

Building a Sustainable Enterprise: Engaging Debates and Debating Engagement¹

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Abstract:

A vital dialogue is occurring addressing anthropology's place in and interface with society at large. It has become evident that anthropology is at the transduction point between our knowledge of local systems and landscapes on one level, and that of a worldwide network of information, ideology, and justice on the other. Paradoxically, the human sciences are just beginning to understand the multidimensionality of the social dimensions of global environmental issues in terms of constantly changing interpretations of reality, cultural hybrids, identities, and the linking of knowledge with action. A new model for governance is emerging as a complementary principle to sustainability where the focus is on building civil society's capacity to negotiate diversity. Kofi Annan wrote in the U.N. Millennium Report that the three greatest challenges facing the international community are "freedom from want, freedom from fear, and the freedom of future generations to sustain their lives on this planet." Identifying where anthropologists can make a difference will depend in large part upon our capacity to unequivocally engage in leadership roles in the major policy arenas. To negotiate tangible options, as anthropologists we must challenge embedded assumptions by asking tough questions about what our own ecological and social footprint as a profession and as a discipline is. Are we creating genuine value for society or appropriating value from it? Do we want to take on the responsibilities of shaping our nation's policies on sustainability? What is our response to Kofi Annan's invitation to the sciences to work with the U.N. in achieving the Millennium Development Goals over this century?

Introduction

Sustainability has taken center stage in global political, scientific, economic, and cultural debates. Well-documented from the primary literature by Pimm, the life support system and the living systems that support the biosphere are stressed and in long-term decline with an accelerating rate of deterioration (Brown 2001). The scale of change in the earth's systems is unparalleled in history, leaving scientists unable to predict the future or map a course of action based on the past (Pimm et al. 1995; Pimm 2000; Pimm and Raven 2000; Pimm and Brookes 2001; Wilson 2002). With clear and compelling evidence, the scientific community is advising a strategy of adaptation during this century while working to mitigate the 22nd century (BSD 1999). We have come to recognize that the laws of nature are not negotiable and setting a course for global sustainability is essential for the long-term survival of the planet.

As a result, international policy debates on the dynamics between environment, society, and economics are growing in intensity. More voices are demanding democratization and what and/or whose rights, public participation, and access to knowledge and technology (Brosius 1999; Jarboe 2001). For example, indigenous peoples' voices are being heard on the international stage of policy-making asserting their rights as demonstrated by the formation of the "Indigenous Peoples' Plan of Implementation on Sustainable Development" for the next decade, based on the Kimberly Declaration adopted at the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) 2002:

We have the right to determine and establish priorities and strategies for our self-development and for the use of our lands, territories, and other resources. We demand that international instruments be developed that would assure that free, prior, and informed consent must be the principle of approving or rejecting any project or activity affecting our traditional lands, territories and other resources. . . . We call for a World Conference on Indigenous Peoples and Sustainable Development as a culmination of the United Nations International Decade for the world's Indigenous Peoples (1995-2004) and as a concrete follow-up to the World Summit on Sustainable Development.

The failure of globalization to alleviate poverty, advance sustainability goals, avert financial crisis, or stem the tide of economic and environmental refugees is creating the impetus for more integrated approaches to models of development, e.g., CARE and Oxfam's "Rights-Based" approach to development. There is a call for a new international model of development (UNDP 2001). Given this present state of affairs, Lourdes Arizpe points out that "People cannot manage the natural environment rationally if the 'way we live together' forces us to be hungry, greedy or destructive." She then argues for a more in-depth, multidimensional analysis in developing a conceptual framework and agenda for a 'cultural transition – a new model for human relationships where the focus is on developing the civil capacity to negotiate diversity as a complementary principle to sustainability (UNESCO 2000; Arizpe 1991).

A New Debate and New Challenges

Roy A. Rappaport (1994) in framing the crux of the argument and depicting where the discipline of anthropology's priorities should be, argues, "We need to understand better how humans may keep from destroying the systems upon which they depend, and themselves as well, when the complexity of those systems exceeds any hope of comprehending them." We have come to appreciate that a broad command of the environmental landscape, natural and human, is essential to understanding the continually fluctuating interpretations of reality as seen on many different scales and in many different places (Jäger 1997; Wackernagel and Rees 1994; Escobar 1999; Daily 1997; WCED 1987).

