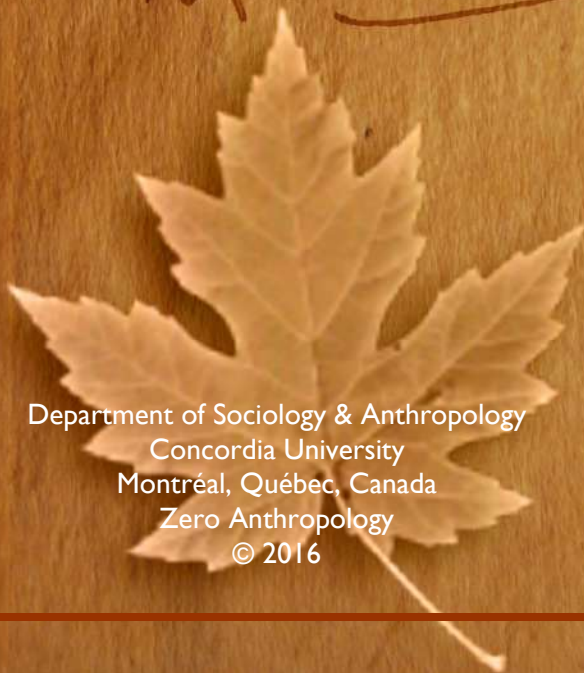


# CANADIAN ANTHROPOLOGY OR CULTURAL IMPERIALISM?

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## US Anthropology: Political, Professional, Personal, Imperial

Recent events have called into question how a discipline can be commanded on an international plane, and represented in a singular and universal fashion. Those events are useful for inviting meditation on questions of national traditions, the power to globalize a claim to preeminence over other national traditions, the capital deployed in and acquired from academic-political conflict, and questions of intellectual independence. The ultimate aim of this essay is to renew discussion of what a Canadian anthropology would mean, born in the shadow of US cultural and academic imperialism.

### BDS as Prologue

An important precedent has now been established by members of the American Anthropological Association (AAA) in an executive meeting in Denver late on Friday, November 20, 2015, who voted in an overwhelming majority to support boycott, divestment and sanctions (BDS) against Israel, and specifically targeted Israeli academic Anthropology in a series of panels discussing the boycott motion. They also had presentations focusing on Israeli archaeology, as if this were part of the anthropological discipline in Israel (which it is not<sup>1</sup>), or as part of an effort to demonstrate Israeli universities' complicity with occupation—as if such complicity does not also pertain to the US, only a grander scale, as it continues to occupy Afghanistan, reoccupies part of Iraq, and invades Syria illegally. Either way, such a critique as was offered was arguably misdirected and meant to stoke vote-mobilizing anger (as is standard in US politicking), where various emergencies and the latest outrages become productive sites for accumulating political capital.

The AAA of course did not invent the idea of an academic boycott, and several associations in the UK and US have already voted on this matter, along with numerous university student unions. However, within the discipline of Anthropology on an international level, this seems like a new development. As we presumably make our way to a more multipolar world, and with continued distrust and antagonism towards US dominance (in some quarters), perhaps the AAA will come

to regret flaunting its hegemony in the unlikely event that it might provoke counter-boycotts.

It is against this background, but stemming from deeper roots, that I want to pose some questions in this short series of articles, dealing with US academic imperialism, Canadian Anthropology and intellectual self-reliance.

## **“America the Good,” Just Got Gooder Again**

It seems that the AAA has set a formal precedent among academic anthropologists internationally. AAA members have legitimated the principle that we can now boycott each other over political differences, that is, over our inevitable complicity, and usual complacency, with the politics of our respective states’ foreign and domestic policies. The mistake made by the AAA is to pretend that it owns morality and can sit in judgment over others, while not being held to the same standards.

To maintain this fiction of moral supremacy, AAA supporters of the boycott had to invent a new history of their discipline, one more congenial to their pronouncements. What we witnessed was the reinvention of (US) anthropological traditions. Yet, while some sharply denounced histories of anthropology that cast it as a “war-fighting discipline,” none have denounced the recent construction of the mythical opposite.

## **Inventing the Human Rights Tradition**

So it was that some claimed the AAA has had a long-standing commitment to “human rights”:

“The principles reflect values that have long been at the core of the AAA’s orientation to public engagement: a commitment to human rights and academic freedom; a commitment to advocate for minorities, disadvantaged groups, and indigenous groups; and a critical awareness of how the U.S. has been implicated in global conflicts”. (Allen & Subramanian, 2015)

But that is misleading. Let us consider how the current AAA statement on human rights (1999) differs markedly from its 1947 predecessor. Whereas now the AAA statement on human rights<sup>2</sup> broadly endorses

the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights, *its predecessor did not*. As Benjamin Gregg pointed out,

“sixty years ago, what the United Nations claimed as universal human rights collided with what the American Anthropological Association interpreted as **cultural imperialism**. As the U.N. drafted a Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1947, the American Anthropological Association—a professional organization dedicated to the study of profound and enduring cultural difference—disputed the notion of rights valid across all cultural boundaries. It sought to discourage the drafting committee accordingly: ‘How can the proposed Declaration be applicable to all human beings and not be a statement of rights conceived only in terms of values prevalent in the countries of Western Europe and America?’ After all, ‘what is held to be a human right in one society may be regarded as anti-social by another people, or by the same people in a different period of their history’ (American Anthropological Association 1947, 539, 542)”. (Gregg, 2010, p. 290, emphasis added)

As Gregg also noted, 52 years later the AAA simply changed its position, and did so without offering a public explanation. The AAA, “now claims that every person, regardless of native culture or local community, does indeed possess universal rights simply as humans, regardless of differences among human cultures so intriguingly significant as to justify a discipline of cultural anthropology” (Gregg, 2010, pp. 290-291).

US anthropology, assertions of “universal” human rights, and imperialism, are intimately connected—in many more ways than can be described here alone. Gregg maintains that the AAA is engaging in cultural imperialism, in part because of its a priori assertion of human rights as universal, which necessitates acts of coercion to impose such rights, thereby undermining the very premise of human rights: “To treat them as universally valid a priori is to pursue the human-rights project in a way that undermines it: coercively” (Gregg, 2010, p. 292). When it was still relatively safe to say “imperialism” in US anthropological circles, Julian Steward denounced any effort to create a human rights statement for the AAA: “a declaration about human rights can come perilously close to advocacy of American ideological imperialism” (1948, p. 352). The “human rights tradition” in US anthropology is not only relatively recent, it is one that has departed significantly

from its prior foundations, and from prior debates about those foundations.

### **Inventing the Anti-Colonial Tradition**

Other supporters of the BDS action in the AAA proclaimed themselves and other anthropologists to be, “heirs to a long tradition of scholarship on colonialism”<sup>3</sup>. What do they mean by “long”? When did this “tradition” begin? Were a representative and significant number of anthropologists (which nationality?) engaged in such scholarship? Certainly Anglo-American anthropologists are heirs to a long tradition of *participation in* colonialism—but they rarely, if ever, turned their analytical lens on themselves or the colonial regimes for which they worked, sometimes blurring any meaningful distinction between “the anthropologist” and “colonial administration” since the two could be fused into one. But what do these people mean by a long tradition of scholarship *on colonialism*? And was it a *critical* tradition? I would not suggest that US and UK anthropologists have completely neglected colonialism and written little over the past century that is useful for studying the effects of colonialism on Africans, Asians, Australians, Pacific Islanders, West Indians, and Indigenous Peoples of the Americas. What I am challenging is the idea that *colonialism itself* was somehow ever a central focus of Euro-American anthropology—that is simply not the case. Anthropologists have certainly carried out a vast amount of research among the colonized, but have generally been far less interested in the colonizer, or in the colonialist complex. Just as Anglo-American anthropology programs tend to never have courses on imperialism (the unspeakable word—because it refers to *what we do*), there are hardly any courses on colonialism as such in anthropology departments—these days, the subject is usually relegated to “post-colonial studies” programs where the subject can be safely sequestered.

It is important to correct the suggestion that anthropologists have studied colonialism. Indeed, as I have noted before, it seems that the first concerted attempt to even define colonialism, in any Euro-American anthropology journal, dates back no further than 1972, and even then the author was not an anthropologist (see Horvath, 1972). As for Euro-American anthropologists’ own deeply rooted and intertwined connections with colonial imperialism, that is a subject that is

continuously unfolding in the broader academic literature, and on Zero Anthropology.

### **Inventing the Anti-Racist Tradition**

It would seem relatively uncontroversial and straightforward to point out that, by and large, the overwhelming majority of US anthropologists not only are overtly anti-racist in the present, they have been anti-racist for most of the past century, even with a discipline that itself emerged from within the fold of nineteenth-century scientific racism. Nonetheless, just as police forces across the US are exposed for their daily routines of targeting, subjugating, harassing, beating, framing and often murdering black Americans, the AAA chose to focus its sights on Israel. US universities and US academics collaborating with such police forces were not subject to any ban or boycott. Indeed, there is absolutely no reason why—even when supporting BDS—that the AAA should not have moved to condemn US racial policing and openly support the Black Lives Matter movement, which itself should be broadened to include highlighting and denouncing the destruction of black lives in Libya thanks in part to the facilitation of US and NATO military intervention which turned a very supportive blind eye to anti-black ethnic cleansing.

Beyond that, US anthropology and its Canadian derivative, consist mostly—almost entirely—of white faculty and students. A 1997 report in *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* (JBHE, 1997) found that only a tiny minority of US faculty in anthropology were black, and that most historically black colleges and universities themselves did not have anthropology departments, in part because of the US discipline's historical roots in scientific racism. A decade later, the AAA convened a Commission on Race and Racism in Anthropology in 2007, with the results not being any prettier than what the 1997 report just cited offered (see the CRRRA's full report: Smedley & Hutchinson, 2012). One of the key studies published from this commission, defines US anthropology as a "white public space" (see Brodtkin, Morgen, & Hutchinson, 2011). The authors found that US "anthropology departments have not done well when it comes to decolonizing their own practices around race" (Brodtkin, Morgen, & Hutchinson, 2011, p. 545). The best one can do then, as the authors of the report do, is to say that at

the very least US anthropology has had a “contradictory history” when it comes to racism.

