



# **Dilla University**

## **College of Social Sciences and Humanities**

### **Department of Social Anthropology**

**Reading Material for Third Year Social Anthropology  
Students**

**Course: Applied Anthropology (SoAn: 3111)**

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## Chapter One

### Introduction

The terms “applied anthropology” and “practical anthropology” have been used since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (see Sillitoe 1998). Dates back to at least 1906, when it was used to announce the establishment of a diploma program at Oxford, while the term “practical anthropology” was used as early as the 1860s by James Hunt, founder of the *Anthropological Society of London*. According to Dictionary of the Social Sciences, Radcliffe-Brown was the first to use the term, “applied anthropology”, in an article published in 1930, *‘Anthropology as Public Service and Malinowski’s Contribution to it.’*

- During the same time period, Melville Herskovits wrote about “practical anthropology” as well but was opposed to it (1936).
- Evans-Pritchard spoke of “applied anthropology” and advocated it, with some adjustments (1946).
- “Levi-Strauss also spoke of “applied work” that “ought to be the most important aim of the discipline (but) confessed that he had little personal interest in the subject” (Chambers 1987: 309).

Although traditionally anthropology is divided into four subfields (cultural, biological, archaeology, and linguistics), many experts see applied as a fifth subfield, reflecting a growth of the discipline in professional realms and scholarly activity. The continuing debate within the discipline over the place of applied anthropology signifies its importance and further substantiates the view that applied anthropology constitutes a valid subfield of the discipline. In fact, a convincing argument can be made that applied anthropology is already integrated within each of the four traditional subfields.

Applied anthropology (AA) diverges in scope from traditional anthropology in its use of the discipline’s knowledge to address contemporary social, economic, or health problems facing communities or organizations. Practitioners do so by drawing upon a wide array of research methods and theoretical approaches to empower individuals to collectively address real world problems and ensure the survival of at-risk groups.

### 1.1. The meaning of Applied Anthropology

Applied Anthropology refers to the application of anthropological data, perspectives, theories, and methods to identify, assess, and solve social problems. Applied anthropologists work for groups that promote, manage, and assess programs aimed at influencing human social conditions. Anthropology, the scientific study of mankind, has two major bifurcations namely Social and Physical Anthropology.

Applied anthropology diverges in scope from basic/academic/theoretical anthropology in its use of the discipline's knowledge, concepts, skills, and methods to address contemporary social, economic, political, and health problems facing communities or organizations. And their practices drawing upon a wide array of research methods and theoretical approaches to empower individuals to collectively address real world problems and ensure the survival of at-risk groups. Although traditionally anthropology is divided into four subfields (cultural, biological, archaeology, and linguistics), many experts see applied as a fifth subfield, reflecting a growth of the discipline in professional realms and scholarly activity. The continuing debate within the discipline over the place of applied anthropology signifies its importance and further substantiates the view that applied anthropology constitutes a valid subfield of the discipline. In fact, a convincing argument can be made that applied anthropology is already integrated within each of the four traditional subfields.

With the expansion and institutionalization of this 'new applied anthropology' in the 1970s and 1980s, a subtle shift occurred in the meaning of the term 'applied.' While the Society of Applied Anthropology founders had in mind an innovative linkage of theoretical and practical objectives, the 'new applied anthropology' of the latter 20<sup>th</sup> century became something else. Depending upon one's point of view, applied anthropology became a means to provide specialized knowledge to the policy realm, to train knowledge workers for employment, and to supply and establish and growing source of knowledge for solving various practical problems. These new and expanded objectives are reflected in the definitions of applied anthropology appearing in the literature over the past two decades:

- *Erve Chambers defines applied anthropology "as a field of inquiry concerned with the relationships between anthropological knowledge and the uses of that knowledge in the world beyond anthropology" (1987: 309).*

- *He goes further to argue that applied anthropology is a sub-field in its own right and should be “expressed as a scholarly, critical and reasonably objective concern for what happens when our knowledge enters the realm of practice” (1987: 309-310).*

With regard to the trends and beginning of applied anthropology Bennett defined applied anthropology as:

*The term applied anthropology is used in both Britain and the United States to refer mainly to the employment of anthropologists by organizations involved in inducing change or enhancing human welfare (Bennett, 1996).*

The well-known author of ‘Introduction to Applied Anthropology’ Van Willigen (2002) defined applied anthropology:

*defines applied anthropology as “a complex of related, research based, instrumental methods which produce change or stability in specific cultural systems through the provision of data, initiation of direct action and/or the formation of policy (p. 8” (cited in Peterson 1988: 425).*

Anthropology deals with the classification and analysis of humans and their society: descriptively, culturally, historically, and physically. Its unique contribution to studying the bonds of human social relations has been the distinctive concept of culture. Physical Anthropology focuses on the evolutionary trends of Homo Sapiens, their classification (human paleontology) and the study of race and of body build and body constitution. It uses the techniques of anthropometry, as well as those of genetics, physiology, and ecology. Cultural Anthropology includes archaeology, which studies the material remains of prehistoric and extinct cultures; ethnography, the descriptive study and recording of living cultures; ethnology, which utilizes the data furnished by ethnography, it encompasses study of simpler to complex societies, institutions, organizations and social structures. Anthropology has cut through the narrow boundaries of different disciplines to unite into a more meaningful network of knowledge for human society and extended the horizons of Anthropology by applying Anthropological research and analysis into action and development programs.

Applied Anthropology is the practical application of anthropological techniques to areas of social concern and to the growth and development of society. Traditionally, anthropologists have been concerned more with simple, preliterate and pre-industrial

societies of the third world. Now, however, modern and western societies are also being studied, at times referred to as Urban Anthropology.

Urbanization has brought together people of various cultural differences and ethnic backgrounds. Hence, Urban Anthropology is a cross-cultural and ethnographic study of global urbanization and life in the cities. There is a marked difference between rural groups and urban dwellings. Robert Redfield was amongst the earliest anthropologists to contribute to the study of the differences between the rural and urban populace. Redfield characterized the concept of folk-urban continuum and coined 'little' and 'great' traditions in his quest for studying all facets of human dwellings. A holistic approach takes into account both rural vs. urban groups, and to deal with human problems in their historical, economic, and cultural contexts. Socio-cultural systems are integrated and a change in one part is likely to cause changes in other parts.

Hence, it encourages anthropologists to look at problems in terms of both short run and the long run impact. Whereas Applied Urban Anthropology in the 1960s and 70s focused on particular issues such as migration, kinship, and poverty, derived from (or in contrast to) traditional-based fieldwork, urban anthropologists had, by the 1980s, expanded their interests to any aspect of urban life. As a result, urban Anthropology became more integrated into the discourse of the other social sciences fields. Along with a theoretical interest in and conceptualization of urban space and urbanism, contemporary issues of urban anthropology include rural-urban migration, demography, adaptation and adjustment of humans in densely populated environments, the effects of urban settings upon cultural pluralism and social stratification, social networks, the function of kinship, employment, the growth of cities, architecture, crime (and other urban dilemmas), and practical urban problems such as housing, transport, use of space, waste management, and infrastructure.

Thus, whatever the setting of a particular intervention program, the applied anthropologist highlights the customs and perspective of the local people who will be affected by the program. By describing a detailed unbiased view, anthropologists can provide information that can seriously affect or transform the outcome of programs of planned change.

In conclusion, An applied anthropologist or a “practitioner” of anthropology therefore “ranges from (a) anyone with a degree in anthropology who is not employed in academia; through (b) an anthropologist who “practices” rather than does research; to (c) an anthropologist who has a primary concern with the mediation of anthropology and its uses, regardless of where she or he is employed” (Chambers 1987: 326).

- ✚ This is a broad definition precisely because of the debate around “theoretical anthropology” and “applied anthropology” and the different kinds of work that anthropologists do today.
- ✚ For instance, many anthropologists today work in both academia and in applied work at the same time, especially through consultancy work with governments, NGOs and international organisations.

### **1.2. Scope of Applied Anthropology**

According to the famous anthropologist Philip Kottak (2000) applied anthropology has a wide range of scope like that of academic anthropology. It covers all aspects of humanity. But basically, their goals are 1) to identify needs for change that local people perceive, 2) to work with those people to design culturally appropriated change, and 3) to protect local people from harmful policies including destructive development schemes.

In the early periods, anthropologists mainly involved in conducting theoretical researches which gave emphasis on “primitive” cultures and formulating humanistic theories. But, currently their scope is not confined on primitive and pre-historic societies only rather the scope has been extended in to multidimensional responsibilities in all four fields of anthropology. Nowadays, for instance, applied anthropologists may engage in good administration, project management, cultural issues, human rights, protecting indigenous knowledge and practices, community planning, globalization, humanistic philosophy, political arenas, development programs, education (for instance, through applied linguistic anthropology), solving urban problems (using applied urban anthropology), medical system (medical anthropology), employee and employer relation (business anthropology), advocacy, consulting, and so forth.