We know the outcomes of international debates are the result of complex interactions of many factors, including sudden changes in the global environment or scientific understanding, macro-economic trends, domestic and international political development, and the presence or absence of effective leadership. Within the context of sustainable enterprises these dialogues have been contentious at best, struggling with how to move beyond "doing business as usual" with little interchange between members of the policy-making communities and civil society. It has become clear that the trend toward globalization is driven by trade and finance interests and is shaped by political choices, social relations, and cultural allegiances. Attempts at understanding something of the complexity and dynamics of these interdependent relationships finds the term "culture" frequently used to explain successes and failures in development. Culture is increasingly important in the discussion of policies and the building of sustainable systems (UNESCO 2000; Harrison et al. 2000; World Bank 1998). Opening the policy-making process to allow for outside input and easy access to knowledge would help remove a serious obstacle to resolving issues and designing institutional structures for sustaining a dialogue amongst those who have a stake in the outcome, especially those who will live with the outcome over the long term (Dodds 2000).

Taking Stock

In January 1941 President Franklin Delano Roosevelt addressed Congress about the kind of world he envisioned:

We look to a world founded upon four essential freedoms. The first is freedom of speech and expression – everywhere in the world. The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way – everywhere in the world. The third is

freedom from want, which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings, which will secure every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants – everywhere in the world. The fourth is freedom from fear, which translated into world terms, means a worldwide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor – anywhere in the world. That is no vision of a distant millennium, it is a definite basis for a world attainable in our own time and generation...Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere.

At the end of WWII nations recognized themselves as a community. Global institutions were constructed, such as the United Nations, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund, to carry out Roosevelt's shared vision of the near future by strengthening areas of common interest among nations. In this new global era Roosevelt's prophetic words envisioning social equity, justice, and a stable world order are as visionary in this century as they were in 1941.

By 1992 the U.N. had expanded its original mission from that era of preventing military conflict to include that of safeguarding the long-term health of the planet through a commitment to sustainable development. The work on sustainable development at the governmental level had moved beyond "talk shops." The United Nations, in response to the shortcomings and limitations of several decades of development primarily focused on the social component, sponsored a high-level intergovernmental conference in Rio de Janeiro on environment and development, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), to create a worldwide vision of a sustainable future. The Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) was created in December 1992 to ensure effective follow-up at the multilateral level of governance and to monitor and report on implementation of Earth Summit agreements, the 21 Agenda items (Agenda 21), mandates, and conventions at the local, national, regional, and international levels. The Commission also serves to ensure the high visibility of sustainable development issues within the U.N. system and helps improve the U.N.'s coordination of environment and development activities and promote partnerships leading to implementation and action.

Like Roosevelt, another world leader half a century later would reflect on an emerging new world order. U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan (2000) responded to the need to redefine the purpose of the U.N. in global affairs. He would note that the "founders of the U.N. could not imagine that we would be capable of

threatening the very foundations for our existence.” Annan would write in the Millennium Report to the General Assembly (United Nations 2001) that “Freedom from want, freedom from fear, and the freedom of future generations to sustain their lives on this planet are the three grand challenges facing the international community at the dawn of the 21st century.” By the time of the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in 2002 the resounding consensus among policy-makers, stakeholders, private voluntary organizations (non-governmental organizations [NGOs]), and various government officials was that it is the educated who need educating about global sustainability and who are causing the problems, not the illiterate, those in poverty, or those with little education. The adoption of the Millennium Declaration, the Millennium Development Goals (MDG), and the Plan of Implementation that emerged from the WSSD in Johannesburg began a global discourse on consent and sustainable governance involving diverse stakeholders and civil society.

Public Debate – Private Actors

The demands on governments, NGOs, and ordinary citizens are significantly different from what they were even a decade ago, particularly in terms of sustainable systems. The future challenges are so complex that no one entity can address them alone. Technology has transformed institutions and organizations into networks, and diverse vested-interest groups into stakeholders. Environmental and social disruptions are changing the landscape of policy-making and weakening the capacity of the U.N. Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) to better understand and monitor the role that knowledge plays in the implementation and progress of Agenda 21. Sanderson (2002) sums up the dilemma by pointing out, “The public agenda cannot be surrendered entirely to public institutions . . . if global civil society is to contribute more to a sustainable future, it must come together in a more organized and decisive way.” The policies of international institutions have become controversial, with questions about fairness, sustainability, and balance between economic growth, social reform, and environmental and ecosystem protection.

One of the greatest challenges facing the CSD process is staying on top of what we need to know in order to act strategically. One of the greatest challenges facing the implementation of Agenda 21 is staying abreast of evolving, strategic approaches to sustainability. Knowledge, how we obtain that knowledge, and learning how to organize and use it, have become increasingly important as an integral part of the outcomes of the CSD’s work. As one of the four main instruments of the policy framework, education

serves to raise awareness, provide access to knowledge, improve understanding, build skills, and is a means to assure inclusion of cross cultural and value-based issues (Puntenney 2002; Puntenney et al. 2002).

