

*Part I*

**Introduction and Overview**

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## *Chapter 1*

# The Domain of Application

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The number of anthropologists employed to solve practical problems has increased dramatically. Rather than working in the traditional academic roles of teaching and research in a college or university, large numbers of anthropologists work for many other kinds of organizations such as government agencies, non-government agencies, and firms in a wide range of content areas. While many work for government agencies, opportunities have also developed in not-for-profit private service agencies as well as profit-making firms, including those owned and operated by anthropologists. Still others freelance through temporary contracts. These persons may describe themselves as practicing anthropologists or applied anthropologists. At their workplace they take many roles, including policy researcher, evaluator, impact assessor, needs assessor, planner, research analyst, advocate, trainer, culture broker, expert witness, public participation specialist, administrator/manager, change agent, and therapist. These roles are briefly described below.

### **SOME PRACTITIONER ROLES IN ANTHROPOLOGY**

#### **Policy Researcher**

Policy makers require information upon which to base policy decisions. This somewhat generalized role involves providing research results to them. It may involve traditional ethnographic research or a variety of specialized research techniques. This role may be the most common and can be activated at various stages in the research process from research design to data collection. The research function is common to many applied positions,

and therefore, all potential applied anthropologists need to have preparation as policy researchers. A survey showed that 37 percent of members of the National Association for the Practice of Anthropology (NAPA) reported involvement as researchers (Fiske 1991:vi).

### **Evaluator**

Evaluator is a specialized policy research role which involves the use of research skills to determine if a project, program, or policy is working effectively or has had a successful outcome. The basic task is to objectively determine the worth or value of something. Some kinds of evaluation are called program monitoring. This role is common—the NAPA survey indicated that 31 percent reported using evaluation skills (Fiske 1991:vi).

### **Impact Assessor**

Impact assessor is also a specialized policy research role which involves the prediction of the effects of a project, program, or policy. Impact assessment usually attempts to determine the effects of planned government projects on the nearby human communities. The information produced is usually intended to influence the design of a project, thus impact assessment often considers various design alternatives. Particular attention is paid to the unintended consequences of projects like reservoir, highway, and airport system construction. The term social impact assessment is often used to describe this kind of activity. This role is common—24 percent of the NAPA membership reported expertise in social impact assessment (Fiske 1991:vi).

### **Needs Assessor**

Needs assessor is a specialized policy research role that involves the collection of data on public program needs in anticipation of social, health, economic, and education program design. It contributes to the process of program design and justification. This role is relatively common and is closely related to evaluation.

### **Planner**

As planners, anthropologists participate in the design of future programs, projects, and policies. This may involve data collection and research analysis in support of decision makers. This role is not common.

### **Research Analyst**

The research analyst role consists of interpretation of research results for decision makers of various kinds. The analyst may serve as an auxiliary to planners, policy makers, and program managers. This is a common role.

### **Advocate**

Advocate is a label for a complex role which involves acting in support of community groups and individuals. It almost always involves direct political action consistent with the community's self-defined goals. Advocacy may be part of other roles. This is not a common role.

### **Trainer**

Trainers develop and use training materials referenced to a number of different client groups and content areas. Often this involves preparation of technicians for cross-cultural experiences. This is a role with a long history in applied anthropology.

### **Culture Broker**

Culture brokers serve as links between programs and ethnic communities. The role appears especially useful in reference to health care delivery and the provision of social services. Many other roles have culture broker functions attached to them. In a few cases, it is the primary role. Brokerage is always a two-way communication role.

### **Expert Witness**

The expert witness role is usually activated on a part-time basis, mostly by those academically employed. It involves the presentation of research data through legal documents, that is, briefs and direct testimony on behalf of the parties to a legal case or as a friend of the court. This is not common.

### **Public Participation Specialist**

The public participation specialist's role is newly developed in response to the need for public input in planning. It closely resembles the culture broker role, although it tends to occur on a case by case basis rather than continuously as is often the case with culture brokerage. The role may involve organizing public education using the media and public meetings. The amount of anthropological involvement in this role is increasing.

### **Administrator/Manager**

Some anthropologists have direct administrative responsibility for the programs within which they work. These roles are usually not entry level, but usually develop out of employment in the other roles mentioned here. These are not common roles for anthropologists but have increased in the last decade as practicing anthropologists proceed with their careers. In some agencies anthropologists have become very influential because they are in charge.

### **Change Agent**

Change agents work to stimulate change. This is a generalized role function and is part of a variety of other tasks. In some cases the change agent role is carried out as part of a specific strategy of change such as action anthropology or research and development anthropology. This role is not common.

### **Therapist**

The therapist role is quite rare. It involves the use of anthropology along with knowledge of various “talk” therapies to treat individuals with various problems. In some cases these people refer to themselves as “clinical anthropologists.” Clinical anthropologists are more often involved in brokerage roles than this very rare activity. This type of application of anthropology is not dealt with in this text to any extent.

To summarize this introduction to practitioner roles, it is important to say that the most frequent role is that of researcher. The various social action roles have great utility and potential, but are not often used. While we might associate teaching with academic employment, teaching is important in practitioner work settings. There is a general tendency for the number of roles to increase. Additional perspective on careers in applied anthropology may be obtained by reviewing the Directory of Members of the National Association for the Practice of Anthropology (NAPA) and the Society for Applied Anthropology (SfAA) (1996). This publication lists titles, employers, degrees, skills, and specializations of almost 1,500 members of the two sponsoring organizations. This is an important resource for career planning because it will give a sense about what people actually do and where they are able to do it.

Typical applied anthropology jobs will consist of many roles. Sometimes the job title reflects the role and other times not. “Anthropologist” is not commonly used as a job title. This is because most of the jobs applied anthropologists do are also available to other kinds of social scientists. Some typical applied and practicing anthropologists’ job titles as shown in

the NAPA/SfAA Directory of Members (1996) are advisor, archaeologist, caseworker, consultant, counselor, coordinator, curator, dean, director, editor, ethnographer, grants specialist, manager, owner, program manager, president, professor, project analyst, project evaluator, researcher, and research anthropologist. It is difficult to tell from the job title what is entailed in a particular job, of course.

## CONTENT AREAS FOR APPLIED WORK

In addition to working in many different roles, applied anthropologists work in a variety of different content areas. This can be seen in the contents of *Anthropology in Use: A Source Book on Anthropological Practice* (van Willigen 1991). This volume contains descriptions of cases in which anthropology was used to solve a practical problem and is based upon materials in the Applied Anthropology Documentation Project collection at the University of Kentucky. This is a collection of technical reports and other documents prepared by practitioners. The content areas are listed below. The most frequently cited topics are agricultural development, health and medicine, and education. Most frequently cited in the survey of NAPA members are “public health and health services, agricultural development, natural resources, and education” (Fiske 1991:vi). Because of the nature of the collection process of the Applied Anthropology Documentation Project, the listing emphasizes content areas where the research role dominates. Nevertheless, it serves as a useful indicator of areas of work (see Figure 1.1).

## APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY: WHAT IS IT?

Clearly, anthropologists apply their knowledge in a wide variety of ways in many situations. Further, the extent to which their backgrounds as anthropologists can be expressed directly in their work varies a great deal. Their work is often defined by the problem and not by the discipline. In addition, new terms for the role and the work have emerged. All this makes defining the content of the field quite difficult, although still important.

We can start our discussion of definition by simply saying that applied anthropology is anthropology put to use. Given the change which is occurring in applied anthropology these days, it is tempting to leave the definitional question at that and go on to the next question. Simply asserting that use defines the field has significant advantages. The generalized and fuzzy quality of that definition is appropriate to the changing job market. Yet in spite of the utility of flexible definitions it is useful for us to think about what we do somewhat more precisely.

The conception of applied anthropology used in this book is quite general. It is viewed as encompassing the tremendous variety of activities an-

Figure 1.1  
Content Areas Found in *Anthropology in Use* (1991)

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<b>Agriculture</b>	<b>Human Rights, Racism and Genocide</b>
<b>Alcohol and Drug Use</b>	<b>Industry and Business</b>
<b>Community Action</b>	<b>Land Use and Land Claims</b>
<b>Criminal Justice and Law Enforcement</b>	<b>Language and Action</b>
<b>Cultural Resources Management</b>	<b>Media and Broadcasting</b>
<b>Design and Architecture</b>	<b>Military</b>
<b>Development Policies and Practices</b>	<b>Missions</b>
<b>Disaster Research</b>	<b>Nutrition</b>
<b>Economic Development</b>	<b>Policy Making</b>
<b>Education and Schools</b>	<b>Population and Demography</b>
<b>Employment and Labor</b>	<b>Recreation</b>
<b>Energy Extraction</b>	<b>Religious Expression</b>
<b>Environment</b>	<b>Resettlement</b>
<b>Evaluation</b>	<b>Social Impact Assessment</b>
<b>Fisheries Research</b>	<b>Training Programs</b>
<b>Forestry and Forests</b>	<b>Urban Development</b>
<b>Geriatric Services</b>	<b>Water Resources Development</b>
<b>Government and Administration</b>	<b>Wildlife Management</b>
<b>Health and Medicine</b>	<b>Women in Development</b>
<b>Housing</b>	

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thropologists do now and have done in the past, when engaged in solving practical problems. The view taken here is that the various kinds of anthropological problem-solving activities are types of applied anthropology. This book is about the different kinds of applied anthropology.

Often when new ways to use anthropology emerge, the innovators will provide a name for the new practice and contrast it with applied anthropology to mark innovations so that the distinctive features are clear and one's intellectual creation is protected, at least momentarily. Early writing about action anthropology, cultural brokerage, and practicing anthropology drew this contrast even though all involved the use of anthropology and the various practitioners of different approaches shared many common interests. More recently, proponents of what is called "public anthropology" contrast what they do with applied anthropology even though both involve the practical use of anthropology in ways that appear indistinguishable. While this is a logical thing to do, it does not contribute to the idea of a shared tradition of practice.

Differences in the career and work setting can produce new terms for the activity. Practicing anthropologists often conceive of themselves as being something different from applied anthropologists. The view, more common in the late 1980s, was that applied anthropology was something that is done by academic anthropologists when doing consulting work relating to practical problems. The term practicing anthropologist may be more frequently applied to persons who are employed by firms and agencies on a full-time basis. While this distinction holds up imperfectly in use, there are some very important differences in the working conditions of these two kinds of people that lead to differences in knowledge, attitudes, and reference group. Yet the view taken here is that these all represent kinds of applied anthropology.

The term applied anthropology itself is used in at least two ways. One as a general, and generally somewhat neutral term that I take to mean anthropology in use. The best example of this is in the name of the key organization in the field, the Society for Applied Anthropology. If you look at the interests of their membership and the content of their publications, it is clear that while applied anthropology is practical and socially useful, it is very diverse, ranging from radical political action to market research for firms organized to make a profit.

Another important cause of the need to rename is the perceived way that applied anthropology was done in the past. After all, as we will discuss in the chapter on history, the name applied anthropology first referred to research in support of colonial administration in Britain. Others seem to associate top-down development strategies with applied anthropology.

While there are no previous definitions which dominate the published literature on the definitional issue, one widely disseminated statement was written by George Foster for his textbook, *Applied Anthropology* (1969). He defined the field in the following way: "Applied anthropology is the phrase commonly used by anthropologists to describe their professional activities in programs that have as primary goals changes in human behavior believed to ameliorate contemporary social, economic, and technological problems, rather than the development of social and cultural theory" (1969:54). In many ways this definition remains quite serviceable. Foster identifies the major theme in applied anthropology as "problem solution." The definition is limited in a number of ways. His use of the phrase "in programs" seems to imply that applied anthropologists do not work directly for communities. Advocacy anthropology and collaborative anthropology are kinds of applied anthropology that do just that (Stull and Schensul 1987). The definition also seems to emphasize change as the goal, while there are some examples of anthropology being used to assure stability (van Willigen 1981b).

The second usage of applied anthropology is in opposition to some other kind of practice that the person is advocating. This is a classic kind of



“othering.” An important cause for renaming is that applied anthropology has lower prestige than other kinds of anthropology. If you look at the discipline, the persons with the highest prestige are those that do basic research generally and write theory specifically. This pattern is quite widespread in academic disciplines generally. There may be a continual renaming of innovative applied practices to distance one’s self from the perceived lower prestige of practical application.

At a general level, one can think of anthropology as having two aspects, one which is concerned with the solution of theoretical problems, and another which is concerned with the solution of practical problems. The first we will call theoretical anthropology, or sometimes basic anthropology, and the second, applied anthropology or practicing anthropology. Both terms encompass a lot of diversity. Actually, the terms theoretical and basic are problematic. Much theoretical anthropology is not very theoretical, really. We just use the term to describe its implied purpose. Basic is also a misleading term because it suggests that it comes before, or first, and serves as a basis for more practical work. As will be shown later, practical work often serves as the basis of important theoretical developments. In spite of these semantic problems, the applied versus theoretical contrast is a useful distinction.

The definition used in this text is based on review of rather large numbers of different types of anthropological practice. Considering those activities which are typically labeled applied anthropology, let us define the field in the following way: applied anthropology is a complex of related, research-based, instrumental methods which produce change or stability in specific cultural systems through provision of data, initiation of direct action, and/or the formation of policy. This process can take many forms, varying in terms of problem, role of the anthropologist, motivating values, and extent of action involvement.

The definition used here states that applied anthropology has a broad range of products. These are information, policy, and action. In the past and in the present, the most typical product of applied anthropologists seems to be information, information which can be used to construct policy or motivate action. Action and policy are less frequently the products of the process. Parts II and III of this book deal with different types of products: action products, policy products, and information products. The situation within which these products are produced is very complex. For our purposes here we can call this situation the *domain of application*.

## DOMAIN OF APPLICATION

By domain of application we mean that knowledge and technique which is relevant to a particular work setting. The domain of application includes the methodology that maps the relationships between information, policy,

and action, and the context of application which includes the knowledge relevant to a particular problem area and work setting.

Application methodology consists of the intellectual operations by which applied anthropologists produce their products and have their effects. This view is consistent with the conception of research methodology presented by Pelto and Pelto (1978). It is simply an extension of that scheme to include action and policy.

### **Information**

Information is seen as the foundation of the other two products and can exist in a number of forms. The information which we deal with can range from raw data to general theory. Mostly, applied anthropologists deal with information between these two poles. Through these methods of research we are able to move from observation, through various levels of abstraction, to more general theoretical statements. While the goal of applied work is not the production of theory, the patterns of research logic are similar to those used in theoretical pursuits.