### 1.3. Main issues in applied anthropology

- ✚ These issues of methodology, practice and ethics are the main ones that come up in the debates between anthropologists about the applications of anthropology.
- ✚ Regarding ethics, anthropology focuses on the 'common people' or the 'everyday man' so Chambers suggests that two major ethical issues "that have a direct bearing on applied research have to do with client relationships and "secret" or proprietary research" (1987: 328). The first will come up in the discussion of development.
- ✚ We will discuss these issues with reference to the writings of early anthropologists (like Malinowski, Evans-Pritchard and Herskovits) some of whom engaged in applied work as well as the writing of current anthropologists who do applied work.
- ✚ Some anthropologists today and early anthropologists contest the position that there is a clear distinction between applied anthropology and anthropology proper or theoretical anthropology. We will talk about this in terms of methodology later on.

### 1.4. Domain of Application in Applied Anthropology

By domain of application we meant that knowledge and technique which is very relevant for a particular work setting. The domains of application in applied anthropology include information, policy and action.

#### **Information**

It can be seen as the foundation to the other two products, policy and action. The information can be range from collection of raw data to the analysis of the final output of the research and formulation of general theory. Applied anthropology often deals with information between these two poles. But the ultimate goal of applied anthropology is not formulating theoretical statements; rather it uses information so as to formulate policy and to take actions.

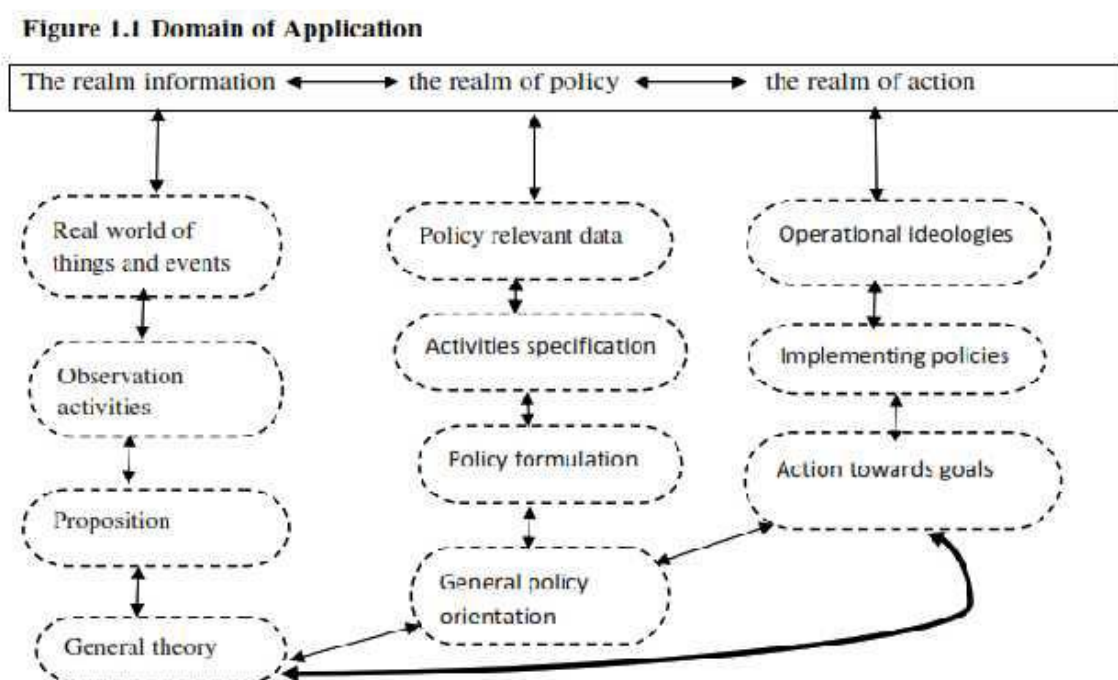
#### **Policy**

The second product of applied anthropology is policy. Policies are general guides for consistent action. For the most part in policy formulation, applied anthropologists provide information to policy makers to make a policy decision. But, relatively, their policy making role is rare.

## Action

It is the final product of applied anthropologists next to information and policy making. In this case, there are various interventions which carried out by applied anthropologists.

The three products are related each other in the following way, information is obtained through research, information is used to formulate a policy and policy guides intended action. In fact, there is a cycling back and forth through research, policy making and implementation.



## 1.5. Types of Applied Anthropology

Applied anthropologist come from all four subfields

- ✚ **Biological anthropologists** work in public health, nutrition, genetic counseling, substance abuse, epidemiology, aging, mental illness, and forensics.
- ✚ **Applied archaeologists** locate, study, and preserve prehistoric and historic sites threatened by development works (Cultural Resource Management).
- ✚ **Cultural anthropologists** work with social workers, business people, advertising professionals, factory workers, medical professionals, school personnel, politicians, human right activists and economic development experts.
- ✚ **Linguistic anthropologists** frequently work with schools in districts with various languages.

## Chapter Two

### 2. Historical Background of Applied Anthropology

#### 2.1. Nineteenth-Century Beginnings

Applied anthropology is historically tied to basic anthropology and even predates written history. In ancient times, anthropological knowledge was commonly used to inform foreign policy and facilitate conquest and administration of captured areas. As early as 3100–2900 BCE, Egypt sent representatives to establish trade with the Sudan and later (ca 1200–800 BCE) with the Phoenicians. In turn, the Phoenicians shared their knowledge of the peoples of the Mediterranean Sea, the Atlantic Ocean, and the African coast with their economic empire. In Greece, Herodotus (ca. 490–420 BCE) studied those cultures of the Mediterranean basin on behalf of his government to determine appropriate foreign policy.

During many historical periods, rulers applied their knowledge of other cultures to ease war efforts and maintain central rule over conquered nations. At its peak, the Persian Empire stretched from India to Greece, from the Caspian Sea to the Red and Arabian Seas, while Alexander the Great (ca. 356–323 BCE) established trade routes between Greece and India. The Roman Empire (27 BCE–476 CE), eventually encompassing southern Scotland to southern Egypt and reaching from the Euphrates River and Caspian Sea to the Atlantic Ocean, exchanged diplomats with China, which in turn established global trade routes as far as the Middle East by about 600–900 CE. Circa 930CE, the country now known as Iceland was settled by Norwegian Vikings, who were later convinced by Eric the Red to colonize Greenland based on his findings from earlier exploration. In the 1090s CE, many negotiations and technological exchanges facilitated the Crusades, which were initiated from failed diplomatic attempts to establish safe passage for pilgrims from Byzantium to the Holy Lands.

From the 1300s through the 1600s, European nations attempted to expand their colonial holdings and to discover new resources, sponsoring explorers such as Marco Polo (Italy), Vasco da Gama (Portugal), John Cabot (England), and Christopher Columbus (Spain). Cultural and geographical knowledge acquired by such men was used to advance imperialist efforts. For example, Jacques Cartier mapped the St. Lawrence River in 1535 with the help of local guides and established the means by

which his native France was able to build an economic and political stronghold in Canada.

Though not yet a formal discipline, anthropological work increased in practice with the spread of colonialism and imperialism in the 1700s and 1800s. Much applied anthropological work that investigated new colonies and resources was performed in the guise of the recognized scientific field of ethnology.

Applied anthropological work progressed in the 1800s but continued to be empirically based as ethnology remained the disciplinary stamp of such professionals. During this period, ethnology was part of foreign-service training in the Netherlands, South Africa, and the Sudan. Britain used Francis Buchanan in 1807 to inform administrative policy on the Bengal in India, while the United States government employed Henry R. Schoolcraft, the founder of the American Ethnological Society, to provide advice for its domestic agenda regarding Native Americans.

The concept of "applied anthropology" dates back to at least 1906, when it was used to announce the establishment of a diploma program at Oxford, while the term "practical anthropology" was used as early as the 1860s by James Hunt, founder of the Anthropological Society of London (Eddy and Partridge 1987: 4). According to a Dictionary of the Social Sciences, Radcliffe-Brown was the first to use the term, "applied anthropology", in an article published in 1930.

## **2.2. The beginning of Applied Anthropology**

Although Anthropology emerged by the middle of the 1800s through the efforts of amateurs including British abolitionists who were concerned about the status of peoples native to the British colonies. They established the Ethnological Society of London in 1843 and then a factionalized offshoot, the Anthropological Society of London, in 1863. According to Reining, members of both groups advocated the application of anthropological knowledge to policy with the hope that it would aid in the emancipation of the human mind from preconceived notions.

One response to the division was to firmly establish anthropology as a respectable academic science by withdrawing it from the more divisive issues of the day. This was accomplished in part through a re-amalgamation of the two societies into a forerunner

of the Royal Anthropological Society of Great Britain and Ireland, shepherded by the famous biologist Sir Thomas Huxley. Legitimacy was further strengthened with the appointment of E.B. Tylor as an anthropologist at Oxford in 1883. But even Tylor saw anthropology as a reformer's science. One of his goals was to educate colonial officials about native customs. However, British anthropology turned to less practical topics until the mid-1920s. Yet Reining reminds us that anthropology's original vision was practical, intended to explore vital issues of human welfare such as poverty and conflict.

