BLOCK 4 UTILISING APPLIED KNOWLEDGE IN PRACTICE

THE PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY

Unit 11 Tools and Techniques

Unit 12

Capacity Development

Unit 13

Involvement in Civil Societies and the State

THE PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY

UNIT 11 TOOLS AND TECHNIQUES*

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Learning Outcomes

After reading this unit, you will be able to:

- Define different tools and techniques used by applied anthropologists;
- Identify the application of specific tools and techniques in different settings; and
- > Use these techniques in your research projects on applied anthropology.

11.0 INTRODUCTION

As you understand now that the applied anthropology is different from traditional anthropology in the sense that the latter uses anthropological knowledge in solving the contemporary issues faced by different communities and organisations around the globe. Applied anthropologists use different approaches to encourage people to address these core issues collectively to ensure the survival of endangered groups. To address the real-world problems, applied anthropologists adopt various tools and techniques while studying a group or an organisation to obtain the information and then utilise it for proper formulation of plans and policies followed by action. In this unit, we will try to understand these tools and techniques used in professional practice to acquaint ourselves with a kit that may fit in the desired applied anthropological research. We shall first look at the traditional methodologies adopted by the anthropologists in this domain and then delve into the innovative methodologies in details. Tools and techniques discussed in this unit pertain to different subfields of the discipline and can be employed accordingly. Finally, we will familiarise ourselves with some key points that applied anthropologists need to acquaint themselves with.

11.1 TRADITIONAL TECHNIQUES

One of the important traditional anthropological techniques used by applied anthropologists is ethnographic study whereby an anthropologist directly

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participates in the culture under study to obtain information on a wide array of issues. As applied researchers, anthropologists are given proper training in data collection and analysis because the application of knowledge requires proper documentation, interpretation, and the use of secondary data sources (Kedia & Bennet, 2005). Information is obtained with the help of techniques like direct observation, interview, learning of local language, recording data through audio-visual media which is then interpreted and analysed using different tools like SPSS (short for Statistical Package for the Social Sciences -used by social scientists to perform statistical analysis of data) etc. Based on the sought information, plans and policies are formulated that ultimately result in the required action. In addition to traditional tools and techniques, anthropologists who are in the applied field make use of a diversity of innovative techniques to collect qualitative as well as quantitative data and a few of them are discussed in the following sections.

Check Your Progress

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	Is it possible to research? How?	use traditional to	echniques	in applied	d anth	ropological

11.2 INNOVATIVE TECHNIQUES

With time, the methodological tools have become more refined and time-efficient to meet the ever-increasing demand of agencies or individuals working on a variety of projects and programs. As anthropological techniques like participant observation are extensive and time consuming, applied anthropologists have come up with the tools and techniques that provide the results in a noticeably short period with absolute accuracy. These techniques may differ, or overlap based on the type of research one is interested in. Some of the tools and techniques used in both qualitative and quantitative research are discussed briefly here.

Tools and Techniques

Rapid Assessment Procedures (RAP): is an important data collection tool in anthropology that is applied in projects where short deadlines are set. For example, in health programmes data needs to be collected in a rapid way to give possible solutions to the problem and for that purpose, this technique is employed. RAP offers an efficient technique for directing fast subjective evaluations of local conditions and needs, information, perspectives, and practices(UCLA, 1987). Most of the RAPs depend on ethnographic procedures custom-made to the requirements of short-term applied projects. The specific techniques utilised comprise formal and informal interviews, discussions, participant observation, multi-scalar research, social network analysis, participatory action research (PAR) and focus group discussion (Kedia & Bennet, 2005). To make speedy and effective assessments for planning or appraisal, RAP can be also utilised with other strategies as well. Moreover, it can be utilised at various phases of the venture cycle, for project arranging just as interaction and finishing up assessments. So, RAP is quite flexible as a tool that can fit various zones, circumstances, and populaces.

Focus Group Discussion: Focus group discussion (FGD) or focus group interviewing is one of the most widely used techniques for Rapid Assessment Procedures. For quite a long time, applied anthropologists have been using this technique to obtain information on different themes in a particular community. For example, the marketing experts have utilised this technique to recognise the needs, likes, and dislikes of a population to increase the probability that customers will buy certain items over others. Progressively, social researchers are utilising the focus group technique, as proven by the developing number of insightful scholarly articles by sociologists, analysts, and anthropologists making use of this method.(Kedia & Bennet, 2005)

In this technique, around 8-12 participants are chosen as a target group of a particular community for a group discussion/interview to obtain the emic opinions and perspectives about a given topic. Usually, those participants are selected who are influenced by the same issue or who share a collective experience or information about the given research topic. There is a moderator in this group who leads the debate toward the given topic while allowing for a wide-ranging discussion of other relevant issues. The main purpose of this discussion is to create an environment that gives each member a sense of freedom to put forth their answers and views. This ecosystem of differing views with the same background helps in identifying the core issues faced by the community and thereby framing better solutions.



Fig. 11.1: Major Steps in Focus Group Discussion

Like all research methods, focus group discussion requires considerable skills, competence, and expertise. As an applied anthropologist, you need to be flexible and unbiased. Moreover, one needs to have a solid foundation of all the theoretical and conceptual ideas pertaining to the problem or topic that needs to be studied. FGD is a structured talk and to comprehend all the ideas and views, one needs to have proficiency in the local language. It is not possible to conduct FGD with the help of a translator or interpreter. Some prior training and experience in handling the group discussions is a must for this method as without it one can lead the conversation to issues that can only create problems for future researches.

11.2.1 Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA): Rapid Rural Appraisal is a technique that is used by the applied anthropologists in research based in rural settings. This technique is useful for quick evaluation of assessments of locals on a specific issue and solutions they need. As the name indicates, in RRA a team of researchers intends to get results as quickly as possible and for that, they consider the collaboration of villagers as well. Why? Because the local people are more aware of the problems they face and may come up with better solutions if equipped with some scientific knowledge. The result of RRA technique is in a form of a report that can be used in various ways like project design, enhancement of an ongoing project, review of national policies etc. (Das, 2012). RRA is utilised during the events that demand rapid appraisal of the people like floods, earthquakes, epidemics etc. So, Rapid Rural Appraisal is identified with fast activity for the betterment of the people.

Advantages of RRA Technique

- 1) RRA aids in the quick identification of a problem and its solution.
- 2) It is advantageous in the case of research based on natural disasters.
- 3) RRA is helpful in post-disaster studies like relief distribution etc.

Disadvantages of RRA Technique

- 1) There are greater chances of bias in this technique as it is strongly associated with the affected people.
- 2) Sometimes it becomes exceedingly difficult to study the people who have been severely affected by a disaster.
- 3) With the high involvement of locals, expectations are always on a higher side thereby creating problems later if those expectations are not met.

Participatory Rural Appraisal: PRA research technique developed in the 1980s and is the result of participatory research done in rural areas. An anthropological methodology has seen an immense shift post-world war II and this shift was witnessed in the applied aspects as well. In the middle of the 1970s however, the requirement for PRA was visibly felt among the anthropologists, when the anthropological understanding was brought into action for upliftment of downtrodden, poor, and oppressed people. This

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ultimately led to the foundation of a method that was to be used for the betterment of communities with the active participation of both the researcher and the researched i.e., Participatory Research Appraisal technique. (Pandey, 2018)

In the beginning, PRA was termed as participatory **research** appraisal, but due to its continuous application in villages and rural areas, this technique later came to be known as participatory **rural** appraisal. In participatory rural appraisal, the researcher and the locals work in collaboration in the identification of the problems by utilising the local peoples' capabilities. The role of a researcher is just to act as a facilitator in PRA with the ideal objective being the empowerment and capacity development of local communities. Unlike RRA, the participatory rural appraisal is a lengthy progress that continues for a considerable period. This is because communities in the process assemble their mastery to address their interests, assess potential outcomes and likewise direct exercises for their advantage. So this way, PRA permits the rural folks to impart, improve and look at their actualities of life and circumstances which help them to plan and act. (Das, 2012)

Advantages of PRA Technique

- Participatory rural appraisal helps in the identification of problems at the rural level and aids in the proper formulation and implementation of policies.
- 2) This technique guarantees the monitoring at the community level during the implementation and evaluation of rural development programmes.
- 3) The data obtained is more reliable as compared to other techniques and is usually free of any bias.

