

*The Anthropology of Development and Globalization: From Classical Political Economy to Contemporary Neoliberalism.*

Edited by Marc Edelman and Angelique Haugerud. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007. (ISBN 9780631228806). 406 pp.

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Edelman and Haugerud open this collection with a call for ‘new intellectual hybrids: adventurous combinations of culture, economy, discourse, power, institutions and history’ that address the challenges of development and globalization (p. 1). They contend that a new analytical framework may address the minimization of culture in international development studies, as well as the anthropological approach to modernity, development and globalization that has made light of political economy and financial histories. The editors offer a series of selected readings from which this framework may be constructed. Their suggestions include ‘classic’ and contemporary pieces connected by similar threads of debate.

These readings effectively problematize assumptions of inequality inherent in development schemes and perspectives through diverse examples, providing a suitable starting point for students puzzled by development and globalization. The collection sets the stage on which critiques and elaborations of development theory, anthropological approaches, and economic realities play out.

The history and context of the pieces are clearly articulated, with an in-depth introduction that frames the selections as a series of coherent options. Edelman and Haugerud draw attention to questions that remain to be explored (p. 20-21). They further detail debates about concepts central to development and anthropology including culture, NGOs, consumption, gender and population, the city and countryside,

and technology. The editors elaborate on economic policy and historical contexts within the main introduction, though with a somewhat jargonistic result.

The anthology features sections meant to engage the reader from the perspectives suggested in the title: classical scholarship, development issues, emphases on globalization, the impact of local culture and consumption on global economic trends and vice versa, working environments and gender, control of the environment and biotechnology, an insider's view on development institutions and, finally, alternative approaches to the challenges of development. *Part I* is titled *Classical Foundations and Debates* and provides writings by Adam Smith, Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Max Weber, and Karl Polanyi – and their interplay with theories advanced by Thomas Malthus and David Ricardo (perspectives of the former emerge in other selections such as that by Geertz, *Part IV*). The editors combat the canonization of these works by elaborating on the context and historical circumstances of the authors, their works, and some of the impact the theories have made on contemporary discussions.

*Part II* may be the most useful for students beginning to grasp 'development' theories and the complexities of their history, practice, and reform. This section addresses readers seeking to define development by building on the succinct and effective arguments of Cooper & Packard, Ferguson, and critiques by Leys. This section may perhaps have been a more engaging foundation for the start to the book, as it infuses discussions of development with history, examples, the critiques and development debates, and lingering challenges to theoretical and applied understandings of global-local exchanges.

Guiding the discussion *From Development to Globalization* in *Part III*, the editors address contending definitions of globalization(s). Edelman and Haugerud attempt to reinvigorate the term 'globalization'

by pinning it to analytical contexts of periodization or historical and economic policy phases; the readings define contrasting perspectives on the scope, institutions, and individuals at work in globalizing processes. Graeber, in particular, discusses representations of ‘anti-globalizationists,’ the ways in which they perceive their actions as resistance to neoliberalism, and their origins from and acclaim for some forms of globalization (p. 169–172).

In *Part IV, Consumption, Markets, Culture*, themes of creating and restricting choice in global and local markets are prominent in the selections. Understandings of ways in which ground-level consumption and externally influenced market options have been cemented as ‘culture’ and the ways in which ‘tradition’ propels and constrains economic development approaches are also well-articulated. Schein’s piece weaves a series of observations into a coherent account of the ways consumption (and desire) reflects a return to conformity rather than the spread of individualism. Exposure to media sources and commodities in China’s Miao countryside has led to recurrent inequality, constant reinvention of ‘customers-in-training’ and ‘ever-renewed desire’ (p. 220).

*Parts V and VI* emphasize communication, access, power and control – in particular Peluso’s interpretation of territorial and cultural practices of mapping and counter-mapping as strategies of legitimization and resistance. The piece explains these cartographic-cultural tools and their role in the reinvention of tradition and space against political-economic changes (*Part VI*). *Gender, Work and Networks (Part V)* highlights the ways in which divisions have been reinforced through economic policy and how attempts to work ‘women,’ as well as ‘men,’ ‘back into the equation’ continue to impact development strategies.

The final two sections, *Parts VII and VIII* are, again, quite useful for students attempting to grasp what anthropologists *do*. The pieces

also elaborate on the challenges anthropologists face within development institutions and in regions deemed in need of development (p. 40–49). Perhaps more aptly titled *Doing (and influencing) Development, Part VII* demonstrates participation in development projects. The selections underscore the ethical difficulties associated with applied anthropology, including accountability to the people with whom the anthropologist and organizations work. The section also highlights the ways in which data, findings, and even narratives can become fixed and misconstrued. *Part VIII* presents studies and reflections that engage with *Development Alternatives, Alternatives to Development*. Gardner & Lewis provide tangible examples of challenges that emerge from discourses about ‘doing’ development—as well as the ways in which anthropology ‘promotes an attitude and an outlook’ that can be harnessed to reconceptualize development (p. 358).

Edelman and Haugerud break through a choppy start with careful contextualization of the selections in each introduction; the editors note, for example, the ways in which Geertz’s ‘Agricultural Involution Revisited’ reinvigorates perspectives he forwarded before he was known as a ‘prominent advocate of symbolic anthropology’ (p. 191). As discussed above, social sciences students seeking perspectives on development may find *Parts II, VII* and *VIII* the most effective in grounding their studies. The selections feature captivating language and provide rich illustrative examples, particularly in the cases of Geertz, Cooper & Packard, Peluso, Harper, and Schein. The strength of the anthology in articulating an applied perspective is situated in the latter half of the collection.

The editors emphasize the economic aspects of the selections in pursuit of their desire to address the shortcomings of prevailing perspectives that ‘downplay political, economic, and legal dimensions’ of globalization and development. They may have tipped the scales

back to meet their ‘central aim of the volume...to make these historical and political-economic divisions visible again’ (p. 5), though this balance could be easily restored with supplemental material using this collection as a platform. A concluding or summarising discussion could have drawn the themes and perspectives together nicely, particularly if it followed a similar approach as the detailed introduction to the volume and contextualizing introduction of Part I.

As noted above, certain sections may be more suitable for particular academic perspectives; the work can serve as a starting point for exploratory debates beyond anthropology (and sociology) including public policy, international relations, politics, marketing and management. Part of a greater series that ‘point[s] to the new direction [in which] anthropology is heading,’ the editors may reinforce divided perspectives at points rather than strengthen the shared themes of theory and application. Ultimately, however, Edelman and Haugerud present a series of analyses that very clearly demonstrate the complexity of practice and debates surrounding the anthropology of development and globalization.