### **Policy**

The second product of applied anthropologists is policy. Policies are guides for consistent action. Policy can be developed in reference to a wide variety of situations. Cases of anthropologists actually developing policy are relatively rare, however. For the most part an anthropologist's involvement in the policy formulation process is as a researcher providing information to policy makers, or as an analyst who evaluates research data for policy makers. The experiences of anthropologists in this process will be discussed in more concrete terms in Chapter 2, "The Development of Applied Anthropology," and Chapter 11, "Anthropology as Policy Research."

### **Action**

The third product is action. Here are included the various interventions carried out by anthropologists. The entire Part II of this text deals with the various action or intervention strategies which are used by anthropologists. Each one of these strategies consists of a set of related ideas about role, procedures, and values which can be used to guide action.

The three products are related in the following way: information is obtained through research, information is used to formulate policy, and policy guides action. Of course, nothing is ever that neatly rational; everything is subject to the struggles of politics. The relationship also operates in the opposite direction. The needs of action and policy often result in information being collected through research. Typically, in fact, there is a cycling

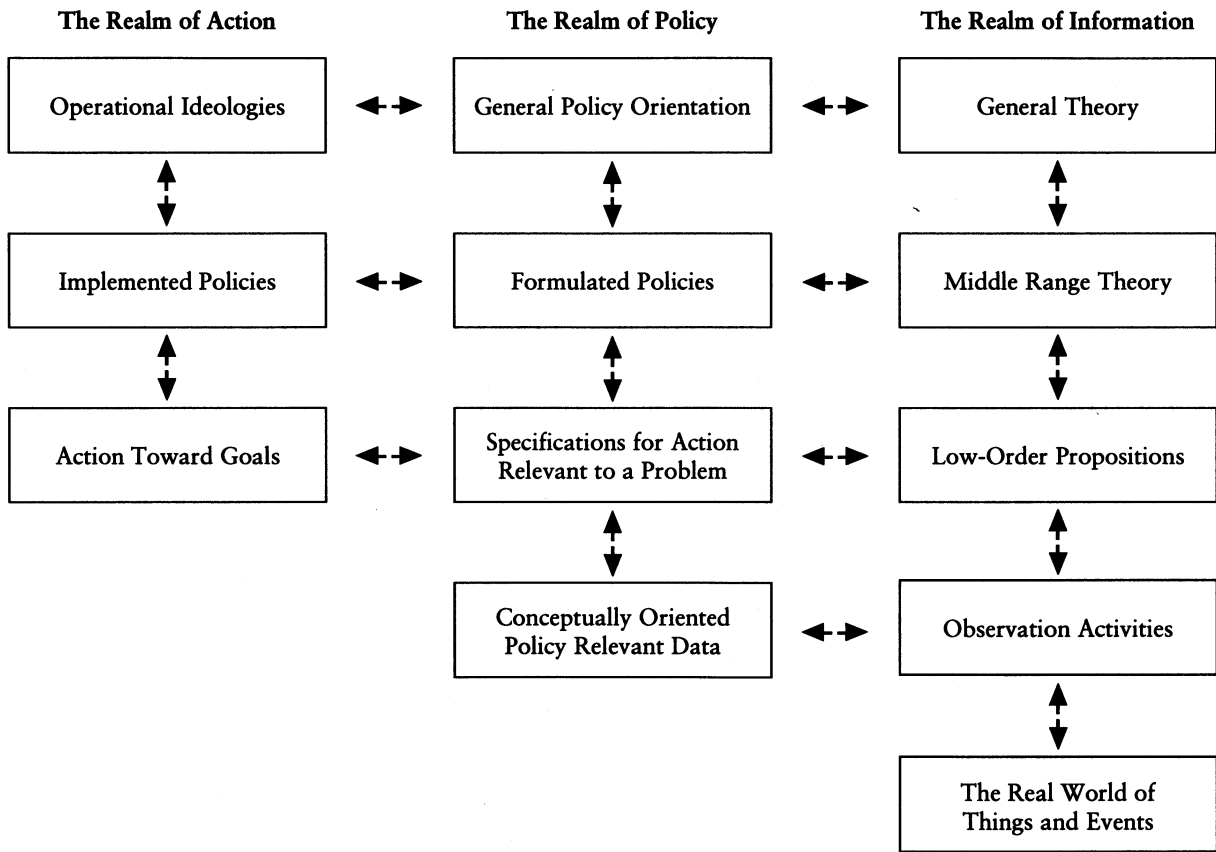
back and forth through research, policy making, and action. The process of social impact assessment described in Chapter 10 is a good example. Social impact assessment is done to help predict the effects of an action taken in the future, such as building a dam and reservoir. The research is often determined by which alternative plan would have the least social cost. This information would be fed back to the decision makers and used to determine which course of action would be the best considering many factors, including the political, economic, and social. In the chapters in Part II, "Approaches to Development in Anthropology," the continual interplay between information and action is shown. In thinking about this process it is possible to be either too cynical or too naive. Think pragmatically—the process is workable.

In addition to the relationship between information, policy, and action, we can also think about these categories at different levels of abstraction. Information, policy, and action can be thought of in terms of a progression from the simple and concrete, to the complex and abstract. Anthropologists as social scientists are most familiar with this kind of relationship in terms of the linkage between observed data and general theory. The same kind of relationship exists in the realms of policy and action. The most important point is that the three realms have somewhat similar logical structures.

The general structure of the relationships across the information, policy, and action categories, and between the simple and complex levels, is shown in Figure 1.2. This figure is derived from the conception of the Domain of Methodology described by Pelto and Pelto (1978). Their model depicts aspects of the scientific research process, while the model presented here attempts to show the articulation between information, policy, and action as well as the general structure of the logic of the process.

The diagram depicts elements of a large and complex process within which the practitioner works. The work that individuals do only rarely encompasses the whole process. A typical function for an applied anthropologist would be to collect information which would be turned over to a policy maker. The policy would be used to guide action carried out by yet another person. The process is, of course, not unique to anthropology. Collaboration with non-anthropologists would be typical at various points in the process. This often requires what might be called conceptual translation. The information which is communicated may be derived from special purpose research, secondary sources, or the general expertise of the anthropologist that is involved. The point is that not everything requires or allows the execution of a research process to solve a specific problem. In some cases, what is required is the transmission of just a few informally derived facts or interpretations. Thus there is great variation in the degree of formality. In my own work in development administration, I was struck by how rapidly one could act under certain circumstances. Information flow to a policy maker can vary from a crucial fact, based on one's expertise

Figure 1.2  
Methodology of Application



communicated in a meeting, to the presentation of an elaborate research report, based on a formal design. Information may also flow to the public to influence debate.

Most training that we receive as anthropologists relates to either research methodology or informational content. We receive very little training about the process of application as such, depicted here as the flow across the elements of information, policy, and action. Various aspects of this process are dealt with at various points in this text. The model of the application process and the definition presented above stress the importance of research in the whole process. The foundation of all of this is objective knowledge obtained using the canons of scientific research as a guide and standard. While this may involve special research efforts, it can also be derived from the literature or our accumulated expertise. As Sol Tax asserted, an applied anthropology which is not based on research is simply a kind of propaganda (Tax 1958, in Gearing, Netting, and Peattie 1960:415).

The research base of the application process goes much beyond that which can be legitimately called anthropology. The informational basis of applied anthropology is defined by the problem, not the discipline. If we limited ourselves to knowledge exclusively from anthropology, we could not adequately deal with the problems at hand. This is not to say that anthropology is an uninformed discipline, it simply says something about reality. Further, the information which we tend to apply has certain characteristics which allow it to be efficiently applied. Good applied anthropologists have the skill to relate information to practical problems. The discussion of anthropology as a policy science will deal with the process of knowledge utilization. There are at least three major issues or questions which are the basis of successful knowledge utilization practice. First, knowledge should be provided in reference to areas where the client can act. Telling someone about a problem on which they can not act is a waste of time. The applied anthropologist needs to be able to identify where action is possible. Second, knowledge has to be provided on time. Often-times action can only be effective within a specific time window. Research design has to allow for timely completion. If your goal is application, time becomes a crucial factor. Third, knowledge has to be communicated in a way which facilitates action. The basic conclusions of the process are best expressed as a recommendation for action with a justification.

In addition to the methods of application, such as effectively providing information, or skillfully converting information to effective action, the practicing anthropologist needs to know a great deal about the work context. Most important is knowledge about the particular policy area being dealt with. Each setting in which anthropologists work requires certain kinds of knowledge and experience for effective practice. It is to these practice areas that we bring our knowledge and techniques as anthropologists. In most areas of practice the anthropologist must learn a great deal from

outside of anthropology in order to function in a professional manner. As mentioned above, we refer to the work context and its related knowledge as the context of application. This simple idea along with the idea of methodology of application helps focus our attention on information that is essential for being an applied anthropologist. In addition to these areas of special knowledge, we also need to understand those aspects of anthropological method and knowledge that are necessary for the work with which we are engaged.

## KNOWING THE DOMAIN OF APPLICATION

The basis for effective practice is knowledge of the substantive aspects of a particular context of application. The first kind of knowledge which you should master is derived from the works of other social scientists relevant to a work context. Some content areas such as health care delivery are associated with immense bodies of literature. Other areas, such as fisheries management, are relatively limited. In addition to knowing the collateral social science literature referenced to a particular domain of application, it is also necessary to learn something of the technical basis of a particular field. If you are interested in agricultural development, knowledge of agronomy, soils, and marketing may be useful, if only to allow you to talk with your development colleagues. While not many of us can master both the collateral social science literature and a technical field in addition to our knowledge of anthropology, it is important to continually add to our knowledge of these areas.

The anthropologist's understanding of the domain of application may also be enhanced by knowledge of the legal basis for a particular area of application. In the United States, for example, many contemporary opportunities for work in various areas are made possible and shaped by federal statute and regulation. The whole social impact assessment enterprise came about through a series of laws (most notably the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969), regulations, and agency guidelines. Often, the law mandates our work. The regulations and guidelines substantially tell us how to do it. These issues are discussed in Chapter 2, "The Development of Applied Anthropology," Chapter 12, "Social Impact Assessment," and Chapter 14, "Cultural Resource Management." It is difficult to keep up with the legislative and regulatory basis for the different areas of application.

The next aspect of the domain of application for us to consider is its social organization. Here we can stress three components: the agencies and firms which hire anthropologists to do this type of work, the professional organizations established for people doing this work, and the social networks of the people employed in a particular context. It is important to identify those firms and agencies which hire people to deal with this type

of work. It is especially useful to come to understand something about their hiring practices, job classifications, employment evaluation criteria, and even their previous experiences with anthropologists.

Knowledge of professional organizations is useful because these organizations often afford a point of access into the social organization of a particular content area before employment. Such organizations may have newsletters and other publications which serve as information sources.

As a student, it is difficult to tap into social networks in the area of application. As you seek employment, you will begin to build your own network. It is important in this regard to begin to collect names of anthropologists who work in a domain. This will minimally give you an indication of where and whether anthropologists are working in a specific area. It may also serve as a basis for networking. Some local associations of anthropologists, such as the Washington Association of Professional Anthropologists, provide situations at their meetings which facilitate networking. Networking provides one with a source of information about work opportunities, agency plans, and information which may lead to the establishment of more network links. You will find those who have gone before are very willing to share certain kinds of information about opportunities. Their willingness to share is based on their continued use of the same sources of information into which you are trying to tap.

Students need to systematically collect information about potential work contexts. I often suggest to my students that they prepare a "pathfinder" to a particular content area in order to guide their learning. A pathfinder is a guide to learning resources and information, and can be thought of as a road map for self-instruction. You should start your pathfinder with a "scope note" which defines the area of application. In your "scope note" you may find it useful to include reference to content, service population, and role. Some examples are water resources development with reference to social impact assessment and public input to planning reservoir construction; community development program administration among Native American reservation communities; nutritional assessment techniques as used in determining the impact of economic development; and evaluation of curriculum innovations in education in the framework of the classroom. A good pathfinder should be thought of as only a starting point. For the purposes of an applied anthropologist, a pathfinder should include information sources of the following types: guides to literature, review articles, indexing services, abstract services, major journals, newsletters, computerized data bases and websites. All of these should refer to anthropology, the collateral social science fields, and substantive technical fields. In addition, reference should be made in the pathfinder to relevant professional organizations, agencies and firms which do work in this area, and any special research facilities. A listing of anthropologists working in the content area is useful, as is a listing of the relevant statutes and regulations which are

important to applied anthropologists working in the area. It is something like a career operator's manual.

## SUMMARY

To summarize, applied anthropologists need to know the domain of application. This includes knowledge of the methods of application and the work context. Knowledge of method includes the practices associated with producing and communicating useful information in a policy or action setting. It can also involve various skills associated with being a development administrator or a change agent. Knowledge of the work context should include knowledge of the literature of collateral social science fields; knowledge of the substantive technical field; knowledge of statute, regulation, and policy issued from government sources; knowledge of firms and agencies which work in a content area; knowledge of professional organizations in the content area; and knowledge about which anthropologists are doing what in the content area.

It is sometimes difficult to learn the context and method of application to any great extent through course work in anthropology departments. A student with a serious commitment to be a practitioner should expect, in addition to their anthropological course work, course work in other departments, self-study, and practical experiences through internships and practica. While there are a number of training programs in applied anthropology, even these programs have to rely on a number of extradepartment resources (Hyland and Kirkpatrick 1989; van Willigen 1987), making it clear that anthropologists must expect that less of their training will fit traditional conceptions of what anthropology is. They must expect to be continually learning through their own efforts.

Start your self-instructional efforts right now. The first step is to consider your goals and interests along with an assessment of opportunities. A starting point might be to review the content areas listed in the early part of this chapter. The possibilities go beyond this list, but it is, nevertheless, an informed starting point. In addition to the content area, the knowledge and techniques needed vary with role (researchers, trainer, evaluator, planner, analyst, and so on), organizational type (public/private, profit/not-for-profit, and so forth), and service population (ethnicity, age, sex, and so forth). Define a content area for yourself which you can use as a focus for your own development and career planning. You might want to use one of the content areas listed in this chapter. Certainly, there are others that may come to your mind. Be realistic, but really reflect on your goals. This reflection process is very important, and you will find that it sets the scene for the employment process. Try to project yourself into the future. This process of planning should start now and continue through all of your training, job hunting, and employment. As you do this, your conception of



your own future will become refined and more specified. This process can serve as a reference point for your development. As this process unfolds, you can increase your focus and mastery, and take better advantage of learning opportunities in your area of focus.

