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MILITARY ANTHROPOLOGY — SPECIALISATION FRAME

ABSTRACT: This article presents the research problems addressed in military anthropology. The central research hypothesis is a theoretical-cognitive problem concerning the object of cognition of military anthropology. In this sense, the two main understandings of military anthropology, American and Russian, are shown. Military anthropology develops an interest in culture as an area of struggle, competition, and combat. The article consists of three parts. The first part explains the theoretical issues and the historical development of military anthropology. The second part presents the Russian tradition in the development of that discipline. The third part presents the Polish tradition in which military anthropology is an auxiliary science of security sciences.

KEYWORDS: socio-cultural anthropology, organisational culture, and military anthropology

INTRODUCTION

In November 2007, during the annual meeting of American Anthropological Association (hereafter AAA) in Washington, D. C., a serious discussion on the crucial role of the anthropological methods of cognition was exploited by the US Army during Iraq War since 2003 (Lucas, 2009). After some publications in New York Times, The Boston Globe, the New Yorker, and Chronicle of Higher Education[1] came to light the anthropologist's significant role as cultural advisors throughout armed conflicts. It became apparent that an anthropologist consultancy is a powerful tool to achieve a strategic advantage in the social aspect of fighting war, including carrying out any military or aid actions. Such so-called anthropological data was significantly

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[1] G. R. Lucas, *Anthropologists in arms: the ethics of military anthropology*, Altamira Press/Rowman & Littlefield. Toronto, Plymouth, 2009, Kindle edition.

used by the US Army to support ground troops and aid in Iraq Wars by Human Terrain System (hereafter HTS). However, the use of anthropological cognitive techniques has raised ethical issues. Anthropological data and analysis methods help influence Iraq society and change its state about the other side by the moon of HTS application. It turned out that 'anthropological intelligence' proved to be extremely successful. For instance, in antiguerrilla operations or political struggle, identify social leaders that significantly influence or convert the leading agents in a social decision-making manner that stops transforming the local hesitant into hostile.

Helping understand local customs and language allowed the coalition ground troops to operate in a relatively safe and sound environment. However, the dark side of HTS is the practical usage of anthropological data as a negative influencer in fighting, countervailing military or political contenders. Summing-up anthropology as a device to assist military agencies is named military anthropology. The usefulness of social data in waging armed conflict and extending state authority has been known since ancient times. Considering the above, in the twentieth century, military anthropology became a specialisation in the material dimension, converging with socio-cultural anthropology, while in the formal extent autonomous. Despite this, we let draw attention to the change in the paradigm of military anthropology concern not only militants but also their functioning in the social environment as full members. The anthropological issues similarly refer to their social circus as family, children, friends, etc.

Additionally, it comes to light that a military is a social group closely linked to society that correlates with each other in a broad sense. To that stand, military anthropology covers cognition issues regarding social relations and social interactions between military and society organisations, on the one hand; thus, military anthropology covers the association of any social group connected with any armed conflict and its social consequences. In that term, there is not a surprise that military anthropology covers vast areas of social life. Putting in a different way, conducting anthropological research in the military area brings various aspects of interest, for example, history (cf. archaeology), but also observable (behaviours, habits, customs, material artefacts) or unobservable (system of values, lifestyle) culture. The article will address the issue of military anthropology. Spread the main study principles and methodological matters. In that sense, the postulates submitted in the article are introductory.

MILITARY ANTHROPOLOGY — OUTLINE

Origins

Military anthropology as a key study formally for the first time was defined in English by George R. Lucas in a book tilted *Anthropologists in Arms. The Ethics of Military Anthropology*.[2] Lukas's publication sparked widespread discussion among both American and European cultural and social anthropologists. In the debates that swept within academic scholars, two issues were raised: (1) moral support of armed action; and (2) anthropology as a tool of comprehensive social warfare. However, the utilisation of cultural knowledge (cf. anthropological) in political struggle and armed conflict is known since ancient eras. For instance, Herodotus's excellent work, The History, describes Persian or Assyrian culture and tells the stories of battles or wars with their causes and political consequences.