There is a growing consensus worldwide that local and regional initiatives are shaping what globalization means and directing the future of sustainability. On the policy level, a consensus was reached and a framework for an agenda was crafted in the 2001 U.N. Millennium Declaration’s 8 goals (United Nations 2001). As they are the focal point for much of what the U.N. and member states have committed to in this century, it is worth noting (Fig. 1).

Ten years after Rio the WSSD, held in Johannesburg, South Africa, in 2002, concerned governments building partnerships with civil society and the private sector, action, and the implementation of agreements, including the Millennium Development Goals (Table 1). Sustainability is one of those goals, but it is also a prerequisite for reaching all of the others (United Nations 2002). In Johannesburg, the world community coalesced behind five specific areas – water, energy, health, agriculture, and biodiversity – that current policies, contributions from science and the green technologies could focus on to bring about progress in achieving global sustainability.

Science-Based Decisions

The commitment to global sustainability has broadened. Here are a couple of examples that not only affect us as anthropologists in how we do our work but also raise issues that call into question the anthropological endeavor as we see it now. First, in May 2002, a consensus report summarizing the findings from a two-year consultation process on “How can science and technology contribute more effectively to achieving society’s goals of sustainable development?” was made public and became a part of the Global Forum Report at the WSSD in Johannesburg.

The report included global views from international science organizations, regional views grounded in grassroots efforts to harness science and technology in support of sustainable development, assessments of potential contributions from global-change science, and critical analysis of experience in designing institutions and providing financing for science and technology directed toward solutions to sustainability problems. Those crafting the document were struck by a sense of urgency in the sustainable development challenge. They saw that the potential contribution of science and technology was to participate in the design of solutions through a renewed commitment worldwide

to serve as an active partner in realizing the potential. This commitment would require substantial changes in the way colleagues in the science and technology community do their work, in giving special attention to providing solutions to key issues for the

implementation of sustainable development, in involving major stakeholders affected by the outcomes of the research in agenda-setting and dissemination of results as well as to developing conceptual frameworks and collaborating with civil society.

