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A N T H R O P O L O G I C A L
A S S O C I A T I O N

Review: [untitled]

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Reviewed work(s):

Anthropology of Policy: Critical Perspectives on Governance and Power by Cris Shore ;
Susan Wright

Source: *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 101, No. 3 (Sep., 1999), pp. 694-695

Published by: Blackwell Publishing on behalf of the American Anthropological Association

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/683906>

Accessed: 06/02/2009 01:56

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such depth and detail are other plausible geographic connections elsewhere that are mentioned in this introduction. However, several authors attest to the stronger archaeological evidence of beads as material objects versus the extant ethnographic explanation for the use of these small products of culture.

To counter these omissions, the remaining 11 chapters address specific geographic regions and specialized practices and social contexts for bead making traditions and their use: the Venetian glass bead industry; African beadwork in general as well as specific examples from the Kalabari and Yoruba; from South America, Andean rosaries in contrast to red beads of Ecuador; while from North America, African American jewelry prior to the Civil War as opposed to contemporary bead use in New Orleans during Mardi Gras; from East Malaysia the beads of Kelabit of Sarawak; and, finally, two separate chapters on the archaeological bead evidence from Greece and China.

The appendix includes two distinctively written essays that contrast the more research orientation of the previous twelve chapters. The first essay, written in a more personal and narrative style by a former Oxfam worker, discusses beads, craft producers, and development agencies and economic sustainability. This essay is of particular interest from an applied anthropology and gender and development perspective. It is not uncommon for anthropologists to advocate for the finding of economically feasible and marketable outlets for indigenous craft production.

The second essay is an interesting one that includes descriptions and definitions of bead terms for researchers and collectors: beadwork, terms for necklaces, specialist terms for components, threading materials, bead materials, and bead making techniques. As the author states, the essay offers selective terms and definitions. Though the suggested classification system is useful, it may represent an etic versus an emic analysis of indigenous bead-related categories. This is an especially difficult-to-understand essay regarding the section titled "Worry Beads and Prayer Beads." Such an out of context example gives deference to Christian and Muslim men in the Middle East who use prayer beads in more public contexts rather than acknowledge the Christian and Muslim women who may similarly use prayer beads in more private contexts and on specialized occasions.

The volume also includes a combination of maps, drawings, field photographs, tables, and archival evidence: valuable information that visually documents not only a variety of bead forms and their combinations but the context of their use. Some of these contexts include individuals making beads and objects made from beads, individuals wearing beaded objects, or groups of individuals in ritual contexts. Unfortunately, the black-and-white photographs visually lessen the impact of colorful aesthetics given in the written descriptions, especially when color is a determining factor in social classification and gender identity. Nevertheless, *Beads and Bead Makers* is an important contribution to understanding these often overlooked small bits of material culture that archaeologists have tended to take more seriously than ethnographers.

Over the years, as both a participant and an observer at the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association, I have found anthropologists' appearance an unending source of what symbolic interactionist Gregory Stone refers to as "apparent discourse" or "talk about appearances." This "talk about appearances" frequently focuses on the acquisition and display of

distinctive dress and adornment frequently collected from the fieldwork experience and worn at these meetings. However, as a result of reading *Beads and Bead Makers*, we should all anticipate more analytical and lively discussions of distinctive bead ware from fellow anthropologists. After all, *Beads and Bead Makers* provides us an opportunity to verbally talk our stuff and visually show it too! ♦

Anthropology of Policy: Critical Perspectives on Governance and Power. *Cris Shore and Susan Wright*, eds. New York: Routledge, 1997. 294 pp.

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As I was preparing to testify before a congressional subcommittee (on the effects of U.S. assistance policies to Eastern Europe), I was asked how my credentials should be listed. When I said I was an anthropologist and East European specialist, I was told: "We can't say you're an anthropologist. [Congressional] members will wonder why we asked you." And so I appeared just as an East European specialist despite the fact that my analysis, methods, and approach are anthropological. Many years—and much research and experience—later, I still find myself having to explain why I, an anthropologist, study policy. *The Anthropology of Policy*, a collection of articles compiled by British anthropologists Cris Shore and Susan Wright, sets out to fill a wide gap: to make explicit what some anthropologists have long been doing (though sometimes calling it something else). At the heart of this domain of anthropological inquiry is the question: "how do policies 'work' as instruments of governance, and why do they sometimes fail to function as intended?" (p. 3). The book hopefully marks the beginning of a new era of much-needed study by anthropologists of policy—its discourses, mobilizing metaphors, underlying ideologies, uses, and effects on its target populations.

The fit between anthropology and policy is actually a natural one. As Shore and Wright point out in their ground-breaking introduction, the study of policy deals with issues at the heart of anthropology such as institutions and power; interpretation and meaning; ideology, rhetoric, and discourse; the politics of culture, ethnicity, and identity; and the global and the local. Anthropological studies of policy have much to contribute to theory and may well reverse the trend in which "practice . . . rarely informs theory in anthropology," as anthropologist Marietta Baba has noted.

Anthropological studies of policy, beyond their contributions to anthropology, bring much-needed perspectives to the study of policy. Anthropology is especially well-equipped to deal with the ambiguity and messiness of policy processes. A key theme of the *Anthropology of Policy* is that "policy" is hardly a linear progression with a predetermined outcome; policy processes are much more complex and messy than they are systematic.