Another example is Julius Caesar and his *Gallic War*[3] — Caesar describes the campaign's history against Gallic tribes. However, we draw attention to social issues such as social organisation and hierarchy, giving remarks on leadership style and a particular system of values. Historians found references to culture in many of Caesar's writings, where attention is drowned in local leaders' and social relations to seek political alliances or get control through bribery.[4]

Scope inquiry

The use of knowledge about foreign cultures in the operationalisation field is not a new phenomenon. However, the 20th century saw the emergence of a theoretical reflection on cultural issues — suffice to say *Project Camelot* — the full name is *Methods for Predicting and Influencing Social Change and Internal War Potential*.[5] In contrast, the beginning of the 21st century brought the first anthropological works that spoke explicitly of military anthropology as a scientific discipline and confirmed anthropology as a tool to succeed a strategic advantage

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[2] G. R. Lucas, *op. cit*., Kindle edition.

[3] J. Caesar, A. Carbonetto, *De bello Gallico*. La nuova Italia 1968.

[4] K. A. Raaflaub, J. Caesar, A. Hirtius, *The Landmark Julius Caesar : the complete works : Gallic War, Civil War, Alexandrian War, African War, and Spanish War : IN ONE VOLUME, WITH MAPS, ANNOTATIONS, APPENDICES, AND ENCYCLOPEDIC INDEX (First edition. ed.)*, Pantheon Books 2017.

[5] R. Darnell, F. W. Gleach, *Tracking anthropological engagements*, University of Nebraska Press 2018.

in practice.[6] On this occasion, not only ethical issues were raised[7] but also far-reaching question, for example, relating to a serviceman's functioning in society inside or outside military or a military-style organisation:

1. How military personnel function in modern society;[8]

2. How that kind of social organisation is formed and what customs and attitudes are developed within such;[9]

3. What kind of social or psychological problems they challenge as veterans, etc.[10]

To conclude, these issues, mention in points 1–4: military anthropology covers soldiers' social interactions inside and outside a military organisation — military-civilian relations — in the broadest sense. However, the adopted anthropological cognitive perspective limits this vague meaning to the primary division of applied anthropology — cultural and social anthropology, archaeology, linguistics — all connected with the military-civil relations in or outside an organisation, for example, states[11] or any other which constitute a military force (cf. mercenaries). Although this does not consume the possible systematic research areas, examples include paramilitary subcultures organised along military lines. Besides, issues relating to politics, economics, and intercultural communication must also be considered. Thus, the cultural impact of a military of people who follow military culture should be discussed

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[6] C. L. Besteman, *Network of Concerned Anthropologists. Steering Committee., & United States. Department of the Army*, [in:] *The counter-counterinsurgency manual : or, notes on demilitarizing American society*, Prickly Paradigm Press 2009, p. 115-132; D. Hyndman, S. Flower, *The crisis of cultural intelligence : the anthropology of civil-military operations*, Publisher World Scientific 2018; P. Joseph, *"Soft" counterinsurgency : human terrain teams and US military strategy in Iraq and Afghanistan*, (First edition. ed.), Palgrave Macmillan 2014; Publisher description https://www.loc.gov/catdir/enhancements/fy1610/2014022451-d.html (access: 13.02.2021); M. McFate, J. H. Laurence, *Social science goes to war : the Human Terrain System in Iraq and Afghanistan*, Hurst & Company 2015; C. J. Sims, *The Human Terrain System : operationally relevant social science research in Iraq and Afghanistan*, Army War College (U.S.). Strategic Studies Institute and U.S. Army War College Press 2015, http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/download.cfm?q=1308, (access: 13.02.2021)
[7] G. Weston, N. Djohari, *Anthropological controversies : the 'crimes' and misdemeanours that shaped a discipline*, Routledge 2020.
[8] *American communities: a military community, Fort Bragg, North Carolina*, Allyn and Bacon 1970, Educational Research Council of America. Social Science Staff; L. Hughes-Kirchubel, D. S. Riggs, S. M. Wadsworth, *A Battle Plan for Supporting Military Families : Lessons for the Leaders of Tomorrow* (1st ed.). Springer International Publishing : Imprint: Springer 2018, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-68984-5; J.W. Lemza, *American military communities in West Germany : life in the Cold War Badlands, 1945-1990*. McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers 2016.
[9] C. J. Connelley, P. Tripodi, *Aspects of leadership : ethics, law, and spirituality*, Marine Corps University Press 2012.
[10] P. T. Bartone, S. V. Bowles, *Handbook of Military Psychology : Clinical and Organizational Practice* (1st ed.). Springer International Publishing : Imprint: Springer 2017, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-66192-6
[11] K. Friis, *Civil-military relations in international interventions : a new analytical framework*, Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group 2020; B. Koch, (2019). *Chivalrous combatants? : the meaning of military virtue past and present* (1st edition ed.), Nomos 2019.