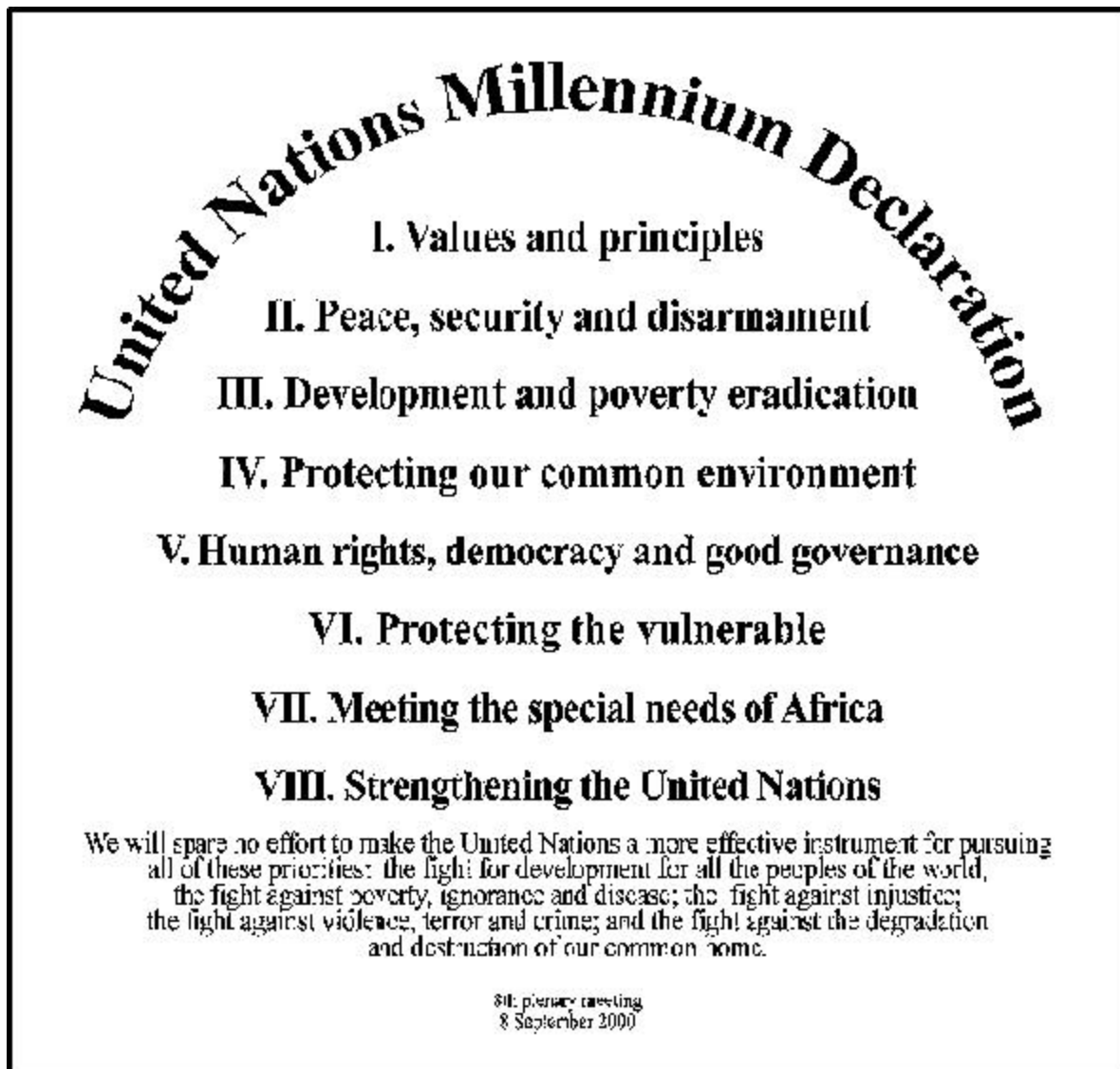


Figure 1. The U.N. Millennium Goals. SOURCE: www.johannesburgsummit.org/html/documents/.

Table 1. U.N. Millennium Development Goals (MDG)

<p>1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduce by half the proportion of people living on less than a dollar a day • Reduce by half the proportion of people who suffer from hunger
<p>2. Achieve universal primary education</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensure that all boys and girls complete a full course of primary school
<p>3. Promote gender equality and empower women</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005 and at all levels by 2015
<p>4. Reduce child mortality</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduce by two thirds the mortality rate among children under five
<p>5. Improve maternal health</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduce by three quarters the maternal mortality ratio
<p>6. Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Halt and begin to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS • Halt and begin to reverse the incidence of malaria and other major diseases
<p>7. Ensure environmental sustainability</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes; reverse loss of environmental resources • Reduce by half the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water • Achieve significant improvement in lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers, by 2020
<p>8. Develop a global partnership for development</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop further an open trading and financial system that is rule-based, predictable, and non-discriminatory. Includes a commitment to good governance, development and poverty reduction – nationally an internationally • Address the least developed countries' special needs. This includes tariff- and quota-free access for their exports; enhanced debt relief for heavily indebted poor countries; cancellation of official bilateral debt; and more generous official development assistance for countries committed to policy reduction • Address the special needs of landlocked and small island developing States • Deal comprehensively with developing countries' debt problems through national and international measures to make debt sustainable in the long term • In cooperation with the developing countries, develop decent and productive work for youth • In cooperation with pharmaceutical companies, provide access to affordable essential drugs in developing countries • In cooperation with the private sector, make available the benefits of new technologies – especially information and communications technologies

In addressing specific contributions that science and engineering can make to capacity-building and global sustainability, the National Research Council study, *Our Common Journey: A Transition Toward Sustainability*, concludes that a transition could be achieved in the next two generations without miraculous technologies or a drastic transformation of human societies. The report stressed that advances in basic knowledge were needed in the social capacity and technological ability to use it and in the political will to turn this knowledge into action. As part of this effort, UNESCO has proposed to the U.N. General Assembly a “U.N. Decade on Education For Sustainable Development” beginning in 2005. What is missing is the call for a dialogue and deeper analysis of links between culture and issues of sustainability.

Margaret Mead (1973) in preparing for the presidency of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) challenged her fellow scientists, stressing the need to broaden the role of science to include a global perspective that would address issues arising from environmental and population pressures. Three decades later Peter Raven (2002), in his Presidential address to the AAAS on “Science, Sustainability, and the Human Prospect,” outlined a new way of thinking about relationships – an integrated multidimensional approach to problems of global sustainability – and challenged the scientific community to find and accept new ways to maintain global sustainability. He further stated that the AAAS must dedicate itself to expanding the association’s global leadership role on behalf of science and society to addressing the underlying causes of concern noted above that have been ignored by the science and technology community in general. He indicated a commitment from the AAAS to work with the U.N. in helping achieve the U.N. Millennium goals, such as the eradication of poverty. Under his leadership AAAS has expanded its sense of internationalism at the association, helping develop the society into an international presence.