Disadvantages of PRA Technique

- 1) Due to the direct involvement of local communities, the process can sometimes take more than the required time and budget.
- 2) As the members of the community under study may differ in some opinions, it becomes difficult for a researcher to cooperate with all. This sometimes creates a situation of conflict as well.
- 3) Domination of one sect over others in some communities hampers the process of unbiased data collection and the results may end up with the opinions of only a few.

RRA and PRA Tools

Certain tools are used by the applied anthropologists while carrying out Rapid Rural Appraisal and Participatory Rural Appraisal technique. These are:

1) Focus Group Discussion: See section 11.2.2.

- 2) Resource Mapping: Resource mapping is a technique that is used by applied anthropologists for many years now in different forms. Also referred to as community resource mapping or asset mapping or environmental scanning, it is a system-building measure utilised by various groups at a wide range of stages to adjust assets and policies according to explicit framework objectives, techniques, and anticipated outcomes.
- 3) Social Mapping: Social mapping is a process whereby a researcher draws an overview of the socio-economic conditions of the area under study by obtaining information about village design, demography, language, religious beliefs, economy etc. Social mapping is of great use in applied anthropological studies as it makes us aware of the societal environment and the relationships of people with each other and their atmosphere.

Check Your Progress

3)	What do you understand by Rapid Assessment Procedures (RAP)?
4)	Explain the steps involved in focus group discussion?
5)	Define RRA and PRA.
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6)	Briefly discuss the tools used in RRA and PRA.

Tools and Techniques

Participatory Action Research and Evaluation: Participatory methods to research and evaluation deliberately incorporate individuals and groups who are generally influenced by an inquiry in the plan and execution of the process(Participatory Action Research and Evaluation, 2021). Moreover, this method guarantees the reflection of local cultures, opinions, problems, and perspectives. Participatory approaches to research and evaluation can be generally organised into three broad categories and each one is briefly described here:

1) Participatory Research: This type of research is led by anthropologists who are in the academic or other professional fields. These researchers include or team up with the local people or communities that otherwise would have been called the 'subjects' of a research study. This form of research is mostly concerned with the expansion of knowledge in the scholarly world instead of focusing on changing the condition of groups, individuals, or organisations under observation.

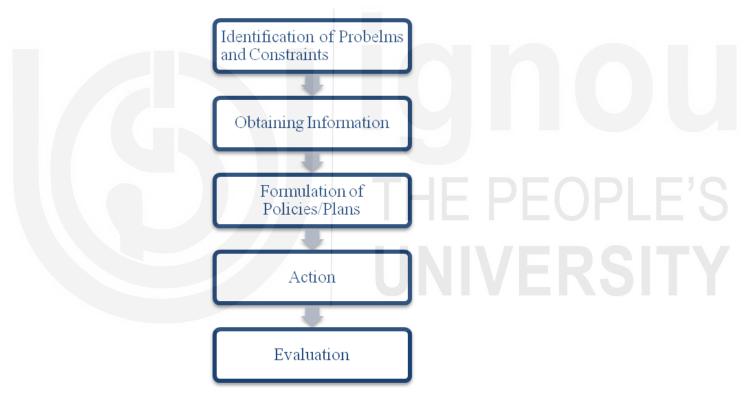


Fig. 11.2: Steps in Participatory Action Research

2) Participatory Action Research (PAR): is a technique that has been in use since the 1940s. It involves researchers and participants working together to inquire and bring a change in their community. PAR aims to promote democracy and challenges inequality because of its ultimate focus on societal change. Participatory action research begins with the detection of a problem with the help of community members and is followed by the collection of data using other techniques like FGDs and structured interviews. After the data is collected and analysed, a collective plan with the local people is chalked out and finally, sustainable action is taken by all.

3) Participatory Evaluation (PE): There is always a need for evaluation of actions taken collectively by an applied anthropologist with the members of the community under study. Participatory Evaluation (PE) is utilised in that case to measure the effectiveness and/or impact of a policy, plan, or action during or post-implementation. In the case of PEs, they are usually conducted by the experts who make use of participatory approach, or these evaluations are designed and directed by the applied anthropologists in collaboration with the community members only without the involvement of any professional evaluator.

SONDEO Techniques: "Sondeo" etymologically means "to sound out". It is a participatory research action technique or rapid appraisal method of studying the skills, opinions, problems, and perceptions of the people in their natural setting. Sondeo is different from the traditional survey method in the sense that it generates data in a comparatively shorter period. Moreover, it also promotes the active participation of local people in the identification of the problems, planning the available solutions, formulation, and implementation of policies, monitoring and evaluation etc. A sondeo gives information about those as well who are usually left behind in traditional research settings, for example, women and limited resource clients (Butler, 1995). In this technique, data is not only obtained and disseminated like traditional research but being a participatory action research technique, it involves the participation of members of the community equally in the analysis of the gathered data and finally action.

Now, why do we need *sondeo* or rapid reconnaissance technique? Because it takes way less time in the field than other available techniques and considers the elements of other tools like formal survey, key informant interviewing and participant observation. The rapid appraisal is also economical, apt, and accurate in the description of the natural setting where the group under study is based. Due to reduction in prejudgments and stereotypes, these techniques are also effective in decreasing outsider bias when concerned about local needs and apprehensions.

Advantages of SONDEO Technique:

- 1) It provides a deep understanding of a situation or a problem faced by a particular group.
- 2) *Sondeo* helps in building a good rapport between professionals and the local people thereby making it possible to gather rich qualitative data.
- 3) This technique is cost and time effective and facilitates broad participation and communication from the locals.

Disadvantages of SONDEO Technique:

1) One of the limitations of *sondeo* is that it cannot be generalised to a large population.

- 2) It does not guarantee equal treatment to all the respondents and their confidentiality.
- 3) If hastily applied then it can fail to develop a good community rapport, thus making the interviewees feel that they were being 'used' for some purpose.