### **Inventing the Anti-Complicit Tradition**

The BDS Resolution<sup>4</sup> passed at the AAA’s recent meeting, endorses the call to “boycott Israeli academic institutions until such time as these institutions end their complicity in violating Palestinian rights” (AAA, 2015a, p. 2). The same Resolution also acknowledged the fact that, “U.S. academic institutions facilitate Israeli academic institutions’ complicity” (p. 1)—thus US universities are not innocent parties in the case of Israeli occupation, and further admits that some “Israeli scholars and students” themselves “criticize Israeli state policies” (p. 1), which then raises a question about what their alleged “complicity” is supposed to mean. Instead, the Resolution reverts back to stating: “Israeli academic institutions have been directly and indirectly complicit in the Israeli state’s systematic maintenance of the occupation and denial of basic rights to Palestinians, by providing planning, policy, and technological expertise for furthering Palestinian dispossession” (p. 1). No sanctions or boycott against US institutions are mentioned in the Resolution. Instead, US academics are the ones to mete out justice. The Resolution also makes the US-centric error of associating archaeology with anthropology in Israel (p. 1)—while the AAA Task Force that visited Israel did in fact point out that the two are separate (AAA, 2015b, p. 68). The AAA also claims to have the right to represent “Anthropology as a profession” (2015a, p. 1).

By the AAA’s own standards, does the AAA and do its US members pass the complicity test? *Absolutely not*. Indeed, when it comes to the complicity of US anthropologists with military and intelligence agencies, even the strongest among the US critics made all sorts of excuses that allowed for degrees of collaboration, as long as they did not violate professional ethics—even if those military and intelligence institutions are responsible for routinely violating the rights of multitudes around the planet.

Note how very different, when compared to the position on Israel, is the AAA’s position on the complicity of US anthropologists with the Pentagon, CIA, and other military and intelligence units:

*“We do not oppose anthropologists engaging with the military, intelligence, defense, or other national security institutions or organizations; nor do we endorse positions that rule such engagements out a priori.* Neither, however, do we advocate that anthropologists actively seek employment or funding from national security programs. We see circumstances in which *engagement can be preferable to detachment or opposition*, but we recognize that certain kinds of engagement would violate the AAA Code of *Ethics* and thus must be called to the community’s collective attention, critiqued, and repudiated. At the same time, we encourage openness and *civil discourse* on the issue of engagement, with *respect* and attention paid to different points of view as part of our collective professional commitment to disciplinary learning. While the Commission has reached agreement on this position statement, there remain differing views among its members on specific issues (e.g. the appropriate transparency of such engagements)”. (CEAUSSIC, 2007, pp. 5-6, emphases added).

In the same report, US anthropologists who refused any sort of engagement with military, intelligence, and security agencies, were said to be “neglecting” an “intellectual responsibility” to “understand” such institutions (CEAUSSIC, 2007, p. 23).

Far from seeking any form of punishment, here the AAA was demanding respect, and engaging in preemptive tone policing that always serves to preserve the status quo and the functionaries who benefit from it. The AAA’s CEAUSSIC statement is almost the exact opposite of what is produced on Israel, and CEAUSSIC makes no reference to the human rights of non-US citizens that are routinely violated by US military and intelligence institutions. All that matters are professional ethics and the image and reputation of the US discipline—and it is a reputation that confuses what *ought to be* with *what was*, because US anthropology has never been a morally impeccable, politically upright profession unmoved by powerful external influences. The media took note of passages such as the one above, reproducing it in full, as well as noting CEAUSSIC allowed for cases of clandestine research (e.g. Jaschik, 2007a).

There are many examples where US anthropologists critical of the Human Terrain System and militarization were also not too keen to be seen as totally anti-complicity:

“Supporters of the Human Terrain program have often claimed that those opposed to working in the wars are advocating total academic disengagement from the military and a retreat to the ivory tower. *This*



*could not be further from the truth. Most opponents of the Human Terrain program, myself included, are not categorically opposed to work and engagement with the military.* To the contrary, many believe that anthropologists can ethically teach soldiers in classrooms, train peacekeepers, or consult with military and other government officials about cultural, social, historical, and political-economic issues". (Vine, 2009, emphasis added)

On at least two occasions, Hugh Gusterson opined that one could do ethical work for the Pentagon or the CIA, and was not against "engagement" (read: complicity) outright (see Jaschik, 2007a, 2007b).

The Network of Concerned Anthropologists seemingly bought into the professed "humanitarian" motives of US interventionism, and approved of US anthropologists assisting in efforts that carried this label—without any critique of the concept, its history, and its instrumentalization in US foreign policy (not even after Libya):

*"We are not all necessarily opposed to other forms of anthropological consulting for the state, or for the military, especially when such cooperation contributes to generally accepted humanitarian objectives..."*. (NCA, n.d., emphases added)

Even as recently as the last AAA conference at which the BDS Resolution was passed, critics of militarization were still making room for military anthropologists to speak—which is itself can be interpreted as another act of collaboration and thus complicity (see Price, 2015).

Why were these many examples of comfort not being afforded to Israeli scholars, whose complicity is denounced in the absolute, regardless of their actual political stances? What accounts for the obvious double standard? How does complicity with the Israeli state compare to complicity with the US state? And if Israel is to be banned, boycotted, and sanctioned for its actions, then what about the US, and US academics and specifically US anthropologists?

## The Double Standard of the Exceptionalists

To be aware of repeated expressions of hypocrisy at an official level in the US, with the built-in and durable double standards that place the US above judgment and subject all others to US judgment, is to be aware of a major cultural institution. It is a cultural institution that is

routinely misunderstood as if it were merely a mistake, a momentary lapse in self-awareness, or it can be judged harshly as an absurdity, gross dishonesty, or a form of idiocy. Rarely is hypocrisy actually analyzed and understood for the valuable functions that it performs at an official, political level.

The art of the double standard is a key part of what US officials, their academic supporters, and their media parrots call “soft power”. When “America” is defined in advance as “exceptional,” then by definition there can be *none that are equivalent*—and since equivalence is deemed impossible, relativism is rendered untenable. Also, since “exceptional” connotes *superior*, it also permits the standards of the exception to be applied to others as a yardstick, proving just how far others lag behind, how inferior they are, and how much they are in need of improvement. Whether they acknowledge it or not (it does not matter either way), whether it was consciously intentional or not (it does not matter either way), US anthropologists lent their collective voices to an expression of exceptionalism in pushing the dual themes of universal human rights and rights to the profession, in their BDS Resolution. The implicit logic of their condemnation is that *notwithstanding our own sins* we have a right and a duty to sit in judgment over others. Both sides of that formulation—the notwithstanding clause and the logic of right—reveal exceptionalist logic. In addition, the AAA could claim exceptionality due to a perception of its own hegemony: it has everything that Israeli anthropologists “need,” but there is little or nothing it needs from Israel. That certainly “showed Israel a thing or two,” but something was also shown to the rest of us.

The official double standard method has two sides to it:

- (a) The standards by which the US judges others, should not be used to judge the US.
- (b) The standards by which the US judges itself, should be applied to others as if other societies and cultures were comparable to the US.

The first is about exceptionalism, and the second is about universalism emanating from the exceptional leader. The real artistry behind the double standard is in being able to constantly juggle these two, seemingly opposed principles of difference and sameness.

The double standard stands out doubly when we juxtapose the terms used by AAA commissions of inquiry on questions of US militarization versus Israeli occupation. When it comes to the first, on US

anthropologists vis-à-vis US military, security and intelligence agencies, the terms of reference, the descriptors, and suggested outcomes were notably different to those used when speaking of Israeli anthropologists vis-à-vis their own nation's military, security and intelligence agencies. We can put these in a table: the left side comes from the AAA's CEAUSSIC reports on US anthropologists and the military, and the right side comes from the AAA's BDS Resolution on their Israeli counterparts:

US ANTHROPOLOGY	ISRAELI ANTHROPOLOGY
Engagement	Complicity
Opportunities & Risks	Violations
Ethics	Human Rights
Self-monitoring	Answer international calls
Individual moral choices	Institutional responsibility
Counselling	Condemnation
Civil discussion, respect for different views	Boycott

What was off limits, and placed there by the double standard, is consideration of the degree to which the social and political role of institutional anthropology in Israel mirrors that of the US. If we are to boycott Israeli anthropology for what it does, then even more so should we boycott US anthropology.

## So What? Who Cares?

One could also ask: *why does any of this matter?* What really matters is that Israel is denounced for its abuses and its illegal occupation—it does not matter who denounces it, or why, what matters is that Israel knows it can no longer count on automatic support, not even from prominent institutions in its patron nation. Israel knows we are witnesses, and we are not staying silent, and that our governments do not speak for us when they grant Israel unquestioning support. It is a wake-up call. That has all of the culturally accepted hallmarks of a *good argument*: expedient, pragmatic, straight to the point, focusing on ends, and driven by ap-

parent good intentions. I suspect most readers who are sympathetic to BDS will agree with this line, and want to show tremendous consternation toward this essay (my feeling is that what they have pardoned so far, is out of leniency, suspecting it to be a bizarre but hopefully momentary, and in any case inconsequential, aberration). BDS activists themselves have celebrated the AAA motion without question.

## Symbolism and Professionalism

While this counter-argument is a good one, we need to remember that the AAA's BDS Resolution, should it be passed by a majority of the full membership, itself carries no concrete consequences. It is itself a purely symbolic action, a matter for the record, with no real consequences on the ground. The AAA Executive has already affirmed<sup>5</sup> that Israeli academics will not be banned from meetings, from publishing in AAA journals, or from accessing AAA journals—so there is no boycott as part of this BDS action. We are down to “D” and “S”. The AAA has no investments in Israel, so it cannot divest. It has no power to make universities divest either. So we are down to “S”: the AAA clearly has no power to organize international sanctions, and successive US governments have demonstrated their willingness to veto any UN Security Council resolutions that merely criticize Israel, let alone propose any sanctions. So there is no B, D, or S to this BDS action, and that is why I say it is purely symbolic. Since symbolism matters (note the shrill responses in the Israeli media, from Israeli academics and their US counterparts), it then becomes justifiable and necessary to examine that symbolism, what lies behind it, how it works, and why it gains support. If the intention were to write this with a “happy ending” determined in advance, then it would betray a lack of skepticism necessary for any kind of objective, scientific questioning to proceed.