One of American anthropology's earliest forebears was Henry Schoolcraft. Schoolcraft was commissioned by the US Congress to report on the circumstances and prospects of Indian tribes in the U.S. The result contained in a six-volume report, gave background and direction to Indian policy. That expectation continued with Congress' 1879 establishment of the Bureau of American Ethnology attached to Smithsonian Institution. The first director, Major John Wesley Powell, felt that inductive knowledge of tribal peoples was needed to ease their transition to the next stages of civilization and to rectify some problems that "civilized" people had created during contacts.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> C, anthropology eventually became successful in gaining a foothold of respectability. Yet its professional numbers were very small, and the scope of its task enormous. The most important contributor to that venture was Franz Boas, who held the first North American appointment in anthropology at Clark University, later moving to Columbia. Boas did not consider himself an applied anthropologist, being primarily concerned with salvaging information about tribal cultures before they disappeared, but he did prepare the way for effective demonstrations of the uses of anthropology for policy.

### **2.3. Applied Anthropology between the World Wars**

At the turn of the twentieth century, anthropological work in the West remained value implicit in perspective, devoted to the principles of objectivism and positivism from its basis in scientific ethnology. Research tacitly sanctioned a Eurocentric perspective, with applied anthropologists serving mainly as consultants to colonial powers. Even as anthropology grew, it did not fully develop as a discipline outside of France, Great Britain, and the United States until after World War II. However, professional

communities in these countries maintained contact with anthropologists working in Germany, Eastern Europe, Russia, South Africa, India, and Australia. World War I brought further changes to anthropology, which, though still an empirically based discipline, began expanding in scope as contemporary tragedies and social and cultural upheavals demanded more attention.

Transformations occurring in anthropology during the early 1900s set the stage for more extensive use of practitioners up to and including World War II. This expansion is exemplified through the career of British anthropologist Gertrude Bell. She became fluent in Arabic and studied Arab archeological sites in Jerusalem from 1899 to 1900. She worked for British Intelligence during World War I, helping to mobilize Arabs against Turkey. By 1921, Bell, then as British representative to Iraq, helped establish the reign of the first king of Iraq and became renowned among Arab people. Within a few years, she was appointed the nation's Director of Antiquities. Bell's professional career mimics the slow transition of anthropology as a discipline, from a colonial tool at the disposal of Western nations to a facilitator of self-determined nationalism and a cultural preservationist.

In USA, during the era following World War I, anthropology focused on policy, research, and consulting. New Deal programs and projects addressing the vast economic and social problems created by the 1930s' Great Depression required anthropological expertise; as a result, most opportunities for employment in this period were found in federal government and private business organizations. Native population issues, land tenure, migration, nutrition, education, and economic/resource development for American Indians or rural Americans remained at the forefront of U.S. anthropological work. Consistent with this pattern, the Applied Anthropology Unit of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), created by John Collier in the mid-1930s, promoted anthropology as a practical endeavor. Simultaneously, private industry sought to improve productivity through anthropological studies of employee behavior, such as Warner's Hawthorne Experiments at Western Electric from 1924 to 1932. This expanded use of applied anthropology (and sociology) and additional applied methodologies reflect the changes leading up to and through World War II.

In France, anthropology became an elitist discipline, part of salon discussions concerning sociology, philosophy, history, psychology, and linguistics. While this delayed the growth of anthropology, applied work was visible in Arnold van Gennep's studies of homeland rural areas in France, constituting what is perhaps the first backyard anthropology. In England, the two disparate factions mentioned earlier stymied significant growth in the discipline, resulting in there being only about 20 professionally trained anthropologists in the British Empire by 1939; still, important applied work continued.

From 1920 to 1925, A.R. Radcliffe-Brown advocated using anthropology to help abate caustic racial strife in South Africa. Meyer Fortes foretold the subfield of nutritional anthropology with his research for the 1935 British International African Institute's Diet Committee. E.W.P. Chinnery, labor advisor to New Guinea Copper Mines Ltd. in 1924 and Government Anthropologist in New Guinea from 1924 to 1932, developed an anthropological training program at the University of Sydney (1957), sending students to a post in New Guinea for two years of practical training. During this period, Gordon Brown, originally from Canada, published one of the first applied anthropology texts, *Anthropology in Action*, in 1935. Written in collaboration with British government official A. McD. Bruce Hutt, this empirical study of the African Hehe people of Tanganyika (now Tanzania) resulted in the administration's increased awareness of how systematic ethnographic inquiries could have immense practical value in fully understanding the cultural aspects of a people.

#### **2.4. World War II and its Aftermath**

In 1941, an exceptionally significant event in the development of applied anthropology occurred, the founding of the Society for Applied Anthropology (SfAA). This was the first professional association devoted to the application of anthropology. The following year an influential journal, *Applied Anthropology* (later *Human Organization*), began publication. In 1949, the society produced its code of ethics, an essential guide for applied anthropologists.

American anthropologists made significant contributions to the war effort. Margaret



Mead tells how anthropologists and other social scientists met with high-level administration officials in 1940 to discuss ways to maintain national morale should the US declare war.

After Pearl Harbor, Mead was placed in charge of the Committee on Food Habits attached to the National Research Council. Her group (including Lloyd Warner and Ruth Benedict) advised on programs for emergency feeding and rationing, and measured public opinion about aid to allies. Mead also studied the social impact of having over a million U.S. servicemen stationed in Britain, focusing on the clash of values between American soldiers and British civilians and military, and making recommendations for the improvement of relations.

Another group, prominently involving British anthropologist Gregory Bateson, established areal institutes at universities across the country, focusing on regions such as the Far East, Oceania, the Middle East, Latin America, Africa and the Soviet Union. The idea was to teach foreign-service officers, the military, and others the regions' history, language, culture, society and politics relevant to national defense and U.S. participation in global affairs. Most immediate were preparations for military intelligence and language study, especially for the Pacific theatre.

Bateson, in 1943, was employed by the office of strategic services along with Rhoda Metraux, Geoffrey Gorer, Clyde Kluckhohn and Ruth Benedict. Here, "enemy" societies were studied at a distance through interviews, written materials, and films. Important work was done on the Japanese by Ruth Benedict and her associates. Their insight made it possible to understand the culturally based behavior of the Japanese during the U.S. liberation of Pacific islands. It also helped prepare for the postwar occupation of Japan and influenced the decision not to depose Emperor Hirohito. Through the Smithsonian Institution and the Social Science Research Council, anthropologists established databases relevant to small scale societies that the allies were encountering in their war efforts. Some anthropologists used their anthropological knowledge while serving in the military.

World War II brought additional and substantial changes to the discipline of anthropology when, for the most part, anthropologists worked as liaisons and consultants in support of their governments' war efforts. According to Margaret Mead's



“Applied anthropology: The State of the Art” in the AAA’s *Perspectives on Anthropology*, 1976, in USA over 95% of the AAA membership served in these capacities. Many worked in Japanese–American internment camps or as cross-cultural trainers of officials and military personnel assigned to recaptured areas. Applied work such as this became prevalent enough to merit the establishment of the Society for Applied Anthropology (SAA) and its flagship journal *Human Organization* in 1941, while applied medical anthropology found a basis in the work of George Foster at the Smithsonian Institute of Social Anthropology, created in 1943.

World War II did not halt anthropological work in other nations more directly impacted by combat conditions. For example, France and Britain during this time saw the publication of the first evaluation of imperialism’s effects on culture in Maurice Leenhardt’s study of the Kanak in New Caledonia conducted in the early 1930s. Paul Rivet, a French anthropologist who along with Marcel Mauss created the Institut d’Ethnologie at the University of Paris in 1925, founded research institutes in Mexico and Colombia in the early 1940s. Still, most anthropologists occupied researcher, teacher, and consultant roles until the end of the war, when several key changes took place—most notably the creation of the United Nations International Children’s Fund (UNICEF) in 1946. This non-governmental organization (NGO), dedicated to improving children’s lives by influencing decision makers and partnering with grassroots groups, was the first of the global organizations that would become a major source of employment for applied anthropologists.

The 1950s to the 1970s was a period of theoretical development and expansion for anthropology. In 1948, the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES) was founded to network the growing number of anthropologists worldwide and to act as a forum for scholarly and practical undertakings. At the time, the discipline considered applied anthropology primarily as academic research, intended to inform policy, program administration, and intervention or development initiatives mainly within the subfield of cultural anthropology. Simultaneously, anthropological theory and scholarly pursuits grew with the advancement of specializations, such as urban anthropology, human and cultural ecology, medical anthropology, development anthropology, and local/regional studies. Furthermore, economic anthropology broadened and Marxist perspectives emerged within the

discipline. In short, the post- World War II era witnessed a significant expansion and specialization of anthropology.

## 2.5. Academic Applied Anthropology and Counseling for Development,

### 1950-1970

After the war, anthropologists returned to universities. Because of the tremendous expansion in higher education that continued through the 1960's, anthropologists had many opportunities for career advancement, and research grants for scholarly studies were readily accessible. There was also growing disillusionment about associating with policy makers and the possible corrupted use of scientific information. Two things contributed to this 1950's pessimism:

1. The dropping of atomic bombs on Japan, and
2. Senator Joseph McCarthy's attacks on left-leaning intellectuals, scholars and artists.