Anthropometry: The term anthropometry comes from the Greek words, Anthropos (man) and metron (measure). So, anthropometry etymologically means, measurement of man or the measurement of humans (Herron, 2006). This term was introduced by a French naturalist known as Georges Cuvier (1769-1832). In this technique, various bodily measurements are taken to access the static (body composition and body shape) and dynamic (body movement and strength capacities and the use of space) anthropometry (ibid). This technique is mostly used in studies related to physical anthropology but nowadays it is creating its mark in the field of applied anthropological studies as well. From designing clothes, tools and equipment, anthropometry has got associated with ergonomics as well. Ergonomics is an applied science that is concerned with designing and arranging the things that people use. Another area where anthropometry is highly applicable is design anthropometry. As mentioned earlier, it is the application of anthropometric measurements for designing equipment, gears, uniforms, seating etc. As a research tool, anthropometry has also contributed immensely to the analysis of variation among human populations in terms of race, sex, and body dimensions. Similarly, this technique is also employed in the field of forensic sciences in the identification of skeletal remains and their proper analysis and interpretation. With prior knowledge and training in anthropometry, anthropologists can easily distinguish and classify skeletal remains based on sex, age, and species. So, we see that the technique of anthropometry is applicable in many fields and continues to have its impact in multidisciplinary research as well. For more imformation see Unit 7

Tools used in Anthropometry:

Anthropometric measurements are obtained using different kinds of tools, some of which include:

Tool	Used for the Measurement of
Anthropometers	Length and Circumference of body segments
Stadiometer	Height
Bicondylar Calipers	Bone Diameter
Skinfold Calipers	Skin thickness and subcutaneous fat
Scales	Weight

Source: Biology Dictionary (www.biologydictionary.net/anthropometry/)

Utilising	Appl	ied
Knowled	ge in	Practice

Check Your Progress

7)	Define Participatory Action Research (PAR).
8)	What do you understand by sondeo technique?
9)	Name some tools used in anthropometry with their uses.
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11.3 TOOLS FOR EFFECTIVE APPLICATION

- Communication Skills: Effective communication is key to success in every sphere of one's life. In the application of anthropological knowledge, the communication skills of a researcher have an important role to play. Depending on the type of field (organisation, community or individual), an applied anthropologist is supposed to proceed with a positive attitude and positive set words. Once inside the field, a practitioner is expected to make eye contact with the members of the community and the non-verbal aspects of his/her communication should be in sync with the spoken part. Good rapport could be established only when an anthropologist can gain the trust of the people under study and that would be reflected in how s/he communicates with the people. The applied researcher is expected to plan and execute the communication in such a manner that it aids in obtaining the expected responses.
- Innovative Thinking: Innovative thinking enables an individual to think out of the box. In applied anthropology, innovative thinking helps in giving solutions to problems more effectively and efficiently. Furthermore, in the business world, anthropologists with this thought

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process are always in demand because of their ability to provide good business ideas and creative ideas. Applied research in the corporate world is quick result-oriented and normally we tend to measure every step carefully before coming to a specific decision. This is not the case with the researchers who think innovatively, as for them facing actual challenges and giving innovative ideas is considered as a tool. There is proper training given to all the applied researchers and practitioners, whereby the creative powers of an induvial are reinforced (Das, 2012).

- Knowledge of the Field: Before setting foot in the field setting, an applied researcher needs to have some prior knowledge about people, organisations, social customs, economy, and language etc. This prior knowledge helps us to know beforehand the type of data we need and what to expect in a particular field area. Knowledge about people, organisation or communities can be obtained either through the available literature or by making relations in the field. Later is preferred in applied research as it is unbiased and true to its type in most of the cases. It is not possible to gather any kind of data from the field without knowledge. So, if you wish to identify and solve real-world issues, we need to get ourselves fully aware of the agents that are primarily affected.
- Collaborative Flexibility: It denotes that an applied researcher is expected to acquire flexibility concerning communication and collaboration. Collaboration as such means working together as a single unit to ensure maximum output with minimum efforts. While flexibility is to adjust in a situation and adopting changes wherever necessary. So, in an applied research study, an anthropologist shares the responsibility with his/her clients/community members and builds a sense of partnership where everyone is comfortable in rejecting or accepting each other's suggestions and solutions. Therefore, collaboration flexibility as a tool promotes partnerships and continuous interaction that ultimately leads to better identification and implementation of policies and finally action.

11.4 SUMMARY

In this unit, we learned about different tools and techniques that can be used by an applied anthropologist in varied field settings ranging from an individual to an organisation. We also got to know how applied research is different from fundamental anthropological research in terms of methodology. In applied anthropological research, we have got two kinds of techniques viz. traditional and innovative. As applied anthropological research is focused on the quick identification of problems and framing their solutions, we learned the necessary ways with which we can obtain the information. Lastly, you have been introduced to a few tools that are important when we think of doing an applied research i.e., communication skills, knowledge of the field etc.



Thus, this unit briefly gives you an overview of the techniques that shall be useful while undertaking research in your higher semesters. There is a lot more to learn about anthropological research and that remains to be explored in your higher studies.

11.5 REFERENCES

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11.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- 1) Refer to section 11.0
- 2) Refer to section 11.1
- 3) Refer to section 11.2.1
- 4) Refer to figure 01 of section 11.2.2
- 5) Refer to sections 11.2.3 and 11.2.4
- 6) Refer to section 11.2.4
- 7) Refer to section 11.2.5
- 8) Refer to section 11.2.6
- 9) Refer to the table in section 11.2.7

UNIT 12 CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT*

Contents

- 12.0 Introduction
- 12.1 Understanding the Significance of Capacity Development within Development
- 12.2 The Complexity of Capacity Development
- 12.3 Summary
- 12.4 References
- 12.5 Answers to Check Your Progress

Learning Outcomes:

After reading this Unit the students will learn to:

- Define the conceptual difference between capacity building and capacity development;
- Describe the idea behind capacity development within the development discourse;
- Explain the difference between anthropological and sociological understanding of capacity development and donor driven development discourse.
- > Identify some complexities related to capacity development.

12.0 INTRODUCTION

It is obvious from the term 'capacity development' that the phenomenon is a part of the development discourse which looks towards transformation and social change. Anthropologists have always played a significant role in the development discourse as both facilitators of development as well as critiques of development. This role has become even more significant today as the idea of development, through the international policy conceptualisation of the sustainable development goals, has become all pervasive in the areas of governance and administration. "In the past two decades, capacity building has noticeably decoupled from development agendas and is now valued as a tool of governance, administration, future building, and 'progress' in its own right. A bewildering range of sites today present themselves: it can be found in the lexicons of government (Hughes et al. 2010), third sector (Linnell 2003; O'Reilly 2011), religious (McDougall 2013), medical (Kelly 2011; Geissler et al. 2014), environmental (United Nations Environmental Programme [UNEP] 2002) and even familiar academic agendas (Danaher et al. 2012; Pfotenhauer et al. 2013, 2016)" (Douglas-Jones and Shaffner, 2017). While the concept finds its own significance in various disciplinary

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and sectoral discourses, its interconnectivity with development has found equal relevance through these intersectional spaces increasing its scope. Anthropology as a canopied discipline that focuses on a holistic perspective and interconnectedness in society remains in a strong position to engage effectively in the discourse of capacity development.

The Development discourse established itself in a top down perspective, with global historically established colonial powers taking a paternalistic approach of providing a helping hand to the less fortunate third world countries in the post second world war scenario. This helping hand was essentially understood in terms of financial aid and transfer of technology. However, the concept of capacity development brings forth a significant turn in the dialogue of development, in terms of people's participation. Before we look into the significance of this shift (discussed in the next section) let us first look at two often used terms with respect to capacity i.e., 'capacity building' and 'capacity development' in the discourse of development and see what they mean and how they are linked with each other.