These efforts are part of a major shift in thinking in the sciences about the nature of place-based/cross-scale sensitivity; i.e., to relate what happens on the local scale to regional and global scales regarding global human choices and environmental issues. We have developed a fair amount of scientific and technical knowledge on one level. On another level we have made real progress in sorting out the application of practical knowledge. It is between these levels, where managerial and scientific knowledge meet in the

context of political and social systems, that things are murky. Achieving sustainability requires democratization of expertise and involvement of local and regional communities in the process of analysis of issues, questions, and decision-making (Rayner and Malone 1998; Rayner 1999). Table 2 reflects the intent at the multilateral level of decision-making to integrate this wisdom into the CSD policymaking process through the U.N. CSD Future Plan of Work, 2004-2015.

It is at this juncture that anthropology should seek access to critical policy debates (Lee 1993; Nader 1988; Colson 1985; Peacock 1987, 1999;). We know from the answers to the questions we ask in the communities we study that cooperation in human relations is a prerequisite for sustainable systems. As Arizpe (1991) defines it, culture is “ways of living together.” The challenges of global sustainability are deeply rooted in relationships neglected too long. The anthropologist’s sphere of influence is contingent upon knowing how those relationships work and what it takes to balance the power of words and the power of action. Van Arsdale (2002) suggests a conceptual model where social scientists critically assess “Awareness, Action, and Advocacy” to ascertain a level of competence that would allow the professional to effectively engage in assessing a critical issue. Rappaport, in his seminal work, “Disorders of Our Own” (1994), cogently provides a sound theoretical framework, challenging the profession to publicly engage the discipline in what is now termed global sustainability. Yet as Michael Blakeley notes (1994) the profession is “effectively absent from the policy institutes and think tanks where theoretical ideas and policy debates are formulated and position papers written that are subsequently funneled to congressional committees and other policy-making bodies.”

Past As Prologue

What is the relationship between anthropology and policy, and can anthropologists contribute to the social scientific enterprise in ways that are integrated with other disciplines? The term “policy” was once synonymous with “public policy” or “governmental affairs.” Now policy has come to refer to a dynamic policy process that engages diverse institutions and organizations in both the public and private sectors, groups of people with vested interests in the outcomes, and ordinary citizens. In turn, policy research and policy analysis have broadened to include a problem/process orientation that reflects the increasing complexity of society’s critical issues.

Table 2. Multi-year Programme of Work of the Commission on Sustainable Development		
Implementation Cycle (Review / Policy Years)	Thematic Cluster	Cross-Cutting Issues
2004 / 2005	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Water • Sanitation • Human Settlements 	<p>Overarching Objectives</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poverty eradication • Changing unsustainable patterns of consumption and production • Protecting and managing the natural resource • base of economic and social development <p>Global Implementation Challenges</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Means of implementation • Institutional framework for sustainable development <p>Regional Considerations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sustainable development of SIDS • Sustainable development for Africa • Other regional initiatives <p>Cross-Cutting Issues</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sustainable development in a globalizing world • Health and sustainable development • Gender equality • Education
2006 / 2007	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Energy for sustainable development • Industrial Development • Air Pollution / Atmosphere • Climate Change 	
2008 / 2009	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agriculture • Rural Development • Land • Drought • Desertification • Africa 	
2010 / 2011 *	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transport • Chemicals • Waste Management • Mining • A Ten Year Framework of Programmes on Sustainable Consumption and Production 	
2012 / 2013 *	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forests • Biodiversity • Biotechnology • Tourism • Mountains 	
2014 / 2015 *	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Oceans and Seas • Marine Resources • Small island developing States • Disaster Management and Vulnerability 	
2016 / 2017	<p>Overall appraisal of implementation of Agenda 21, the Programme for the Further Implementation of Agenda 21 and the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation</p> <p>* Thematic clusters for 2010-2015 are as listed, but may be subject to change if otherwise agreed by the Commission.</p>	
<p>SOURCE: www.un.org/esa/sustdev/csd/csd11/csd11res.pdf by Integrative Strategies Forum.</p>		

This shift in focus has affected all human sciences, including anthropology. Decision-makers from public and private sectors, research and development outfits, academic, NGOs, non-profit, and private voluntary organizations now demand to know more than the extent of human problems. They want the social sciences to provide a fuller understanding of the how and why of underlying issues in order to clarify options. Anthropology will inevitably be involved in political relationships across cultural boundaries and

within diverse cultural contexts. How anthropologists choose to engage in the study of human relationships and the application of that knowledge has been an ongoing process of discovery within the discipline. As early as 1976, in his discussion of the role of anthropology in public policy, Cyril Belshaw (1976) foresaw a more engaging discipline. He began by pointing out the dilemma within the discipline of how much emphasis to place on applied or policy activities: anthropology as a science, or anthropology concerned

with the welfare of humankind. Does anthropology analyze and examine the stages of evolutionary history, or is its role to articulate and act as a “cultural broker” or as a defender of particular ways of life?