to clarify military anthropology epistemic aspirations — whether paramilitary organisations are in its scope?.

Nevertheless, military culture and subcultures significantly influence particular communities where agents could construct such an impact with a positive or harmful consequence. At this point, two applications start —military or non-military usage. This includes the use of anthropology to bridge social stratification in military-civil relations or the use of anthropology as a tool to support contemporary battleground, such as information warfare. Acknowledging these specificities, it may not be unexpected that the queries named by military anthropology are multidisciplinary. Needless to say, military anthropology has a pragmatic attitude by all means, which signifies that it refers to the immense field of applied anthropology[12] and applied ethics.[13]

The militarisation of anthropology

In the early period of its growth in the USA, military anthropology was dominated by discussions concerning Human Terrain System (hereafter HTS) — that is, it focused mainly on the social aspects of conducting armed conflict. An example of this is the monograph edited by Robert A. Rubinstein, Kerry B. Fosher, and Clementine K. Fujimura tilted *Practicing Military Anthropology: Beyond Expectations and Traditional Boundaries*.[14] The monograph is a collection of articles that refers to anthropologists' practical character fieldwork — anthropologists who work inside and outside of military circles. The principal concern issued from that analysis was to specify a relationship between anthropology and the US military by answering why the military uses anthropology — for purposes. Additionally, a more recent work edited by Montgomery McFate and Janice H. Laurence *Social science goes to war: The Human Terrain System in Iraq and Afghanistan*.[15]

In its formal dimension, military anthropology deals with the culture of the military that functions in both peacetime and wartime within the state. Military culture is understood as the culture of an organisation operating within the state. However, state actors have different

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[12] A. Podolefsky, P. J. Brown, *Applying cultural anthropology : an introductory reader* (6th ed.). McGraw-Hill 2003, Table of contents http://www.loc.gov/catdir/toc/mh031/2002075350.html, (access: 13.02.2021)

[13] L. May, J. Delston, *Applied ethics : a multicultural approach* (Sixth edition. ed.). Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group 2016.

[14] R. A. Rubinstein, K. B. Fosher, C. K. Fujimura, *Practicing military anthropology : beyond expectations and traditional boundaries*. Kumarian Press 2012.

[15] M. McFate, J. H. Laurence, *op. cit.*

understandings of military culture. In states where a democratically elected authority controls the army, positive social relationship-building can be observed. In this sense, the epistemic aims set before military anthropology are also shifting towards ethical issues. The values of a military culture look pretty different in authoritarian states. Still, anthropology as a weapon or a means to promote state power, which is evident, regardless of the ruling government. As shown by the example of the United States, public opinion can inhibit the development of aggressive anthropology, which always negatively impacts the subject under attack. The attacked subjects are state actors, but they can also be nonstate actors, either specific social groups or foreign states. The aggressive kind of action is termed anthropological aggression, which shall be understood as follows — aggressive measures aimed at gradual control over an opponent's information space. Depending on its level, anthropological aggression is characterised by different forms of action. What distinguishes anthropological aggression from any armed conflict is (1) long-term planning, involving as long as several decades; and (2) indirect pressure. The first level of anthropological aggression emphasises the aggressor's interests in key areas of the opponent's state, such as the informational, economic, political, educational, or academic space. It is possible to define ten primary grades of anthropological aggression.