The *Anthropology of Policy* is a diverse collection of case studies, ranging from development and the European Union to physicians' discourses in a hospital to gender equality and national identity. A number of the studies dissect policy discourses.

Drawing on the anthropological tradition of using historical documents as ethnographic data, some authors treat policy documents as a form of discourse. In his study of development policy, Raymond Apthorpe explores how language, genre, and power are conveyed in written policy documents. Still other articles examine how policies are used to achieve cultural and political goals. The book shows how the use of "expert" knowledge has become a cornerstone in the design of institutional policies and procedures.

A crucial theme of the book is that although policies are typically clothed in the language of neutrality—ostensibly merely promoting effectiveness and efficiency—they are fundamentally political. Shore and Wright write that the "masking of the political under the cloak of neutrality is a key feature of modern power" (pp. 8–9). Indeed, this is abundantly clear when we observe the far-reaching (and ever-growing) powers of international financial markets and institutions in the contemporary world.

In the study of global processes that impinge on local ones, anthropology has a crucial contribution to make in both approach and methodology. Shore and Wright contend that "anthropologists are in a unique position to understand the workings of multiple, intersecting and conflicting power structures which are local but tied to non-local systems . . . a focus on policy provides a new avenue for studying the localization of global processes in the contemporary world" (p. 13). The task of the anthropologist is thus to analyze "connections between levels and forms of social process and action" and explore "how those processes work in different sites—local, national and global" (p. 14).

Although the case studies in the *Anthropology of Policy* are well done, I would have liked to see some of them take up the methodological challenge that Shore and Wright themselves lay out. Examining how "power creates webs and relations between actors, institutions and discourses across time and space" (p. 14), the editors say, entails "studying through." "Studying through" would appear to require studying *both* ends of the policy chain: on the one end, the makers, implementers, and discourses of policy; on the other end, the recipients of those policies. However, the articles tend to concentrate only on one end (primarily the first, which appears to build on Laura Nader's "studying up"—the examination of powerful institutions of complex societies); none appear to be based on firsthand fieldwork of *both*. Developing an anthropology of policy may necessitate further discussion of methodology, in particular of the techniques and ethics required to work at *both* ends of the policy chain.

Shore and Wright expose another pivotal underpinning of an anthropology of policy. "The task for an anthropology of the present," they write, "is to unsettle and dislodge the certainties and orthodoxies that govern the present." Indeed, although honing critical perspectives on the factors that shape a society's conventional wisdom is always difficult, such honing is central to anthropological analyses of policy. One series of issues that currently appears to cry out for anthropological scrutiny is the aggressive promotion and discourse of "globalization" and its effects upon specific populations.

There is, of course, a long tradition in anthropology of studying the discourses, symbolism, effects, and implementation of policy. Policy analysis is firmly rooted in a number of anthropo-

logical traditions. Writing in the *Anthropology Newsletter* of February 1997, the Norwegian anthropologist Fredrik Barth recounted his own policy work and observed that "Too many American anthropologists choose to speak only to a narrow audience of fellow anthropologists; they borrow from other disciplines much more than they impress their arguments on them; and they give political and practical engagements very low priority and recognition compared to ivory-tower performances." Referencing earlier American traditions of Franz Boas, Ruth Benedict, and Margaret Mead, Barth observed that it was not always like that and voiced concern about the current generation of American anthropologists: "It does seem paradoxical that such a rich and diverse scholarly tradition—far the strongest in the world—should be so relatively little sought and valued in the U.S., when smaller traditions of anthropology in Scandinavia, France, India, or Latin America play a much more influential role in their home countries."

The *Anthropology of Policy* demonstrates why the voices of anthropologists should be heard by policymakers, as well as alongside more vocal disciplines, such as economics and political science. The book makes an excellent start toward defining a field of policy anthropology. In his Distinguished Lecture in General Anthropology at the 1992 Annual Meeting, Roy A. Rappaport called for anthropologists' engagement in public affairs and for the core of the discipline to interact with the policy domain (*American Anthropologist*, 95(2), 1993). Whether American anthropology will take up the challenge and risk the messiness of learning through trial and error—or contentedly continue, as Barth put it, in its "general mood of withdrawal"—remains to be seen. ♦

Voyages: From Tongan Villages to American Suburbs. Cathy A. Small. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997. 252 pp.

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Cathy Small first went to Tonga in 1981 to study women's cooperatives. *Voyages* is based on more recent research among Tongan migrants in the United States, primarily the San Francisco Bay area. Small follows members of her Tongan family as they migrate to the United States and as they return to visit Tonga. The book effectively uses the family history to elucidate general processes of Tongan migration. The book is essential reading for scholars interested in Tongan society or in Pacific Island migration, and it is an important contribution to the larger anthropological study of transnational migrant communities. In addition to its academic audience, *Voyages* will have great value in undergraduate courses.

While Cathy Small focuses her book on one family that she has known for nearly 20 years, she also presents more general ethnographic information about Tongan migrant cultural practices as well as about social changes in Tonga that are linked with migration. The presentation of the family history itself is compelling and often thought-provoking. Small succeeds greatly in making us care about her family.