Academic anthropology flourished. More domains of study, such as economic, political medical and urban anthropology, enculturation and education, were either initiated or became more sophisticated. Important new methodological contributions, such as network and componential analysis were developed, and the collection of sophisticated ethnographic information was greatly expanded. However, applied anthropology did not disappear during this era. Working out of university settings, an effective minority of anthropologists did applied anthropology largely on a part-time, counseling and public service basis.

- ✚ It was on behalf of American Indians the ACTION ANTHROPOLOGY was devised by Sol Tax.
- ✚ Another historically significant project, with a different approach, was the Vicos Project, directed by Allan Holmberg. Holmberg (1958) refers to his method as the "research and development approach" to change. Definitely a form of interventionist strategy, it is based on the assumptions that progress can be made toward the realization of human dignity and that people can use scientific knowledge to further social goals. Here, power and knowledge gained from research were used by social scientists to improve the lives of a dominated and impoverished people.

In the case of Vicos, community-based research was used to identify desired changes: the results of the changes were monitored for further refinement or use elsewhere. A related approach was taken by George Foster at Berkley (1962, 1969), who outlined the significant dimensions of social and cultural change; cultural, psychological, and social barriers to planned change, and possible stimulants for positive change. Of all the anthropological overviews of development, the most influential may have been Ward Goodenough's (1963) *Cooperation in Change*, which charts the fundamental factors of culture, society, values, beliefs, identity, and the principal dimensions of change that may face development agents.

Its anthropological expertise is blended with a psychological and cognitive approach focusing on factors such as identity that helps agents of change anticipate obstacles as well as recognize opportunities for initiating change. Goodenough underscores the necessity to understand wants and needs as perceived by the local people. Using Anthony F.C. Wallace's concept of Revitalization Movements, he suggests that development works best, if at all, when its agents conform to strongly felt local needs that are ideologically or even religiously driven by the desire for improvement.

## **2.6. The Emergence of the “New Applied Anthropology” of Policy and Practice: 1970 to the Present**

According to Michael Angrosino “New Applied Anthropology” refers to an anthropology that focuses on policy and practice. This multifaceted approach emerged during the early 1970s, became crystallized in the 1980s, and is currently receiving even more attention. Its foundations were laid in the 1960s, which saw a rising public consciousness of social issues. This was an era of anti-imperialistic struggles, manifested in the emergence of nationalism, the establishment of new African states, the Cold War, and the outbreak of nationalistic wars such as Vietnam. Domestically, it was expressed through movements focusing on civil rights, feminism, gay rights, environmentalism, native self-determination, as well as a growing awareness of the negative consequences of development, consumerism, enforced dependencies, and ravages of the environment.

The 1960s were years of significant social criticism as well as confidence in the possibilities for humane and effective public policy. During that time, many

anthropologists got drawn into applied activities on a part-time basis, sometimes being called upon for advice by government or international aid agencies. This situation arose largely because of the cultural and linguistic knowledge that anthropologists had about specific groups affected by policy proposals that included the building of dams, extensions of health care or education, attempts to introduce market crops, proposals for relocation, campaigns to get local people to participate in literacy and disease-control campaigns, and many other projects. More specifically, anthropologists frequently became involved in working for groups affected by proposed development.

Urban problems surrounding poverty and racism became a research and applied topic for anthropologists. In addition many members of minorities were now becoming social scientists and working with formal organizations devoted to helping impoverished minority peoples. Also crucial to a new applied anthropology of policy and practice was the establishment of specialized training programs for work in non-academic and non-traditional anthropology. During the 1980s, textbooks by Chambers (1985) and van Willigen (1986) effectively charted the new field of policy and practice for the first time. The Society for Applied Anthropology supplemented *Human Organization* by sponsoring a second journal, *Practicing Anthropology*, which was devoted to the experiences of applied anthropologists outside of academic settings. In the early 1980s, the American Anthropological Association developed a new unit, the National Association for the Practice of Anthropology, for similar purposes.

## Chapter Three

### 3. Intervention in Anthropology

#### 3.1. Action Anthropology

Action anthropology is a value-explicit activity focused on two general goals of essentially equal priority:

1. The goal of science, and
2. The goal of a specific culturally defined community.

Working in conjunction with community members, the action anthropologist works to discover community problems and to identify potential solutions, with continual feedback between its scientific and community sub-processes. The duality of the process can be seen in the two key base values in action anthropology, which are:

1. Community self-determination, and
2. Scientific truth

Although Sol Tax is credited with the development of action anthropology, the approach was developed by a group of student-anthropologists largely from the University of Chicago under “the non-directive direction” of Tax. The approach was developed in the Fox Project, which was initiated to give the University of Chicago anthropology students an opportunity to gain field experience.

Tax, having done his research with the Fox people in the mid-1930s, attempted to develop an opportunity for his students among a group of Fox Indians who lived near Tama, Iowa. The original group of students who arrived in Fox country in mid-summer of 1948 intended to engage in traditional social anthropology research. Very quickly the goals of the research group changed to include development because of three factors:

1. Changes in the Fox community itself since Tax had engaged in fieldwork some fifteen years earlier,
2. Tax had made a commitment to a BIA official, John Province, to provide him with whatever information might be useful to the BIA, and
3. The project was not committed to any specific research problem. Self-determination is a key concept in action anthropology, which is expressed as a principle of action and a goal. The action anthropologist works to achieve self determining communities. This

goal consistently determines or influences the behavior of the action anthropologists in the field.

Self-determination implies the opportunity to be right or wrong. As tax has put it, it is the freedom to make mistakes. That is, a truly self determining community has the responsibility for both success and failure. The action anthropologist works to achieve self-determination.

Action anthropologists have a special relationship with power – that is, they must avoid assuming power. Action anthropology is not based on authority, but on persuasion and education. The process can therefore only go as “far as the community would voluntarily follow.” Even when the action anthropologist is not linked to a power providing agency and has personally disavowed power and authority, he or she must actively resist the accumulation of power. If the anthropologist is placed to in an administrative role defined as power-holding, the approach becomes virtually impossible to use. In other words, the view of the client or target community as a passive entity to manipulate is rejected. As the action anthropologist avoids the accumulation and use of power, he/she also attempts to foster its growth and accumulation in the community. This implies the creation of social organization and the fostering of community leadership.

The absolute component of the action anthropology value system consists of two elements:

1. **Truth** – is rooted in the continued identification of the action anthropologist as an anthropologist.
2. **Freedom** – freedom for individuals, and communities, to be self-determining. The action anthropologist does not, therefore, advocate specific value choices.

The process does involve the presentation of alternatives of choice to the community. These values are consistent with the two general goals of action anthropology. These goals are “to help people and to learn something in the process.” Tax attempts to show that these two goals are not in conflict. In fact they are mutually supportive. Through truth more beneficial change can be caused, and through action more can be learned. The process of action anthropology is goal-oriented, gradual, self-directed, and self-limiting based on education and persuasion. Action anthropologists proceed step by

step, basing the rate of intervention on the community's capacity to assimilate change. The action anthropologist does not initiate projects but instead points out alternatives.

### **3.2. Applied anthropology and national planning**

First, Robertson looks at the colonial period when colonial powers implemented plans to increase the economic productivity of their colonies. One example is the "Gezira scheme" in the Sudan when Britain developed a plan for growing cotton that would be sent to Lancashire in England to be made into clothing that would then be exported to other British colonies, in the West Indies for instance. This began in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century when Sudan was a British colony and continued even after Sudan became an independent country.

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century as well planning took place in socialist and capitalist countries. For example in the USA the era of dam building began. The Wilson dam was built during WWI to provide hydroelectric power for nitrate production (which are needed for explosives) but after it was used for industrial production in the USA (in large-scale agriculture and car manufacturing). Anthropologists in the USA also became involved in negotiations between the government and Indians (meaning indigenous peoples). For example, by helping Indian tribes liaise with Bureau of Indian Affairs set up by the American government to allocate land for specific tribes called "reservations." (This was of course done because Indians were being dispossessed by the federal government).

Federal planning in the USA became more intense in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century as the government put more money into industrial production and after World War II the USA gave aid to European countries and made input into their national plans for reconstruction. Then anthropologists became involved in "development" work in Third World countries where national plans for independent states were being formed and implemented with input from international agencies, like the World Bank. In sum, Robertson examines how past and current national plans for development in poorer and wealthier countries are conceptualised, formulated, funded and implemented.

### **3.3. Applied anthropology and development**

Today, applied anthropology generally means the use of anthropological methodology (not only methods but also an anthropological perspective) in social and economic development projects in areas such as health, education, agriculture, and human rights.

- Remember that development consists of projects, policies and plans that are usually internationally-funded and ideally meant to improve peoples' lives, thus ensuring more equitable social relations within states and across states.
- Since the discipline of anthropology usually studies the common man so to speak, there is a lively debate among anthropologists for and against anthropological interventions in development projects, particularly about ethics, just as there was a lot of debate in the early 20th century about applied anthropology.