1. first stage — emphasising the aggressor's interests in the key areas of the life of the state of the attacked party;

2. second stage — gaining informational and ideological advantages;

3. third stage — economic, political, and informational domination;

4. fourth stage — strengthening of ideological, political, economic, and cultural relationships with the aggressor through the actions of the indoctrinated citizens of the attacked state;

5. fifth stage — formal and informal political representation;

6. sixth stage — rights of ethnic or national minorities;

7. seventh stage — protection of ethnic or national minorities by the aggressor;

8. eighth stage — civil disobedience, social unrest, and paramilitary activities;

9. ninth stage — encroachment of aggressive forces to protect democracy, human rights, ethnic or national minorities;

10. tenth stage — the process of adapting the society of the attacked state to a new reality; fighting the opposition, for example, through an aggressive ethnic-national policy (e.g., economic resettlement); or using secret services.[16]

The response to anthropological aggression is a counter phenomenon — anthropological defence — organised or spontaneous resistance of citizens of the attacked state (Bihun). Managing practical activities in the social realm is possible by using anthropological data collection techniques. Examples of anthropological data include information on transport infrastructure, relations within the local population or intellectual elites, plans to use local natural resources, etc. Information acquisition techniques depend on the degree of anthropological aggression. At the first level, the following techniques are used (for example): (1) fieldwork within anthropological expeditions; (2) community interviews in the form of direct interviews or surveys; (3) contacting local leaders acting as opinion-forming factors, etc.[17] The actions mentioned above are known by the term anthropological intelligence (cf. espionage).

In brief, the fundamental specialist terms of military anthropology are (1) anthropological data; (2) anthropological intelligence; (3) anthropological war; (4) anthropological aggression; (5) anthropological defence.

Military anthropology in Russia

Military anthropology has been resented by academia, mainly in the United States, due to the principle connections related to state actors power-building — the example of Russia will not come as a surprise — Vladimir Bazhykov defines military anthropology in the context of military culture as a tool for the creation, preparation and use of armed and social violence to achieve specific political objectives.[18] Another Russian researcher — Yelena Senyavskaya — points to the historical paradigm in which military anthropology discusses the social dimension of war (Сенявская, 1999, 2016).[19]

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[16] Boroch, R. 2017. Analytical Futurology as a Tool for Strategic Planning in Social War Games. Security Dimensions. International & National Studies". No 24, s. 62-75.

[17] Boroch, R. 2017. Analytical Futurology as a Tool for Strategic Planning in Social War Games. Security Dimensions. International & National Studies". No 24, s. 62-75.

[18] В. Бажуков, *Социальная и культурная антропология : учебник и практикум для вузов*, Издательство Юрайт 2020, https://urait.ru/bcode/450966, (access: 13.02.2021)

[19] Е. Сенявская, *Психология войны в XX в. Исторический опыт России.* , Москва 1999;
Сенявская, Е., *Военная антропология: опыт становления и развития новой научной отрасли.* „Вестник Мининского университета" 2016, No. 14(1-2), p. 7-14.