### FURTHER READING

- Chambers, Erve. *Applied Anthropology: A Practical Guide*. Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1989. This text book presents a very useful discussion of work specializations in applied anthropology. Also useful for discussion of policy and policy research.
- Ervin, Alexander M. *Applied Anthropology: Tools and Perspectives for Contemporary Practice*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2000. This comprehensive text provides an effective treatment of research methods in an applied context.
- Society for Applied Anthropology. *Practicing Anthropology: A Career-Oriented Publication of the Society for Applied Anthropology*. Tulsa, Okla.: Society for Applied Anthropology, 1978. This publication provides information on current practice in applied anthropology. Most articles are written by practitioners, many focusing on their personal experiences.

## *Chapter 2*

# The Development of Applied Anthropology

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This chapter interprets the history of the development of applied anthropology as it is currently practiced in the United States with some reference to developments in other countries. The sequence of development is divided into five periods which are defined on the basis of interpretations of the different kinds of practice done by applied anthropologists. In addition, the chapter also comments upon changes which are occurring in contemporary applied anthropology. This chapter is based upon the review of materials in the Applied Anthropology Documentation Project, as well as such published sources as Eddy and Partridge (1978b), Goldschmidt (1979), Mead (1977), Spicer (1977), and van Willigen (1991).

### **PERIODS IN THE HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY**

Awareness of history does much to reduce the antipathy that exists between theoretical and applied anthropologists. Historic awareness teaches a number of important points, perhaps most important among them, that the theoretical realm is historically based on application. While this is increasingly recognized, many continue to view theoretical anthropology, inappropriately, as the genitor. The fundamental reason for this is that applied anthropology tends not to be published in traditional formats and therefore exists primarily as “fugitive literature” (Clark and van Willigen 1981). Thus, while we are continually made aware of the historic development of theoretical anthropology through the literature, the historic development of applied anthropology and its relationship to the formation of the discipline is muted by the lack of documentation. This problem is es-

pecially acute in the earliest phases of the history of the field. While some of the experiences from the past are no longer applicable in new contexts, many current activities would benefit from knowledge of the past. To paraphrase a comment made by Karl Heider in a discussion of the history of the ethnographic film, those who don't understand the history of applied anthropology will be lucky enough to repeat it (Heider 1976). George Foster expresses the importance of understanding history thus: "Current forms and place of applied anthropology within the broad discipline can be fully appreciated only with knowledge of the several stages of its development" (1969:181). As noted above, this chapter attempts to define the "several stages."

From my perspective, there are five stages: the predisciplinary stage, the applied ethnology stage, the federal service stage, the role-extension, value-explicit stage, and the policy research stage. The scheme as presented is additive. That is, general patterns of practice which emerged in earlier periods are continued in subsequent stages. The discussion of each stage includes the identification of the rationalization for the dating of the stage, a discussion of the primary patterns of practice with some examples, and a discussion of those external factors that seem to be relevant for the formation of the key patterns of practice. In reading this chapter it is important to keep in mind the fact that the discipline is also changing. Especially significant among these changes is the radical change in the scale of the discipline.

### **The Predisciplinary Stage (Pre-1860)**

If we consider early historic sources that deal with cultural interrelationships, we find recognition of the usefulness of cross-cultural data to solve problems identified in an administrative or policy context. This is most common in contexts of expansive political and economic systems. In the case of early recorders of cross-cultural description, such as Herodotus (circa 485–325 B.C.) or Lafitau (1671–1746), their basic motivation was to provide information for some practical purpose. Virtually all proto-anthropology of the predisciplinary stage was representative of a kind of applied work. Most frequently, as in the case of Herodotus, the research was done to gather data about potential enemies or colonial subjects. In the case of Lafitau, the purpose was to inform plans for trade and marketing expansion. Later, it is possible to find examples of proto-anthropology being used to provide research data to support certain philosophical or theological positions. Although Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) wrote about kinship and incest rules, he was attempting to support current church marriage laws (Honigmann 1976:2).

There are very early cases where cross-culturally informed administrators used their knowledge to facilitate better "culture contact." During the Mid-

dle Ages, Pope Gregory urged his missionaries to the Irish to link Catholic saints' days to pagan Irish ceremonies and to convert animal sacrifices to forms more appropriate for newly converted Catholics (Honigmann 1976: 45). Later, the most typical activities of the period included individuals appointed to carry out basic cultural research to assist in the administration of an area. A very early example of this is Francis Buchanan's appointment in 1807 by the East India Company to study life and culture in Bengal (Sachchidananda 1972). With increasing cross-cultural contact in the colonial period, more and more concern over the welfare of native populations developed. This can be observed in the establishment of such organizations as the Aborigines Protection Society founded in London in 1838 (Keith 1917; Reining 1962). The Society was concerned with both research and social service for native populations.

In the predisciplinary stage it is possible to point to a number of examples of social reformers, ministers, and administrators who were able to make use of cultural knowledge in order to carry out the tasks at hand. This includes such documented cases as the work of Hinrich Rink, who served as an administrator for the Danish government of Greenland. Rink, trained as a natural historian, contributed to the early development of self-determination among Greenland natives in the 1860s (Nellemann 1969).

There are a number of North American examples of early usages. Perhaps the earliest documented is the ethnological work of the Jesuit priest, Father Joseph Lafitau. Posted to New France as a missionary, Lafitau set about to document life in the northeast. This resulted in the publication of *Customs of the American Indians Compared with the Customs of Primitive Times* (1724). While this is framed as a theoretical work, he did engage in various practical studies. One such inquiry was his quest for ginseng, a medicinal herb in the woodlands bordering the St. Lawrence. Introduced from Asia to Europe by a fellow Jesuit, ginseng became much sought after in European markets. Lafitau attempted to find the plant in North America. To do this he sought the help of Mohawk herbalists whom he interviewed about native plant knowledge and other topics. This inquiry seemed to lead him to more general research, which contributed to his compendium on customs. He did find ginseng and became well known for this fact (Fenton and Moore 1974; Lafitau 1724).

An interesting example from the United States is the work of Henry R. Schoolcraft, one of the founders of the American Ethnological Society. Schoolcraft was retained by the United States Congress to compile *Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States* (Schoolcraft 1852–1857). This imposing six-volume set is nothing if not a policy research report. It was prepared with the explicit purpose of providing reliable information upon which to base United States' Indian policy. Schoolcraft started his career as an American Indian specialist as an administrator. His professional identity as an eth-

nologist emerges with the development of the discipline. Because of this his career parallels changes that occur within applied anthropology.

The missionary work of William Duncan among various Northwest Indian groups serves as an example of the impact of a cross-culturally informed change agent. Working in the 1860s, Duncan made significant efforts in the area of social reform (Barnett 1942).

In this period there were some examples of the development of ethnologically informed training programs for colonial officers. Great Britain started such programs in 1806, and the Netherlands offered such programs by 1819. There is no evidence for such developments in the United States.

To summarize, contemporary anthropologists have rather little to learn about the methodology of application from the predisciplinary stage. Documentation is poor, and therefore it is difficult to develop a sense of the nature of the approaches used. The one important lesson to be learned is that anthropology in its prototypical stage had an important applied component. This contradicts the idea that applied anthropology somehow grew out of general anthropology. Later it becomes clear that the foundation of general anthropology is application and practice. The most objective view would suggest that the proto-anthropologists, for the most part, did their general interest work on the basis of what were applied research assignments. This stage ends with the emergence of anthropology as a distinct discipline (here we use 1860) following Voget's view of the history of the discipline (1975:115).

### **The Applied Ethnology Stage (1860–1930)**

With the emergence of anthropology as a distinct discipline, the basic style of applied work typical of the next 70 years is manifested. Typically, the applied anthropologists of this stage worked as training or research specialists in support of government or private foundation-supported administrative programs. For the most part, these efforts supported the establishment of direct administrative control over native populations in internal and external colonial settings. Later in the stage, applied anthropologists carried out the same pattern of activity in the context of development programs.

It is important to emphasize that the anthropologist's role tended to be limited to providing data for policy making and problem solving. Very rarely are anthropologists involved as administrators or change agents. There were a number of administrators that became anthropologists, however. The ethnology phase is very long, and is marked by significant changes in anthropology itself. This stage covers the transition from the dominance of classical evolution theory to the structural functionalism and historical anthropology of the 1920s. The other significant process that occurs between the beginning and end of this period is the institutionalization of the

discipline. That is, the basic infrastructure of a scientific discipline is formed: professional associations are organized, degree programs are established, and academic departments are formed as a body of knowledge grows and accumulates.

A fundamentally important fact that is not acknowledged in the literature on the history of anthropology is that applied anthropology serves as the foundation for the development of much disciplinary infrastructure. This can be seen in four contexts. The earliest learned societies in anthropology developed out of associations that were primarily concerned with application and social reform (Keith 1917; Reining 1962). The first organizations that hired anthropologists in the United States were policy research organizations (Hinsley 1976; Powell 1881). The first academic department of anthropology at Oxford University was established on the basis of a justification to train colonial administrators, that is as a kind of applied anthropology training program (Fortes 1953). The first use of the term applied anthropology occurred in a description of the program at Oxford (Read 1906). The first professional code of ethics in anthropology was developed by an applied anthropology organization (Mead, Chapple, and Brown 1949).

While the effects of application on the discipline were significant, the basic approaches to using anthropological knowledge remain the same throughout the period. For the most part, anthropologists carried out their research activities using an explicitly “value-free” approach. In fact, anthropologists writing in support of limiting anthropology to the style characteristic of this era often argued that their utility would be dramatically impaired if they did not approach their research from a “value-free” perspective. This was also done in conjunction with issues relating to role extension. Anthropologists argued that the anthropologist *qua* anthropologist cannot legitimately engage in roles other than the core consultant’s role. This view was argued repeatedly and effectively until rather late in this particular period in the development of applied anthropology. The essence of this position is simply that when the anthropologist extends her role beyond that of researcher-consultant-instructor, she is no longer an anthropologist; she is acting as some other kind of specialist. Others stressed that involvement beyond the core role required that the value-free position often stressed had to be relinquished.

An early manifestation of anthropology in the United States took the form of the Bureau of American Ethnology. The BAE is known to us today as a basic research institute. It was, in fact, created as a policy research arm of the federal government. The first annual report notes that it was founded to, “produce results that would be of practical value in the administration of Indian affairs” (Powell 1881). The label used for this stage, “applied ethnology,” was coined by James Mooney for a discussion of the BAE’s commitment to policy research in the 1902 annual report (Hinsley

1976). Mooney's claims for political relevance were not hollow. His classic account of the Ghost Dance religion is described by Anthony Wallace as an early policy study done in anthropology (Mooney 1896; Wallace 1976). The creation of the BAE antedates the organization of the first academic anthropology department in the United States, at Clark University, by a number of years. The Bureau served as a model for the social research foundation of some American colonial administration experiences. A similar organization was established by the American government, in the Philippines, in 1906, which was directed by Albert E. Jenks (Kennard and MacGregor 1953). According to Hinsley, the Bureau of American Ethnology's involvement in policy studies lasted only until Charles C. Royce's study of Indian land cessions was published in 1899 (Hinsley 1979).

There are examples of privately sponsored research from this period. One such example is the work of the Women's Anthropological Society of Washington. This organization supported research into the apparently deplorable housing conditions of Washington, D.C. As an outcome of this research an organization was established to improve the quality of housing for the poor. This research was done in 1896 (Schensul and Schensul 1978).

Franz Boas, although not usually thought of as an applied anthropologist, completed some important policy research. Most noteworthy is his research sponsored by the United States Immigration Commission. He documented morphological changes in the substantial U.S. immigrant population. The research contradicted a number of racist ideas concerning the impact of immigration on the American population. Boas was, of course, a committed anti-racist. This research was published in 1910. Also related to the issue of U.S. immigration was the work of Albert Jenks at the University of Minnesota. He established an Americanization training course for immigrants in conjunction with the existing anthropology curriculum (Jenks 1921).

As early as 1864, ethnological studies were included in the colonial service training program of the Netherlands (Held 1953; Kennedy 1944). Such training was developed for the Union of South Africa in 1905 (Forde 1953), Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in 1908 (Myres 1928), Belgian territories in 1920 (Nicaise 1960), and Australian-mandated New Guinea in 1925. This type of training was not emphasized in the United States. As colonial administrative experience increased, there seemed to be more interest in ethnological training.

The British also made early and intensive use of anthropologists as government staff or contract research consultants. Anthropologists or anthropologically trained administrators provided research products ranging from short-term troubleshooting to long-term basic research. Such individuals were hired by the foreign office, colonial office, and India office, as well as the military.

During the applied ethnology period there is significant growth and de-

velopment in applied anthropology. This growth occurs in certain sectors, but is, with few exceptions, limited to research or instructional activities. These developments occur most dramatically in the United States, Great Britain, Mexico, and the Netherlands. Most typically the activities consisted of the following: (1) a number of anthropologists were involved in instruction of government personnel for administrative positions in cross-cultural settings; (2) there are a number of examples of short-term troubleshooting research in which the anthropologist provided cultural data to an administration to solve a problem that had developed precipitously; in some locales, the anthropologist-on-staff seemed to be retained for this purpose; (3) anthropologists were also hired to carry out research in various problem areas at the request of administrators. These activities included national and regional ethnographic surveys, single-culture focused ethnographies, and topic-specialized, single-culture ethnographies.

During this era, applied activities made a significant and often overlooked contribution to the anthropological literature. The typical output of anthropologists during this period was research reports. If we consider the output of anthropologists hired to do problem-oriented research for the government or other sponsoring agencies, it becomes apparent that much of the distinguished ethnographic literature produced in the first half of the twentieth century was a product of applied efforts. This is particularly apparent in African and Pacific ethnography done by British social anthropologists, and North and South American ethnography done by anthropologists from the United States and Mexico.

In summary, the applied ethnology stage sees policy research and administrative training needs of governments as being an important stimulus both for early applied work and for the establishment of much organizational infrastructure for the basic discipline. Most applied anthropologists function in roles confined to research and teaching. The effects of applied anthropology on the basic discipline consisted largely of stimulating research in new areas and topics. And importantly, the potential for application was used as a justification for the establishment of many of the important academic programs.