### 3.4. Anthropology in Community Development

The approach developed out of an uneasy and largely unplanned cooperation between academics and practitioners. Anthropology is only one of many disciplines that have contributed to the development of community development theory and practice. Charles J. Erasmus attempts to identify the recurring stress given concepts that appear in the definitions of community development. The most frequently stressed attribute is 'self-help' group action via community participation and voluntary cooperation, which appears in 60% of the definitions. 40% of the definitions mention as "ideal goals" such concepts as self-determination, democracy, self-reliance, or local self-government; the articles deemphasize material goals, such as better living standards, improved housing, health, and diet. these things appear in only 10% of the definitions. 15% make reference to the development of self-confidence in backward groups suffering from apathy, limited expectations and distrust of government. Further, the "felt needs" of the people to be aided and the need for "technical help" from agencies providing aid are each mentioned by approximately 30% of the Erasmus's definitions.

*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 or individual plans to meet their needs and solve their problems; execute the plans with a maximum of reliance upon community resources; and supplement these resources when necessary with services and materials from government and nongovernmental agencies outside the community.

Community is a focal concept in the community development process. We shall use the expression 'community' broadly, referring to any social entity in a client relationship



with a development agent or agency. According to Biddle and Biddle, community is whatever sense of local common good citizens can be helped to achieve. Good enough identifies the community as client while Biddle suggests that community may in fact be the goal. Community development specialists have worked to achieve the goals of existing communities, and to create communities. Another focal concept in community development is *process*. It is a code word, often used to signify the whole of community development ideology. Its concrete foundation is based on the various conceptions of procedure.

The community development strategy requires intense local involvement. Involvement is most easily achieved when the community defines the goals of the activity as high priorities. Good enough suggests that there are at least four relevant perspectives on community needs that must be accounted for in the program implementation process.

These are:

1. The agent's assessment of community needs in terms of his or her own goals;
2. The agent's assessment of needs mitigated by his or her understanding of the community's goal;
3. The community's assessment as mitigated by their understanding of the agent's goals; and
4. The community's conception of its needs.

Community development is viewed as a group process in that it encompasses cooperative study, group decisions, collective action and joint evaluation that lead to continuing action. It is thought to result in improvements in facilities, the primary focus is on increasing human capability. Biddle and Biddle define process as a progression of events that is planned by the participants to serve goals they progressively choose. The events point to changes in a group and in individuals that can be termed growth in social sensitivity and competence. Although it may be initiated by a community development professional, process is motivated by its participants. The role of the practitioner is envisioned as that of researcher, encourager, and enabler. As such the practitioner discovers the existing processes in the community and the local culture and uses this knowledge to facilitate his/her invited participation. The research orientation is viewed as essential for the successful performance of the role. The primary research

method might be labeled participant-observation in the initial stages, but may develop into community self-survey and community self-evaluation strategies. The accumulating findings are used to guide and correct the continuing process. Participants contribute to research in the manner that their increasing abilities will allow.

The process also emphasizes the education of the community, especially in terms of the range of developmental alternatives. The professional is usually not thought to be an advocate of a particular problem solution. It is his or her professional responsibility to assist the community in discovering all possible alternative paths to their goals, and to help stimulate the development of an organization that can legitimately and skilfully select from among the alternatives. Community development programs are often evaluated in terms of whether or not they result in sustained developmental action following the withdrawal of the community development professional. The process-based scheme under examination here also stresses this orientation in the new projects and continuation phases. The goal of the process is to encourage and foster the emergence of a community development tradition in the community.

Through the activities of the community development specialist, the community's capacity sustain development action should be increased. Development competence is based on three components:

- A. Organization,
- B. Knowledge, and
- C. Resources

Organization is largely an intra-community matter, whereas knowledge and resource are often derived from outside the community. This requires that relationships be developed between the community and the world external to it.

All three requisites for developmental competence imply increases in power (i.e. the capacity to control). Organizations serve as frameworks to concentrate and direct political power. This requires knowledge of the community's power brokers and their resources. In this way knowledge serves as a basis of power. It should be recognized that the primary orientation of community development is toward cooperation rather than power. Yet community developers must be aware that in the face of an intransigent or oppressive political system, forceful political action is sometimes a necessity.

To summarize, process is the focal concept in community development. It is viewed as having two ends, such as:

1. The achievement of community goals, and
2. The improvement of the community's capacity to change purposively.

This is to occur with the minimum of professional intervention and the ultimate withdrawal of that intervention. Further, the process is research-based. The professional must know the community and the community must know itself.

### **3.5. Applied Anthropology and Advocacy**

Community advocacy is a kind of value-explicit applied anthropology useful in certain types of communities. Like action anthropology, research and development anthropology, and community development, community advocacy anthropology is a *values-in-action process*. In advocacy anthropology, there is a distinctive relationship between the anthropologist and the community.

Community advocacy anthropology is a value-explicit process by which the anthropologist as researcher acts to increase and facilitate indigenously designed and controlled social action or development programs by providing data and technical assistance in research, training and communication to a community through its leadership. Community advocacy is a kind of value-explicit applied anthropology useful in certain types of communities. Like action anthropology, research and development anthropology, and community development, community advocacy anthropology is a values-in-action process.

In advocacy anthropology, there is a distinctive relationship between the anthropologist and the community. Community advocacy anthropology is a value-explicit process by which the anthropologist as researcher acts to increase and facilitate indigenously designed and controlled social action or development programs by providing data and technical assistance in research, training and communication to a community through its leadership. Although community advocacy is primarily a research activity, the anthropologist is also involved in change-producing action. The anthropologist serves not as a direct change agent but as an auxiliary to community leaders. This contrasts with the more direct involvement of anthropologists as change agents in both action

anthropology and research and development anthropology. The community advocacy anthropologist does not work through an intervening agency. His/her relationship with the community is direct or intimate.

A kind of community advocacy anthropology was developed by Stephen Schensul within the context of a community mental health program in Chicago. The approach developed by Schensul emerged out of a community research unit that was a component of a mental health program. As an approach, it developed as an adaptation of the factors extant in this situation. These include the values of the researcher, the needs of the client community, and the nature of the initial sponsoring organization.

The primary reference group of the community advocate anthropologist is the community. It is through an understanding of this relationship that we can best understand the nature of community advocacy anthropology. A key concept is collaboration; collaboration between anthropologists and community leadership focusing on the former's research skills and the latter's information needs. Community advocacy anthropology is an involved-in-the-action process. It is based on two fundamental assumptions:

1. Anthropological research should provide information to the population under study which contributes to the development of the community and the improvement of community life.
2. Programs for community development and improvement are most successful and effective when they are conceived and directed by knowledgeable community residents. This assumption indicates a belief that an anthropologist's potential for success in assisting a community to achieve its goal is enhanced by working in collaboration with the community rather than an external agency.

The collaboration occurs in the relationships that develop between the researcher and community activists. The activists are those community members who are regularly involved in community planning and action. This group is a changing network of individuals with various degrees of commitment, areas of specialized knowledge, and ideological orientations. These people often exist as the natural leaders of the community.

They are proficient at mobilizing members of the community. It is this group that forms the principal constituency of the community advocacy anthropologist. The activists' view of community needs shape the content of the research process. Their importance in shaping the research effort is based on a number of factors:

- a) They have significant knowledge of the community,
- b) Participate in situations that have potential for useful research activities,
- c) They often serve as "**gate-keepers**" by controlling access into the community.

However, the activist can serve as either facilitator or limiter of research.

Collaboration is also facilitated by the residence of the anthropologist in the community, much like traditional fieldwork. Community residence may signify for the community the commitment of the researcher to the community. Additionally, it allows the researcher to develop intense knowledge of the community.

There are real limits to which rapport can be developed in a community. The limitations are most striking in complex, politicized urban situations. In these settings, the anthropologists may come to be affiliated with certain factions in the community. Neutrality is not aggressively maintained. Advocacy means being on someone's side and, of course, being in opposition. Although the anthropologist will inevitably become aligned with certain community factions, he/she must attempt to maintain an open and flexible stance for the purpose of maintaining contact with the whole community.

Community advocacy anthropologists are primarily researchers. They need to avoid displacing the activists as representatives of the community. They need to avoid competition with community leaders. The activists must retain their positions as community organizers and leaders. The article of Schensul, entitled "Action Research: The Applied Anthropologist in a Community Mental Health Program", indicates nine steps that are thought to be part of the action research process. These are:

- a) Development of rapport and credibility of applied research,
- b) The identification of significant, indigenous, action programs,
- c) The negotiation of cooperative and reciprocal relationships between the applied researchers and action people,
- d) Initial participation in specific action programs,
- e) The identification of specific informational needs of the action people,
- f) Meeting the needs of long range research plans,

- g) Formalized research and data collection operations,
- h) Analysis of data,
- i) Data dissemination, evaluation, and interpretation.

The two key components of the community advocacy process are research and communication. These two processes are used to achieve a number of objectives, which include:

- ✚ Communicating community goals and understandings to persons and agencies outside the community,
- ✚ Assisting community-oriented programs in being appropriate to the needs of the community,
- ✚ Evaluating community-oriented service programs,
- ✚ Evaluating community-run programs,
- ✚ Decreasing divisiveness between community factions.

### 3.6. Cultural Brokerage

Hazel Weidman first described in 1973. Her conception of culture broker applied in the “health care context”. Her idea was based on a concept developed originally by Eric Wolf to account for those persons who served as links between two cultural systems, but was modified and extended by Weidman to serve socially useful purposes.