The question of whether or not a professional association should be a vehicle for political actions, could be done more justice than I do to it here. To be brief, I am skeptical of the wisdom of the move. Becoming more sensitive to the fact that a professional association includes members of a variety of different, even opposing, political perspectives, and that not all of them could be content with resolutions that do not speak for them, it is a fast road to the dissolution of a professional body to become overtly political. Understanding this led me to found Anthropologists for Justice and Peace (AJP), separate from

the Canadian Anthropology Society (CASCA), so as to have greater freedom of action, and not subject CASCA to any internal stresses nor for us to be subjected to CASCA's restrictions. Indeed, it would be AJP itself that could not handle even its own internal stresses, falling apart as a result. I was the first to leave the group. Why some would think that the AAA as a professional body is the best platform for their political projects is due to the culturally specific fusion of the professional and the personal in the US work context, which is explored further below, a fusion that is rooted in evangelism. In Canada, these two poles—the professional and the activist—are still relatively separate and not integrated.

Finally, while I also support the principles of BDS, I cannot support the bigger monster whitewashing its sins by using BDS, or twisting the quest for independent Palestinian statehood into a patronizing, hegemonic, and liberal-humanitarian exercise, designed to further the ends of the AAA and US anthropology. Support BDS by first being honest about yourself.

### **Effervescent Exceptionalism: US Solidarity with US Anthropology**

Previously I argued that the real message of the BDS Resolution ought to offer little comfort to Palestinian activists, since they were not its true intended beneficiaries, and that it is instead an expression of US solidarity with US anthropology (Forte, 2015). Participants at the AAA Executive Meeting were clearly excited, and not very willing to hear opponents speak. Debate was denounced as “stalling”. The only options were “let’s vote” or just shut up.

What has been exalted in this episode is a pure image of US anthropology, an academic extension and enactment of the “America the Good” principle in US nationalism. This sense of “group solidarity” (Turner & Stets, 2005, p. 80) ought to be familiar to anthropologists, as an example of what Émile Durkheim called “collective effervescence” (Óno, 2001, p. 158). The explanation for the apparent double standard noted above, rooted in an imperial sense of superiority that occupies a space of absolutes (human rights), without “equivalence” (relativism), is that the BDS Resolution involves solidarity with a collective self. Here the self is one infused with nationalism, with American Exceptionalism, the secular theology of the US.

This secular theology manifested itself in the academic setting thanks in part to the influence of agencies such as the Rockefeller Foundation, which has been especially important in shaping US anthropology in the twentieth-century, as discussed further on. Rockefeller and similar foundations sought to internationalize what Berman (1999, p. 194) refers to as the Social Gospel of American progressivism. As Berman explains, “the foundations’ early twentieth-century international programs clearly reflected the Christian missionary fervor of the time” (1999, p. 194). This Christian-inspired, though secularized missionary project aimed at reforming societies in order to pacify and stabilize them, in the interest of maintaining the capitalist global order, and to protect US interests. The zeal “to do Good” was capitalized by the Rockefeller Foundation, and one of the accomplishments of the Rockefellers was “their secularization of this religious enthusiasm in an effort to build more perfect societies both at home and abroad” (Berman, 1999, p. 194).

If the concept of “secular religion” is appropriate in the case of US anthropology, then it would help to explain the *deeply personal* attachment to the discipline expressed by many US anthropologists, an attachment that has an air of totalizing conviction that anthropology can change lives for the better, because anthropology possesses basic truths of “what it means to be human”. Anthropology thus becomes deeply personal for many US recruits: anthropology defines *who I am*, and is not merely a profession, which would simply be *what I do*. To give just one example of this self-representation, one writes: “I’m an anthropologist....I see anarchism as something you do[,] not an identity[,] so don’t call me the anarchist anthropologist”<sup>6</sup>. *I am an anthropologist*—it’s an *identity*. I am not an anarchist—*anarchism* is just an *activity*. It is a very peculiar statement, because it could just as well have been reversed: “I am an anarchist. I see anthropology as something I do, but not an identity”. Where anthropology ceases to be simply a domain of inquiry, and becomes fused with a personal state of being, it risks turning into a cult, led by dubious gurus marshalling opinion in favour of the appointed crusade of the moment. Anthropology as personal identity, as a new secular religion for disaffected middle-class people in the US, becomes a way of living, of “living anthropologically”<sup>7</sup> you could say. Anthropology—*go get some*, “it could change your life”<sup>8</sup>.

In the shadow of this creepy ontology, let's hope that a Canadian anthropology could be allowed to emerge without so many billboards, temples, pastors and prima donnas.



## US Anthropology is Imperial, not Universal

“today numerous topics directly issuing from the intellectual confrontations relating to the social particularity of American society and of its universities have been imposed, in apparently de-historicized form, upon the whole planet. These *commonplaces*, in the Aristotelian sense of notions or theses *with which* one argues but *about which* one does not argue, or, put another way, these presuppositions of discussion which remain undiscussed, owe much of their power to convince to the fact that, circulating from academic conferences to bestselling books, from semi-scholarly journals to expert's evaluations, from commission reports to magazine covers, they are present everywhere simultaneously, from Berlin to Tokyo and from Milan to Mexico, and are powerfully supported and relayed by those allegedly neutral channels that are international organizations (such as the OECD or the European Commission) and public policy think tanks”. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1999, p. 41)

### Galtung on Academic Imperialism

Forty-five years ago, Johan Galtung provided some of the building blocks for a theory of academic imperialism that ought to have served as a caution to academics outside of the US imperial centre. In his “structural theory of imperialism” (Galtung, 1971) wrote of the *means of production* (the economic sector), the *means of destruction* (military sector), the *means of communication/transportation*, and the *means of creation* (the cultural sector) (p. 92). Galtung held that cultural imperialism derives its effects from economic imperialism (p. 91), noting that the varieties of imperialism (political, economic, military, cultural, etc.) can reinforce each other (p. 88). His basic definition of imperialism was explained in these terms:

“Imperialism will be conceived of as a dominance relation between collectivities, particularly between nations. It is a sophisticated type of dominance relation which cuts across nations, basing itself on a bridgehead which the center in the Center nation establishes in the center of the Periphery nation, for the joint benefit of both. It should not be confused with other ways in which one collectivity can dominate another in the sense of exercising power over it”. (Galtung, 1973, p. 81)

Of the relationships between centre and periphery, Galtung identifies two primary ones: a *vertical* interaction that is primarily about extraction and inequality, and a *feudal* interaction that helps to maintain that inequality primarily by the imperial nation’s monopolization of all significant external interactions of the peripheral nation. This can be seen in cases of nations that are almost obsessive in their subservience to US foreign policy and to the importation of US products, with the US also serving as their primary export market.

For Galtung (1971, p. 93), *cultural imperialism* is restricted to the sphere of teaching and learning, what others would later call academic imperialism. What matters, in Galtung’s formulation, is not so much the division of labour between teachers and learners, but that the teachers and learners are in different locations—the teachers are in the centre of the system dominated by the imperial power, and the learners are in the periphery. The centre provides the teachers and defines what is worthy of being taught. The periphery provides the learners, and those who flatter and encourage the centre on what it teaches, and create demand. Galtung argues that this pattern “smacks of imperialism” (1971, p. 93).

Describing a process of *extraction*, Galtung produces an outline of scientific colonialism that seems to describe the norm of US anthropology at least from World War II onwards:

“In science we find a particular version of vertical division of labor, very similar to economic division of labor: the pattern of scientific teams from the Center who go to Periphery nations to collect data (raw material) in the form of deposits, sediments, flora, fauna, archeological findings, attitudes, behavioral patterns, and so on for data processing, data analysis, and theory formation (processing, in general) in the Center universities (factories), so as to be able to send the finished product, a journal, a book (manufactured goods) back for consumption in the center of the Periphery—after first having



created a demand for it through demonstration effect, training in the Center country, and some degree of low level participation in the data collection team. This parallel is not a joke, it is a *structure*. If in addition the precise nature of the research is to provide the Center with information that can be used economically, politically, or militarily to maintain an imperialist structure, the cultural imperialism becomes even more clear. And if to this we add the *brain drain* (and body drain) whereby ‘raw’ brains (students) and ‘raw’ bodies (unskilled workers) are moved from the Periphery to the Center and ‘processed’ (trained) with ample benefit to the Center, the picture becomes complete”. (Galtung, 1971, pp. 93-94)

Two years later, Diane Lewis (1973) made similar observations about anthropology, explicitly building on Galtung’s framework. Galtung’s work is also particularly significant in the history of US anthropology, because he was among the first to seriously describe and analyze aspects of the militarization of US anthropology in the Cold War era, specifically around the time of the Vietnam War, and played a key role in exposing Project Camelot. What is also significant is that he is neither a US academic, nor an anthropologist—but rather a Norwegian with an exceptionally wide network of colleagues throughout Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

“Knowledge is known as a good thing,” Galtung wrote in 1967, “but in human affairs it is not immaterial how that knowledge was acquired” (p. 13). In this earlier article on scientific colonialism, Galtung described it as the “process whereby the centre of gravity for the acquisition of knowledge about the nation is located outside the nation itself” (1967, p. 13). This colonialist relation is achieved by the following means—though I am not sure this was ever intended to be an exhaustive list:

“One is to claim the right of unlimited access to data from other countries. Another is to export data about the country to one’s own home country to have it processed there and turned out as ‘manufactured goods,’ as books and articles. This is essentially, as has been pointed out by the Argentinian sociologist Jorge Graciarena, similar to what happens when raw materials are exported at a low price and reimported at a very high cost as manufactured goods. The most important, most creative, most entrepreneurial, most rewarding and most difficult phases of the process take place abroad, in some other nation”. (Galtung, 1967, p. 13)

Galtung warned us about the politics of social science research in an imperial system: “Social science knowledge about a small nation in the hands of a big power is a potentially dangerous weapon. It contributes to the asymmetric patterns already existing in the world because it contributes to manipulation in the interests of big powers” (1967, p. 14). He added: “social science is today a potential political tool of great significance. The entry of social scientists in another country is a potential political action” (Galtung, 1967, p. 14).