### **The Federal Service Stage (1930–1945)**

With the coming of the Great Depression and the New Deal, the number of anthropologists employed in application grew dramatically in the United States. This related to an apparent increased need for information on the part of government, as well as a need to provide jobs for anthropologists. It is important to note that the annual production of anthropologists was still quite small. At the same time, the academic job market was very limited until World War II. The intensification of anthropological employment in



applied work reached a climax with the war. This period is named for the dominant kind of employment.

During the period of federal service, anthropologists came to work in an increasingly large number of problem areas and political contexts. Further, it seems apparent that the work of the anthropologists involved improves in quality and appropriateness. In terms of problem orientation, the research seems to initially focus on general ethnography. Later, the research typical of applied anthropologists comes to include education, nutrition, culture contact, migration, land tenure, and various other topics. This pattern is particularly characteristic of the development in British colonial territories, but, nevertheless, can be applied to describe the development of applied anthropology in the United States as well. Foster suggests at least one difference between the subdiscipline as it was practiced by its British and American practitioners when he notes "the interest of Britain's applied anthropologists in the social aspects of technological development has been relatively modest as compared to that of the Americans" (1969:194).

In the United States a number of applied research organizations were created. One of the first of these groups was the Applied Anthropology Unit established in the Office of Indian Affairs. The purpose of the unit was to review the prospects of certain American Indian tribes to develop self-governance organizations in response to the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Research topics included settlement patterns, education policy, and prospects for economic development (Collier 1936; Mekeel 1944; Rodnick 1936; Thompson 1956). The researchers produced a number of reports which had very little impact on the policy-making process. The Applied Anthropology Unit was created by John Collier, who had been appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs by Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932. Collier's advocacy of the utility of anthropology is widely viewed as crucial to the rapid expansion of federal employment of anthropologists.

At approximately the same time, the Bureau of Indian Affairs received the services of a group of anthropologists employed by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. This program, referred to as the Technical Cooperation-Bureau of Indian Affairs, carried out projects relating to economic and resource development on various Indian reservations (Kennard and MacGregor 1953). This group worked in conjunction with various physical scientists such as geologists, hydrologists, agronomists, and soil conservationists and produced various studies on the sociocultural aspects of environmental problems studied. Similar use of anthropologists had occurred in the large-scale research project carried out by the U.S. Department of Agriculture in the Rio Grande basin of the United States (Kimball and Provinse 1942; Provinse 1942). Analysis was directed at native American, Mexican-American, and Anglo-American residents of the Southwest. Research focused on the cultural factors which had influenced land use.

Involvement of anthropologists in the study of policy questions among rural American communities increased from this point well into the war years. This took a variety of different forms. For example, some anthropologists participated in the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Rural Life Studies that produced a series of six community studies that focused on community potentials for change. Perhaps most interesting among the policy researches done by anthropologists in rural America was that of Walter Goldschmidt who was involved in a number of studies for the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics. These included a study of war mobilization in a rural California county and a study of the political economy of agribusiness in the San Joaquin Valley of California. The second study produced a classic account of economic exploitation and led to Goldschmidt's vilification by vested interests in California's agribusiness (1947).

During the mid-1930s, early use of anthropology in the context of nursing occurred with the work of Esther Lucille Brown. In addition, pioneering work in educational policy studies were carried out in Native American education in the form of the Pine Ridge and Sherman-California vocational education surveys.

In 1941, the Indian Personality and Administration Research Project was established. For the most part this was a policy-focused basic research project which resulted in a number of useful studies of Native American reservation life, including Papago (Joseph, Spicer, and Chesky 1949), Hopi (Thompson and Joseph 1944), Navajo (Kluckhohn and Leighton 1946; Leighton and Leighton 1944), Sioux (MacGregor 1946), and Zuni (Leighton and Adair 1946). One aspect of this project made use of action research methodology which exemplifies the primary change associated with this stage. Action research was developed outside of anthropology largely by psychologist Kurt Lewin. Laura Thompson applied this technique to stimulate change in Hopi administration. Thompson's description of the technique is cited below:

Action research is normally distinguished by the following characteristics: (1) it stems from an urgent practical problem, a felt need on the part of a group, and is generally solicited voluntarily by the potential users of the findings; (2) it involves both scientists and the user-volunteers as participants in a cooperative effort—namely, the solving of the practical problem; and (3) the scientists involved normally function both as scientist-technicians and as integrative or “democratic” leaders in Kurt Lewin's sense of the term. That is, they endeavor to stimulate, draw out, and foster the talents and leadership qualities of the members of the participant group and to minimize their own roles except as catalysts of group potentialities. In their role as integrative leaders, the staff scientists train and supervise the work of the volunteer user-participant. (Thompson 1950:34)

This model for action develops in a number of different ways and continues to be used (Greenwood and Levin 1998). It serves as the basis for one chapter in the development section of the text.

Also indicative of the expansion into new research areas during this period is the work of the anthropologists associated with the Committee on Human Relations in Industry at the University of Chicago. Included among the anthropologists associated with the committee are W. Lloyd Warner and Burleigh B. Gardner. This period sees major advancements in what came to be called the scientific study of management. The most significant project was the classic Western Electric, Hawthorn Works study of the relationships between working conditions and productivity. This area of work developed very rapidly for a period of time.

The National Research Council established at least two research committees which were to have significant impacts on policy research done by anthropologists in this period. These included the Committee on Food Habits, that included Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, and Rhoda Metraux among others. This organization was to obtain scientific information on nutritional levels of the American population. Also established was the Committee for National Morale consisting of Gregory Bateson, Elliot Chapple, and Margaret Mead among others. This committee was to determine how anthropology and psychology could be applied to the improvement of national morale during the war.

This stage in the development of applied anthropology started in the national crisis caused by the Great Depression and concludes in the crisis of war. The intensification of involvement in application caused by World War II is astounding. Mead (1977) estimates that over 95 percent of American anthropologists were involved with work in support of the war effort during the 1940s. By way of contrast, the war in Vietnam had very much the opposite effect on anthropologists. In 1941, the American Anthropological Association passed a resolution placing the "specialized skill and knowledge of its members, at the disposal of the country for the successful prosecution of the war" (American Anthropological Association 1942:42). This effort seemed to increase the self-awareness of applied anthropologists as well as their concentration in Washington and other places.

Perhaps the most well-known war effort involvements by American anthropologists are the activities done on behalf of the War Relocation Authority. The War Relocation Authority was responsible for managing the internment camps established early in the war to incarcerate Japanese Americans. The use of social scientists grew out of the experiences of the one camp that was under the administrative responsibility of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. At that time the BIA was directed by John Collier. In response to the problems that developed at the other camps, social science programs were developed at all War Relocation Administration facilities (Arensberg 1942; Kimball 1946; Leighton 1943; Spicer 1946a, 1946b). The

anthropologists who served in the camps served as liaisons between inmates and camp administration and as researchers. This involvement by anthropologists is frequently characterized as unethical, being viewed by some as supportive of an illegal and inhumane government program. If one reads their writings or discusses this involvement with them it is clear that they viewed themselves as ameliorators of a potentially much worse situation. One should read Rosalie Wax's chilling account of her experiences as a community analyst in a camp to get some feeling for the problem (Wax 1971).

In addition to the War Relocation Authority, anthropologists were involved in a variety of other programs. The Far Eastern Civil Affairs Training School was established to prepare administrators for areas which were being recaptured from the Japanese by the Allies. This operation, established at the University of Chicago, was headed by anthropologist Fred Eggan (Embree 1949). The Foreign Morale Analysis Division was created within the Office of War Information. Using various data sources this organization reported intelligence on the Japanese and other adversaries to the Departments of War, State and Navy. Some of the information was collected from internment camp inmates. Benedict's *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (1946) was a by-product of this operation.

During the war the Smithsonian Institution initiated a number of activities that had significant applied research components. The Institute of Social Anthropology of the Smithsonian, established in 1943, engaged in both basic and applied research projects. The applied activities included very early use of anthropological research to plan and evaluate health programs. The applied aspect of the Institute of Social Anthropology's research program developed under the leadership of George M. Foster. Contemporary applied medical anthropology was, to a large extent, shaped by the program of the Institute of Social Anthropology.

Also of interest are the various war-related compilation and publication programs of the era. These include the civil affairs handbooks published by the Chief of Naval Operations on Japanese-held Pacific territories and the *Handbook of South American Indians* published as part of a program to promote relations with Latin America. In addition to the efforts mentioned here, there were activities related to the immediate postwar period. These included research into the effects of the nuclear attack on Japanese cities (Leighton 1949), and studies of occupation problems (Bennett 1951; Embree 1946; Gladwin 1950; Hall 1949; Rodnick 1948).

It is quite clear that applied anthropology grew dramatically during this period and that the major cause was employment opportunities with the federal government relating to the depression and war. One of the products of this expansion was the organization of the Society for Applied Anthropology. Spicer refers to this as, "one of the most important events in the development of anthropology in the twentieth century" (1976:335). Now

over 60 years old, the society has gone through considerable change and development through the years. In its early phases the society seemed most concerned with bringing together social scientists and administrators, reporting cases where anthropological knowledge had been usefully applied, and advocating the idea that there existed an applicable body of anthropological theory (Spicer 1976:336). An important component of the program of the Society for Applied Anthropology was the publication of the journal *Applied Anthropology* that was subsequently named *Human Organization*.

The Society for Applied Anthropology developed around local interest groups in Washington, D.C. and Cambridge, Massachusetts, and then subsequently expanded to a national membership. The changes in the Society for Applied Anthropology will be discussed in conjunction with the next two periods of American applied anthropology history. In the early days of the society's existence, most activities of the organization were directed at creating a professional identity for applied anthropologists.

This period sees major changes in applied anthropology. These include dramatic intensification of involvement of anthropologists in application and the development of a more definite professional identity through the creation of the Society for Applied Anthropology and its publications. For the most part, applied anthropology roles are still limited to policy researcher and trainer, the roles that dominate both the applied ethnology and predisciplinary stages. There are some examples of pioneering assumptions of change-producing, action-involved roles which are a striking feature of the next phase, the value-explicit, role-extension phase.

### The Role-Extension, Value-Explicit Stage (1945–1970)

However interesting the historic course of the development of applied anthropology is up to 1945, it is characterized by relatively little change in the applied anthropologist's operational strategy. From the initial professionalization of the discipline, around the middle of the nineteenth century, there is little deviation from the core applied anthropology role consisting of a complex best labeled "instructor-researcher-consultant." The history of the field up to 1945 is characterized by continued elaboration of this theme. The basic pattern of the applied ethnology stage became elaborated as it became more widely accepted by both anthropological producers and administrative consumers.

It is inappropriate to suggest that the acceptance of applied anthropology was complete or even extensive. It became more and more useful, more and more important, but one senses a certain reluctance to participate in applied roles. A cadre of applied anthropologists did not develop as such, but a group of anthropologists did exist who oscillated between academic and applied appointments. Further, much employment was in service to

colonial regimes (Asad 1973). This fact may have related to the historic tendency to switch back to academic careers. In any case, the radical critique of applied anthropology derives a great deal of its impact from an analysis of the anthropologists who served in these capacities (for example, Berreman 1969; Gough 1968; Horowitz 1967; Hymes 1974; Moore 1971). We are faced with an evaluation dilemma, however, for even an unsympathetic review of these efforts reveals that most anthropologists were struggling to increase the fairness and humaneness of various domestic and international colonial systems. To be sure, the anthropological perspective was more ameliorative than revolutionary, and given the power relations extant, it would seem fair to assume that the most positive impact of anthropology on colonialism could be achieved within the system. As history became reconstructed in the post-colonial period, these anthropologists took the brunt of various aggressive criticisms.

The shift in applied anthropology practice that occurs in this stage can be best understood in terms of three basic changes. First, the range of legitimate roles for applied anthropologists expanded beyond the researcher-instructor-consultant core. With role-extension came increases in the intensity of participation; that is, the number of aspects of a particular applied problem with which the anthropologist dealt increased. In a few words, anthropologists become more directly involved in implementation and intervention. Instead of merely providing information and an occasional recommendation, the anthropologists began to take increasing responsibility for problem solution. Anthropologists were no longer merely monitors and predictors of change but came to actually work as agents of change. In addition, other new roles were explored.

The second major shift occurs in terms of the extent to which anthropologists come to confront their own values, directly and explicitly. The "value-free" or, more accurately, the value-implicit approach, comes to be more openly questioned. Some anthropologists come to recognize the value-explicit approach as legitimate, after substantial debate. This means that certain anthropologists come to feel that social scientists cannot separate their work from real-world values and to do so naturally created a dangerous illusion of true objectivity. The value-explicit stance implied a willingness on the part of anthropologists to openly define goals and values for clients and client communities. This, of course, led to intense debates concerning ethics for cultural anthropologists of all types. It also led anthropologists to increased political exposure.

The third shift comes as a corollary to role extension and value explicitness. That is, applied anthropology is increasingly action-involved. This means, as suggested above, that the users of the new patterns come to be directly engaged in change-producing behavior. No longer was the role limited to the basic researcher-instructor-consultant role, but was extended to include a much wider array of action-involved roles. This change did

not result in a single new approach, but a multiplicity of new approaches for applying anthropological knowledge. In addition to the retained and still important activities characteristic of the earlier stages, at least five new value-explicit, role-extended, and action-involved approaches to applications began to emerge during this period. These approaches are action anthropology, research and development anthropology, community development, collaborative research anthropology, and culture brokerage. Cultural brokerage actually appears early in the next period, as specified in the historic scheme reported here.

*Action Anthropology.* Perhaps the first action-involved, value-explicit approach to be developed within anthropology was action anthropology, which grew out of a University of Chicago field school organized by Sol Tax among the Mesquakie residents near Tama, Iowa, in 1948 (Gearing 1988; Gearing, Netting, and Peattie 1960; Tax 1958). The action orientation was not part of the original intent, but emerged because of the sentiments of the participating students. The "Fox Project," as it was called, consisted of a dual program of action and research which addressed a complex of ideas associated with self-determination and some more generalized research goals. Some of the key concepts of the approach are community self-determination and the idea of what might best be called interactive planning. This last idea is rooted in the work of John Dewey and is manifested in a tendency to stress an ambiguous distinction between means and ends, and to reduce the linearity of social planning. This resonates with the contemporary emphasis on participation that will be discussed later. Use of this model today is negligible. The literature produced by developers of the model is quite rich and worth reading for its applicability. Overall the approach seems quite academic today, but the underlying ideas remain useful.