Cultural brokerage is an intervention strategy of research, training, and service that links persons of two or more coequal socio-cultural systems through an individual, with the primary goals of making community service programs more open and responsive to the needs of the community, and of improving the community’s access to resources. While other types of intervention affect the community in substantial ways, cultural brokerage substantially affects the service providers. In other words, the focus of change processes is the agencies themselves. The cultural brokerage approach to intervention is a way of restructuring cultural relationships not so much to resolve cross-cultural conflicts, but to prevent them.

According to Weidman, there are five concepts that are essential to understanding the cultural brokerage approach. These concepts are: *culture*, *health culture*, *coculture*, *culture broker*, and *culture mediation*. The conceptualization used for culture is ‘the learned patterns of thought and behavior characteristic of a population or society – a

society's repertory of behavioral, cognitive, and emotional patterns.' The project was very strongly committed a cultural relativism position. The concepts used in the project provided a means by which project personnel could think about the cultural complexity in the community without necessarily engaging in an evaluative comparison of the alternative systems. This perspective places the anthropologist at the margins of the cultures of both the health care providers and the community.

The health culture concept is defined as 'all the phenomena associated with the maintenance of well-being and problems of sickness with which people cope in traditional ways within their own social networks.' The concept of coculture is a conceptual substitute for 'subculture,' though it is different in very important ways. Most importantly it stresses parity. Cocultures are equal in value to their participants. As expressed by Weidman, the concept of subculture implies that one group is subordinate to another. The role of the culture broker is introduced to accommodate the link between cocultures. The role concept is appropriate to the "parity of cultures" notion.

The process of linkage is labeled cultural mediation. In practical terms this means the provision of culturally appropriate services. Effective mediation facilitates better interaction between representatives of the cocultures represented in a community. The basis for cultural mediation is the culture broker's knowledge of the involved cultures. This requires a strong commitment to synthesis of various health tradition as well as scientific disciplines.

The culture broker is to be viewed as an important player in the interactions between two parts of a large cultural system. In the scientific literature on brokerage, the broker links traditional and modern, national and local, or European or "native". In general, brokerage requires ongoing research. The process of cultural brokerage includes the establishment and maintenance of a system of interaction, mutual support, and communication between cocultures expressed through the culture broker's role. The process of mediation protects the cultural values of the involved ethnic groups. It is within this framework that changes occur. Change is toward increased cultural appropriateness, access to resources, better health, and more compliance with medical

regimens. The potential for change goes much beyond health; social and economic conditions may also be positively influenced.

### **Phases of the culture brokerage process:**

I. The compilation of research data on the health of all the cultures in the community. This includes both the traditional and orthodox health systems.

II. The training of brokers in aspects of community life. Culture brokers are usually members of the ethnic group being related to, as well as being trained social scientists. The primary reference in the training is health culture. The training may involve participation in the initial research.








III. Early activation of the culture broker role usually involves collaboration with institutionally based health care personnel to assist in providing culturally more appropriate health care. In addition, the broker fosters referral relationships with traditional health practitioners and train community people to assume broker roles. These activities are associated with continual involvement in research to increase the project's data base and support community action projects.

IV. The brokerage efforts cause change in both the community and the orthodox health care system. These include increased knowledge of the culture of the community on the part of the health care provider, and improvements in the community's resource base. Overall improvements in mental health levels occur.

### **3.7. Social Marketing**

Social Marketing is a social change strategy that combines commercial marketing techniques with applied social sciences to help people change to beneficial behaviors.

Some examples of the issues targeted by social marketing are:

-  Blood cholesterol screening,
-  Safer sex,
-  Heart disease prevention,
-  Contraception,
-  High blood pressure reduction,
-  Smoking reduction,
-  Oral rehydration therapy use.



Social marketing seeks to influence social behaviors not to benefit the marketer, but to benefit the target audience and the general society.

Like commercial marketing, the primary focus is on the consumer – on learning what people want and need rather than trying to persuade them to buy what we happen to be producing. Marketing talks to the consumer, not about the product. The planning process takes this consumer focus into account by addressing the elements of the "marketing mix." This refers to decisions about:

- 1) The conception of a Product,
- 2) Price,
- 3) Distribution (Place), and
- 4) Promotion.

These are often called the "Four Ps" of marketing. Social marketing also adds a few more "P's." At the end is an example of the marketing mix.

### **Additional Social Marketing "P's"**

**Publics** – Social marketers often have many different audiences that their program has to address in order to be successful. "Publics" refers to both the external and internal groups involved in the program. External publics include the target audience, secondary audiences, policymakers, and gatekeepers, while the internal publics are those who are involved in some way with either approval or implementation of the program.

**Partnership** – Social and health issues are often so complex that one agency cannot make a dent by itself. You need to team up with other organizations in the community to really be effective. You need to figure out which organizations have similar goals to yours – not necessarily the same goals – and identify ways you can work together.

**Policy** – Social marketing programs can do well in motivating individual behaviour change, but that is difficult to sustain unless the environment they are in supports that change for the long run. Often, policy change is needed, and media advocacy programs can be an effective complement to a social marketing program.

**Purse Strings** – Most organizations that develop social marketing programs operate through funds provided by sources such as foundations, governmental grants or donations. This adds another dimension to the strategy development namely, where will you get the money to create your program?

Social marketing requires skills and viewpoints that are part of being an anthropologist, and therefore increasingly we find anthropologists working in all stages of the social marketing process. The anthropologist's primary role in social marketing is research. Social marketing uses qualitative and quantitative research during all phases of planning, implementation, and administration. The use of the term social marketing dates from the late 1960s and grew out of discussion between Philip Kotler and Richard Manoff. The term social marketing was used to distinguish between marketing commercial products and marketing better health practices. In 1970s social marketing approaches were used in many different areas, mostly relating to promoting ideas, practices, and products in health and nutrition.

### **Stages in Social Marketing Process**

I. Formative Research

II. Strategy Formation

III. Program Development

IV. Program Implementation

V. Program Monitoring and Revision

A research technique often used in designing the social marketing plan is the focus group, or group depth interview. To sum up: Social marketing is the planning and implementation of programs designed to bring about social change using concepts from commercial marketing.

Among the important marketing concepts are:

- ✚ The ultimate objective of marketing is to influence action;
- ✚ Action is undertaken whenever target audiences believe that the benefits they receive will be greater than the costs they incur;
- ✚ Programs to influence action will be more effective if they are based on an understanding of the target audience's own perceptions of the proposed exchange;
- ✚ Target audiences are seldom uniform in their perceptions and/or likely responses to marketing efforts and so should be partitioned into segments;
- ✚ Recommended behaviors always have competition which must be understood and addressed;

- ✚ The marketplace is constantly changing and so program effects must be regularly monitored and management must be prepared to rapidly alter strategies and tactics.

## Chapter Four

### 4. Policy Research in Anthropology

#### 4.1. Anthropology as A Policy Research

The purpose of policy science is to provide information to decision makers in support of the rational formulation, implementation, and evaluation of policy. Policy can be thought of as strategies of action and choice used to achieve desired goals. There are many different kinds of policy. We use terms like public policy, social policy, food policy, employment policy, industrial policy, foreign policy, and others to designate the strategies of action and choice used by governments and other organizations in various aspects of life in complex societies. All policy is concerned with values.

Policy formulation involves specifying behavior that is to result in achieving a valid condition. In a sense, a policy is a hypothesis about the relationship between behavior and values: if we want to be a certain way, we need to act this way. At a basic level, policies involve allocation decisions – decisions to spend money and time to achieve something. The “something” can be quite diverse, including increases in gross national product, decreases in unemployment, decreases in the, decreases in the relative cost of food staples in urban areas, decreases in the number of teenage pregnancies, or increases in the fairness in the allocation of housing. These large-scale national concerns can be matched with smaller scale, local concerns.

##### 4.1.1 Policy Process

Policy should be tough in terms of a process. The policy process is very complex. The policy process consists of the following stages:

- I. Awareness of need,
- II. Formulation of alternative solutions,
- III. Evaluation of alternative solutions,
- IV. Formation of policy,
- V. Implementation of Policy,
- VI. Evaluation of implementations.

Policy science includes a large variety of research activities that in one way or another support the process by which needs are identified and policies are formed,

implemented, and evaluated. Each stage in the policy process is associated with research needs and opportunities.

Most research by anthropologists in this arena is done because of an existing policy, rather than to determine what the policy should be. Program evaluation, a type of research commonly done by anthropologists, is a good example of this. Some may want to separate policy research from program research. In many countries, anthropology emerged as an organized discipline to fulfill policy research needs, associated with colonial administration, both internal and external. The use of anthropology as a policy science is quite recent. It was not until the 1970s that anthropologists became involved more extensively in policy research efforts. This involvement relates to both push and pull factors. The push factor is the collapse of the academic job market. The pull factor is the increase in policy research efforts.

As a corollary to the policy research function, anthropologists have to some extent become policy makers. This function is rare and very poorly documented. In any case, most involvement of anthropologists in the policy arena is as researchers. In this framework they are said to be most effective at the local level; or when they work at the level of national policy formation, they function best in large multidisciplinary research team.