### **Bourdieu & Wacquant: Imperialism Misrecognized as Universalism**

Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant begin their 1999 article with the basic statement that, “cultural imperialism rests on the power to universalize particularisms linked to a singular historical tradition by causing them to be misrecognized as such” (p. 41). It’s a basic statement in the sense that it is on this that they build their argument against cultural imperialism in academia, and specifically about Americanization via academic imperialism. Their article, not surprisingly, received very hostile responses from a number of US academics, particularly those whose research was carried out in Brazil, and especially from those named by Bourdieu and Wacquant in their article (French, 2000, who called the piece “hysterical”, p. 109; also, Hanchard, 2003; Lemert, 2000), joined by some UK academics in some of their criticisms (Venn, 1999), while others offered more sympathetic exegeses of the work (Friedman, 2000; Robbins, 2003), and some are vaguely in between (Werbner, 2000), even if still essentially offering apologia for empire. The impression is that Anglo-American academics were generally left reeling in shock by the “polemical blast” of their article (Venn, 1999, p. 61). Did Bourdieu not say he viewed sociology as a combat sport? Clearly Bourdieu and Wacquant had violated an academic taboo in referring to US imperialism directly, and its academic imperialism in particular (French, 2000, p. 108)—for more on this taboo, see below. However, note that Galtung made similar arguments decades earlier—so clearly a blanket of silence had been draped over the Western social sciences in the intervening years, and it is largely still in place, thanks in part to the obfuscatory works of US anthropologists on “globalization” (for example, Appadurai, 1990; Tsing, 2000). Also noteworthy: this debate transpired *outside* of any anthropology journals, and mostly

in one journal alone: *Theory, Culture & Society* which emerged from Teesside Polytechnic in the UK during the Thatcher years, thus peripheral and in a precarious situation.

***Imperialism: The Unspeakable Word in US Anthropology***

That discussion of *imperialism*, and particularly US imperialism, is basically absent in US and US-dominated anthropology is a fact. It is not difficult to prove, just as it is not difficult to prove that this silence/silencing has transpired since the 1970s. Up until the 1970s, it was not difficult—rare, but not impossible—to find anthropology journals publishing articles with the word “imperialism” at least in the title. However, since Kathleen Gough was purged—and relocated to Canada—contemporary Western imperialism itself as a subject of study in US anthropology largely disappeared with her exile. The current taboo is manifest for example in the works that seek to define the state of knowledge in “the discipline” (singular anthropology, which itself is already a hegemonic move). Here are some examples:

The *Dictionary of Concepts in Cultural Anthropology* (Winthrop, 1991), moves from “Historicism” to “Inequality,” without listing imperialism.

The Sage *Encyclopedia of Anthropology* (Birx, 2006) skips from “Ik” to “Incest Taboo”.

The forthcoming Wiley-Blackwell *International Encyclopedia of Anthropology*, edited by Hilary Callan, travels from “Immigration” straight to “Inbreeding”.

The 2015 conference of the AAA had a keyword index that skipped from “Immigration” to “Incarceration,” and not even the “Interventions” keyword featured any presentation dealing with the geopolitical form of intervention.

The *Annual Review of Anthropology*—while lacking any article titled “The Anthropology of Imperialism”—presents a somewhat more complicated case. According to the publisher, there are 107 articles that have some connection with “imperialism”, and two that feature the word “empire” in the title, neither of which deals with US imperialism however.

For its part, the *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* has two articles dealing with imperialism. The biggest exception in *all* of the social sciences in the English language is of

course the newest: *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism*, edited by Immanuel Ness and Zak Cope.

Books published by US and UK anthropologists provide few exceptions. Clearly, David Harvey (English) who was housed in an anthropology department until he retired, and his former student, the late Neil Smith (Scottish) in anthropology at CUNY, both published books on imperialism and US imperialism in particular—these are two of the major exceptions (Harvey, 2003; Smith, 2003). Another UK anthropologist, Jeremy Keenan, published *The Dying Sahara: US Imperialism and Terror in Africa* (2013). Also, *Bases of Empire*, edited by Catherine Lutz (2009), is certainly an approach to the study of US imperialism (or “empire”), focused on the military and pursuing a generally non-Marxist-Leninist interpretation of imperialism. David Vine’s *Island of Shame* (2009), also discusses US imperialism specifically, but again primarily through the lens of military bases. Otherwise, collections such as *Imperial Formations* (Stoler et al., 2007) focus exclusively on the past, and on every imperial formation apart from the US. Given that the AAA alone boasts of having around 11,000 members—this is not a robust body of scholarship by any means, even if this is just a very basic “literature review” attempt. Courses specifically about US imperialism, in US anthropology, are as far as I can tell are non-existent in the US.

### ***Imperialism: The Internationalization of US Paradigms***

Bourdieu and Wacquant deal with both the political-economic and the epistemic dimensions of US academic imperialism. The political-economic aspect is of lesser prominence in their article, but important for spotlighting the role of philanthropic foundations, conferences (what Bourdieu called academic stock exchanges and import-export markets), publishers, scholarships, and university training in spreading US paradigms. The epistemic side features more prominently, and focuses on how “globalization” came to prominence in the Western academy—and in US anthropology—as part of the neoliberal march of the 1990s and the rise of US military and financial unipolar supremacy. Bourdieu and Wacquant take exception with the term “globalization,” which “has the effect, if not the function, of submerging the effects of imperialism in cultural ecumenism or economic fatalism and of making

transnational relationships of power appear as a neutral necessity” (1999, p. 42).

More than this, Bourdieu and Wacquant tackle the internationalization of US paradigms, which are misrecognized as universal by being divorced from their US socio-historical origins and particularities. The US has thus created an “international lingua franca” that ignores local particularities, and they point to various examples of the “symbolic dominion and influence” exercised by the US (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1999, pp. 43-44, 45). The authors argue that what is most “exceptional” of the US is “its capacity to impose as universal that which is most particular to itself [black-white racial dichotomy] while passing off as exceptional that which makes it most common [upward class mobility]” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1999, p. 51).

US symbolic dominion today does not come about as a result of a brute imposition, in most cases. Instead, US paradigms become locally dominant outside of the US, thanks to various “carriers” and their relations of dependency with the US, which retains the power to consecrate its local acolytes. Researchers in the dominated countries derive “material and symbolic profits...from a more or less assumed or ashamed adherence to the model derived from the USA” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1999, p. 46). Here Bourdieu and Wacquant broach the subject of collaborating elites, the “mystified mystifiers”. They argue that “symbolic violence is indeed never wielded but with a form of (extorted) complicity on the part of those who submit to it,” noting that the “globalization” of themes of US social doxa, its “more or less sublimated transcription” in semi-scholarly discourse,

“would not be possible without the collaboration, conscious or unconscious, directly or indirectly interested, of all the passeurs, ‘carriers’ and importers of designer or counterfeit cultural products (publishers, directors of cultural institutions such as museums, operas, galleries, journals, etc.) who, in the country itself or in target countries, propound and propagate, often in good faith, American cultural products, and all the American cultural authorities which, without being explicitly concerted, accompany, orchestrate and sometimes even organize the process of collective conversion to the new symbolic Mecca”. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1999, p. 46)

Cultural imperialism, Bourdieu and Wacquant wryly observe, is also never more successful, “never imposes itself better,” than “when it is served by progressive intellectuals” (1999, p. 51). By helping to

“globalize” US theories, what these local and foreign “progressive intellectuals” achieve is to verify and legitimize the US belief in globalization, and US supremacy.

How could we ever really challenge this US supremacy, if in our very teaching and learning practices we basically abide by this dominance and help to reproduce it? Suddenly, this is not such an “academic” question any longer.

## Putting US Anthropology Back into (Social) History

Thomas Patterson’s 2001 volume is useful to understanding the historical conditions that produced US anthropology, and the manner in which the knowledge produced refracts US social divisions, as are others dealing with various European imperial anthropologies (see also Tilley & Gordon, 2007). Matters routinely taken for granted, such as the foundation and purpose for doing ethnography (*ethnography is for studying savages*), who were the first full-time ethnographic researchers (*colonial officers*), and what constitutes an “anthropological question” (find out the *dominant social discourses* first), are fully brought to the fore in such works. While summarizing Patterson’s richly detailed text is beyond the scope of this article, a compendium of summaries/commentaries offers greater detail to readers.<sup>9</sup>

Perhaps the most basic and essential significance of Patterson’s text is that it compels the reader to understand that there is no general, socially free-floating anthropology—anthropology *in* the US is very much *US anthropology*, and it betrays all the signs of its social, political, and economic moorings, down to which questions it asked, when, and why. “Race” was never *naturally* a subject of interest that *automatically* became a part of anthropologists’ purview—it was made to be that way. The same is true of a very wide range of so-called “anthropological topics”. What follows from this is that *there is no inherently anthropological question*, and *no topic* that is *inherently anthropological*. Therefore when a subject is completely occluded or excluded in US anthropology it is not necessarily due to its inherent lack of “anthropologicality,” but is usually more a function of the politics that structure the discipline.