According to Y. Senyavskaya proposal military anthropology derives from the historical sciences and in Russia could be tracked since 1999. Y. Senyavskaya extends military anthropology to sociological and psychological perspectives inquiring about the social trauma of the Second World War in the collective memory — the collective memory limits the possibilities for understanding the social changes in the second decade of the 21st century. Therefore, it is no surprise that in Central and Eastern Europe, political struggle is aggressively linked to twentieth-century totalitarian doctrines.[20] Such a strategy facilitates the modelling of social stratification and the continuation of prejudice. In this perspective, Russian military anthropology deals with: (1) military values and traditions of different epochs; (2) social and psychological aspects of the military hierarchy; (3) psychology of military tactics and operations; (4) shared understandings and interactions between military opponents; (5) the civilian perspective on war; (6) individual and social problems in recovering from conflicts and overcoming its consequences; (7) psychology of war preparation; (8) representations of war (cf. conflicts); (9) psychological and axiological aspects of attitudes to war; (10) psychology of military and political leadership; (11) leadership models and administration; (12) gender issues in military, etc. Considering the above, we see that Russian military anthropology is developing in paradigms: (1) sociological; (2) semiotics; (3) psychological; (4) historical; and (5) ethnography. Such an interdisciplinary approach enforces close cooperation and the development of standard cognitive methods — the use of methodologies from disciplines such as physical and philosophical anthropology, sociology and social psychology, cultural studies, and ethnology.[21] To conclude: the expansion of the two criteria of military anthropology is evident — combatant and noncombatant. However, the main specialisations of military anthropology apply to the organisational culture in terms of socio-cultural anthropology.

Military anthropology in Poland

In Polish writing, military anthropology is not the subject of systematic study; this does not mean that researchers ignore the necessity of researching this field. The significance of anthropological inquiry in security studies is pointed out among others by Waldemar Kitler —

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[20] J.J. Coyle, *Russia's Border Wars and Frozen Conflicts*, (1st ed.). Springer International Publishing : Imprint: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.

[21] Е. Сенявская, *Психология войны в XX в. Исторический опыт России.* , Москва 1999;
Сенявская, Е., *Военная антропология: опыт становления и развития новой научной отрасли.* „Вестник Мининского университета" 2016, No. 14(1-2), p. 7-14.

Kitler draws attention to cultural aspects as an essential element in creating a state's foreign policy and points to anthropology as an auxiliary discipline of the security sciences.[22] In turn, Stanisław Jarmoszko develops an outline of the anthropology of security.[23] Classifying military anthropology within the existing scientific division of security sciences is difficult. At a general level, anthropology is an auxiliary science to security studies[24] as a subdiscipline of security anthropology.[25] However, considering specific military anthropology aspects such as leadership or command in stressful conditions, military anthropology is the prominent and leading discipline[26] — this goes to show the diversity of phenomena that are the subject of military anthropology inquiry.[27] In this sense, military anthropology is the essential subdiscipline of security anthropology, which pays attention to cultural problems and clarifies that culture in the 21st century is an area of competition and struggle.

SUMMARY

Military anthropology is a complex discipline that uses anthropology's traditional cognitive techniques and unconventional ones adopted from sociology, social psychology, or cultural sciences. The object of interest of military anthropology is, on the one hand, the organisational culture of the military, and on the other, culture as an area of conflict and warfare on which it is possible to build the power of a state actor. In this sense, military anthropology becomes a social influence tool — an extraordinarily effective and dangerous means of social war. On the other hand, however, in its positive outlook, military anthropology facilitates traumas that occur due to armed conflict. It allows for understanding the phenomena of violence and foreseeing the social consequences of using violence as a social influence tool — it is in this context, military anthropology marks its epistemic autonomy.

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[22] W. Kitler, *Organizacja bezpieczeństwa narodowego Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. Aspekty ustrojowe, prawno-administracyjne i systemowe*, Toruń 2018.

[23] Stanisław Jarmoszko, *Antropologia bezpieczeństwa. Kontury naukowej tożsamości*, Siedlce 2015.

[24] W. Kitler, *op. cit.*

[25] *Ibidem*.

[26] Anna Zygo, *Przywództwo wojskowe w warunkach bojowych*, Toruń 2019.

[27] A. Korzeniowska-Bihun, R. Boroch, *Ukrainian Theatrical Projects as an Example of Anthropological Defense in Terms of Anthropology as Contemporary Social Warfare*, "Security Dimensions" 2017, No. 24, p. 122-136, DOI 10.24356/SD/24/7
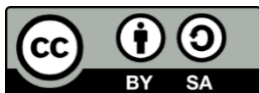
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