Action anthropology rejects a linear view of planning. The approach used might be best termed interactive planning because of the tendency to stress ambiguous means and ends distinctions and the continual consideration of interaction of goals and action.

Interactive planning is characterized by a number of attributes. The primary proposition is that means and ends are interdependent. Ends are appropriate to means, and means are appropriate to ends. Action can be initiated in terms of means or ends. Ends and means are determined through an interactive process which is motivated by both the problem inherent in a situation and the apparent opportunities. The problem is "everything that is wrong or missing about the situation." Problems and possibilities also interact. It is obvious that the key function of the anthropologist is to discover what is the problem and what are the possibilities for change. The problem represents a complex of problems complicated by the limitations of the community and the external interventionist. Further, the capacity to solve problems is thought to increase through time. With

these increases, the complexity of the problem-solutions engaged increases. These increases may be attributed to decreasing community divisiveness and increasing community integration. According to Peattie, the goals of the action anthropologist “tend to be open-ended objectives like growths in understanding, clarification of values and the like” (Peattie 1960b:301). The desired end-states are really expressions of a value stance, or as Peattie refers to them, “modes of valuing,” used to analyze the continuous process.

*Research and Development Anthropology.* The research and development approach was first attempted in the well-known Vicos Project (Dobyns, Doughty, and Lasswell 1971; Doughty 1986, 1987; Holmberg 1958). Like action anthropology, the research and development process has both scientific and development goals. Defined technically, research and development anthropology is a means of bringing about increases in the net amount and breadth of distribution of certain basic human values through research-based participant intervention in a community. The writings of Allan Holmberg, the primary initiator, are good sources for understanding the transition toward a value-explicit anthropology. Holmberg and his associates assumed that value-free social science was unobtainable and that the research inevitably influenced the community. He argued that this tendency was better dealt with if it was made explicit and used for the betterment of the society, as well as for scientific advancement.

The goal of research and development anthropology is the wider sharing of basic human values. These values are not defined by science, but they are *discovered through* science. As will be apparent later in this chapter, knowledge of values is essential for the operation of the process. The process is, in its most general sense, a process of value achievement in which persons work to obtain certain desired ends. This is based on certain key assumptions made by Holmberg. These assumptions are “(1) that human traits are such that progress can be made towards the realization of human dignity,” and “(2) that the natural order (physical nature) is such that with greater knowledge and skill, human beings can turn it progressively to the service of social goals” (Holmberg 1958:13).

The later work of Holmberg and the political scientist Lasswell deserves our attention here. These two social scientists attempted to develop what they referred to as a general theory of directed social change (Lasswell and Holmberg 1966:14). Social change was conceptualized as “a process in which *participants* seek to maximize net value outcomes (*values*) by employing practices (*institutions*), affecting *resources*” (Lasswell and Holmberg 1966:15). The social change process as the two described it involved goals, interaction contexts, and the environment. At the core were the PREWSWAR values, which were regarded as sufficiently precise and universalistic to allow systematic cross-cultural comparison. Further, the authors felt that the eight values and their related practices were the focus of specialized research disciplines. PREWSWAR is an acronym based on the



initials of the eight values. The PREWSWAR values are power, respect, enlightenment, wealth, skill, well-being, affection, and rectitude. This model is not widely used today, but like action anthropology, the literature produced by model developers remains useful and very much worth reading.

*Community Development.* The community development approach was developed outside of anthropology in the context of British colonial administration, and the social work and agricultural extension disciplines in the United States. It is listed here because a number of anthropologists used and contributed to the approach. A widely used definition of the approach is contained in manuals produced by the International Cooperation Administration (a predecessor of the Agency for International Development). "Community Development is a process of social action in which the people of a community organize themselves for planning and action; define their common and individual needs and problems; make group and individual plans to meet their needs and problems; execute the plans with a maximum of reliance upon community resources; supplement these resources when necessary with services and materials from government and non-governmental agencies outside the community" (1955:1). Projects using this approach often speak of concepts like felt needs, self-help, and self-determination.

The most visible contributions of anthropologists to this approach are various textbooks, which include *Cooperation in Change* (Goodenough 1963), and *Community Development: An Interpretation* (Brokensha and Hodge 1969). In addition to this, anthropologists have made use of the approach directly (van Willigen 1973; Willard 1977). The community development approach continues to be used though often renamed to stress the participatory nature of the process.

*Collaborative Anthropology.*<sup>1</sup> Action research, action anthropology, and research and development anthropology represent the first generation of value-explicit applied anthropology approaches. In addition to these approaches, various advocacy anthropology approaches developed in the early 1970s. These were supplemented by an approach called cultural brokerage around the same period. Generally, the advocacy approaches are characterized by a closer administrative relationship between the community and the anthropologist. In some cases, the anthropologist was actually hired by the local community. While this is not strictly true of the case example we are using for this type of anthropology here, the relationship between the community and the anthropologists involved was quite close. It was developed by Stephen Schensul for use in a Latino barrio of Chicago. In this case, the anthropologist worked primarily as a researcher in support

1. In the first two editions of this book, this model was called community advocacy anthropology.

of indigenous community leadership. Goals of the sponsoring organization were addressed to a limited extent. The anthropologist also provided technical assistance in training for research and proposal writing. While the role is diverse, it is somewhat more focused upon research done in support of community-defined goals. The anthropologist, although involved in the action, does not serve as a direct change agent but as an auxiliary to community leaders. The anthropologist does not work through intervening agencies but instead has a direct relationship with the community. The relationship is collaborative, drawing upon the anthropologist's research skills and the organizational skills of the community's leadership. Typically, the anthropologist's activities include evaluation of community-based programs, whether they are sponsored or managed by people from within or outside the community; needs assessments in anticipation of proposal writing and program design; proposal writing and a wide variety of generalized inputs of a less formal nature. The project was initiated in 1968 (Schensul 1973).

*Cultural Brokerage.* Cultural brokerage is an approach to using anthropological knowledge developed by Hazel H. Weidman (Weidman 1973). It is based on a conception of role, defined originally by Eric Wolf, to account for persons who serve as links between two cultural systems (1956). While Wolf conceptualized the role in the context of the naturally occurring roles which exist between peasant communities and the national system, Weidman applied the term to structures created to make health care delivery more appropriate to an ethnically diverse clientele. Stimulated by research findings of the Miami Health Ecology Project, Weidman created a position for culture brokers in the Community Health Program of the Department of Psychiatry of the University of Miami. These individuals were social scientists who were familiar with the various ethnic groups found in the "catchment area" of a large county hospital. Within this area, it was possible to find Cubans, Puerto Ricans, African Americans, Haitians, and Bahamians, as well as European Americans. While the role is quite diverse, its primary goal is the establishment of links between the politically dominant structures of the community and the less powerful, in a way which restructures the relationship in terms of equality.

The commitment to egalitarian intercultural relations in culture brokerage is manifested in other elements in its conceptual structure. The most important of these conceptual elements are coculture and culture mediation. Coculture is the label used for the components of a culturally pluralistic system. It is a conceptual substitute for subculture.

Cultural brokerage is a frequent component of much applied anthropology work. Much clinically applied medical anthropology focuses on this function.

The development of intervention techniques within anthropology is the most striking characteristic of this particular stage of the development of

applied anthropology. Parallel with this new development is the continuation of the basic pattern of research for various administrative authorities which was characteristic of the applied ethnology stage. Much of this research received its stimulus in the early years of the role-extension, value-explicit stage from the forces put in place by World War II. These forces were substantial.

While intervention strategies were developed and used within anthropology, the most important factors that shaped applied anthropology were simple economic ones. During this phase there was a tremendous expansion of the academic job market. Persons returning from military service at the end of World War II were able to attend universities under the provisions of the "G.I. Bill." This required an increase in the number of faculty positions in many disciplines. Anthropology expanded along with others. This expansion continued through the 1960s carried by the educational needs of the children of the returned veterans. The baby boomers filled anthropology classes. According to Spicer, "It became a world of academic positions far in excess of persons trained to fill them" (1976:337). This caused a "retreat into the academic world" of substantial proportions. While economic factors associated with the expansiveness of the academic job market were important, the tendency to not take federal employment was enhanced by objections many anthropologists had toward the war the government was waging in Vietnam.

At the same time a variety of research projects motivated by basic policy questions led anthropologists to study a variety of new research areas, including native land rights (Goldschmidt and Haas 1946), land government policy toward native political organization (Gluckman 1943, 1955), ethnohistory (Stewart 1961), health care (Leighton and Leighton 1944), land tenure (Allen, Gluckman, Peters, and Trapnell 1948), urban life (Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1946), migrant labor (Schapera 1947), relocation (Kiste 1974; Mason 1950, 1958), water resources development (Cushman and MacGregor 1949; Padfield and Smith 1968), health care delivery (Kimball 1952; Kimball and Pearsall 1954), disasters (Spillius 1957), health development (Foster 1953), racial discrimination (Southern Regional Council 1961), and others.

New roles activated by anthropologists include expert witness (Dobyns 1978; Kluger 1976; Lurie 1955; MacGregor 1955; Stewart 1961), evaluator (Aiyappan 1948; Dupree 1956a, 1956b, 1958; Elwin 1977; Foster 1953; Halpern 1972; Honigmann 1953; Ingersoll 1968, 1969; Jacobsen 1973; Lantis and Hadaway 1957; Mathur 1977; Messing 1964, 1965; Pearsall and Kern 1967; Sasaki 1960; Sasaki and Adair 1952; Sorenson and Berg 1967), planner (Peattie 1968, 1969a, 1969b; Peterson 1970, 1972, 1978), as well as roles associated with various clinical functions (Aberle 1950; Landy 1961).

Anthropologists invested more effort in the documentation of sound

practices for themselves and others. There were a number of manuals published in this period intended to provide guidance to development administrators, public health officials, and change agents. These included *Human Problems in Technological Change* (Spicer 1952), *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (Mead 1955), *Health, Culture and Community: Case Studies of Public Reactions to Health Programs* (Paul 1955), and *Cooperation in Change, Anthropological Approaches to Community Development* (Goodenough 1963). These volumes grew out of a seminar organized by Cornell University with the support of the Russell Sage Foundation to develop training materials for people working in development internationally (Bunker and Adair 1959).

An important event during this period is the development of an ethics statement by the Society for Applied Anthropology. The statement, written in 1949, was the first within the discipline. This effort has continued to the present day. Interestingly, the statement was developed in reaction to a specific basic research project rather than problems associated with application. The American Anthropological Association did not consider development of an ethics statement for about 20 years.

In summary, the role-extension stage sees anthropologists designing and implementing strategies for social change. Alongside this development anthropologists increase the array of new research-based roles. Although the social change strategies developed within anthropology during this stage appear to remain useful, their application is infrequent in the next stage of the development of applied anthropology. The development of strategies for social change within the discipline seems to be most common in the United States and Mexico. Perhaps the most important change which shaped applied anthropology during this period is the tremendous expansion of the academic job market.

### The Policy Research Stage (1970 to the Present)

The policy research stage is characterized by the emergence of what Angrosino calls the “new applied anthropology” (1976). Expressed simply, this means an increased emphasis on policy research of various kinds done outside of academic employment. The typical pattern of the value-explicit, role-extension period, where the applied anthropologist would take temporary assignments of an applied nature while working as an academic, is replaced by more employment by consulting firms or as a direct-hire staff member of the agency. This kind of employment results in a dramatic increase in new kinds of research. This stage appears to be more clearly a return to the pattern of the federal service period than an outgrowth of the period before. It is different in a fundamental way, however. During the federal service period applied anthropologists returned to academia once the employment pressure was off. It appears unlikely that the large numbers

of anthropologists entering the job market as practicing anthropologists now will take academic jobs in the future. They will not return because there will not be jobs for them, their salary expectations cannot be met, and they just do not want to. It is for this reason that this period is unique.

Applied anthropology of this stage is more clearly a product of external factors. There are two primary external factors: the dramatically shrinking academic job market (Balderston and Radner 1971; Cartter 1974; D'Andrade, Hammel, Adkins, and McDaniel 1975), and (at least in the United States) the creation of a wide array of policy research functions mandated by federal regulation and statute. The effect of the shrinking academic job market is substantial and increasing. An early estimate predicted that two-thirds of new Ph.D.'s produced in anthropology would find employment outside of academia (D'Andrade, Hammel, Adkins, and McDaniel 1975). Recent research on employment summarized by Elizabeth Briody shows that the percentage of each annual cohort of Ph.D.'s that enters employment outside academia is increasing (Briody 1988:77). An American Anthropological Association survey indicated that in the 1989–1990 cohort of Ph.D.'s, 59 percent were employed outside of academic departments although most anthropologists work in academic positions (American Anthropological Association 1991:1).

Coupled with this big push factor are the pulling effects of legislatively mandated policy research opportunities. To some unspecified degree, the so-called surplus of Ph.D.'s is absorbed by other opportunities created by the aforementioned expansion in policy research. Some of the legislation which is relevant to this problem is the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, the Foreign Assistance Act as amended, and the Community Development Act of 1974. In addition to employment directly related to these policy research needs, a very large array of new types of employment was accepted by anthropologists. Some of this employment involved research; much of it involved assuming other roles. The effects of these pull factors vary considerably. Levels of funding have varied substantially through the years with changing economic conditions, changing political styles, and periodic disillusionment with the utility of policy research.

A confounding factor in employment choice is the political attitudes of anthropologists formed by their experiences in the era of the Vietnam War. For some, employment with U.S. government agencies with overseas programs was unacceptable for ideological reasons, no matter how hard the push or attractive the pull. This, so it seems, has changed significantly as the job situation has worsened and agency programs have changed.

The changes in anthropology associated with the increase in nonacademic employment are substantial. These can be addressed in terms of three general categories: academic program content, publication and information dissemination, and social organization, as well as some general changes in style.

*Academic Program Content.* Starting as early as 1968 a number of academic programs specifically focused upon preparation for nonacademic careers were organized (Hyland and Kirkpatrick 1989; Kushner 1978:23; Trotter 1988). By 1994 the Society for Applied Anthropology and the National Association for the Practice of Anthropology developed guidelines for the organization of applied and practicing anthropology training programs. In 2000 a number of programs with this focus formed the Consortium of Applied and Practicing Anthropology Programs to facilitate resource sharing and cooperation (Bennett 2000). Increasingly, these programs are coming to be focused upon more specific policy areas rather than having a general orientation toward applied anthropology (van Willigen 1988). These programs tend to make wider use of internships and practica in their instructional strategy (Hyland, Bennett, Collins, and Finerman 1988; Wolfe, Chambers, and Smith 1981). The number of programs that have application as a focus have increased dramatically (Hyland and Kirkpatrick 1989; van Willigen 1985). It is conceivable that in the future a professional society will develop standards for certification and accreditation.