Although anthropology traditionally focused on the study of exotic communities, analyzing the evolution of the past to the present, increasingly it focuses on modern society. Anthropologist Jack Weatherford (1985), in *Tribes on the Hill*, studied the inter-workings of the U.S. Congress, the norms and values of those who set policy, and their relationship with how people perceive public policy. Rappaport (1994) summarizes anthropology’s need to better understand its relationship with the modern world. His concept of public engagement broadened anthropology to include a focus on how the present relates to the future. This perspective makes anthropology an active participant in the policy-making arena. As society confronts race, poverty, growing urbanization, international environment and development, health, education, and the process of globalization, policy-relevant contributions from anthropologists continue to increase in value. Within this context anthropology exemplifies cross-cultural comparisons, providing policy-relevant knowledge of cultural systems. As outlined in my work on global ecosystems (Puntenney 1995), anthropology can examine both external (macro-relationships) and internal (micro-aspects) of social organization and the complexity of these interrelationships as they bear on the impacts of larger systems.

Knowledge, Power, and Praxis

From its beginning, American cultural anthropology was engaged in public affairs through policy research organizations. In 1879 John Wesley Powell founded the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) in response to a period of Native American-European conflict and the need to develop policies that would address what had become an “internal” matter for the United States. The BAE, established by Congress and placed under the Smithsonian Institution, was the first permanent anthropological research agency in the U.S. to be supported by the government. While Powell’s intent was to provide a scientific foundation from which policy decisions could be made, the Bureau generated information but neither applied that knowledge nor participated in the formation of policies.

Until the 1930s, anthropologists responded to critical social issues through accumulated data and knowledge, hoping to change public opinion and encourage a more objective national policy, as illustrated by James Mooney’s report, *The Ghost*

Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890, which presented the reasons for this religious movement while tending to discredit both the military and the Indian service.

During the early decades of the 20th century anthropology led an intellectual resistance to the growing eugenics movement, confronting the eugenicists’ fundamental ideology regarding superior and inferior cultures based upon genetic types or races. Anthropology articulated a concept of culture as independent from genetic processes, spelling out a perspective that influenced the public’s understanding and continues to serve as the predominant paradigm shaping public policy on these issues (Kroeber 1917).

Prior to WWII there was a very small number of anthropologists throughout the world. Of these, those interested in application and policy concerns tended to focus on interpreting the effects of governmental or other interventions that produced short-term change across cultures. Within the social science disciplines, with the exception of law and economics, anthropology was the only human science systematically concerned with cross-cultural interpretation.

Under Franklin Roosevelt’s New Deal in the 1930s American anthropologists and other social scientists were brought into the U.S. Federal policy-making process. Essentially, the anthropologists’ roles were that of researchers and trainers, limiting their impact on the actual formulation of policy. Anthropology, because of these experiences, began to analyze current problems within its own culture in settings such as American communities, factories, hospitals, and schools. From the 1930s to the early 1950s, beginning with problems in industry, the Soil Conservation Service, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, anthropologists were primarily involved in the formulation of government policy as advisors, researchers, or training consultants, but rarely played a central role in decision-making (Harding and Livesay 1984). Walter Goldschmidt (1979) documents the major policy activities of anthropologists during this time, discussing the problems and impact of anthropology on public affairs.

World War II brought an increase in the number of anthropologists in policy-oriented activities. Ruth Benedict’s (1946) *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* is a classic derived from the “national character studies” conducted through the Office of War Information. The success of the postwar policies in Japan was influenced by these studies and their recommendations. After the war, anthropologists were involved in a variety of policy-related projects on such

topics as relocation, the administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Native American administration, health care, disaster, and the development of water resources. Increasingly, though, anthropologists were found conducting their work from academic bases, and by the late 1950s, few were employed by the Federal government.

Institutional Lag

During the 1950s and 1960s, higher education expanded rapidly, coupled with increased research money, providing opportunities for the expansion of departments of anthropology and the development of the discipline. Anthropologists became frustrated with government policy formulation in the early years of WWII. By the 1960s many had joined in the growing distrust of U.S. involvement in the war in Southeast Asia (especially Thailand) and the ethical debate over Project Camelot, funded by the U.S. Department of Defense, and opted for employment with universities rather than in government or non-governmental agencies where they would have had to confront the implications of policy decisions.