Some brief examples from Patterson’s text may be useful here. First, when did the nature-culture debate first become pressing in the US, and under which pressures? Were academics the ones to initiate the debate, for internal, academic reasons, out of purely scholarly in-

terest? No, instead much of this had to do with *proving the viability of the US as a new nation, and as one that was not a credit risk to international lenders*:

“In the wake of the Revolution, it was imperative for the Americans to assert not only their national identity but also their capacity to develop a civil and political society that was morally superior to those of the European countries. At the same time, they had to refute the arguments of eighteenth-century writers—such as the influential French naturalist, Georges Louis Leclerc, the Comte de Buffon (1707–88)—who asserted the inferiority of the New World, its inhabitants and their societies. Buffon and his followers raised a political question of vital importance. Would the American experiment fail because of the obstructions imposed by nature? It was essential for the American envoys—such as Benjamin Franklin (1706–90), James Madison (1751–1836) or Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826)—to refute Buffon and his followers....in the 1770s and 1780s if they were to obtain sorely needed financial assistance and credit in Europe. They had to show that nature was neither hostile nor immutable in the Americas and that the United States was indeed a good risk”. (Patterson, 2001, pp. 7, 8; see also p. 15)

If access to foreign capital markets was significant in propelling the debate, and making it urgent enough to command public and official attention, it is not surprising that *insurance companies* would also play a critical role in moving physical anthropology and particularly anthropometry. Patterson describes the work of academics for the US Sanitary Commission during the Civil War, a predominantly elite, upper-class organization seeking to justify its purpose, and whose “expenses were underwritten in substantial part by insurance companies. Along with other medical and anthropometric studies made in the nineteenth century, they were quickly used by insurance company statisticians to establish the empirical foundations for differential premium and rate structures based on race and to verify their necessity” (Patterson, quoting Haller, 2001, p. 21).

While almost every US president in the new country’s first century of history played some direct or indirect role in shaping US anthropological research, some left a lasting legacy that would later be wrongly attributed to the influence of key academics. While Franz Boas is routinely credited for proposing “salvage ethnography,” the idea first came from Thomas Jefferson (who would become the third US president) in 1785, a century before Boas became an academic. Jefferson, who along

with others actually engaged in salvage ethnography, justified it on these very familiar grounds:

“It is to be lamented then ... that we have suffered so many Indian tribes already to extinguish, without having previously collected and deposited in the records of literature, the rudiments at least of the languages they spoke. Were vocabularies formed of all the languages spoken in North and South America, preserving their appellations of the most common objects in nature, of those which must be present to every nation barbarous or civilized, with the inflection of their nouns and verbs, their principles of regimen and concord, ... it would furnish opportunities for those skilled in the languages of the old world to compare them with these ... and to construct the best evidence of the derivation of this part of the human race”. (Jefferson quoted in Patterson, 2001, p. 10)

In 1786, then US president George Washington also asked Ohio’s government agents to collect Indian vocabularies in order to “throw light upon the original history of this country,” to draw connections between North America and Asia, and in showing the “affinity of tongues,” proving that human differences were superficial (Patterson, 2001, p. 11). In 1819, former president John Adams proposed a similar effort to collect data on indigenous languages in the US (Patterson, 2001, p. 11). It is interesting to see how much that is taken for granted as anthropological history, is in fact presidential history.

Race, language, the study of ruins, and the recording of present customs, all driven by official concerns with domestic policy, land grabs, managing immigrants, and developing an international reputation, helped form the cornerstones of the so-called “four field approach” in US anthropology. Hence, biological, linguistic, archaeological, and cultural anthropology.

Patterson aside, others in the US have been critically aware of the imprint of US social history and US hemispheric domination on the composition of the seminal texts in US anthropology. One key example is the work of Lewis Henry Morgan, whose concern for “the Iroquois decline” was to an important extent framed in terms of the lessons that could benefit “the American republic” (Hinsley, 1985, p. 37). Morgan was also worried about how territorial expansion might weaken the coherence of federation, “with the recent Mexican war and current North-South debates clearly in mind”—for Morgan the lesson to be learned from the Iroquois focused on the need for occupation,



not just conquest (Hinsley, 1985, p. 37). (However, it seems unclear why Morgan would need the Iroquois to tell him that “truth,” that he should have already known as a settler.) In Morgan’s *The League of the Iroquois*, Hinsley critically observes that, “his version of their history largely exculpates Whites, and his description of Iroquois merits corresponds closely to the values of his culture” (1985, p. 36).

Early US anthropology, Hinsley concludes, provided “the vital intellectual and psychological support for economic and political hegemony over the hemisphere” (Hinsley, 1985, p. 39). Similarly, Kehoe (1985, p. 41) argued that, “traditional American ethnology was shaped by larger ideological metaphors reflecting and supporting contemporary Anglo-American economic-political structure”. When we, in Canada, call *this* anthropology “anthropology”—singular and universal—it is also this, particular, ideological support that we are actually importing and reproducing.

In Morgan, we even have precedents for the language of “flows” that came to dominate the US anthropology of globalization, another recent import into anthropology in Canada. Morgan spoke of “the flow of population” with “augmenting force” when speaking of white conquest and colonization. As Hinsley notes, there is “a soothing softness” in Morgan’s euphemistic use of “tide,” “flow,” and “wave” when describing what was actually “murder, exploitation, and destruction of entire peoples” (Hinsley, 1985, p. 36). The language of “flows” in US globalization studies performs an identical role, as Bourdieu and Wacquant recognized, in euphemizing US imperialism and neutralizing its impact.

There is also a substantial amount of historical data to suggest the possibility that without the Rockefeller Foundation, there may well not have been an anthropology in US universities as we know it. There is nothing of the *universal* here—simply highly situated determinations of capital and its political upholders.

## Rockefeller Capital: Making US Anthropology Possible

“Foundation personnel neither carry rifles into combat in support of United States overseas expansion nor do they actively support counter-insurgency training for American forces....The foundations’ contribution to American foreign policy has been mainly in the

cultural sphere, and over the years they have perfected methods whereby their educational and cultural programs would complement the cruder and more overt forms of economic and military imperialism that are so easily identifiable". (Berman, 1983, p. 3)

The support given by various US foundations to a range of educational institutions and programs around the world, "cannot be understood apart from particular historical circumstances" (Berman, 1983, p. 3). Berman emphasizes this point, which could easily apply to US anthropology as a whole, past and present: "To divorce their programs from the sociopolitical contexts that led to their formulation would be analogous to studying a major revolutionary upheaval in isolation from the background preceding the outbreak of hostilities" (1983, p. 3).

It is not just a matter of foundations passively being imprinted by a particular social history. The major US philanthropic foundations actively reproduce the hegemony which they reflect and uphold—and their programs abroad do no less. US philanthropic support for educational institutions and the training of academics grants these foundations "great leverage in the production and dissemination of knowledge," by deciding which knowledge was "valuable," "of interest," and deserving of support—and which ideas would not be funded; foundations thus acted as the "gatekeepers of ideas" (Berman, 1983, p. 13). Foundation-supported intellectuals act as the "salesmen" of a "cultural pax Americana," as the intermediaries between the ruling class whose ideas they essentially convey, and the rest of the population (Berman, 1983, pp. 13, 15, 19, 30). These intermediaries, selected because they convey the foundations' pre-approved ideas, are then misrepresented as objective, neutral, above ideology, and as representing the canons of the best scholarship.

It would also be a mistake to downplay the impact on US anthropology of funding from philanthropic foundations that emerged from major corporate empires. That impact did extend to favouring certain research programs over others. Thus Rockefeller support significantly aided the eugenics movement, shifting its concerns to "population control and to birth-control experiments on an international scale" (Patterson, 2001, p. 60). Nor was Rockefeller funding alone: other corporate oligarchic families gave birth to foundations such as the Carnegie Corporation, the Ford Foundation, and the Kellogg foundation—but it was the Rockefeller group of philanthropies that had the greatest impact, especially for establishing the Social Science Research Council

(SSRC), the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial (LSRM), and the University of Chicago itself (reconstituted by John D. Rockefeller in 1892), in addition to founding several key anthropology departments around the planet. In the US, the Rockefeller philanthropies designated Chicago, Columbia, Yale, Harvard, North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Stanford, Berkeley, and Pennsylvania as “centers of excellence,” funding them so they could become “prototypical research institutions”—and to this day, these are some of the key institutions from which PhDs are sought to better assure one of success in gaining academic employment, especially as they hire from each other. Overseas, the Rockefellers funded the development of anthropology at the London School of Economics, providing Bronislaw Malinowski with the capital needed to exercise command over the discipline’s development, and they funded the establishment of anthropology at the University of Sydney (Patterson, 2001, pp. 72, 73). Ironically, even as some US anthropologists criticized early British anthropology in Africa as colonial, they sometimes overlooked or downplayed the fact that a US corporate foundation funded such work.

The central concerns of the Rockefellers were the promotion of social and economic stability (with consequently heaving funding of functionalism) and the development of effective methods of social control at home, and related subjects abroad, being interested in colonial policies, the social management of native populations, and “cultural contact” (Patterson, 2001, p. 73; Goody, 1995). The Rockefellers were also a major force behind the development of “practical anthropology” (now applied anthropology), asking anthropologists working in the US “to apply their knowledge to problems confronting the country: unemployment, the conditions on Indian reservations, or the circumstances of small farmers” (Patterson, 2001, p. 81).

The relationship between the Rockefeller Foundation and US foreign policy is also significant, as Patterson details. From the end of the 1930s onward, Rockefeller directed funding to research involving Latin America, while also coordinating that with the Office of the Coordinator of Interamerican Affairs (OCIAA) established by the federal government in 1940, and headed by Nelson Rockefeller himself (Patterson, 2001, p. 95). Rockefeller also successfully lobbied the US Congress for funds to publish the famous *Handbook of South American Indians*, edited by Julian Steward (who developed a long and continuing relationship with Rockefeller funding), presumably in the spirit of

“hemispheric unity” (Patterson, 2001, p. 95), but under US tutelage, with US anthropologists taking a commanding lead in the formation of research paradigms dealing with Indigenous Peoples in the Americas. By the 1950s and especially the 1960s, all of the major US foundations were funding research that would provide information and insights needed to further US foreign policy (see Patterson, 2001, p. 115).

What we, outside of the US, should learn from this is that such a history is neither “universal” nor “exportable”. I would suggest that we mistake hegemony for universality in uncritically consuming and reproducing US anthropology, its questions, its methods, and its standards. Now that this hegemony is made public and clear, by the AAA itself, in declaring support for a sort of “boycott,” one salutary consequence is that it should give the rest of us pause, and lead us to new turning points.