*Publication and Information Dissemination.* The most noteworthy change in publication and information dissemination was the creation of the publication *Practicing Anthropology*. *Practicing Anthropology* publishes articles which report the experiences of anthropologists in various kinds of nonacademic employment. Currently its readership is over 2000. In addition, the Applied Anthropology Documentation Project at the University of Kentucky has resulted in the establishment of a collection of the written products of applied anthropologists (Clark and van Willigen 1981; van Willigen 1981b, 1991). The increased interest in application has influenced the publication policies of the major journals. *Human Organization* shows some tendency to return to the publication of application case study materials that dominated its pages in the first decade of publication. The National Association for the Practice of Anthropology publishes a Bulletin series that features materials on application.

*Social Organization.* The most significant change caused by increases in nonacademic employment have been the creation of a large number of local practitioner organizations (LPOs). The first of these was the Society of Professional Anthropologists (SOPA) established in Tucson, Arizona, in 1974 (Bainton 1975; Bennett 1988). Although disbanded, SOPA served as a model for others. Local Practitioner Organizations were established at Washington, D.C.; Los Angeles, California; Tampa, Florida; Tallahassee, Florida; Ann Arbor, Michigan; and Memphis, Tennessee among other places. In addition, the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology serves a regional constituency in the high plains. The Washington Association of Professional Anthropologists (WAPA) and the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology (HPSFAA) are clearly the most active. WAPA

publishes a newsletter and directory and regularly holds workshops at national association meetings on topics like "Seeking Federal Employment." HPSFAA has a lively annual meeting and a regular publication. Most importantly, the LPOs serve as a mechanism for effective networking in the profession.

At the national level there was considerable organizational development that has benefited American applied anthropologists. Most important is the National Association for the Practice of Anthropology organized as a unit of the American Anthropological Association. The Society for Applied Anthropology (SfAA) and NAPA are currently engaged in various cooperative activities. Canadian anthropologists benefit from the activities of the Society for Applied Anthropology in Canada, organized in 1981 (Price 1987).

Both the American Anthropological Association and the Society for Applied Anthropology have used academically employed and nonacademically employed slates for their elections for some time. Other adaptations have included changing the mix of the national meeting programs so as to increase activities relevant for nonacademically employed anthropologists and to decrease the part of the program designed for scholarly purposes. Innovations in this area include workshops for gaining skills in various policy research areas such as social impact assessment and program evaluation. NAPA has provided considerable creative leadership in this regard. The American Anthropological Association has issued a number of publications which address practical or applied issues. These include publications on the structure of training programs, done with the Society for Applied Anthropology (Leacock, Gonzalez, and Kushner 1974), the development of training programs (Trotter 1988), approaches to practice (Goldschmidt 1979), practicing anthropologists (Chatelain and Cimino 1981), and employment (Bernard and Sibley 1975). Also published were a series of training manuals in applied anthropology on various topics including development anthropology (Partridge 1984), medical anthropology (Hill 1984), policy ethnography (van Willigen and DeWalt 1985), and nutritional anthropology (Quandt and Ritenbaugh 1986).

Another potentially significant development has been the modification by the national organizations of ethics statements. The Society for Applied Anthropology approved a revision of their ethics statement in 1983. The committee was charged with adjusting the existing statement to the conditions faced by practicing anthropologists. With this in mind, the committee developed a statement that recognized the "legitimate proprietary" interests of clients in terms of the dissemination of research data, the need for truthful reporting of qualifications, and the need for continuing education to maintain skills, as well as other issues (Committee on Ethics, Society for Applied Anthropology 1983). The National Association for the Practice of Anthropology issued an ethics statement recently.

As in the two previous stages, the anthropologists working in application

explore new areas of research. The growth of new areas of inquiry is dramatic. Some examples of the new developments are research into forestry (Collins and Painter 1986; Murray 1987), drug rehabilitation (Marshall 1979), homeless people (Glasser 1996), human waste disposal (Elmendorf and Buckles 1978), welfare program reform (Trend 1978b), broadcast media (Eiselein and Marshall 1976), social services in boomtowns (Uhlman 1977), educational evaluation (Burns 1975; Clinton 1975; Fitzsimmons 1975), commodity marketing (Lample and Herbert 1988) housing needs and effects (Kerri 1977; Weaver and Downing 1975; Wulff 1972), commodity-focused agricultural research (Werge 1977), wildlife management (Brownrigg 1986), radioactive waste storage siting (Stoffle, Evans, and Jensen 1987a), energy extraction (Softestad 1990), rural industrial development (Grinstead 1976), employment training (Naylor 1976), market development (Zilverberg and Courtney 1984), corrections (Alexander and Chapman 1982), building and landscape design (Esber 1987; Low and Simon 1984), fisheries (Johnson and Griffith 1985; McCay and Creed 1990); (Stoffle, Jensen, and Rasch 1981); recreational planning (Scott, DeWalt, Adelski, Alexander, and Beebe 1982; Wulff 1976); ethnography in product design (Wasson 2000), and the effects of power generation (Callaway, Levy, and Henderson 1976).

At a somewhat more general level, one can cite development in the areas of social impact assessment and program evaluation. Anthropologists were involved in some of the pioneering efforts which attempted to predict, for the benefit of planners, some of the social costs and benefits of various kinds of development projects. In domestic settings, we find anthropologists engaged in team research which developed social impact assessment manuals and standards (Maruyama 1973; Vlachos 1975). Anthropologists were involved in direct assessment of project effects (Dixon 1978; Jacobs 1977; McGuire and Worden 1984; Millsap 1978; Nugent, Partridge, Brown, and Rees 1978; Parker and King 1987; Preister and King 1987; Stoffle et al. 1987a, 1987b; Van Tassell and Michaelson 1977), and field testing of social impact assessment methodologies (Clinton 1978). Although the legislative mandate was substantially different, anthropologists were engaged in social impact assessment-related work in the context of international development. These efforts included the development of manuals for impact assessment methodology (Harza Engineering Company 1980), baseline studies to inform development planning (Brown 1980; Scaglione 1981; DeWalt and DeWalt 1982; Green 1982; Maloney, Aziz, and Sarker 1980; Werge 1977), development of regional development plans (Brokensha, Horowitz, and Scudder 1977) needs assessments (Green and Wessells 1997; Practical Concepts, Inc. 1980), social soundness analysis (Cochrane 1979; McPherson 1978; U.S. Agency for International Development 1975), project evaluations (Blustain 1982; Brown 1980; Pillsbury 1989; Williams 1980, 1981), analysis of program planning documents (Britan 1980; Col-



lins and Painter 1986; Hoben 1980; Ingersoll, Sullivan, and Lenkerd 1981), as well as basic research into various aspects of development such as decentralization in development (Ralston, Anderson, and Colson 1981), indigenous voluntary associations (Miller 1980), and women in development (Elmendorf and Isely 1981).

The involvement of anthropologists in the evaluation of various domestic social action programs is quite common. Evaluation studies occur in a wide variety of areas, including American Indian education (Fuchs and Havighurst 1970), housing development (Kerri 1977), American Indian tribal governance (Weaver et al. 1971), employment training programs, rural education (Everhart 1975), parenting (Achatz and MacAllum 1994), alternative energy source development (Roberts 1981), innovative education programs (Fetterman 1987), alcohol abuse curtailment projects (Marshall 1979), childhood nutrition (Best Start 1994), and minority employment (Buehler 1981).

The dramatic increase in policy research efforts of various types is not associated with an increase in the use of social intervention techniques, which this chapter describes as characteristic of the pattern of application in the previous stage. There are examples of the use of action anthropology (Schlesier 1974; Stull 1979), research and development anthropology (Turner 1974; Wulff 1977), and various advocacy research approaches. The approaches based on cultural brokerage models developed by Hazel H. Weidman earlier in this stage are still in use. There are two factors that seem to have caused the reduction of this type of application: the radical critique of much of applied anthropology, and the increasing political sophistication of many of the traditional client groups of anthropologists.

A factor which will influence the future of anthropology is the changing circumstances of employment. First, the academic to nonacademic mix has changed. The nonacademic realm is quite variable within itself. The conditions of employment effect both motivation and opportunity to publish, tendency to participate in anthropological learned societies, extent of interdisciplinary orientation, and training future anthropologists. Working in a governmental organization is different from working in the private sector. There are significant differences between profit and nonprofit organizations in the private sector. The biggest differences may occur where the anthropologist owns the firm. Academic employment is also changing in many of the same ways. There seems to be a stronger commitment to consulting and, of course, many nonacademically employed anthropologists have to compete with the academics. There is an increasing tendency to take on research commitments in the policy area by academics so as to provide students with marketable experiences.

### **Emergence of a Multidisciplinary Tradition of Practice**

In 1975 I participated in the symposium of the Southern Anthropological Society which attempted to address what the organizer, Michael Angrosino, regarded as the “New Applied Anthropology” (1976). What he referred to as new was an anthropology that relied on “short-term, contract work in public service agencies, work often involving program evaluation, and work that can often be undertaken off campus (1976:1).” The novelty of the New Applied Anthropology stimulated him to organize the symposium entitled “Do Applied Anthropologists Apply Anthropology?”

Over the past 25 years a new synthesis has emerged. This new synthesis revolves around a newly emerging relationship between anthropologists and the persons and communities they study.

Throughout this era the relationship between anthropologists and the people studied changed in many important ways. The history of the relationship between applied anthropology and the communities that they work with parallels that of the relationship between anthropologist and research community in basic anthropology. In some sense the history of anthropology, both basic and applied, is the history of the power relationships between anthropologists and the people studied. That anthropology, both basic and applied, is a product of colonializing institutions is by now a commonplace interpretation of the discipline’s history. As these power relationships have changed, the stance of both basic and applied anthropology regarding the communities and people they study has changed. These changes consist of changes in anthropology’s, “conceptions of (a) the object of analysis, (b) the language of analysis and (c) the position of the analyst” (Rosaldo 1993:37) and apply to both basic and applied anthropology. While the causes of the change are the same for both aspects of the discipline, the responses are different, perhaps even diametrically opposed. Anthropologists of both types find it increasingly difficult to treat the people studied as objects. The basic discipline response was to change viewpoints and think of ethnography as a mechanism for looking at our own society. The typical basic anthropological response to this essential “post-modern” dilemma is to use the ethnographic enterprise to look at themselves, to be “reflexive” as this literature says.

Ethnography is presented not as about “those studied” but a kind of “cultural critique” of the anthropologist’s culture (Marcus and Fischer 1986). The adaptation implemented by some in the realm of application is quiet different. Increasingly applied anthropologists work with those studied in a collaborative or participatory mode. That is, the goals of the community are merged with anthropologists’ goals. The applied anthropologist shares his or her special skills and knowledge with the community. This serves to transform the community from object to be known to a subject that can control. The perspective is consistent with critical social theory on

the one hand and the modern synthesis of participatory action research on the other.

In the participatory action research mode the anthropologist works with the community to understand the conditions that produce the problems that the people face. This transformation shows the changing relationship with communities that can be traced from the early experiments with new modes of application such as action anthropology and research and development anthropology. In both these approaches, the anthropologists treated their research goals and community goals of development as essentially equal. In modes of application, such as the action research and the collaborative approaches, the salience of anthropological disciplinary goals was reduced. The applied anthropologist becomes an auxiliary to the naturally occurring community leadership.

Along with this change, the distinctions between disciplines have become much more limited. This is apparent in research methods as well as action practices. What has emerged in the action realm is a new synthesis. Most of the ideas are familiar. These include (1) local knowledge, (2) participation, (3) empowerment, (4) critical consciousness, and (5) sustainability. These are all intertwined and to an extent “scaled,” i.e., they should be thought of in terms of a logical order and progression. These ideas will be discussed in Chapter 4.

## SUMMARY

What is called applied anthropology has grown dramatically since the inception of anthropology as a discipline. In its growth, applied anthropology has manifested an array of tendencies. First, the applied and theoretical aspects of the discipline develop in parallel, application potentials being used as a rationale for the development of academic programs and theoretical research programs. The effect of applied anthropology on theoretical anthropology is often masked because of the nature of publication in applied anthropology and its relative lack of prestige. Second, a major effect of applied anthropology on theoretical anthropology is the stimulus of interest in new research topics and populations. This effect too is masked. Third, the development of applied anthropology is best thought of in terms of an additive expansion of research context, topics, and techniques. While there have been intervention techniques developed within anthropology, today these are infrequently applied. Fourth, applied anthropology should be thought of as primarily a product of important external forces rather than a consistent pattern of internally generated change. Mostly, the external forces are manifested in employment and funded research opportunities brought about by the needs of colonial governance, war, and foreign policy. More recently, a major external factor is the nature

of the academic job market and, to a limited extent, an increase in policy research opportunities mandated by federal law.

The nature of the academic job market has resulted in the creation of a large cadre of anthropologists employed outside of academic contexts.

### **FURTHER READING**

Eddy, Elizabeth M. and William L. Partridge, eds. *Applied Anthropology in America*. 2nd ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1987. This volume contains a number of chapters which are useful for understanding the history of applied anthropology.

## Chapter 3

# Ethics

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As one prepares to assume an occupational role as an applied anthropologist, one becomes increasingly concerned with standards of performance and behavior in that role. This connotes a concern for the quality of the services produced as a result of one's action, as well as concern for how and under what circumstances one produces these services. Such standards of performance and behavior are the substance of ethics. The essential core of the ethics of applied anthropology is the nature of the potential and manifested impact on the people involved.

In his important discussion of ethical issues Joseph G. Jorgensen distinguishes between the anthropologist and various other "information seekers" whom persons confront. As he notes, "Our situation is unlike that of the priest, the lawyer, or the physician, whose help is *requested by the client* and whose right to privileged communication is deemed necessary (by law, in the United States) if he is to serve his clients. In contrast, as anthropologists we *ask for the help* of our subjects and we *offer* confidentiality as an *inducement* to informants for their cooperation" (Jorgensen 1971:327).