Not until the 1950s was there a sizable corps of social scientists whose main interests were in policy questions. Political scientist Harold Lasswell developed the idea of a policy science or sciences. While an agreed-upon definition never materialized, Lasswell's vision of a science of policy was multidisciplinary, not limited to one method of inquiry but problem-oriented and multidimensional, addressing a variety of contexts. Of the human sciences, anthropology's strength – a holistic perspective, broad systematic approaches, fieldwork orientation, and cultural relativism – gave Lasswell's vision an important intellectual foundation (Lasswell 1963). However, during this period of expansion within the academe the attention of most anthropologists was directed to meeting the demands of their own developing academic pursuits. Because of the problem of not being able to agree upon a definition, the notion of a separate policy discipline was transformed into a less ambitious goal. Instead, programs in public policy studies were created within universities, not within anthropology but through political science, planning, sociology, law, economic social welfare, and public administration programs.

As a consequence, the policy-making community framed the concept of policy in terms of social welfare, the common good. It was seen as something that could be administered which, in turn, brought about a restrictive and mechanical emphasis on its interpretation. A legal and technical approach to

solving society's problems was encouraged by policy-makers, with little attention given to the effectiveness of the laws and their consequences or the human dimensions of the policy process.

Policy-related research continued within anthropology but became influenced by available grant money and academic concerns. Interests in policy issues were envisioned in terms of advisory roles and the generation of knowledge. It was also thought of in terms of public interest serving both science and society through training within the academy and through basic and applied research agendas about the needs of society (Sanday 1976). Much of the work from anthropology produced information useful to decision-makers about a wide array of social issues, but little of it penetrated into the actual policy arena. There were, however, three policy research projects that did have a significant influence and continue to be debated from time to time. Initiated in 1948 under the direction of Sol Tax, at the University of Chicago, the Fox Project advocated an "action anthropology" approach to assist a Native American community in Iowa. Allan Holmberg, at Cornell University, began another important policy activity in 1952, the Vicos Project, which attempted to bring about political and economic change in a community in Highland Peru by utilizing a "research and development" approach. A third important development was the establishment of the U.S. Peace Corps in 1961, which made use of anthropologists in a variety of contexts along with other initiatives such as the "War On Poverty" programs, VISTA, the Job Corps, and Headstart.

Engaging Anthropology

Anthropology in the 1970s developed a number of sub-fields that were based less upon a particular school of thought or theory but were more problem-oriented in such areas as medical anthropology, education, economic anthropology, mathematical anthropology, cognitive anthropology, network analysis, the ethnography of law, war, ecosystems or ecological anthropology, development anthropology, psychological anthropology, political anthropology, nutritional anthropology, and others. At the same time the decline in academic job opportunities for the increasing number of anthropologists being trained lured anthropologists into diverse contexts where social theory and critique-application-practice interfaced (Wulff and Fiske 1997). Spicer (1976) outlined roles for anthropologists in various stages of decision-making. Chambers (1985) outlined a framework for policy-making, providing a guide for problem solving. Van Willigen (1984) noted the difficulties of communicating anthropological insights

to decision-makers so that the knowledge can be utilized in the decision-making processes.

The divisive debates within the profession have lessened as the application of anthropology has become more valued and respectable. The policy arena has also broadened, as the level of the public's awareness of the failures of particular policies has demanded change. More often than not the development, implementation, and evaluation of policy now occurs through a more democratic, transparent, co- or joint production. By the 1990s more anthropologists from diverse areas of interest, such as human rights, poverty, migration, health, business, international development, social justice, and environmental issues were actively involved in policy-making initiatives linking individual and community concerns and perspectives to the needs and demands of decision-makers who negotiated the policy options. This is evident in the efforts of the following anthropologists whose work demonstrates either evidence of impact or result of the work in outstanding contributions in practice, policy, and application beyond the academe.

Steve Rayner, who served as Chief Scientist for the Pacific Northwest National Laboratory, developed a model for assessing institutional culture, environmental values, and human choices. The findings and insights have served as a framework for the negotiation process of the Convention on Climate Change. Noel Broadbent, a Swedish archeologist, while serving as Director of the Arctic Social Sciences Program with the National Science Foundation, worked with stakeholders and policy-makers in re-defining the purpose of the work and its approach to implementation through an impressive portfolio of interdisciplinary projects. He instituted a specific policy with ethical guidelines for working with indigenous people throughout the Arctic Polar Region. Muriel Crespi, as a senior anthropologist and national program leader for the Applied Ethnography Program of the U.S. National Park Service, was directly involved in the decision-making processes. She developed and moved a major project initiative, "Ethnographers in the Parks," to a line-item program in the National Park Service Budget. Michael Orbach, working with a political science colleague, developed a policy framework for the Spiny Lobster industry in Florida. His model led to major changes in State policy and influenced thinking at the Federal level, shaping future approaches to developing fisheries policy.