## Importing Empire, Exporting Capital: Canadian Universities as Retail Outlets for US Anthropology

The “Americanist tradition” has been reproduced in Canada in terms of the structuring of the leading anthropology departments according to the US discipline’s four fields of archaeology, linguistic, cultural and biological/physical anthropology. This is the case with university departments that function as virtual outposts, or bridgeheads, of the US master discipline, particularly at the University of Toronto, McGill University, and the University of British Columbia. Historically, the departments at these institutions, which garner the bulk of research funding in anthropology in Canada, were staffed by faculty trained at the elite US institutions—the Rockefeller “centers of excellence” mentioned previously. When they host conferences of the Canadian Anthropology Society (CASCA), it appears that to make it worth their while they inevitably have to “partner” the meetings with those of a US counterpart, such as the American Ethnological Society (AES). Such institutions sometimes share staff with US associations, such as the case of Monica Heller at the University of Toronto who is the current president of the AAA, with all of her degrees gained in the US. At McGill, fully 70% of the anthropology faculty obtained their PhDs in the US, and a number of them are US immigrants. At the University of

Toronto, among its Graduate Faculty category in the Department of Anthropology, the proportion of US PhDs is 54%, lower than that at McGill, but also because they have tended to hire more British PhDs. At UBC, the proportion of US PhDs in the Department of Anthropology is 48%. I return to the hiring issue below. It should be noted that other, more peripheral anthropology programs in Canada tend to be partnered with sociology and thus lack independent departmental status—there are at least 11 such joint Sociology-Anthropology departments in Canada, out of a total of 47 anthropology programs in Canada.

Beyond the structure of the leading university departments of anthropology in Canada, and the composition of staff in terms of their PhDs and the interlocked networks of connections those imply, and the incessant partnering and correspondence with US programs, there is the broader question of the production of knowledge. In fact, it is too broad to be treated in more than a cursory fashion as is done here. Focusing on socio-cultural anthropology, the dominant mode of producing knowledge is via ethnographic research done abroad. Such anthropology takes its inspiration from an imperial tradition, such as the US' war and post-war paradigm (because certainly in the 1800s and early 1900s, US anthropology was almost always done “at home,” and only expanded abroad as the US imperial state expanded militarily), or the British colonial tradition. This paradigm has deeply impacted—I would say *scarred*—graduate students, who often appear ambivalent, regretful, apologetic and somehow ashamed to admit that their graduate research “had to be” done in Canada (usually due to insufficient funding—thus unfairly shouldering personal blame for that too).

In terms of the consumption of knowledge, most and probably all Canadian anthropology programs essentially serve a retail function for US-produced and US-published anthropology. This ranges from the core texts that students are required to purchase, to journal articles assigned as readings, to documentary films, and even the study of research ethics. To say that US anthropology in Canada is *hegemonic* is virtually an understatement. For the most part, Canadian anthropology is actually just *anthropology in Canada*, and most of that is US anthropology, and secondly British anthropology.

## Peripheralization: Notes on the Canadian Sales Representative

The academic equivalent of the sales representative in Canada is a very generous, self-sacrificing individual. In return for assigning as required reading in his or her courses all of the books of the “prestigious,” “distinguished,” and “internationally renown” writers, and in return for inviting such academic celebrities to give the keynote addresses at Canadian conferences, and in return for training the graduate students to sound more like such established figures (who are mostly but not only from the US or the UK), can the Canadian sales rep expect reciprocity? From what I have gathered thus far, fragmentary and anecdotal as it is, it seems that a rare “thank you” by email is the extent of the reciprocity. When Canadians perform as anonymous reviewers for articles submitted to journals, they may chastise colleagues for failing to dutifully reference a particular work by one of these glorious foreigners. Can Canadians expect any such loyal courtesy in return? Canadian academics hunt for funding—provided courtesy of Canadian tax payers—in order to offer such dignitaries honoraria and all-expenses-paid working holidays in Canada, and in return the beneficiaries will rarely bother themselves with offering their Canadian hosts more than a little space in a footnote in their publications. Canadian scholars create edited volumes, and proudly feature the work of the leading lights from the US—and had they not done so, their names would never appear between the same covers as these immortal luminaries, who rarely reciprocate by inviting the same Canadians to contribute to any edited volumes of their own (should they have any, since facilitation of others is anathema to them). Even when a Canadian scholar publishes, or publishes more, on the very topic for which such foreign figures gained such renown, it is the same as if the Canadians had published nothing at all—not even a mere listing in a bibliography. I am not even sure that “sales representative” is the adequate label for such characters—their work largely goes unpaid, even if it produces great value by generating and sustaining demand, and creating an outflow of Canadian capital. They are not quite slaves, because such subordination is not, strictly speaking, obligatory and enforced coercively—though perhaps that is a case that remains to be made. They are neither protagonists nor antagonists, but mere *agonistes*, and barely that if we keep true to the etymology of the term. They are altar servers or perhaps what

Bourdieu called lectors, who perform a willing servitude for the greater good of others and their interests:

“On the side of the institution, the *lector* finds himself obliged to erect as orthodoxy, as explicit profession of faith, the doxa of the doctors, their silent beliefs which have no need for justification: challenged to produce in broad daylight the unconscious thoughts of an institution, he articulates in black and white the truth of his post of humble and pious celebrant of a faith which transcends him. Steeped in the obviousness of his position, he has nothing to propose as method apart from his *ethos*, that is the very dispositions elicited by his position: he is and intends to be ‘patient and modest’. Constantly preaching ‘prudence’, he reminds people of the limits of his function, which thus becomes those of a functionary: he claims to ‘be satisfied with editing texts, an essential and difficult work,’ to ‘determine in a reliable way some little fact concerning Racine’. Destined for the dead and deadening work of daily worship, he chooses to *abase* himself in the face of the work which his only right is to ‘explain and make lovable’. But, like any delegate, this man of order finds in the humility which earns him the gratitude of his professional body the motive for an extraordinary self-assurance: conscious that he is expressing the ultimate values, which it would be better not to have to publish, of a whole community of belief—‘objectivity,’ ‘good taste,’ ‘clarity,’ ‘common sense’—he finds it scandalous that anyone should question those certitudes which constitute the academic order which has produced him, and he feels the right and duty to denounce and condemn what appears to him to be the result of impudent imposture and unseemly excess”. (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 116)

What Bourdieu describes is a pattern of subordination and servile orthodoxy, within a national context (France). When translated to an international frame of reference, what this becomes is a process of *peripheralization*, masked by euphemisms of “globalization”. Canadian scholars ought to understand—from firsthand experience—just how the academic (semi)periphery is created and sustained.

## Academic Imperialism in Canada

As I mentioned in previous writing, the definition of academic imperialism which I use is an adaptation derived from a definition of media

imperialism, formulated by Oliver Boyd-Barrett (2015, p. 1), with the following three facets:

- (1) that processes of imperialism are in various senses executed and/or promoted by and through academic structures and knowledge production;
- (2) that academic institutions and scholars, the meanings they produce and distribute and the political-economic processes that sustain them, are shaped by and through ongoing processes of empire building and maintenance, and they carry the residues of empires that once were; and,
- (3) that there is academic behaviour that in and of itself and without reference to broader or more encompassing frameworks may be considered imperialistic.

What we have as anthropology in Canada is essentially the white, Western, middle-class discipline of an imperial US, thoroughly encoding the social history, political economy, dominant assumptions, and resultant questions and topics of that discipline. Anthropology is primarily an Americanized, bourgeois way of consuming the world.

Academic like media imperialism, involves transmitting knowledge, information, meaning—essentially intangible products. Academia both shapes social behaviour, and mirrors certain social behaviours; it shapes expectations while answering to certain expectations. The ambitions and interests found within academic institutions are formed by, and responsive to, the wider political and economic contexts in which such institutions exist. The university is an institution of power, and typically it has served the interests of the powerful. Profit also matters to the university, whether actual monetary profit, or its symbolic equivalents: reputation and rank, visibility and respectability, which are sought as means of eventually extracting profit. Following “best practices” entails the Americanization of non-US universities so that they may be recognized by their dominant US peers as worthy of being seen and thus known. Of particular relevance to Canada is the fact that historically universities have been the key institutions responsible for training the bridgeheads, the local elites in the centre of this (semi)periphery. This has been true of universities generally in the Americas, since early colonial times. In addition, certain academic disciplines were formed with reasons of state in mind—statistics, sociol-



ogy and the problem of order, anthropology and colonial administration, economics and development. Third World students and faculty are trained in areas of governance, public administration, law, business management, and development, so as to better extend and deepen imperial interests, while accumulating personal rewards for their diligent service. What is presented as “the university” around the world tends for the most part to bear the imprint of the structures of knowledge production—the disciplines—that were formed in mid- to late-nineteenth-century Europe, advanced and then extended by the US. If we follow Galtung’s definition of cultural imperialism, focused as it is on teaching and learning, then the university is the highest form of cultural imperialism.

## Are Canadian Anthropologists Allowed to Work in Canadian Universities?

*Of course they are:* that would be the immediate response of most anthropologists in Canada to what would seem a very counterintuitive and melodramatic question. They will remind you that in Canada, academic employment announcements always carry the obligatory, legal statement that Canadian citizens and Canadian permanent residents will be given preference in hiring. Within university administrations, there are procedures that must be followed for justifying a non-Canadian hire. Yet, somehow, we still have a large portion of US citizens hired by Canadian anthropology departments, especially in the large urban centres, not to mention university administrations staffed by US personnel—at the same time as we have a high rate of unemployment for Canadian PhDs. Is it our duty to function as a safety valve for rising academic unemployment in the US, when we have only one-tenth of the US’ population? Our total number of universities for all of Canada (population 34 million) is 98—while California (population 38 million) alone has 157 universities. Moreover, has the US ever reciprocated to the same degree, in hiring Canadian citizens in academia? Again, it is impressive to see the extent to which nominally Canadian universities serve to drain capital away from Canada, in order to further US capital accumulation.