There are many different types current policy research practice that see anthropological involvement. Anthropologists conduct evaluation research, need assessment, social impact assessment, social soundness analysis, and cultural resource assessment, as well as various other kinds of policy research. In addition to the research carried out in support of the development, implementation, and evaluation of specific policies, there is also research that is referenced to general areas of social concern. This can be referred to as Policy-relevant research.

#### 4.1.2 Current Types of Policy Research

There are various types of policy research. These are:

- 1. Evaluation:** in evaluation research is done with the goal of determining the worth of something, such as project, program, or set of training materials. Evaluation can use a wide variety of data collection techniques. Evaluation can be used to test the feasibility of wider application of innovations. Research can be used to evaluate alternatives in the

design process. Evaluation is one of the most important types of policy research done by the applied anthropologist.

## **2. Social Impact Assessment**

In social impact assessment, research is geared toward predicting the social effects of various kinds of projects. Usually the process involves the examination of unplanned effects of major construction projects on families and communities, before the project is built. It is a kind of effect study. It is especially important in the design process.

## **3. Need Assessment**

In need assessment, research is done to determine deficiencies that can be treated through policies, project and programs. It is done as part of the planning process and is sometimes thought of as a kind of evaluation.

## **4. Social Soundness Analysis**

It is used to determine the cultural feasibility of development projects.

## **5. Technology Development Research**

In an effort to help assure the appropriateness of technology developed for use in less developed countries, a number of agencies have become committed to the use of social science to inform the technology development process. This is well developed in farming systems research.

## **6. Cultural Resource Management**

It is concerned with identifying the impact of development on archaeological sites, historic buildings, and similar things, and then managing the impact in various ways.

### **4.2 Social Impact Assessment (SIA)**

Social Impact Assessment (SIA) is a methodology to review the social effects of infrastructure projects and other development interventions. The origin of SIA come from the environmental health impact (HIA) model, which first emerged in the 1970s in the U.S, as a way to assess the impacts on society of certain development schemes and projects *before they go ahead* - for example, new roads, industrial facilities, mines, dams, ports, airports, and other infrastructure projects.

According to Social Impact Assessment Committee of the Society for Applied Anthropology's definition, Social impact assessment includes the processes of analyzing, monitoring and managing the intended and unintended social consequences, both positive and negative, of planned interventions (policies, programs, plans, projects) and

any social change processes invoked by those interventions. Its primary purpose is to bring about a more sustainable and equitable biophysical and human environment.

A substantial academic literature has developed around the techniques and the application of SIA, and it is widely taught and practiced. Major consultancy firms offer SIA expertise (which could be offered to 'developers', governments, or campaign organizations). They, and individual skilled practitioners and academics are often called upon to produce SIA reports, particularly in advance of proposed new infrastructure projects. SIA overlaps substantially with the current interest in monitoring and evaluation (M&E). M&E is carried out *after* a project or development has gone ahead, to assess impacts and to see how well its goals were met.

Evaluation is particularly important in the areas of:

- A) Public Policy,
- B) Health and education initiatives, and
- C) International development projects more generally, whether conducted by governments, international donors, or NGOs.

Increasingly, there is also a concern that non-experts and local people participate in the design and implementation of proposed developments or programs. This can be achieved in the process of doing an SIA, through adopting a participatory and democratic research process. Some SIAs go further than this, to adopt an advocacy role. For example, several

SIAs carried out in Queensland, Australia, have been conducted by consultants working for local Aboriginal communities who oppose new mining projects on ancestral land. A rigorous SIA report, showing real consequences of the projects and suggesting ways to mitigate these impacts, gives credibility and provides evidence to take these campaigns to the planning officers or to the courts.

### 4.3 Evaluation

Evaluation is a kind of policy research. It shares some fundamental features with social impact assessment.

1. Both are concerned with the impact or effects of different action on people,
2. Both can make use of the same kinds of research methods and techniques.

But the two kinds of research are different in important ways:

- ✚ SIA is primarily concerned with discovering *before* the fact any costly unintended effects of an activity. An SIA might be done to predict whether this would have adverse effects on nearby communities.
- ✚ Evaluation is most often concerned with determining *after* the fact whether the intended benefits of an activity occurred, or alternatively discovering whether a project with intended benefit is working. In addition, evaluation can be used to examine program operation as well as program effects.
- ✚ Evaluation takes an integrated research methodology approach, which may combine qualitative and quantitative research. The integrated research methodology approach requires that we control a variety of research designs and data collection techniques.

#### 4.3.1 Evaluation Process

Evaluation is the determination of the worth of something. Evaluation is the determination of the worth of a thing. It includes obtaining information for use in judging the worth of a program, product, procedure, or objective, or the potential utility of alternative approaches designed to attain specified objectives. When evaluation is done, it is almost always done in reference to activity that is intended to affect people in one way or another. Evaluation can be used to determine worth in both negative and positive aspects. It can also be used to discover unintended consequences of programs and projects.

The evaluation process is a process by which values are rationalized. At a general level there are three types of evaluation:

1. **Effect studies:** the basic task here is the determination of whether a program is achieving its goals. This is the classic evaluation task. It has also been referred to as product evaluation or outcome evaluation.
2. **Process studies:** the basic task here to determine how a program is operating. This is a managerial task. This kind of evaluation is also called operations analysis. Process evaluation may consist of long-term program monitoring.
3. **Need Assessment:** the basic task here is to determine the needs of a potentially served population. One could include needs assessment in a discussion of planning.



Need assessment can also occur during the life of a program so as to allow program redefining. That is, it can be part of program planning and management.

Carol H. Weiss depicts the “traditional formulation” of evaluation research in the following ways:

1. Finding out the goals of the program
2. Translating the goals into measurable indicators of goal achievement
3. Collecting data on the indicators for those who have been exposed to the program
4. Collecting similar data on an equivalent group that has not been exposed to the program (control group)
5. Comparing the data on program participants and controls in terms of goal criteria.

#### 4.3.2 Perspectives on the Role of Evaluation

Evaluation has a number of different roles, both legitimate and illegitimate. Michael Scriven conceives of two types of evaluation research: Formative and Summative Evaluation.

##### **A. Formative evaluation**

It is carried out in the course of a project, with the goal of improving project functions or products. The evaluation may be done by an outside consultant, but the information produced by the evaluation is for the use of the agency. It is conceptualized as a mid-term outcome study of the product or effects of the program, rather than a more general kind of process study, which might answer the question, *what is going on here?*

##### **B. Summative evaluation**

It serves to determine worth at the end of the process and is intended to go outside the agency whose work is being evaluated. The evaluation serves to increase utilization and recognition of the project.

Both formative and summative evaluation can make use of the same research design. However, because of their different roles they require different communication strategies. The essence of the formative-summative contrast rests in the direction and purpose of the communication of evaluation results. Scriven also contrasts what he calls *intrinsic* and *pay-off*. Intrinsic evaluation evaluates the content of the project’s product or treatment, whereas pay-off evaluation is focused on effects. These four concepts – formative versus summative, intrinsic versus pay-off – are useful because they focus the evaluation on a specific purpose. Evaluation is done to aid decision making. The total

evaluation process ultimately involves collaboration between evaluator and decision maker.

## Chapter Five

### 5. Careers In Applied Anthropology

A broad college education, and even a major in anthropology, can be an excellent foundation for success in many fields. A recent survey of women executives showed that most had not majored in business but in the social sciences or humanities. Only after graduating did they study business, obtaining a master's degree in business administration. These executives felt that the breadth of their college educations had contributed to their business careers. Anthropology majors go on to medical, law and business schools and find success in many professions that often have little explicit connection to anthropology.

Anthropology's breadth provides knowledge and an outlook on the world that are useful in many kinds of work. For example, anthropology major combined with a master's degree in business is excellent preparation for work in international business. Breadth is anthropology's hallmark. Anthropologists study people biologically, culturally, socially, and linguistically, across time and space, in developed and underdeveloped nations, in simple and complex settings. Most colleges have anthropology courses that compare cultures and others that focus on particular world areas, such as Latin America, Asia, and Native North America. The knowledge of foreign areas acquired in such courses can be useful in many jobs. Anthropology's comparative outlook, its long standing Third World focus, and its appreciation of diverse lifestyles combine to provide an excellent foundation for overseas employment.

Even for work in North America, the focus on culture is valuable. Every day we hear about cultural differences and about social problems whose solutions require a multicultural viewpoint; an ability to recognize and reconcile ethnic differences. Government, schools, and private firms constantly deal with people from different social classes, ethnic groups, and tribal backgrounds. Physicians, attorneys, social workers, police officers, judges, teachers, and students can all do a better job if they understand social differences in a part of the world such as ours that is one of the most ethnically diverse in history.

Knowledge about the traditions and beliefs of the many social groups within a modern nation is important in planning and carrying out programs that affect those groups.

Attention to social background and cultural categories helps ensure the welfare of affected ethnic groups, communities, and neighborhoods. Experience in planned social change – whether community organization in North America or economic development overseas – shows that a proper social study should be done before a project or policy is implemented. When local people want the change and it fits their lifestyle and traditions, it will be more successful, beneficial, and cost effective. There will be not only a more humane but also a more economical solution to a real social problem. People with anthropology backgrounds are doing well in many fields. Even if one’s job has little or nothing to do with anthropology in a formal or obvious sense, a background in anthropology provides a useful orientation when we work with our fellow human beings. For most of us, this means every day of our lives.