The term 'capacity-building' appeared in the 1970s in the United States, in reference to the need to improve the capacity of state and local governments to implement fiscal decentralisation policies. The term witnessed an increased interest in the development terminology in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Eade, 1997), when 'capacity' became tied to terms of improvement like 'strengthening', 'enhancement' and 'development' itself (Fuduka-Parr et al. 2002; United Nations Development Programme [UNDP] 1998, 2003). A general definition states: "capacity-building is planned development of (or increase in) knowledge, output rate, management, skills, and other capabilities of an organisation through acquisition, incentives, technology, and/or training" (EPRS, 2017). In contemporary anthropological parlance, capacity is understood in terms of capabilities and potentials and the possibility of putting these capabilities and potentials into action. In their recent overview of potentiality as an anthropological keyword, Taussig et al. (2013) used the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) definition to express it as " a capacity, a possibility; an instance of the latent capacity for development of a person, thing, etc., in which the quality of having potential is embodied". Douglas-Jones and Shaffner (2017:5) further elucidates this by saying that "It provides a moment in which we might consider the relationship between a capacity that is held (in potentia) and a capacity that is expressed (in actualitas), being brought forth in action". In this context, capacity building is a term "full of hope and potential, yet also operates from perceptions of insufficiency or absence, summoned because the future it works towards is seen as more desirable than the present" (Douglas-Jones and Shaffner, 2017: 1). "The notion of change is central to many documents framing capacitybuilding/development concepts. It borrows from sociological ideas about the complex ways in which organisations are transformed, the multiplicity of factors affecting change, the fluid and dynamic character of the process and the importance of the affected individuals' and organisations' ownership and



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leadership" (EPRS, 2017:4). As mentioned earlier, development is a process dominated by the transfer of aid thus despite the "acknowledged complexity and fluidity of the required transformative processes, donor reports on capacity development attempt to provide technical step-by-step guidance, trying to capture the essence of transformative processes and the way they can be effected and influenced. Some donors also attempt to provide measurable results indicators" (EPRS, 2017:4).

"Although capacity-building is still widely used, a new term has been coined – 'capacity development' [expressed in 2006 OECD DAC (Development Assistance Committee) paper, The Challenge of Capacity Development – Working Towards Good Practice] – and this has become the favoured choice of the development community. While 'capacity-building' suggests building something new from the ground up, according to a pre-imposed design, 'capacity development' is believed to better express an approach that builds on existing skills and knowledge, driving a dynamic and flexible process of change, borne by local actors" (EPRS, 2017:1). One often finds the words 'capacity building' and 'capacity development' being used interchangeably and both terms hold similarity in terms of their generic understanding however the terms also need to be understood in terms of their historical and genealogical progression within the discourse of development.

12.1 UNDERSTANDING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT WITHIN DEVELOPMENT

American President Harry Truman's announcement of the 'Point Four Program' (the fourth point of President Harry S. Truman's 1949 inaugural address) is often cited as the key moment in launching development as a worldwide enterprise of promoting growth and improved living conditions in the third world countries by transferring technology. Post-World War II reconstruction, decolonisation, and the onset of the Cold War were the immediate context for the rise of aid programs aimed at promoting development. The Allies produced a new global institutional framework to facilitate problem solving: the United Nations (UN), including its specialised technical assistance agencies such as the World Health Organization (WHO), Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), and the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and managed economies shaped the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank Group to ensure stability and growth. As mentioned earlier the development paradigm consisted of the global historically established colonial powers taking a paternalistic approach of providing a helping hand to the less fortunate third world countries.

However, by the early 1970s, disillusionment emerged among the public, politicians, and some development practitioners with the approaches of the previous two decades. These efforts had been characterised by huge projects

and centralised planning guided by theories of evolutionary modernisation and the 'trickledown effect' or what was recognised by Allen Hoben as "the ethnocentric tech-fix orientation of the dominant development paradigm" was challenged (Hoben, 1982: 350). "In many countries, indices on the quality of life – infant mortality, life expectancy, per capita income, food production – had failed to improve or had even fallen. The gap between rich and poor, both between and within countries, was widening. In response, the World Bank and the USAID announced in 1973 their intention to direct interventions more specifically at the poor. Under its 'New Direction' guidelines, USAID required all proposed projects to undergo a social soundness analysis, identifying probable impacts on the supposed 'beneficiaries.' In essence, consideration of social variables was brought earlier into the project cycle, influencing project design and even policy. To facilitate these tasks, USAID hired anthropologists, with 50 on staff and at least 100 as consultants by 1980 (Hoben, 1982)" (Castro and Brokensha, 2015:302).

Anthropologists were pivotal in promoting social- and participatory-oriented approaches to development policy and practice. In doing so, they drew on cutting-edge knowledge, theory, and methods, demonstrating the vital link between academic and applied fields. One such example is the formulation of comprehensive policies for the resettlement of people. World Bank and other development agencies long supported projects such as dams that displaced large populations, yet they lacked guidelines for dealing with resettlement. Drawing on pioneering research by Thayer Scudder, Elizabeth Colson, and others, anthropologists at World Bank led by Michael Cernea (its founding sociologist) spearheaded during the 1980s the formulation of comprehensive policies (Castro and Brokensha, 2015). Similarly, "Both policy and practice were also addressed by the Community Forestry Unit (CFU) of Food and Agriculture Organization's (FAO) Forestry Department, which was directed by anthropologists Marilyn Hoskins and Katherine Warner from the mid-1980s to 2002. The CFU aimed to strengthen the capacity of the public, resource users, technical personnel, and policymakers to engage in participatory natural resource management by disseminating knowledge of key topics, including gender analysis, indigenous knowledge systems, common property systems, conflict analysis, and livelihoods analysis. It also generated manuals and guides for participatory planning, evaluation, and specialised tasks such as income generation projects" (Castro and Brokensha, 2015:303).

Development practice saw a shift in perspective from 1980s onwards. Agencies retained their nominal 'pro-poor' commitment, with emphasis also placed on 'sustainability' in the wake of the 1987 Brundtland Commission report, the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio. Practitioners and activists sought to connect the meaning of development to rights, human capacities, and freedom. The notion that strengthening the capacity of individuals and institutions in developing countries is crucial for the success of development

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policy emerged gradually, with the theoretical debate reaching its peak between 1995 and 2005 (EPRS, 2017). "The institutional scope of development activities widened, as non governmental organisations (NGOs), indigenous peoples, social movements, and other activists increasingly appeared on the scene. Many NGOs followed the funding and pursued donor-driven agendas, but others, both international and local, pressed forward with their own concerns. The rise of Grameen Bank, a grassroots movement for local empowerment, especially focusing on women and families, through micro credit that spread worldwide demonstrated the new creative possibilities of bottom—up development (Yunus, 2007). International donors, for a variety of reasons, endorsed decentralisation, creating new political spaces for participation by communities. These trends generally fit well with the campaign by anthropologists and others within and outside international development institutions to 'put people first' (Castro and Brokensha, 2015:303).

Development approaches based on the notion of capacity-building were introduced to make up for perceived shortcomings in the development aid and technical assistance provided by major international donors since the 1950s. These included lack of ownership by recipients, incapacity to effect sustainable change, lack of inter-sectorial coordination, and insufficiently tailored-made approaches (EPRS, 2017). However, capacity development did not replace aid, technical assistance or technical cooperation; but its introduction alongside other approaches has brought about a paradigm shift for development. Capacity building emerged during a time when top-down development strategies were being dismantled, with 'partnership' and 'dialogue' promoted as a shift away from hierarchical language (Linnell, 2003). Thus, the questions it elicited – about which capacities, and whose – were imagined as part of an open conversation between those who sought to intervene and those who stood as partners or participants in such projects. Capacity building was seen to take into account paradigm shifts towards 'local ownership' of initiatives (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD] 1996) as well as a growing recognition of the role 'external factors in the broader environment' play in the 'capacity of an individual, team, organisation or system' (Milèn 2001: 2). Subsequently, today many policy documents recognise three levels at which capacity development operates: societal, institutional and individual. The description of these levels as per UNDPis as follows. (EPRS, 2017)

The 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness highlighted that capacity development is one of the essential preconditions for aid effectiveness: 'The capacity to plan, manage, implement, and account for results of policies and programmes, is critical for achieving development objectives – from analysis and dialogue through implementation, monitoring and evaluation'. Capacity-building is thus seen as the 'responsibility of partner countries', while donors play a supporting role. UNDP documents that "Capacity development starts from the principle that people are best empowered to realise their full

potential when the means of development are sustainable, home-grown, long-term, and generated and managed collectively by those who stand to benefit" (UNDP, 2009). Since the mid-1990s, all major multilateral and bilateral aid agencies and non-governmental development organisations have adopted capacity-building as a core element of their policies. Some definitions of what is understood by capacity and capacity development are as under.