In 2011, I attended the annual general meeting of the Canadian Anthropology Society (CASCA), at its conference in Fredericton, New

Brunswick, on the campus of St. Thomas University. CASCA had just announced the release of a very important, most likely unprecedented, survey of anthropology in Canada. In response to the survey, a colleague from British Columbia stood up and smashed the wall of silence by exclaiming that most of the US-born and US-trained anthropology professors in Canada *should be fired*. Why? Because they continued to tell their students that if they wanted to get real, respectable graduate degrees in anthropology, they should apply to US universities, and only then would they have a chance of being hired in a Canadian university. She continued,

“But that is why we hired you, so we would have that expertise here to raise the Canadian level up to the US level. If you’re still telling students to go to the US, then you’re admitting your failure. So you should be fired, because you didn’t do your job”.

It was an excellent way of turning dependency against itself, by challenging it on its own terms. *Nobody*—not one single person in an auditorium with about 300 professors from across Canada assembled—rose to challenge her.

Let us now turn to some of the striking details presented in that survey, along with some of the testimonials that were recorded by the interviewers. I will only be focusing on those areas of the document that are of immediate relevance to this article.

One of the main issues raised by the survey was that, “a survey of departments of anthropology is called for to determine whether perceptions of preferential hiring of non-Canadian PhDs in Canada is based in fact”; on the other hand, a strong desire was expressed to better “include all four-fields” in the association (CASCA, 2011, p. 3). This is not the only time that the document speaks with two voices: a) Canadianization in hiring, yet, b) Americanization of the discipline. There is a schism then between the political-economic and the epistemological, which is a serious problem, since (b) has historically worked to undermine (a). Nevertheless, one of the initiatives which CASCA was required to undertake—and I do not know if it has—was to find an answer to this question: “Are Canadian anthropologists being hired?” (CASCA, 2011, p. 4). Another suggested initiative was to, “Advocate for a Canadian tradition in anthropology” (CASCA, 2011, p. 4). This too seems to have been followed up by silence from the association. There was not even so much as a directory of Canadian anthro-

pologists produced—one of the other initiatives suggested by respondents—which one might assume is a relatively straightforward task of basic importance. A succession of CASCA presidents since then has continued the somnambulist tradition.

In terms of the hiring of anthropologists with Canadian PhDs, the survey found that out of 306 respondents (this is roughly half the number of anthropology professors in Canada), 168 had earned their PhDs in Canada, while 138 had earned them abroad. This means that overall 54% of those interviewed had Canadian PhDs. Just over 25% had US PhDs, with the remainder representing PhDs obtained elsewhere. However, as we saw above, these proportions are not the same when we consider the leading, core anthropology departments in the major Canadian urban centres. In other words, the most Canadian programs are the most peripheral—smaller universities, four-year colleges, in more distant and less populated areas.

The last section of the CASCA survey consists of narrative responses. (As I was not invited to take part in the survey, none of the following statements are my own. I have also not edited the responses to correct typographic errors.) One unnamed respondent stated:

“CASCA should do its utmost to help consolidate a CANADIAN tradition of Anthropology. Do more to advocate on behalf of Canadian-trained Canadian citizens. We are CONSISTENTLY passed over in favour of US- and UK-trained foreigners in tenure-track positions”. (CASCA, 2011, p. 22)

Other respondents also emphasized these points:

“Namely, I am referring the disastrous practice (for Anthropology in Canada) of consistently passing over Canadian-trained Canadians in tenure-track hires in favour of US- and UK-trained Americans, Britons, and Canadians. There are several departments in Ontario now staffed primarily by non-Canadian-trained anthropologists (mostly US citizens) by ratios that should give us all some serious pause. As a Canadian-trained Canadian anthropologist...I have had an impossible time securing anything more than contractually-limited teaching appointments, and I know that I speak for Canadian-trained anthropologists far and wide. I am far from being alone in this predicament, and, as my friends and I look around us, we see countless Americans staffing Canadian departments of Anthropology. All of this makes me (and, again, my Canadian friends and associates, all juniors) wonder about the significance, and indeed

the legal meaning, of that phrase, tacked onto every Canadian academic job ad, 'Canadians and permanent residents will be given priority.' Does this issue come up very much in discussions within CASCA?" (CASCA, 2011, p. 23)

Another explained:

"I completed the form, but wish you had asked a few questions that are of key concern to Canadians graduating with a PhD from Canadian Institutions of Anthropology. A lack of employment and the inability to compete with graduates from American schools is without question the number one concern of anthropology graduates in Canada. Even when well published and recipients of funding, they cannot compete with graduates of big American schools" (CASCA, 2011, p. 23)

Yet another asked: "Are Canadian PhDs being hired in Cdn universities? What do Cdn Anthropology PhDs end up doing?" (CASCA, 2011, p. 23). Another requested that CASCA "track and keep statistics on all hiring practices in Canada" with one respondent making this demand: "CASCA should be advocating for the hiring of Canadian PhDs in Canadian institutions. Or at least publishing the data on how many Canadian PhD hold TT [tenure track] appointments in Canada" (CASCA, 2011, p. 24). Finally, one recommendation was for CASCA to engage in "promoting more Canadian anthropological content in Canadian high school curriculum" (CASCA, 2011, p. 26).

What registered with me, from both this document and the discussion in Fredericton, is that there actually is a stratum of Canadian nationalism in anthropology in Canada, especially around hiring practices, and that the problem of foreign hiring is not an imagined one. We each have our anecdotes, and the ones I have collected are not necessarily either more interesting, more numerous, or more important than others. I will share just a little of what I learned: i) when debating whether to cross-list a colleague from another department, one anthropologist felt this should suffice to conclude the debate: "She has a PhD from the University of Michigan"; ii) a Department hires a new colleague whose doctorate is from Harvard, and this person is introduced by name followed by "PhD, Harvard," which is not a practice used for anyone else; iii) "the quality of my publications speaks for itself" said one anthropologist—but the only "quality" mentioned is that the articles were all published in US anthropology journals; iv) an applicant

for a position, coming from NYU, who has just obtained his PhD, is described as “a very big fish”—simply being from an elite US university automatically implies a form of seniority; v) a hiring committee shortlisted four applicants, three of them being US citizens, yet the requirement which the sole shortlisted Canadian applicant did not meet was a requirement that was not applied to any of the US applicants. As a former member of my university’s Joint Employment Equity Committee, when we routinely queried departments about their hiring preferences when they advanced US choices with insufficient explanation, I recall that our queries were sometimes either downplayed or dismissed and the hire might then proceed even without our approval. *Rubber-stamping*—this incredibly demeaning expectation that as an intellectual you have no questions, ask no questions, and suppress discussion and debate—is one of the routinized cultural mechanisms built into departmental and university administration that ensures continued and even heightened Americanization.

## Is US Anthropology Indispensable?

“we are America; we are the indispensable nation. We stand tall and we see further than other countries into the future”. (Madeleine Albright, US Secretary of State, on NBC in 1998)

One of the underlying arguments advanced in the preceding sections is, simply put, that US Anthropology should be of lesser importance and relevance to Canadians, because it was bred in different circumstances, answered to different interests, and expresses its own dominant culture’s fixations. On another level, Americanization has harmed the employment chances of those we educate and graduate. However, another question that can be raised is—to borrow from Madeleine Albright’s phrase about the US being “the indispensable nation”—whether US anthropology ought to be deferentially regarded as the indispensable anthropology. My suggestion to Canadian colleagues is simple: try living without US anthropology, and keep track of the results. I would suggest from experience that breaking the chains of dependency are nowhere near as painful, difficult, and costly as some colleagues might think.

US anthropology can be rendered dispensable in the following ways:

- a) We do not actually *need* to be members of the AAA, pay dues to that organization, and participate in its conferences. This world, and our own nation, is full of academic associations and conferences, there is no need to develop a fixation with one alone. If it is a matter of building your CV, then surely tenure should give you more reason to be confident about becoming less dependent.
- b) We should try as much as possible to use texts written by Canadian colleagues, especially those who are Canadian-trained, and in any case acquire texts from Canadian publishers. In addition, with the weakening of our currency due to periodic commodities crises, this dependency automatically increases costs shouldered by our students. In other words, we need to reduce if not eliminate our capital exporting function as retailers for the master discipline.
- c) We must critically question the application of US paradigms, and be wary of following all of the latest theoretical fads of US anthropology, by being less innocent about the powerful interests vested in shaping the directions of US anthropology, and the particular social dynamics at play in how various US cliques formulate solutions to what they consider problems.
- d) We should explore the possibilities for a long overdue construction of self-reliant national and regional anthropologies in Canada. Of course, we also need to consider a very basic question: why do we have or need an institutionalized anthropology in Canada? If the answer is, "because others have it," then we are in serious trouble.
- e) We should resist attempts by the AAA to speak for us, and to use Canadian soil as if it was its own territory, let alone furnishing the AAA with its top-most bureaucratic personnel.

If we do not even consider such steps, let alone try to practice them, one possible implication would then be that Canada has effectively ceased to have any real meaning, any substance, and Canadian resources can be lightly given away. This increases Canadian alienation, and makes possible a hopeless sense of being without self, one whose

primary mission is just to consume and repeat. I would argue that such an outcome violates the very purpose of our work. You cannot continue to tell students that we study “what it means to be human” while training them into servitude, that is, a lesser form of humanity.

*At the very least*, we should always be questioning why we might pay attention to a particular approach, theory, or new topic of interest to US anthropologists, with their many quandaries, cliques and theoretical fads, and examine why certain subjects are erected as worthy of attention and hailed as being of vital significance, over others, and consider the sorts of interests that may be vested in or served by such stances.

## Is Canadian Anthropology Practical or Desirable?

I will not dedicate myself to the impossible task of changing the minds of those who, to begin with, are US-trained and/or US citizens in our country. Their own vested interests are in preventing a discussion such as this one from even happening—worse yet if it should gain any sort of traction.

Canadian colleagues have begun to articulate some of the basics of a possible Canadianist tradition in anthropology, being mindful of the fact that Canada does not really possess the kind of unitary, monolithic national identity that we find in the US. This is one of the issues raised by David Howes and Constance Classen in their chapter on Canadian Anthropology<sup>10</sup> (see also Howes, 2006). Many other dimensions are presented in *Historicizing Canadian Anthropology* (Harrison & Darnell, 2006). What comes out clearly from such efforts is that questions such as what is Canadian anthropology and who is a Canadian anthropologist, are still very much open. For my part, I think that I am at the very beginning of trying to formulate an answer to such questions. While I have been, as usual, lumbering in my labour to arrive at this point, it is also worth remembering that in Canada anthropology’s academic history is relatively recent, dating to the 1930s, but not really emerging until after the 1940s. My own age is older than the history of anthropology at my university, so it is not too late to start broaching such questions after all.