In light of this, then, the applied anthropologist by implication would have a status distinct from the research anthropologist in terms of various ethical considerations. First, because we may have change as a goal as well as scientific understanding, we must be especially concerned about the impact of our efforts on the populations with whom we work. Second, because we may be working for an agency that is from outside or is marginal to the community, we may be forced to deal with an especially complex set of ethical concerns. Applied anthropologists typically face more complex ethical situations than other anthropologists.

Though the term *ethics* connotes an absolute standard of behavior, ap-

plied anthropologists like other human scientists both pure and applied, must, to be realistic, deal with the concept relativistically. That is to say, ethical standards are difficult enough to specify, let alone consistently apply. In each of the applied anthropologist's constituencies, we find difficult kinds of ethical requirements. That is, different ethical issues are raised in the case of applied anthropologists' relations with research subjects, project sponsors, or fellow anthropologists. The somewhat different requirements of these relationships are sometimes in conflict.

## ETHICAL ISSUES IN HISTORIC CONTEXT

This is a complex period in the history of anthropology. The discipline has achieved a very high level of theoretical and methodological complexity. New areas of inquiry emerge with surprising frequency. Further change is brought about by the growth of applied activities. All this change creates new challenges and an increased concern for ethical issues. The debate has continued through the years, reaching a peak during the war in Vietnam. The tensions of that period were exacerbated by a series of ill-conceived and unethical research projects. The debate is not limited to the recent past, but has substantial time depth. As early as 1919, Franz Boas raised concerns in a letter to *The Nation* in which he accused four anthropologists of serving as spies under the guise of their researcher role. As Boas wrote,

A person, who uses science as a cover for political spying, who demeans himself to pose before a foreign government as an investigator and asks for assistance in his alleged researches in order to carry on, under this cloak, his political machinations, prostitutes science in an unpardonable way and forfeits the right to be classed as a scientist. (Boas 1919, in Weaver 1973:51)

From the time of Boas to the present, the debate continues with only a tracing of its intensity revealed in published articles, letters to the editor, resolutions passed at national meetings, American Anthropological Association ethics committee reports, and the ethics codes published by the American Anthropological Association and the Society for Applied Anthropology.

The primary issue in the ethical debate is the potential harm which the activities of the anthropologist may have on a community or a specific person. There are many important issues but this is the core of anthropology's ethical concern. This is something that an anthropologist should understand. We are inextricably linked to the communities we work with, and thereby, our actions can be continually ramified and may have serious unanticipated effects. Cora Du Bois relates an incident which exemplifies this potential in a frightening way.

Du Bois had carried out her well-known study, *The People of Alor*, in

an area of what is now Indonesia, that came to be occupied by the Japanese during World War II. It was reported to Du Bois after the war that persons she had studied had innocently mentioned that they wished the Americans would win the war, because they were good people. The Alorese in question had never heard of America prior to Du Bois's field work. She reports that the Japanese heard that certain Alorese were stating that America would win the conflict. The Japanese military government rounded up the persons in question and publicly beheaded them as an example to the populace. As Du Bois notes, "There is no end to the intricate chain of responsibility and guilt that the pursuit of even the most arcane social research involves. 'No man is an island'" (Du Bois 1944, in Weaver 1973:32). However unusual this horrifying case is, it dramatically emphasizes the potential for unexpected harm our science has. Let us here engage in a discussion of some of the issues identified in the literature on anthropological research ethics.

Although there have been sad occurrences of unethical behavior by anthropologists throughout the history of the discipline, perhaps the most notorious cases emerged during the Vietnam War period. The two most frequently cited are the so-called Project Camelot, initiated in Latin America, and the various sponsored research activities carried out in northern Thailand.

Project Camelot was initiated in 1964 under the sponsorship of the Special Operations Research Office (SORO) of the U.S. Army (Horowitz 1967: 4). It was the largest grant for social science research up until that time. A quote from the prospectus of the project mailed to a number of well-known scientists provides an excellent summary of the project's intent:

Project Camelot is a study whose objective is to determine the feasibility of developing a general systems model which would make it possible to predict and influence politically significant aspects of social change in the developing nations of the world. Somewhat more specifically, its objectives are: first, to devise procedures for assessing the potential for internal war within national societies; second, to identify with increased degrees of confidence, those actions which a government might take to relieve conditions which are assessed as giving rise to a potential for internal war; and finally, to assess the feasibility of prescribing the characteristics of a system for obtaining and using the essential information needed for doing the above two things. (Horowitz 1967:4-5)

The project was ultimately to encompass studies in a large number of countries in Asia, Latin America, Africa and Europe. Initially, the activities were to start in Chile. The response to Camelot was substantial in the involved disciplines, the countries of study, and in the American political arena. In spite of the stir it caused in anthropology there was only one involved and he served as a short-term consultant. The project died a quick death and resulted in substantial interpretive literature (Horowitz 1967; Sjoberg

1967). It is difficult to identify the most important criticism in this literature and there is some criticism of its objectivity (Beals 1969).

Many persons object to the use of social science to maintain the social order in countries where there are such clearly identifiable oppressed classes. Although couched in social science jargon, the project was perceived as having a conservative bias. For example, "The use of hygienic language disguises the anti-revolutionary assumptions under a cloud of powder puff declarations" (Sjoberg 1967:48). The most strenuous objections concerned participating in research which had such strong political implications. The basic question became, should social scientists be involved in research which would facilitate interfering in the affairs of other nations? As Belshaw notes, "Within the American Anthropological Association, the reaction was immediate and sharp. Resolutions were passed condemning 'clandestine' research and research dealing with 'counterinsurgency'" (Belshaw 1976:261). More importantly, the reaction included a major study of the problem of ethics which formed the basis for Ralph L. Beals' study, *Politics of Social Research* (1969). These efforts led to the creation of the American Anthropological Association's Committee on Ethics, which until recently reviewed cases of alleged unethical behavior brought before it.

A project that had more severe implications in anthropology is the so-called Thailand Project. The exposure of this project caused a great controversy among anthropologists worldwide.

Northern Thailand is occupied by various hill tribes. These people have little political or economic leverage in the national affairs of Thailand. They have been depicted as the minority suppressed by the politically dominant lowland majority. These groups were relatively isolated although connected to the outside world through the opium trade. Opium poppies were the major cash crop. Pressure from the international community of nations on the Thai government to control the opium traffic increased. Government officials came to realize that policy makers had little information with which to develop a plan for dealing with the northern people (Belshaw 1976:264). The significance of the region increased dramatically as the Vietnam War expanded. These factors encouraged a prodigious increase in the amount of research carried out. In the early 1960s, Western social scientists "flooded" the area (Jones 1971:347), and the Hill Tribes Research Centre was established (Belshaw 1976:265). The relationship that existed between the hill people and the flatlanders was unequal. The lowlanders "tend to look down on the hill people, call them by derogatory names, etc." (Jones 1971:347). These high groups were viewed as good candidates for subversive activities and had not demonstrated loyalty to the Thai government.

Jones raises the most basic question:

Did the anthropologists who rushed into the area to do basic descriptive studies consider these political facts? It is safe to say that most of them did not. Was it an



accident that the strategic and political concerns about the hill areas and the questionable loyalty of the hill people to Thailand coincided with the growing anthropological concern about the lack of knowledge of the area? Was it also an accident that, about that same time, a considerable amount of money became available for basic research on this "little known area"? The situation which developed led to a decade of concentrated research on hill people to the almost total neglect of valley culture and society. (1971:348)

As the apparent strategic significance of the region increased, the amount of research funds increased. Increasingly, scholars could make use of funds from agencies of the American government such as the Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA) of the Department of Defense. Research carried out on the basis of "cleaner" money, for the most part, ended up in the hands of ARPA anyway. ARPA's goals were clearly directed at counterinsurgency ends (Jones 1971:348). They were interested in maintaining the status quo and saw the utility of basic descriptive cultural data. To these ends they supported the data collection process.

ARPA wanted basic information on culture and society in Thailand, and was willing to pay to have the research done. Since most of us who have conducted basic research in Thailand have, in fact, contributed to that end, we might as well have taken ARPA's money. The question of ethics and responsibility may have little to do with the source of funding and much more with the social and political context within which the data are produced. (Jones 1971:348)

The whole presence of anthropologists in Thailand was brought under attack in 1970 by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam for doing what they referred to as "counterinsurgency research." This too resulted in a major crisis in the discipline which seems to have intensified interest in various ethical concerns. It is clear that the conflicts generated during the Vietnam era concerning ethics contributed a great deal to the understanding of our responsibilities. The process which these discussions developed was very painful and disturbing. In retrospect, many respected scholars were unfairly accused, yet the increase in understanding may have been worth it.

## THE PRIVACY ISSUE

The fieldwork process is based largely on overcoming the boundaries which exist between the personality of the researcher and that of the informant. We call this breakdown of protective boundaries "rapport building." Through the building of rapport, we erode the informants' tendency to protect their private personalities. It is possible, even probable, that with the development of rapport, the informant provides information that could be damaging to them, if not properly protected.

Why do people give us information? Many do so because they value the goals of science. However, in many cases the goals of science are irrelevant or unknown to them, and they may be responding for a whole range of other reasons. These might include their own standards of hospitality, their perceptions of the anthropologist's power, and their own need for recognition and attention.

We must be wary of any tendency to use whatever power and prestige the anthropologist might have to produce positive responses in informants. Clearly, it is possible to use our relative power to obtain data. One might even argue that "rapport-building skills" are in fact the most insidious deception.

We often give our research subjects assurances about anonymity, yet our capacity to protect the information is not absolute, although one might argue that it is reasonably assured. We don't have the legal right to claim that our information is privileged. Anthropologists' legal status is not unlike journalists whose data and data sources can be subpoenaed. Yet, the ethical standards of the discipline, and more recently the legal requirements of federally funded research, seem to suggest that absolute control is possible. These conditions cause us to work as if we had absolute control over access to our data. In applied research settings, control of the use of data may be in the hands of the sponsor rather than the researcher.

We value our research and its products. It is possible to build substantial justification for the continuation of such research efforts. The question is, however, what costs must individual research subjects bear in order for the research to go on? The respondent's costs include loss of opportunity, loss of control of data, as well as any physical risks.

## THE ISSUE OF CONSENT

Perhaps the paramount issue in the ethical debate is the issue of consent. That is, our discipline should expect that its practitioners carry out their activities with the permission of research subjects. That is to say, the anthropologist must ask the question, "May I do this?" Further, the informant must know the circumstances in which the question is asked. It is only with adequate knowledge that the subject can give permission in a way that is ethically meaningful. Sufficient knowledge is a relative concept to be sure, but, nevertheless, would include an understanding of the purposes of the research activity; the identity of the funding agency and its goals; the final disposition of the data; and the potential impact the data would have on the individual. Further, the informant must understand that his or her participation is voluntary. Special procedures are required for consent to be given in these cases. Such are the components of what is referred to as "informed consent."

Informed consent is the foundation of ethical research. Much impetus

for formalizing ethical issues, such as informed consent, has come from the medical research area. This impetus is derived from the real and immediate risk of much medical research which uses human subjects. Further, many of the most abusive human subject research projects have been carried out by medical researchers. The abuses of medical research and other disciplines have led to increasing public concern. Associated with this concern is an increased government involvement in the ethical dimension of large-scale federally funded research projects. Most individual research projects which are considered for federal funding must be evaluated in terms of key ethical issues such as informed consent. In spite of this concern, there is still a significant amount of ambiguity concerning these issues. Let us present here a widely applied definition of informed consent. This definition of informed consent was provided by the Board of Regents of the State of New York in 1966. It provides clear guidelines for medical investigators, though it could also be used for anthropologists.

No consent is valid unless it is made by a person with legal and mental capacity to make it, and is based on a disclosure of all material facts. The federal government defines some populations as vulnerable and not able to give informed consent. These include the underaged, mentally handicapped, institutionalized or incarcerated, persons under risk because of the illegal status or activities, people who can't read, and people who are ill or physically handicapped. Any facts which might influence the giving and withholding of consent are material. A patient has the right to know he is being asked to volunteer and to refuse to participate in an experiment for any reason, intelligent or otherwise, well-informed or prejudiced. A physician has no right to withhold from a prospective volunteer any fact which he knows may influence the decision. It is the volunteer's decision to make, and the physician may not take it away from him by the manner in which he asks the question or explains or fails to explain the circumstances. (Langer 1966:664)

Though "informed consent" is rather easy to specify as a requirement, it is sometimes very difficult to achieve. Part of our task in establishing the conditions of informed consent is to convey the implications of our research when we may not fully understand these implications. The type of research populations we, as anthropologists, deal with tend not to be in the position to adequately recognize the implications of our research. As Jorgensen notes,

because our research is often conducted among illiterate or semiliterate who have scant knowledge of the uses to which data can be put, we are doubly obligated to spell out our intentions and not to exploit their naivete. The extent to which we must explain our intentions will vary with the problems we address and the knowledge possessed by the host population. Our host populations, in particular, will vary greatly in their understandings of the implications of the ways in which research conducted among them could damage their own interests. I am not sug-

gesting that it will be easy to apprise them of everything they ought to know, nor to make them immediately understand all they ought to know. The anthropologist himself is often naive about the implications of his own research. (Jorgensen 1971: 328)

The fact that anthropologists tend to use inductive research designs also causes a certain amount of difficulty in legitimately achieving the goal of informed consent. Anthropologists create strictly deductive research designs infrequently. With such designs, the ultimate range and breadth of a research project can be more easily determined. In the field, topics grow and change. A question is raised by these changes: how and under what circumstances does consent have to be obtained again? Does consent to carry out one aspect of the research imply that consent is given for other aspects of the study? Oftentimes, the researcher begins his or her project with non-controversial topics, and then, slowly changes focus to the more controversial, for the very reason that if the latter topic had been broached during the initial stages of the research project, the anthropologist would have been run off.

This represents a difficult problem. There are those that suggest that “consent should be requested for the research ends that are anticipated” (Jorgensen 1971:328). This may be difficult in certain social contexts. The goal of informed consent implies that the research activities are carried out without deceit and misrepresentation. To quote Jorgensen:

I accept the premise that anthropologists, by the very nature of their dedication to free and open inquiry and the pursuit of truth, cannot condone deceit in research. If the anthropologist seeks truth, exposes falsehood, feels an ethical obligation to others of his profession not to compromise them or make their own legitimate research suspect, and feels he has a right and a duty to honor the obligations he has made to his informants in requesting their help in giving him information about which they are protective, he cannot assume a masquerade at all. (1971:329)

## THE UTILITY ISSUE

As suggested above, anthropologists’ research means that certain costs will accrue to the research subject and thereby to the subject community. In most cases it would seem that the loss of time to the informant is inconsequential. Most humans have sufficient leisure to allow some interaction with a social scientist. Further, it seems in most cases the research efforts of anthropologists will tend not to harm informants if the data is properly protected. Yet there are cases where the work of the anthropologist caused harm.