The **enabling environment**: 'is the broad social system within which people and organisations function. It includes all the rules, laws, policies, power relations and social norms that govern civic engagement. It is the enabling environment that sets the overall scope for capacity development.'

The **organisational level**: 'refers to the internal structure, policies and procedures that determine an organisation's effectiveness. It is here that the benefits of the enabling environment are put into action and a collection of individuals come together. The better resourced and aligned these elements are, the greater the potential for growing capacity.'

The **individual level** includes 'the skills, experience and knowledge that allow each person to perform. Some of these are acquired formally, through education and training, while others come informally, through doing and observing. Access to resources and experiences that can develop individual capacity are largely shaped by the organisational and environmental factors described above, which in turn are influenced by the degree of capacity development in each individual.'

Table 12.1: Definitions of capacity and capacity development (Source: EPRS, 2017)

Organisation	Definition of capacity	Definition of capacity development
UNDP	The ability of individuals, institutions and societies to perform functions, solve problems, and set and achieve objectives in a sustainable manner.	Capacity development: The process through which individuals, organizations and societies obtain, strengthen and maintain the capabilities to set and achieve their own development objectives over time. Capacity-building: A process that supports only the initial stages of building or creating capacities and assumes that there are no existing capacities to start from. (UNDP)
OECD DAC	'capacity' is understood as the ability of people, organisations and society as a whole to manage their affairs successfully. The definition is deliberately simple. It avoids any judgement on the objectives that people choose to pursue, or what should count as success in the management of their collective efforts.	Copacity development is understood as the process whereby people, organisations and society as a whole unleash, strengthen, create, adapt and maintain capacity over time. The phrase capacity development is used advisedly in preference to the traditional capacity building. The 'building' metaphor suggests a process starting with a plain surface and involving the step-by-step erection of a new structure, based on a preconceived design. Experience suggests that capacity is not successfully enhanced in this way.
World Bank	Capacity for development is the availability of resources and the efficiency and effectiveness with which societies deploy those resources to identify and pursue their development goals on a sustainable basis. (World Bank, 2009)	Capacity development (or capacity-building) is a locally driven process of learning by leaders, coalitions and other agents of change that brings about changes in socio-political, policy-related, and organisational factors to enhance local ownership for and the effectiveness and efficiency of efforts to achieve a development goal. (World Bank, 2009)
UNECA		Capacity development is the process through which individuals, groups and organisations, and societies deploy, adapt, strengthen, and maintain the capabilities to define, plan and achieve their own development objectives on an inclusive, participatory, and sustainable basis. (UNECA website)

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Thus ideologically, capacity development focuses on empowering and strengthening endogenous capabilities, making the most of local resources including people, skills, technologies, institutions, and builds on these in favour of sustainable change. It also shifted focus in terms of 'best practice' and ideas of scale up which believed in one size fits all to 'best fit' for the context, an ethnographic reality that anthropologists have always advocated. The relationship between culture, context, capacity and change is very complex in that capacity and change are embedded within context while at the same time it is the context that offers the potential levers for change. The context both impinges on and is influenced by a capacity development process (EPRS, 2017). In the next section we explore some of this complexity with reference to capacity development.

Check Your Progress

1)	What is the relationship between the terms capacity building and capacity development?
2)	How is sociological/ anthropological understanding of capacity development different from that of non anthropological development practitioners?
	UNIVERSIT
3)	When and why did 'capacity building' emerge in the development discourse?
4)	What did the 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness highlighted as a essential preconditions for aid effectiveness?

12.2 THE COMPLEXITY OF CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT

The strength of anthropology has always been in the ability of analysts to illuminate site-specific conditions through ethnographic research (Castro and Brokensha, 2015:302). Ideally, anthropological engagement with capacity development needs to take an inclusive approach in addressing issues of power inequality in relations between rich and poor, mainstream and marginalised (countries, groups and individuals), emphasising on deep, lasting transformations through policy and institutional reforms. While capacity development does speak for a monumental shift in the development dialogue in terms of participation and ground up ownership of development programs and resulting influence on policy, it can however not do away with the donor-recipient power divide. The conundrum remains that the very idea of capacity development is within the rubric of a larger all-encompassing imagination of development. A part of the donor beneficiary divide on a global scale has been addressed by the conceptualisation that the sustainable development goals (SGDs) uniformly applicable to all countries of the world, removing the "developing" versus "developed" dichotomy. Thus, while earlier capacity development was visualised to be needed in developing countries by their recognition as stakeholders by the developed countries, the SGDs reflect on global need for capacity development. However, the donorbeneficiary dichotomy and power dynamics operates at different relative levels of global and local and are influenced by multiple factors which might render capacity development on a back foot.

Anthropologists themselves hold differential positions in their engagement with the concept of development. "Arturo Escobar (1995) used discourse analysis to expose development as a discourse and institutional practices that perpetuate domination of the Third World. He argued that anthropologists should not be involved with development agencies. In contrast, Katy Gardner and David Lewis (1996) agreed with many of the criticisms of the development industry, but reached a different conclusion: contending that the insights of discourse analysis, combined with ethnographic research, offered new possibilities for supporting effective participatory efforts. Gardner and Lewis felt that the involvement of anthropologists from the global 'South' especially offered innovative avenues for change. In some countries, such as Mexico, anthropology has a long, if contentious, involvement with development issues (Nahmad Sittón, 2011). Other countries are at a relatively early stage of building their capacity in anthropology, though applied issues still often loom large (Hill and Baba, 2006)". (Castro and Brokensha, 2015:302).

Anthropologists are increasingly seeking to make their work 'relevant' to a wider public, including the populations that they are studying (Low and Merry, 2010), however, as mentioned in the first section, there is a disparity between how anthropologists and sociologists visualise capacity building as a

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transformation which is a fluid and dynamic character, with multiplicity of factors affecting the process of change. However the formal discourse of capacity development attempt to provide technical step-by-step guidance with measurable results indicators, this brings in a duality into the idea of capacity development. The duality comes from the way capacity building can be put to work as both an approach and an objective, as a set of methodologies towards a goal and itself a measurable outcome (Bolger 2000: 1). As mode and goal, what capacity building targets may be anything from 'abilities' to 'understandings, attitudes, values, relationships, behaviours, motivations, resources and conditions' (Bolger 2000: 2). Further, capacity building that locates measurable efficacy in material artefacts – latrines and weaving rooms - yet opens towards less visible capacities such as 'knowledge'. For example, the 'spiral' model of capacity building from the late 1990s, assumes that "behind every new latrine, weaving room, or irrigation canal in a village, for example, there are less visible but equally important changes in individual and group knowledge, attitudes and skills". (Robinson and Cox 1998: 127)

"We find capacities arranged by 'levels' and 'types', separated into 'functional and technical' (UNDP 2009), 'soft' elements (motivational and process) and 'hard' elements (technical) (Land 1999). From defining capacities to building them, practitioner authors offer key steps to success, from initial stakeholder engagement to end of project evaluation. For this reason, Chris Roche of Oxfam sets up capacity building as a concept to be tested (Roche 1997: v), measured against a goal, marking an alignment with policy orientations wherein capacities are 'most usefully assessed in relation to their development purpose' (Malik 2002: 27). The question of 'which capacities' are transformed into a concern about 'which ends', opening new sets of disagreements of what capacity building might ultimately be 'for'" (Douglas-Jones and Shaffner, 2017: 4). The combination of multiple dimensions, multiple levels and multiple actors broadens the scope of capacity building to the extent with its all-encompassing mandate, has been critiqued within development discourse for its vagueness: it is 'elusive' (Kaplan 2000: 517), 'ambiguous' (Black 2003: 116), 'elastic' (Lusthaus et al. 1999: 3) or worse, a 'sloppy piece of aid jargon' (Eade 2010: 204).