### **5.1. Career Opportunities in Applied Anthropology**

In recent decades, governmental, industrial, and nonprofit sectors have created jobs that require sensitivity to cross-cultural issues and involve working with people from different cultural backgrounds. To illustrate, anthropological skills and insights are being used with increasing frequency to (a) help architects design culturally appropriate housing, (b) enable agronomists to implement successful reforestation programs, (c) educate health care providers about the public health aspects of the AIDS epidemic, and (d) provide criminal justice officials with culturally relevant information for the resolution of legal cases, to mention but a few applications. Many other areas are drawing on the insights and skills of applied anthropologists. As more and more PhD-level anthropologists are working in non-academic jobs, employment opportunities for those with less than PhD training in anthropology are also increasing. Today people with training in cultural anthropology are putting their observational and analytic skills to work in the public (government), private (business), and nonprofit sectors of the economy.

In fact more professionally trained anthropologists are employed in non-academic positions today than in colleges and universities. As you consider your own career options, you need to consider several important questions. Are you more interested in an academically based job that permits some part-time applied research or in a full-time job with a government agency, a nonprofit, or a business that involves using anthropological skills on an everyday basis? If you are interested in a non-academic

career, how much additional education (beyond the BA) will you need? Do you want to work in the private, public, or nonprofit sector of the economy? Do you want to work for a local, regional, national, or international organization? Do you see yourself working as a full-time, permanent employee of an organization or as an independent, contracting consultant to larger organizations? Since working for public or nonprofit organizations generally pays less than jobs in the private (business) sector, what are your realistic income expectations?

And since academic anthropologists tend to work alone and control the pace of their own research, how comfortable would you be with working on collaborative research projects with a number of colleagues and having many aspects of that research controlled by your employing organization? Once you have answered these questions (and perhaps others as well), you will be in the best position to embark on a career path based on applied anthropology. This involves (a) applying for posted jobs seeking the skills of an applied cultural anthropologist and (b) presenting oneself (with your valuable anthropological perspective and competencies) as the best candidate for a wide variety of traditional jobs within an organization, such as a human resources director for a large multinational corporation.

### **Career Opportunities in Applied Anthropology**

Agriculture

Alcohol and drug use

Architectural design Community action

Criminal justice and law enforcement Disaster research

Economic development Education and training

Employment and labor Environment

Fisheries research Forestry

Geriatric services Health and medicine

Housing Human rights

Industry and business Land use

Language policy Media and broadcasting

Military Missions

Nutrition Policy making

Population and demography Public administration

Recreation and tourism Resettlement

Urban affairs Water resource management

Wildlife management

## **5.2. The Benefits of Anthropological Perspectives**

An anthropological training gives the analytical means to understand the heterogeneity of local actors and their interests, to see the multiple links in their social lives and appreciate their everyday strategies, to tap into local understandings and comprehend resistance to perceive outside interference. In the face of a compromised past and a constricted present, can anthropology hope to have any positive effect on development in the future?

The majority of commentators believe it can. Gardner and Lewis, for example, argue for an anthropological overhaul of development from within and without: anthropology can contribute to more positive forms of developmental thought and practice, both by working in development and also by providing a critical account of development. In particular, they reject the simplistic binary oppositions that permeate development discourse: anthropological insights can provide a dynamic critique of development and help push thought and practice away from over systemic models and dualities (traditional as opposed to modern; formal as opposed to informal; developed versus undeveloped) and in more creative directions.

Sillitoe points to anthropology's potential as a force for creating a multidisciplinary approach to development issues. Anthropologists are well-equipped to negotiate not only cultural boundaries, but also disciplinary ones, he argues, adding that we have to consider changing ways of doing anthropology in view of its changing role in an emerging era of 'trans-disciplinarity'. He also sees a role for anthropologists in raising awareness of what he terms 'indigenous knowledge systems' (IKS). Although Sillitoe emphasizes what he considers to be the benefits of incorporating indigenous knowledge into development practice, Clammer dismisses IKS as one of development anthropology's "contortions" in order to be "needed", to "re-establish its credentials".

Escobar likewise criticizes the anthropologists' tendency to foster the impression that they have a monopoly on such contributions. There is no doubt that, even if anthropology does have a contribution to make, the above suggestions are only

practicable within the context of the development paradigm. As a result, issues such as the ethical use of anthropological research, the extent to which the mindset and actions of development anthropologists are shaped or constrained by the fact that they have to operate within the scope of mainstream development institutions and the abandonment of traditional methodologies in favor of less rigorous studies are not resolved, merely avoided. The truth is that for an anthropologist, working from within the development discourse will always be inherently compromising.

## Chapter Six

### 6. Indigenous Knowledge and the Participatory Approach in Applied Anthropology

- ✚ In this session we will focus on two inter-related methodological issues in applied anthropology, the participatory approach and the role of indigenous knowledge research from the perspective of anthropologist Paul Sillitoe (now at Durham University in the UK).
- ✚ First, it is important to summarise Sillitoe's position on applied anthropology.
- ✚ He argues that there are two main ways to apply anthropology. The first is "investigating the applicability" of ethnographic work completed by anthropologists and situated in theoretical debates.
- ✚ The second way involves using anthropological methods, as other applied anthropologists like Chambers and Van Willigen point out, "to tackle contemporary problems."
- ✚ However, Sillitoe cautions that these methods "centring on 'doing ethnography' and featuring participant observation as a core strategy (distinct from other sociological research methods), are not straightforward to use in applied contexts. This way of working is notoriously difficult to define...In my experience this ill-defined and fluid way of working makes others (policy advisers, scientists, administrators) uneasy, even hostile. It strikes them as flaky and lacking rigour, as they are often unable to discern any data of the sort they expect...It is difficult to convince them that having a rigid research plan runs the risk of gross distortion before the research even starts" (2007: 155).

#### **Applied anthropologist and participatory approach**

- ✚ However, "we need beware of making this assertion for it implies that s/he (the anthropologist) knows more than they (target community members) do about their behaviour, values, and wants. This poses particular dangers in applied contexts where such intelligence may inform action. This returns us to methodological issues. We need further to advance methods that allow people to engage meaningfully in any intervention and that facilitate self-representations...Participatory issues are central here, ensuring that people fully



take part in any decision-making processes, facilitating use of their knowledge as they judge fit” (Sillitoe 2007: 158).

- ✚ With the criticisms of mainly neo-Marxist anthropologists in 1960s and 1970s of the conceptual underpinnings of development as a linear process, the importance of cultural practices as well as participatory approaches were included in project methodology.
- ✚ Development practitioners realised that it was important for a more participatory, “grassroots” approach.
- ✚ Anthropologists trained in specific geographic and thematic areas were supposed to incorporate peoples’ needs with the design and implementation of development projects.
- ✚ Recall that this introduction of participation was meant to lead to empowerment through the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and Participatory Urban Appraisal (PUA).
- ✚ For example, in a PRA to assess “economic status” in a village this approach “would ask villagers to come up with their own indicators of wealth in the area and then use these to rank household wealth” (Moser and McIlwaine 1999 cited in Willis 2005: 104) instead of only asking about household income from waged labour and from the informal economy.
- ✚ Empowerment has different meanings but the main idea is that people have greater power in making decisions that affect their lives.
- ✚ This focus on more inclusive or participatory methods in project design and implementation is based on the recognition that indigenous knowledge is important to project success.

### **Objective of the “indigenous knowledge perspective”**

- ✚ According to Sillitoe, there are “two strands to the evolution of the indigenous-knowledge perspective which have remained largely independent, one academic and the other development-focused...In development it has emerged...from two broad approaches: farming systems and participatory development” (1998: 224).
- ✚ The objective of indigenous knowledge research is “to introduce a locally informed perspective into development – to promote an appreciation of

indigenous power structures and know-how” (Sillitoe 1998: 224). The anthropologist who has conducted research in this geographical region or thematic area has a role here.

### **Ethics and Applied Anthropology**

- ✚ Ethics, the judgment of moral duty and obligation given a particular situation and setting.
- ✚ Ethics is very vital, and indeed utterly innermost, to applied anthropological work.
- ✚ The very reputation of the field depends on adherence to a strong ethical policy
- ✚ Ethically applied anthropologists are mainly responsible to their discipline and a community they are studying or working with.
- ✚ There are instances in which anthropologists experience conflicts related to sponsors’ demands and;
- ✚ Subsequently, fall into the role of social technician or engineer, without much input from the study population.
- ✚ Such conflicts can be mitigated or resolved by making clear the understanding that ethical considerations must be part of any professional decision.
- ✚ Practitioners must use existing ethical guidelines—especially from professional associations such as the AAA;
- ✚ Practitioners must also be familiar with field-specific methods, because techniques can vary by area. This is the case with rapid rural appraisal (RRA), which uses swift and reliable ethnographic practices and survey methodologies such as iterative and dynamic
- ✚ Interviewing to obtain information from those working in agricultural settings. A participatory research appraisal (PRA) gives the local population more involvement in the research project rather than making them an object of the research (Dunn 1994; Rhoades 2005).

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