The most important idea here is that information can be used to control people; that is, knowledge is power. That phrase has become meaningless

because we rarely take time to examine the mechanism by which knowledge is used to control people. Just how anthropological data plays into the hands of an exploitative, multinational corporation, an oppressive, totalitarian organization, or a secret intelligence agency is not clear. It is difficult to find out given the fact that it isn't even clear how more "righteous" organizations make use of such data. The implications of the potential for harm, however, are so serious that we must develop our position in terms of the *potential* for harm rather than the real probabilities.

When we do this, we are confronted with a number of serious problems. In most cases in pure anthropological research, the costs of research accrue to the researched, whereas most of the benefits accrue to the researcher. At least it seems improbable that given the normal research process in anthropology, research subjects will receive any significant benefit from the enterprise. These communities are rarely equipped to use such data; the topics selected by the researcher are often irrelevant to the information needs of the community, and the researcher rarely provides information to the community. This kind of research might be construed as the ultimate kind of anthropological self-indulgence, if it weren't so common. The Dutch applied anthropologist Gerrit Huizer refers to this self-indulgent anthropology as hobbyism (1975:64). As he notes,

It seems as if the most immediate purpose of the research is the satisfaction of a rather arbitrary curiosity (or urge for knowledge) of the social researcher. The satisfaction of this urge according to the rules of the game of scientific effort and the passing on of the knowledge gained to others determines the career and promotion of the research worker. (1975:64)

The remedy for this problem is the active and conscientious consideration of the interests of the research population in the research design process. Huizer notes, however, that

the research could possibly serve the interests of the people investigated or even remedy their distress, hardly occurs to most social scientists. Such a thing might occur by chance, but generally the interference with the realities under investigation is seen as disturbing or dangerous for the scientific quality of the research. (1975: 65)

Huizer advocates a close identification between anthropologist and research subjects so that the interests of the subject population may be protected.

The best treatment for this problem is the direct negotiation of the content and goals of the research design between researcher and community. The negotiation may result in modifications of the research procedure so that objectionable procedures may be removed. But, more importantly, the project can be modified to help meet the information needs of the subject

community. It may be simply required that the research design remain unchanged but that reporting requirements be changed so as to improve the community's access to the research results. Other alternatives might mean "piggybacking" community research needs on the researchers' topic, selecting a community-defined topic as the primary focus of the project, or providing another kind of service in lieu of research. The point is that the utility of a project to the community is a relevant ethical dimension that can be addressed. In applied research these issues may be simplified in the sense that the research design and goals are determined by, or through, negotiation with the client community.

The question remains, however, *who* is the client community and who are its representatives? Oftentimes applied anthropologists must work on research problems for clients who, although they serve a community, are not truly representative of the community. Ethical issues must be dealt with most carefully in this situation. The anthropologists must consider the impact of their behavior when they are acting as agents of service organizations, development agencies, or political action groups. In cases where the client group is part of the community, the extent of representativeness must also be considered. It is not always clear to what extent subgroups such as the "leadership" elite are representative of the total community.

## THE COMMUNICATION ISSUE

There is a great deal of tension in anthropology concerning the ethics of publication. This multidimensional problem is particularly relevant to the ethical concerns of the applied anthropologist. As applied anthropologists, we are faced with complying with diverse standards of information dissemination. As scientists, we are obliged to communicate results so that others may share in our contribution to knowledge. The research process is thought to end only with effective communication of research results, the assumption being that there is "an immortal open record of research results where all scientists are able to present their results for the benefit and scrutiny of their scientific peers" (Price 1964:655). Though it seems that applied anthropologists tend not to emphasize the publication of their applied results, they are motivated like most scientists to get things on the record for a wide variety of rather intense motivations. These motivations include the lure of immortality in print, the publish-or-perish tenure struggle for those who are employed in academic jobs, and the need for nonacademically employed anthropologists to establish some academic credentials so as to maintain the possibility for academic employment, if they so choose. Publication by practicing anthropologists can serve to increase personal influence in the domain of application.

The potential applied anthropologist author faces a number of problems. First, few journals are actually geared up to publish materials which have

applied relevance. Applied research results sometimes have limited appeal for the general social science audience. Oftentimes the components of an applied project that see the light of publication are not those parts that were significant in accomplishing the goals of the project. What often gets published are those components that have an academic cast to them. There isn't even a consistent tendency to document or archive materials produced in the course of applied anthropologists' activities. These deficiencies of information exchange seem to limit the cumulative improvement of applied anthropology.

This is by no means the most crucial issue applied anthropologists face in the realm of publication and the communication of information. The primary issue is the extent to which the applied anthropologist can make information public. As applied anthropologists, our employers often have some control over the disposition of the research results. The problem also occurs in the realm of physical science as Price notes,

Historically, there has been a very interesting contrast between the literature ethics of basic science and those of technology. In basic science, the motivation is always for the most complete publication that will ensure the payoff, of recognition of the contribution of the individual scientist and his reward by eponymic fame, Nobel prizes or similar honors or at least by appreciation. In technological research and development, with profit or military ascendancy substituted so largely for honor, the effort is toward publication only as an epiphenomenon, not as an end product. (Price 1964:655)

All researchers are enjoined ethically to control the release of collected data. For example, it is absolutely necessary to maintain the anonymity of our research subjects. No matter what our relationship is with a client, we must maintain the privacy of the informant. Our job is not to collect data about individuals for other individuals. But even if we are capable of maintaining the anonymity of informants, serious ethical problems remain. The most difficult kinds of ethical problems are caused by research in which the anthropologist, in a clandestine manner, researches a community on behalf of another group or agency. The researcher may either mask his researcher role, his real questions, or any working relationships that he might have with a third party.

## ETHICS IN APPLICATION<sup>1</sup>

The ethical dimensions of one's behavior must be taken into account in the application process. Unethical behavior can cause serious harm to the work of an applied anthropologist if care is not taken to protect the relationship with members of the community with whom work is being done.

1. The authors of this section are Mahmoud Hussein and John van Willigen.

Two important ethical concerns confront applied anthropologists working in development. These are (1) accountability and responsibility and (2) quality (Gardner and Lewis 1996). The first raises issues of empowerment, and the argument is to whom is the development anthropologist accountable and responsible? Certainly not to the policy makers and the rich, because this will jeopardize the role of the poor and the marginal in the development process. The question of quality is raised here to show how it can be insured in a short time frame that an applied anthropologist spends in the field. Closely tied to this is the issue of the “fly in, fly out” tendency that does not guarantee the quality of work.

Another ethical problem regarding anthropologists’ involvement in development projects is the question of the terms of involvement. At what stage of the development process should the anthropologist be involved? This concern is important, especially when the project is poorly designed (Gardner and Lewis 1996). The role of an applied anthropologist can be that of an expatriate working in a country or a site abroad. This can lead to the taking up of scarce employment opportunities and also use of the locals as subordinate staff (Gardner and Lewis 1996).

Honesty in applied anthropology is essential. Unqualified professionals, wearing gowns of experts (what Chambers calls “chameleon consultants”), sometimes pose as development consultants (Chambers 1997). Problems of behavior and attitudes can cause harm to the credibility of anthropology as a discipline and the anthropologist as an agent of development and change. Facilitators and trainers have sometimes been slow in learning not to dominate, especially in participatory development (Chambers 1997).

Numerous mistakes are made in the field, which include dominant and superior behavior, rushing through the development process without taking time to earn trust and build rapport, sticking to routines and disregarding other options, and bias against some sections of the community, especially women, the poor, the old and the vulnerable. Other ethical problems include poor or no compensation for people’s time, effort, and help, the failure to honor pledges made, and the arousal of expectations, expectations which are seldom met (Chambers 1997).

The overall credibility of the applied anthropologist rests on good behavior and conduct. All aspects of ethics discussed above shed some light on the importance of dealing with research or development subjects in a mutually respectful manner. When ethical standards are upheld, it will produce the desired results of insuring the quality of applied work, and this will surely earn the discipline reputation for effectiveness. It will also uphold the role and status of the applied anthropologist as a facilitator, researcher, and advocate of participatory development.



## GUIDES TO ETHICAL PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE

For our purposes, the most useful statements on ethical practice for application are the statements of the Society for Applied Anthropology and the National Association for the Practice of Anthropology. These statements were written with reference to the work circumstances of the applied or practicing anthropologist. The statement of the Society for Applied Anthropology is included below as a guide. Approved in 1983, the statement applies to the membership of the society, although it will serve as a guide to others (Committee on Ethics, Society for Applied Anthropology 1983).

### STATEMENT ON PROFESSIONAL AND ETHICAL RESPONSIBILITIES, SOCIETY FOR APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY

This statement is a guide to professional behavior for the members of the Society for Applied Anthropology. As members or fellows of the Society we shall act in ways that are consistent with the responsibilities stated below irrespective of the specific circumstances of our employment.

This statement is the fourth version of the Society's ethics statement. It was modified in response to concern about the increase in the number of anthropologists employed in applied roles outside of universities. This statement is not associated with a system of certification or licensure. Because of this, the society's Ethics Committee is not equipped with sanctions against unethical behavior.

1.) To the people we study we owe disclosure of our research goals, methods, and sponsorship. The participation of people in our research activities shall only be on a voluntary and informed basis. We shall provide a means throughout our research activities and in subsequent publications to maintain the confidentiality of those we study. The people we study must be made aware of the likely limits of confidentiality and must not be promised a greater degree of confidentiality than can be realistically expected under current legal circumstances in our respective nations. We shall, within the limits of our knowledge, disclose any significant risk to those we study that may result from our activities.

This paragraph states the basic components of ethical research practice. These are voluntary participation, informed consent, and confidentiality. This is supplemented with a reference to risk. One point must be emphasized: disclosure of sponsorship is especially important in research that has a practical effect. Individuals who are asked to give consent must be made aware of sponsorship so that they can better calculate their own interest in reference to the goals of the sponsoring organization. The paragraph contains reference to the fact that in the United States the promise of confi-

dentiality from a researcher will not protect against a legal subpoena. Researchers are not legally protected as are physicians. We are more like journalists in this regard. Risk is primarily viewed in terms of the physical or psychological risk associated with a research procedure as applied on an individual basis. The risks which are generated by social science research tend to be psychological, political, and economic. These risks should be disclosed.

2.) To the communities ultimately affected by our actions we owe respect for their dignity, integrity, and worth. We recognize that human survival is contingent upon the continued existence of a diversity of human communities, and guide our professional activities accordingly. We will avoid taking or recommending action on behalf of a sponsor which is harmful to the interests of a community.

This paragraph is clearly keyed to social survival. The view taken here is that cultural diversity is adaptive and the destruction of it reduces the species potential to survive. Thus, the scheme is not based upon a relativistic conception of what is right or fair, but on a fundamental view of what behaviors relate to and support survival of the species. The last reference to community interests is important to the action-taking anthropologist especially. The statement means that in a basic sense, even though employed by an organization, a basic overriding responsibility toward communities exists.

3.) To our social science colleagues we have the responsibility to not engage in actions that impede their reasonable professional activities. Among other things this means that, while respecting the needs, responsibilities, and legitimate proprietary interests of our sponsors we should not impede the flow of information about research outcomes and professional practice techniques. We shall accurately report the contributions of colleagues to our work. We shall not condone falsification or distortion by others. We should not prejudice communities or agencies against a colleague for reasons of personal gain.

This paragraph addresses that area which produces the most difficulty in ethics—relationships with colleagues. While the entire research community benefits from the free flow of information, sponsoring organizations may have legitimate needs that may result in restrictions on the flow of information. We should not engage in unfair competition with a colleague.

4.) To our students, interns, or trainees we owe nondiscriminatory access to our training services. We shall provide training which is informed, accurate, and relevant to the needs of the larger society. We recognize the need for continuing education so as to maintain our skill and knowledge at a high level. Our training should inform students as to their ethical responsibilities. Student contributions to our

professional activities, including both research and publication, should be adequately recognized.

People who train applied anthropologists have the obligation to remain up-to-date in their skills. Further, persons offering training in applied anthropology need to continually consider the needs of society in terms of the training which they offer.

5.) To our employers and other sponsors we owe accurate reporting of our qualifications and competent, efficient, and timely performance of the work we undertake for them. We shall establish a clear understanding with each employer or other sponsor as to the nature of our professional responsibilities. We shall report our research and other activities accurately. We have the obligation to attempt to prevent distortion or suppression of research results or policy recommendations by concerned agencies.

This paragraph points to one of the important uses of ethics statements, the protection of the employee from requests for the performance of unethical practice. The best protection is “up-front” discussion of the constraints. This may serve as a means for supporting the applied anthropologist in cases where the agency which employs him is suppressing or distorting research results.

6.) To society as a whole we owe the benefit of our special knowledge and skills in interpreting sociocultural systems. We should communicate our understanding of human life to the society at large. Restated in simple terms, we need to communicate to the public anthropological knowledge which will be useful to them and provide positive influences on their lives.

## CONCLUSION

The ethical concerns of applied anthropologists are complicated by the fact that their work is intended to have a practical effect. Ethics for action are closely related to ethics for research because our action and policy products are rooted in research. The foundation of ethical research practice can be conveyed in a few words: confidentiality, voluntary consent, and risk disclosure. Action and policy must, for ethical reasons, be initiated in reference to community interests as well as the interests of sponsoring agencies. At this point applied anthropologists must be self-policing from the standpoint of ethics because the discipline does not have a mechanism for certification of individuals or accreditation of training programs.

Ethics need not be considered as constraints, but as guides to effective practice. That is, through ethical practice more effective action and policies can be developed. Why is this so? The primary reason is that relationships between researchers and those researched are made more regular and pre-

dictable. Further, the long-term potential of these relationships is enhanced. Thus, we all have a stake in ethical practice. It is important that each applied anthropologist share in the responsibility.

### **FURTHER READING**

LeCompte, Margaret D., Jean J. Schensul, Margaret R. Weeks, and Merrill Singer. *Researcher Roles & Research Partnerships*. Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press, 1999. This volume, part of a larger series on research methods, includes an introduction to research ethics including institutional review boards.