Thus, complexities of capacity development are manyfold. Inspite of its participatory shareholder approach, the donor-beneficiary dichotomy remains and might influence the potential of capacity development itself. Further, fluidity of transformation vs step by step structural progression brings forth the duality of capacity building in terms of its being an approach or an objective driven measurable results indicator, and brings forth disjuncture in disciplinary (anthropologists VS other development practitioners) understanding of the same phenomenon. Further, the elasticity in the very broad based multileveled and multi-layered concept of capacity building finds critique within the development discourse while concepts like the 'spiral' model of capacity building brings to light that capacity building that



locates measurable efficacy in material artefacts also bring with them latent capacity development in terms of knowledge and skills.

Check	Your	Progress
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5)	What does the 'spiral' model of capacity building assume?
6)	How can Anthropology play a role in capacity development?

12.3 SUMMARY

The essence of capacity development lies in an attempt to produce transformation which is sustainable over time from within', through local ownership of all interventions where local groups decide on the needs and targets of capacity development, designs the processes of change and assume leadership for them. The complexity of capacity development in terms of its multiple dimensions, multiple levels and multiple actors needs a multidisciplinary approach in its understanding, where anthropology stands to play a critical role. This is especially true as anthropologists have often played the role of facilitators in synergising priorities between different stakeholders of change through participatory and community based focus, and can play a significant role in community mobilisation towards leadership and ownership. Ethnographic knowledge through anthropological research also adds to the understanding of intangible capacity development that may not be assessable through standard monitoring and evaluation indicators. Further, critical reflections of anthropological knowledge and experience, on both policy and process with respect to capacity development can contribute to generating effective policy and programmatic frameworks.

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12.5 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- 1) See section 12.0
- 2) See section 12.1
- 3) See 4th paragraph of section 12.1
- 4) See 5th paragraph of section 12.1
- 5) See 4th paragraph of section 12.2.
- 6) See 1st paragraph of section 12.0



UNIT 13 INVOLVEMENT IN CIVIL SOCIETIES AND THE STATE*

Content

- 13.0 Introduction
- 13.1 Civil Society and the State
- 13.2 What is the State?
- 13.3 Scope of Anthropology
- 13.4 Anthropologists and NGOs
- 13.5 Emerging roles of Anthropologists
- 13.6 Summary
- 13.7 References
- 13.8 Answers to Check your Progress

Learning Objectives

After reading this Unit the learners would be able to:

- > Describe the concept of civil society and state;
- ➤ Identify how anthropologists have contributed to development and policymaking; and
- Comprehend the role and relevance of anthropology for involvement in civil society and state.

13.0 INTRODUCTION

It will be interesting for the learners to see that the involvement of anthropologists in civil society and the state has evolved with time. According to the American Anthropological Association (2019), "today's anthropologists do not just work in exotic locations. Anthropologists can be found in corporations, all levels of government, educational institutions and non-profit associations (civil society organisations)". One of the best-known early advocates of the use of anthropology on the colonial rule was Radcliffe-Brown. His School of African Studies at the University of Capetown was developed to reduce conflict between the white and black populations. Similarly, Ruth Benedict's ethnography of Japanese Americans during the Second World War were used to great effect by the United States government in their efforts against Japan (O'Driscoll, 2009). In 1945, the Anthropological Survey of India (under the Ministry of Culture) was established to study the cultural and physical aspects of human life. According to the Ministry of Culture, anthropology, as is being practiced in the Anthropological Survey of India, is unique with a truly holistic flavour.

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Involvement in Civil Societies and the State

Social anthropological knowledge is considered critical in addressing issues of social and spatial exclusion, especially among marginalised communities such as Tribes. The Government of India has set up several Tribal Research Institutes (TRIs) in the states of India. Presently, TRIs are functioning in 24 States and 1 Union Territory. The core responsibility of TRIs is to function as a body of knowledge & research more or less as a think tank for tribal development and preservation of tribal cultural heritage. During the year 2017-18 and 2018-19 (MoTA, GoI 2019), based on the proposals received from the States of Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Sikkim and Mizoram, funds have been provided for the establishment of new Tribal Research Institutes. As early as, 1955, in the Second Five Year Plan, 43 Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks (SMPTB) were identified for targeted interventions which were later called Tribal Development Blocks (TDB). A committee was established in 1959 to review and recommend newer interventions and was chaired by noted anthropologist of that time, Verrier Elwin.

So we see that the role of anthropological knowledge and its relevance for state planning and administration dates back to 1807. Evidence suggests that anthropology was one of the subjects taught at the Haileybury College where the British civil servants going out to serve in India under the East India Company were trained. Time and again, anthropologists with their social, physical and archeological knowledge of human society are considered as a policy and practice alternative to promote inclusive growth and good governance by reducing the gap between the State and the society.

According to Anthony Giddens, 'the issue today isn't more government or less, but recognising that governance must adjust to the new circumstances of the global age; and that authority, including state legitimacy, has to be renewed on an active basis' (1999: 72). This paradigm of governance in the 1980s was the rediscovery and reinvention of civil society, especially to mediate between the "power-hungry state and profit-driven market" (Chandhok, 2009). And in this anthropology and the anthropologist have a strong role to play.

Check Your Progress 1

1)

What are the roles of the anthropologist?

Utilising Appl	lied
Knowledge in	Practice

<i>2)</i>	state?
3)	Did anthropologists play any role in policy making?

13.1 CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE STATE

In a democracy, the welfare state has two objectives, (1) to create an equal society & (2) to protect individuals across the life cycle. The presence of civil society leads to socio-economic, political and cultural development and hence day-by-day its relevance increases. Civil society adheres to the democratic principles and traditions and is characterised as "a self-generating mechanism of social solidarity" (Giddens, 1999).

Civil society is a relational construct; it is defined in relation to family, business and the state. Classical theories of civil society refer to it as voluntary association distinct from family and the state; with the rise of business and society interface after globalisation and liberalisation, contemporary theories also entail civil society as voluntary association distinct from the business. Therefore, voluntary associations distinct or outside to family, business and the state can be classified as civil society. According to the Oxford Handbook of Political Theory, "the kinds of associations with the state, reflect distinctive understandings of civil society" (Chambers & Kopstein 2006). Based on the type of relation or association, the contemporary debate on civil society can be classified into four broad categories:

1) Civil Society apart from the State: It is a sphere in which individuals come together and form groups, pursues common enterprises, share interests, communicate over important and sometimes not so important matters. Examples are Temples, Mosque, Churches, bowling leagues, service associations, chess clubs, etc., are part of civil society. Self Help Groups (SHGs) as a voluntary association of local women outside the

