for example, Third World’s political struggle, decolonisation, neo-imperialism or economic imperialism, peasant resistance, labour movements and crises in capitalism in Africa and Latin America (C.f. Vincent 1996).

At the meantime, historians of South Asia developed one of the exciting trends under the rubric of Subaltern Studies (c.f. Ludden, 2002; Cohn, 1987; Guha, 1982). Under this ‘movement’, historian along with anthropologists and literary critics began to dismantle the sun continent’s imperial historiography in an attempt to recover the political activities of subordinated groups. Bernard Cohen’s studies (Cohn, 1987) on power relations in colonial India stimulated the anthropology of politics into further rethinking imperialism, nationalism, peasant insurgency, class and gender. Such a historical explanation began to replace those of the sociologists and economists in the new anthropology of politics. Lewellen termed this new phenomenon as the political anthropology of ‘formal institution of industrial society’ essentially relating it with the process of modernisation (1983).

Eric Wolf’s Europe and the People without History (1982) became the key text of global, historical political economy; Clifford Geertz’s Local Knowledge (1983) asserted the interpretive paradigm with a particularly strong (and long) chapter on fact and law in comparatives perspective. Political anthropologists generally engaged themselves in ‘localised and particularistic tales’ of resistance and accommodation, challenge and riposte. For them resistance appeared to be the key concepts, even to the extent of being romanticized and overused. Gramsci and Raymond Williams were so influential that ‘hegemony’ had become the ‘key notion’ in the study of political anthropology (Vincent, 1996:433).

In recent years, political ethnographies, which once provided introductory setting and closing frames were ‘re-viewed’ by post-postmodernists as constructed, controlled, and transformed features of political design. Edward Said’s discussion of Orientalism, which was critically received by the anthropologists, heightened anthropology’s established concern with the politics and ethics of representation, particularly the representation of subordinated people, introduced into the subfield a ‘poetic and politics trope’ that succeeded in combining interpretive anthropology and political economy, thus, opened up a new analytic space for a political anthropology of symbolic actions (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1993, quoted in Vincent, 1996).

Ferguson (1997), Paley (2002, 2004, 2008), Li (2007) and Spencer (2007) as late comers in the sub-field, however, have tried to establish their distinct version of the ‘political’ that differentiate their arguments from earlier and established traditions of political anthropology. Lewellen foresaw, “Globalisation, although inchoate in anthropological studies, may turn out to have an even greater impact than did postmodernism. The increasing flow of trade, finance, culture, ideas, and people brought about by the sophisticated conceptions of culture, locality, community, and identity. Power in globalized world is both more diffuse and more locally concentrated as decision making simultaneously shifts upward from states to multinational corporations and the World Bank and downward to community-level nongovernmental groups and ethnic organisations” (2003:13-14). He further maintained, “The challenges of the future will be considerable for political anthropology”.

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Lewellen (2003) is further supported by Spencer, where, he attempted to work with an expansive definition of the political, a definition, ‘which gives as much weight to the expressive and performative aspects of politics to the instrumental’ (2007: 17). His arguments about the ‘dynamic force of the political’ where ‘politics’ and ‘culture’ are not two discrete ‘things’, brought together in a controlled interaction. He argues that “analytically they can be better treated as two perspectives on a single dynamics process and the central mystery of the process is the promise of democracy – it ought to be ordinary people…and not extraordinary people who rule” (Spencer, 2007: 17-18). Hence, Spencer provided much broader perspective and scope for the study that I have been taking up. After all, as Gledhill explored some of the various ways that political anthropological concepts can be explored through an examination of micro-processes. Indeed, from an ethnographic stand point, it would be hard to do otherwise (see, for e.g., (2000:127-135).

5. Some Reflections on Nepal

Coming to Nepal, as we know, there has been a long tradition of collective actions and associational life in the country. For example, Bista (1967), Thapa and Gautam (1994), Bhattachan (1997), Chand (1998) have illustrated such traditions and institutions among the different ethnic groups of the country. Now several of such traditional institutions of different ethnic groups have got renewed attentions in the recent years (c.f.Bhattachan, 1997). One of my earlier studies (Dhakal, 2010) has illustrated that the types and functions of these local level organisations vary in a number of ways, nevertheless, most of such CBOs are of small-scale and highly localised through the involvement in such organisations, people’s participation in various social and economic processes concerning their everyday lives has significantly increased. The participation of people in the activities guided towards transformation of their social relationships, economic conditions and cultural meanings may bring about substantial changes in people’s socio-cultural lives and thereby their understanding of themselves and outside world construct the 'public spheres where people discuss and debate from local to global issues' (Calavan, 1993). All of such collective actions, associational life, formal and informal CBOs, whether they are described as NGOs or civil societies, constitute the community based public spheres.