The question of what topical interests might be distinctive of an embryonic Canadian “tradition” in anthropology, is one that I have posed to graduate students, although I was already aware of the recurring concentrations of research interests. Their answers came forth

with remarkable facility: environmental studies, First Nations, labour, sports, and media/game studies. (However, given the emergence of Native Studies programs, the decolonization movement, and the rise of Indigenous scholars, I have reservations about the continued attempt by anthropologists to dominate Indigenous studies.) The task of compiling and combining the epistemological foundations for a domain of inquiry that is rooted in the histories, cultures, and social formations of the diverse peoples and regions making up Canada, is obviously no simple task, nor is the decision about the methodology for formulating such an anthropology, leaving aside the question of whether Canada even needs an anthropology discipline or whether the very presence of such a discipline is itself a foreign imposition/import. US anthropology had the dubious “benefit” of powerful patrons, politicians, and military personnel setting the agenda of topics that needed to be researched—I do not think, however, that Canadian anthropologists have been given as many clear societal signals (which is not to suggest a complete vacuum). If US anthropology has a distinct presidential history to it, Canada has no prime ministerial tradition in anthropology. This may allow us somewhat more autonomy, as academics, in deciding on what our research agendas, our methods, and intended outcomes ought to be, without however seeking to dictate what may or may not be studied and be legitimately called “Canadian anthropology,” or else the exercise degenerates into a campaign against academic freedom. My tentative suggestion is that we each begin to experiment, and to encounter anew Canadian histories, cultural expressions, political movements, and practices of everyday life in Canada. Some of us have to “re-learn” Canada, and Canada’s history in wider imperial capitalist international relations, in order to be reminded of the kinds of questions and problems that are particular, even if not unique, to us.

In terms of experimentation, and in reflecting on my own teaching around “the anthropology of globalization” (an imported subject if there ever was one), I have wondered how the syllabus might change if the only assigned readings I used were ones authored by Canadian academics, or might change even further if from that list I only used the items that were also published in Canada. While the range of choices would narrow, I wonder if there might be a special pattern, a focused concentration, that might arise from such a selection. No doubt the authors would be using the works of the “key [US, UK] writers” in the



field—but would they do so in a way that offered a glimmer of an embryonic Canadian sense of sight? Would there be a recurring emphasis or focus of interest that spoke to the possibility of an independent Canadian school of thought on “globalization”? It is an experiment that remains to be done—and let’s be frank, if it were done, it could prove to be a miserable failure. Nonetheless, one of the useful things that an organization like CASCA might undertake, alongside finally creating a directory of Canadian anthropologists, is to solicit publication information from all Canadian anthropologists and compile the publications under specialized headings. That way we could know immediately who wrote what about “globalization,” or any other topic, and the experiment could then become more practical.

### **The Nationalization of Intellectual Capital**

While personally I am inspired, like other Canadianists, by the foundations laid by early Canadian intellectuals such as Harold Innis in developing a Canadian political economy that pays attention to the distinctive features of Canadian economic production, I realize that requires much further development. We should also recognize the ambiguities in Innis’ academic career that risk sending mixed signals—Innis, a PhD graduate of the University of Chicago, had “strong personal relationships” with officers of the Rockefeller Foundation, and was one of the key “social science representatives” of Canada on the US Social Science Research Council (Fisher, 1999, p. 78). Innis was of course also active in the Rockefeller-funded Canadian Social Science Research Council (CSSRC), established in 1940 and modeled on its US predecessor (Fisher, 1999, pp. 80, 82). (The CSSRC would eventually be replaced by bodies funded by Canadian universities, corporations, and then the Canadian government. US foundation funding to Canada had mostly ceased by 1957.<sup>11</sup>) Even so, the original aim was to support research around “Canadian research problems” (Fisher, 1999, p. 80). Anthropology was denied full membership in the CSSRC, so it is doubtful that we can draw strong linkages between Rockefeller funding and the *direct* shaping of anthropology in Canada (Fisher, 1999, p. 87)—apart from employing US citizens. In Innis’ time, there was a strong concern that the CSSRC, unlike its US counterpart, should emphasize academic independence and autonomy. Innis’ quest for Canadian-generated and Canadian-centred research, conducted without interference, yet funded

by a major US foundation, was a contradiction that would be resolved later. The CSSRC was funded by the US, yet was “explicitly nationalistic” (Fisher, 1999, p. 90). Fisher explains this tension further:

“The tension between a national body committed to doing independent work on Canadian social problems but choosing to rely on support from the United States came to a head later in this history of this institution [the CSSRC] *as Canadians became increasingly concerned with the cultural dominance of the United States*”. (Fisher, 1999, p. 89; emphasis added)

The Canadian case, with the CSSRC, diverged from the US’ SSRC. One argument is that this was due to the differences between the state formations in the two nations. Canada tended to be marked by greater state intervention in the economy, and with a stronger leftist and populist tradition, in addition to fears of US economic and cultural penetration (Fisher, 1999, pp. 90, 91). If such fears have clearly diminished, it is due in part to the success of “Americanization” and the admission of immigrants who brought with them their pursuit of “the American dream” to Canada.

In terms of anthropology in universities on the North American continent, Canada has been home to the only pronounced anti-imperialist orientation in anthropology, even if this does not apply to all anthropologists in Canada. The only consistent path of courses and publications on the anthropology of imperialism, and specifically US imperialism (explicitly named as such), have taken root in Canada. Though still the overt concern of too few in Canada to be called “a Canadian tradition,” one cannot deny the fact that Canada is the one place where such an approach has found an opening. This and other openings would flourish if more Canadian academics (that is, academics, wherever they may be, who are Canadian citizens, or those born elsewhere who were educated in Canada) committed themselves to the nationalization of intellectual capital.

We here in Canada might perhaps not recognize that we do indeed have capital—being drained of it almost immediately, we never get a chance to hold onto it long enough for it to feel like capital. Resource nationalism is nonetheless readily applicable to issues of academic power and academic capital, especially when the Canadian university is supposed to be a public university, mandated to serve the public interest—and that public is only and exclusively the Canadian citizenry.

While the nationalism of interest has been lacking for decades, the resources have not: they consist of empirical realities mined and materialized by others, as well as a large body of student learners, professional societies, publishers and publications, and universities themselves. If we had no such capital, we would not have US academics seeking and acquiring faculty and administrative positions (and in my university, US citizens occupy key administrative positions up to an including the university president himself). We would also not have US publishers seeking us out through their local agents, to supply them either with prospective manuscripts or with the opportunity to sell their books to our students. We would not have US journals asking us to serve as reviewers for articles submitted to them. Our reviews would not be sought when adjudicating applicants for US grants. We would also not have almost all of the large US academic associations holding their conferences in Canadian cities. The nationalization of intellectual capital involves diminishing the role of Canadian academics (or academics in Canada) as the “salesmen” of empire, turning our universities into the retail outlets for the processed goods of the US.

However, an even more daunting yet productive challenge, beyond the political-economic one, is that of developing our own epistemologies and methodologies, our own theories and principles of research—not necessarily exclusive of others and in isolation, nor *in toto* from the ground up. Without the structures to support such an inquest, that challenge will be met at best by fragmentary, isolated, incomplete and individual means. One of the more interesting outcomes of the Canadian reality of joint sociology-anthropology programs, is that some of them have developed fused, joint introductory courses (such as at Cape Breton University), or joint specializations at the undergraduate level, or bisiiplinary graduate programs (Concordia University). A consequence of being compelled to work in that environment, is that I gradually opted to simply drop mention of “enculturation” altogether in my courses—I find that what sociologists have developed under the heading of “socialization” to be far more comprehensive and theoretically advanced, a rich resource for achieving understanding and developing explanations.

In summary, the principles here are that our role should not be simply that of buyers and consumers; that we are not here to validate and dignify the sense of superiority and supremacy of others; that this society is not a clean slate on which others can project their fantasies,

nor a mere platform for others to exercise their strategies of gain. The call then is for us to reduce our role as importers and amplifiers, speculating on knowledge production as if it were the preserve of a magically-endowed master race. Otherwise, the problematic question will not be what constitutes a Canadian academic, but rather by what right we call ourselves academics at all, if the very essence of our labour—thought—is separated from us and apportioned to those who would proclaim world leadership in academia, and who would hold others answerable to them while never being answerable to the rest of us.

## Notes

- 1 See: <http://www.science.co.il/Archaeology-Departments.asp>
- 2 Available at:  
<http://www.americananthro.org/ConnectWithAAA/Content.aspx?ItemNumber=1880>
- 3 See the Anthropology Boycott statement at:  
<https://anthroboycott.wordpress.com/2015/11/21/american-anthropological-association-clears-the-way-for-final-vote-on-boycott-of-israeli-academic-institutions/>
- 4 See the Resolution at: <https://anthroboycott.wordpress.com/the-resolution/>
- 5 A screen capture is available at:  
[https://openanthropology.files.wordpress.com/2015/12/ed\\_liebow.png](https://openanthropology.files.wordpress.com/2015/12/ed_liebow.png)
- 6 See the screen capture of David Graeber's profile statement at:  
<https://openanthropology.files.wordpress.com/2015/12/graeber-profile-pic.png>
- 7 "Living Anthropologically" is the title of a US blog:  
<http://www.livinganthropologically.com/>
- 8 See: <http://www.livinganthropologically.com/2012/08/21/anthropology-is-the-worst/>
- 9 See the collection on the website for "New Directions in Anthropological Research" at:  
<https://newanthro.wordpress.com/social-history-of-us-anthropology/>
- 10 See:  
<http://canadianicon.org/table-of-contents/constituting-canadian-anthropology/>
- 11 <http://www.ideas-idees.ca/about/history#35>

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