- state and family to fulfill common interests is one of the most common forms of this category.
- Civil Society against the State: In this role, civil society is not simply a sphere apart from the state; it is or can be seen as an "agent" that interacts with and indeed opposes the state. The Indian anti-corruption movement in 2011 led by Anna Hazare was a voluntary association of people who came together across India to protest for the establishment of strong legislation and enforcement against perceived corruption by the government. Jayaprakash Narayan who is known as JP and also called popularly as Lok Nayak (People's Hero), is credited as the face of the people's movement, especially the youth, that sprang up to resist the state of emergency rule imposed by the then Prime Minister of India on 25 June 1975. Both these cases resulted in the formation of a new government. In 2013 Aam Aadmi Party formed the government in Delhi after the Anna Hazare movement, and the Janata Party government was formed at the national level in 1977. However, it is to be noted that after these groups transformed into government bodies, neither of the two remained as 'civil society'.
- 3) Civil Society in support or partnership with the State: 1970s gave rise to the organisation of civil society to serve as an extension of the government for the delivery of public services. This group is also termed as a Non-Government Organisation (NGO) or Non-Profit Organisation (NPO). Though these NGOs are voluntary associations that work for the government they are not part of the government. It was for the first time in the Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-90) and later in the Eighth Five Year Plan (1992-97) in India, that the government encouraged NGO participation in development to bridge the gap between the State and society.
- 4) Civil Society in Dialogue with the State: It is where the ideas, interests, values, and ideologies formed within civil society are voiced and made to influence government policies or programs. One such example is of Think Tanks. According to a survey conducted by Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program of the University of Pennsylvania, Brookings Institution was ranked as the top think tank in the world. Five Indian think tanks have made it to the list of top 150 worldwide According to the report, overall, there are 509 think tanks in India, which second largest after the United States. Among the top think tanks worldwide, 42 is the rank of Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses (IDSA), 83 ranks of Centre for Civil Society (CCS), followed by The Energy and Resources Institute (TERI) is ranked 111, Observer Research Foundation (ORF) is ranked at 118, Development Alternatives (DA) at 140. And Centre for Policy Research (CPR) is ranked at 176. (McGann 2019, 58-63).

With the rise of globalisation and liberalisation, there is another important space open for civil society; it's called the social economy. Social economy refers to the part of the economy proper that is neither private nor public but consists of constituted organisations, with voluntary members, undertaking activities for the greater good of local communities and marginalised groups, a possible surplus of which is used for the good of the community of members or for society. It is also termed as a social enterprise. This consists of social entrepreneurs or social businesses with primarily social objectives, where surpluses are principally reinvested for that purpose in the business or in the community (Laine, 2014). It provides social objectives with profit share. Some of the examples of social business also called social enterprise are Grameen Foundation and SEWA.

Check Your Progress 2

4)	In a democracy what are the two objectives of the welfare state?
	······································
5)	Define civil society?
	THE DEADLE'S
	······································
6)	Explain the board categories of civil society in relation to the state?
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6)	Explain the board categories of civil society in relation to the state?
	Explain the board categories of civil society in relation to the state? Who are social entrepreneurs?
7)	

13.2 WHAT IS THE STATE?

To distinguish between civil society and the state, it is important to understand the difference between nation, country, and state. A country and state are synonymous terms where both apply to self-governing political entities. A nation, however, is a group of people who share the same culture but may not have sovereignty. The state is a community of persons, permanently occupying a definite portion of territory, having a government of their own to which the inhabitants render obedience, and enjoy freedom from external control. States claim three board set of rights over the territory: These three broad set of rights are:

- 1) Territorial jurisdiction rights: This right entitles the state to make and enforce the law within the defined territory or create international borders. Within this territory, every citizen is to follow the law of the land.
- 2) Resource rights in its territory: The state develops policies to use and control minerals, oil, and natural resources (such as oil, iron, coal, bauxite, etc) and to generate revenue from its sale, either in the domestic market or with export.
- 3) *Right to control borders*: State regulates the movement of people, resources, goods and services within its territory (Stilz, 2011).

Therefore, the state is a collective set of personnel who occupy positions of decision making authority based on the rule of law. In a contemporary democratic world, three distinctive decision-making authority of the state are:

- 1) The state as administrative and an institutionalised legal authority
- 2) The state as a ruling class that decide public policy, and
- 3) The state as an agency to promote social, economic and political normative order of governance in society.

While state intervention might have failed in certain regions and for social groups, complete withdrawal of the state is never to be considered the option. These conditions give rise to the role of anthropologists to engage and provide solutions to bridge the gap between state and society.

Check Your Progress 3

8)	Is there a difference between nation and state?

Utilising Ap	pl	ied
Knowledge	in	Practice

9)	What are the basic rights of the state?
10)	Explain the distinctive decision-making authority of the state?
11)	Which condition gives rise to the role of anthropologists?
	······································

13.3 SCOPE OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Development across the world has attributed success to the understanding of society and people. In development, the crisis of representation of the recipient communities has created space for anthropologists. Anthropology offers a powerful analytical tool for integrating culture, tradition, power, economy, history etc., into one analytical framework (Edelman and Haugerud, 2005: 20). In the article, "Scope of Anthropology", Levis Strauss writes that in 1858 two 'chief engineers' were born (who attempted to bridge the gap between state and society) who designed anthropology - Franz Boas in America and Emile Durkheim in France. Anthropology has constantly evolved to address the issues that emerge due to the lack of desired development. Therefore, development is a natural arena for the anthropologists. Inspired by the work of Verrier Elvin, the then Prime Minister Pandit Nehru adopted the guidelines of the state policy to address development in tribal areas, which even remain valid today. The five principles of tribal development are:

- 1) People should be allowed to develop on lines of their own genius and nothing should be imposed upon them;
- 2) Tribal rights in land and forest should be respected;

Involvement in Civil Societies and the State

- 3) Induction of outsiders into tribal areas should be avoided;
- 4) There should be no over-administration of tribal areas, and development work should be done through local/traditional institutions; and
- 5) The outcome should not be judged by the quantity of money spent, but the quality of human character evolved.

The scope of anthropology has remained debatable; ever since Bronislaw Malinowski advocated a role for anthropologists as a policy adviser to African Colonial administrators and Evans Pritchard urged instead to do precisely the opposite and distance themselves from the tainted worlds of policy and applied involvement of anthropologists (Lewis, 2005). However, the anthropologists in development and global structural policy correspond to the clearly defined occupational field of the anthropological development experts- which is identified as a career aspiration by many undergraduate students and an area of professional activity (Barthel and Bierschenk, 2013).

Check Your Progress 4

12)	In development what gives rise to the role of anthropologists?
	THE DEODIE'S
13)	What does anthropology offer to development?
14)	Explain the five principles of tribal development?

13.4 ANTHROPOLOGISTS AND NGOS

In the article "Putting Civil Society in a Place", Neera Chandkoke (2009) asks a question, "what are the limits of civil society (NGOs) interventions as an agent to affect transformation in the lives of ordinary people? There are three important limitations of NGOs that create space for collaboration between state and civil society:

- 1) NGOs do not possess resources that are required to alleviate poverty and deprivation. It is the state that can do so through widening the tax net and investing in welfare and development schemes.
- 2) NGOs cannot implement schemes of redistributive justice that requires transferring of resources from the better to the worse off sections of society, and
- 3) NGOs cannot establish and strengthen institutions that will implement public policy.

Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) also known as Non-Profit Organisations today are one of the largest consumers of anthropological knowledge. NGOs are recognised across the world as important development actors in society. The scope of NGOs has extended from supporting philanthropy as a charitable trust to mediating profit organisations in development projects under Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is referred to as corporate voluntary responsibility for the wellbeing of the community by reducing the company's negative effects on the environment and society. CSR is generally understood as being the way through which a company achieves a balance of economic, environmental and social imperatives ("Triple Bottom-Line-Approach"), while at the same time addressing the expectations of shareholders and stakeholders.

In India, however, the Ministry of Corporate Affairs, Government of India has recently notified the Section 135 of the Companies Act, 2013 along with Companies (Corporate Social Responsibility Policy) Rules, 2014, making it mandatory for companies to invest in development projects.