Darrell Posey, a controversial anthropologist and ethnobiologist well-known for his research on Amazonia and his advocacy on behalf of the

indigenous peoples with whom he worked in Brazil, was a public spokesman for anthropology on the global policy-making level for indigenous rights. His steady campaigning in support of indigenous property rights was a further source of discomfort most particularly for the international pharmaceutical companies and other large commercial organizations that he regularly presented as a threat to these rights. In 1992 he became the Special Advisor to the Brazilian Special Secretary on Internal Affairs and Indigenous Peoples. That same year brought the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, at which Posey was the Convener and President of the Earth Parliament. In 1993 he was awarded the United Nations Global 500 Award for Outstanding Achievement in Service to the Environment. He initiated a global Internet directory of colleagues working on indigenous rights to influence and shape international policy. Posey wrote more than 100 articles or chapters, authored or co-authored three books, directed several museum exhibitions, and took part in the production of many videos and films. The impact of his work could be seen in the U.N. negotiations where Indigenous Peoples were made one of 9 major groups who received consultative status and through the International Union of Conservation and Natural Resources on shaping policy to work with indigenous peoples worldwide.

Within the academy, the early 1970s saw the decline in policy research continue. In 1988 the American Anthropological Association (AAA) convened a Panel on Disorders of Industrial Societies under the leadership of President Roy Rappaport. A series of task forces was created to provide impetus for an intellectual agenda to increase research in policy areas on such topics as AIDs, human rights, minority issues, education, and the environment. The task forces also examined what could be done structurally within the AAA to formalize policy efforts. Of the proposed plans that were instituted, two are of particular interest as they created an open, internal dialogue regarding anthropology's role in the formation of public policy as part of the institution of science and as part of an effort to engage and inform in public debate. The first of these was the 1988 panel on the "Disorder of Industrial Society," which resulted in the "Statement to the Profession" framing an agenda and in the production of *Diagnosing America*. The second was the proposal to create a public policy institute (Overbey 2003).

While a crucial dialogue is occurring strengthening anthropology's understanding of its place in and interaction with broader public audiences, despite the successes of projects by individual anthropologists it remains to be seen if the profession can contribute to and engage in critical policy debates which lay the

groundwork for internationally-shared understandings of issues. In this era of globalization and high-speed communications across national cultures, the policy arena is fast-moving and concerned with global sustainability from community to international forums. While science-based decision-making is gaining prominence in the policy-making arenas, trans-scientific debates in which questions are framed by science, but cannot be answered by science alone, raise serious questions about solving the essentially human problems of sustainability which require anthropological input. The goal of anthropology's contribution needs to be based on more than simply providing insights into methods and analyses about cultural systems (Sanday 2003). It is crucial to facilitate learning among diverse populations from policy-makers to ordinary people regarding anthropological insights. The facilitation of collaborative learning and sharing of knowledge are the prerequisites of a sustainable future.

Reframing the Debate

With the advent of world systems analysis and underdevelopment theory anthropologists have chronicled devastating impacts of global economic change. It is not enough to merely advocate cultural dimensions in the abstract. Identifying where anthropology can make a difference will largely depend on the profession's capacity to unequivocally engage in leadership roles. A need exists to refashion anthropology's role in a global society concerned with achieving more sustainable patterns of development at individual and institutional levels:

1. Learn more about the dynamics of managing conflict resolution efforts so anthropologists can play supportive roles in truly joint fact-finding processes;
2. Fight for a place at the table in science – intensive policy dialogues (almost as institutional ombudsmen);
3. Argue for a very different approach to determining who should be at the table in multi-stakeholder dialogues through a more grounded approach that builds on the kind of systems analysis that anthropologists know how to do and more;
4. Find the language and create new modes of discourse.

Our challenge is to demonstrate to society at large that we can tackle the larger, multidimensional environmental-social-economic issues facing our own

society and local communities regarding sustainable systems. We can enrich the debates on global sustainability, nationally and internationally, creating alternative models and options using anthropological insights. The issue is what our response will be as a profession, and our commitment as a discipline, to working with the U.N. in the various policy-making arenas regarding the implementation of the plan of work for the Commission on Sustainable Development and the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals over this century.

Notes

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