We have observed and experienced that village-level organisations have increasingly been able to construct and communicate ideas and meanings about socio-cultural and political issues that matter to them and that have impact on their lives. By making certain types of decisions, they have played roles not only in improving the living conditions of different groups of people in the local community, but also in making them aware of and enlightening about their social, economic, political and cultural rights (See also Bhattachan et.al., 2001).

Long ago Borgström (1976) in his *The Patron and Pancha: village value and the Panchyat Democracy in Nepal* had underlined the ‘relevance of social relations for an understanding of the role of official ideology’, for example, democracy in our context. And, he illustrated due to the dominant personal relations the ‘necessary condition’ did not exist for democracy (Borgström (1976:161). After a decade or so, Miller (1990), highlighted the importance of associational life and community based decision making process in his *Decision Making in Village Nepal*.

Dahal (1988), Ramble (1993/2008), and Vinding (1994) explicitly explored and discussed the 'traditional', 'local' and 'indigenous' political systems in Nepal. Dahal (1988) discussed about the political organisation of AthpahariaRai, one of the minority groups of eastern hill of Nepal and assessed the changing role of leadership among them. Ramble (1993/2008) and Vinding (1994) have presented the detail examinations of traditional political system of Thakalis in Te and Syan villages respectively of Mustang districts. These three articles, I consider, to be the fine examples in the field of political anthropology in Nepal.

There have been a few other studies in Nepal’s context (for e.g., Mishra 2011; Ojha, 2008; Pedersen, 2005; Fujikura, 2004; Rankin 2005; Tarnowski, 2002 etc.), however, they did not discuss political organisations and political processes, or democracy, in particular, rather discussed their own issues but touching upon the
larger political, democracy contexts. Some more studies that seem to touch upon these issues appear to be on a very general level with an aim to introduce the concepts rather than study these processes and issues in a more theoretical level (for e.g., Dhakal, 2010; Dhakal & Pokharel, 2011; Karki, 2005). For that reason these studies do not actually study the processes, mechanisms and issues related to participation of the community members in such community based public spheres.

Lately, scores of works have come out on Maoist-government conflicts, current political transitions and turmoil, rising ethnic and identity politics, recently on the issues of restructuring of the state, and so on. All these have substantially contributed to grow the political sociology and anthropology in the country, therefore, needs special attention and treatment. I will separately deal with them in a subsequent article.

6. Conclusion

This is arguably an anthropological contribution to introduce a ‘still emerging field’ (Paley 2008) to the Nepali readers. As we discussed earlier that the political anthropology consists of the outpouring of the collective works, its objective is to study political institutions and processes and their interaction with other cultural processes. Anthropologists study these matters in a variety of ways, including fieldwork around the world and comparative ethnological work. Although both Lewellen and Vincent characterize “politics” as essentially indefinable or anything that is public is political (Lewellen, 2003:231; Vincent, 2002:1), all efforts at political anthropology have a common aspect, that is they study “[t]he processes [and means] involved in determining and implementing public goals and… the differential achievement and use of power by the members of the group concerned with those goals” (Swartz, Turner & Tuden, 1966/2006:7). In other words, the objective of political anthropology has been to describe these processes and means of manipulating power. This interpretation is supported by Kurtz (2001), Lewellen (2003), Vincent (2002), and Spencer (2001). This definition is broad, but necessary because of the plethora of political activity around the world. The diversity of political institutions, means for organizing political power and even the political construction of the discipline of anthropology itself have all come under the purview of political anthropology (Spenser, 2007:116-28). In addition, I conclude that political anthropology should consider the ‘non-political’ spheres and institutions to understand the political processes and how they are shaped by such non-political spheres. This is even more relevant while studying politics and political processes in the country like ours.

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