The state has evolved this policy more to serve the emerging need for a company-community partnership. This provides anthropologists immense opportunity to work with NGOs or civil society organisations. With this change in development policy, the 'old' anthropology of development must also expand to include global policies, such as climate change and become anthropology of global social engineering (Bierschenk, 2014). According to "The Future Role of Civil Society," a study conducted by the World Economic Forum (WEF) in collaboration with KPMG International, the emerging roles of civil society by 2030 may include:

1) Watchdog: holding institutions to account, promoting transparency and accountability.



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- 2) Advocate: raising awareness of societal issues and challenges and advocating for change.
- 3) Service provider: delivering services to meet societal needs such as education, health, food and security; implementing disaster management, preparedness and emergency response.
- 4) Expert: bringing unique knowledge and experience to shape policy and strategy, and identifying and building solutions.
- 5) Capacity builder: providing education, training and other capacity building.
- Incubator: developing solutions that may require a long gestation or payback period.
- 7) Representative: giving power to the voice of the marginalized or underrepresented.
- 8) Citizenship champion: encouraging citizen engagement and supporting the rights of citizens.
- 9) Solidarity supporter: promoting fundamental and universal values.
- 10) The definer of standards: creating norms that shape market and state activity (WEF 2013 pp.8)

Anthropologists with their skills can provide services as all of the above 10 roles. Ultimately the important question is not whether anthropology is or not "relevant". The wonder of anthropology is that it constantly makes and remakes itself in practice. Anthropology is perhaps the only discipline that remains committed to a truly critical conversation between million cussed histories and the consensuses of a shared world (Mazzeralla, 2002).

Check Your Progress

15)	What are the limitations of NGOs?						
16)	How anthropologists can offer to the requirements of civil society?						

Utilising Ap	pl	ied
Knowledge	in	Practice

17)	What relevan	the	emerging	gareas	were	anthropological	knowledge	is
		 						• • •
		 						• • •

13.5 EMERGING ROLES OF ANTHROPOLOGISTS

Jeremy MacClancy (2002) in the edited volume, *Exotic No More*, explores a pertinent question - What roles can anthropologists play today? The volume of twenty-four articles with possible answers to the question by scholars covering a wide variety of subjects highlighted how anthropologists can indeed play an important role in different avenues. The chapters include the role in economy, religion, science, gender and sexuality, human rights, music and art, tourism, migration, and the internet. The volume reflects how anthropologists grapple with a world that is in constant transformation. Overall, the volume classifies four broad emerging roles and relevance of anthropological knowledge:

- 1) Anthropologists engaged in analyses of the pathologies of vulnerable groups' to emerging forms of exploitation. Some of the cases included in the volume are by Philippe Bourgois on crack dealers, Nancy Scheper-Hughes on the global trade in organs, and David Napier on intellectual property.
- 2) Anthropological ethnographical critiques of key concepts and phenomena. The cases included are by Jane Schneider on markets, Chris Hann on ideology, Michael Gilsenan on violence, Richard Jenkins on ethnicity, William Beeman on fundamentalism, Faye Harrison on race, Alma Gottlieb on gender and sexuality, Margaret Lock on biomedicine, E Valentine Daniel on refugees, Ellen Messer on human rights, and Judith Ennew on children's rights.
- 3) Expertise and experience of anthropologists' indirect intervention. The cases include Melissa Leach and James Fairhead on environmentalism, Ellen Messer and Parker Shipton on hunger, Alex De Waal on aid, Jonathan Mazower on Survival International,
- 4) Reflections on ethnographic sites that have recently moved to the forefront of the discipline, often as a result of an interest in the cultural politics of globalization. The case for anthropological work includes work by Sarah Franklin on science, Faye Ginsburg on the media, John Chernoff on music, Christopher Steiner on art, and Jeremy McClancy on tourism.

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The second edition of Exotic No More: Anthropology for the Contemporary World edited by Jeremy Macclancy was published in 2019. It reflects what anthropology has to offer in the twenty-first century. Apart from the introduction titled 'Taking People Seriously by Jeremy MacClancy, the volume includes chapters City life, religion, Gender and Sexuality, Race, Ethnicity, and Nationalism. Socialism: Ethics, Ideologies, and Outcomes. Economy, Terrorism, and Counterterrorism, Borderlands of Global Migration, Anthropology and Development, Environment Anthropology, Toxic Life, Anthropologies of the Sciences, Internet, Practice of Human Rights and Right to Self-Determination of Forest Peoples, Media, Photography, Culture Museums, Tourism, and Music.

Check Your Progress 6

18	What does it mean "exotic no more"?
19)	What anthropology can offer in future to state and civil society?
1)	
	THE PEOPLE 3
	UNIVERSITY
20)	Explain the rise of anthropological knowledge in the context of development?

13.6 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learned the concept of state and civil society, the roles of anthropologists and emerging areas of skills and expertise of anthropologists required by civil society and state in the future. The unit broadens the perspective of learners with diverse areas where contemporary anthropologists are currently working.

The unit expands the horizon for the learners to situate themselves with anthropological knowledge of state and civil society. Finally, with the holistic knowledge of areas of operation of civil society, learners can develop skills to work with civil society. In the book, *Anthropology Confronts the Problems of the Modern World*, Claude Lévi-Strauss writes, "I have dwelt at length the problems only because it seems to me that they show very well the kind of contribution society can hope from anthropological research. The anthropologists do not propose that his (her) contemporaries adopt the ideas and customs of one or another exotic population. The fact we gather represents a very vast human experience since they come from thousands of societies that have succeeded one another over centuries, sometimes millennia, and which are distributed over the entire expanse of the inhabited earth. We, therefore, contribute towards drawing out what can be considered "universal" of human nature" (2013, 58).

Thus, the unit helps learners of anthropology to understand and undertake holistic research on human society to bridge the gap between state and society. Bridging this gap also remains the overall goal of the agencies, the state, and civil society.

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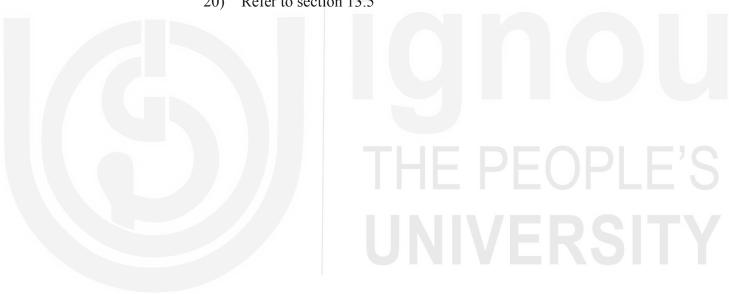
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13.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- 1) Refer to section 13.0
- 2) Refer to section 13.0
- 3) Yes
- 4) They are: (1) to create an equal society & (2) to protect individuals across the life cycle
- 5) Refer to first paragraph of section 13.1
- 6) Refer to the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh paragraphs of section 13.1
- 7) Refer to last paragraph of section 13.1

- 8) Yes
- 9) Refer to first paragraph of section 13.2
- 10) Refer to last paragraph of section 13.2
- 11) Same as 10
- 12) The crisis of representation of the recipient communities
- Refer to the first paragraph in section 13.3 13)
- 14) Refer to the second paragraph in section 13.3
- Refer to the first paragraph in section 13.4 15)
- Refer to the fourth paragraph in section 13.4 16)
- Same as above 17)
- 18) Refers to the role of the anthropologist, see section 13.5
- Refer to section 13.5 19)
- Refer to section 13.5 20)



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