



All in a day of anthropological fieldwork. This group of kids had just won a soccer match. They showed up at the home of Rich Warm's (this book's coauthor) in Bougouni, Mali, asking to have their picture taken to commemorate the occasion. Anthropologists doing fieldwork try to be members of the communities in which they work, and they learn much in that process.

Photo by Peggy Reeves Sanday

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DOING CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- 2.1 Describe the 19th-century origins of anthropology and the research style of anthropologists of that era.
- 2.2 Compare and contrast different research techniques in anthropology, including participant observation, research conducted from emic and etic perspectives, and cross-cultural research.
- 2.3 Analyze the importance of gender research, the postmodern critique, and engaged and collaborative work to the field of anthropology.
- 2.4 List the ethical dilemmas facing anthropology and discuss the ways that anthropologists try to resolve them.
- 2.5 Evaluate human rights from an anthropological perspective.

To understand human diversity, cultural anthropologists have developed methodologies for gathering data, developing theories, and testing those theories. For both technical and ethical reasons, the controlled laboratory experiments of the physical sciences are usually of little use in cultural anthropology. Anthropologists can hardly go out and start a war somewhere to see its effect on family life. Nor can they control in a laboratory all the factors involved in examining the impact of multinational corporations on villages in the Amazon rainforest. Instead, they look to the existing diversity of human cultures. In place of the artificially controlled laboratory, anthropologists rely on ethnography and cross-cultural comparison.

Ethnography is the gathering and interpretation of information based on the intensive, first-hand study of a particular culture (the written report of such a study is also called an ethnography). Ethnographies help us understand other cultures and are used as a basis for cross-cultural comparisons. Anthropologists analyze the ethnographic data from different societies to build and test hypotheses about general, or even possibly universal, social and cultural processes.

Cultural anthropology encompasses a wide range of activities and specialties. Anthropologists do solitary fieldwork in remote locations, delve into historical archives, test hypotheses using statistical correlations from many different societies, administer formal and informal questionnaires, record life histories, make ethnographic films, curate museum exhibits, and work with indigenous peoples as advocates in cultural and political projects. But all of these activities have their roots in fieldwork: the major source of anthropological data and theory and an important part of most anthropologists' experience. In this chapter, we explore some of the history and practice of fieldwork. We examine fieldwork techniques, different trends in anthropological data collection, and different styles of ethnographic writing. And we discuss some of the ethical issues raised by doing anthropology.

ANTHROPOLOGY IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Anthropology was not always based on fieldwork. The first scholars who called themselves anthropologists worked in the second half of the 19th century. Among the most famous of them were Sir Edward Burnett Tylor (1832–1917) and Lewis Henry Morgan (1818–1881, Figure 2.1). Both were brilliant men who traveled widely (Tylor in Mexico and Morgan in the Midwestern United States), but they saw themselves as compilers and analysts of ethnographic accounts rather than as field researchers. For data, they mostly relied on the writings of amateurs such as travelers, explorers, missionaries, and colonial officers, who had recorded their experiences in remote areas of the world. Because of this, critics of Morgan and Tylor sometimes referred to them as “armchair anthropologists.”

Morgan and Tylor were deeply influenced by the evolutionary ideas of their era, particularly the theories of Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer. They assumed that these ideas could be applied to human society and used data from archaeological finds and accounts of current-day peoples to produce evolutionary histories of human society. Nineteenth-century anthropologists sometimes referred to simpler

societies as “living fossils,” a term borrowed from biology and paleontology. For biologists, living fossils are currently existing plants or animals that closely resemble their fossil ancestors. For 19th-century anthropologists, “living fossils” were societies they thought were unchanged for thousands of years. Anthropologists believed that such societies were living, “fossilized” examples of earlier states of their own society. Morgan, Tylor, and others claimed that by carefully examining and comparing these societies, they could show how human society evolved from its most simple and primitive state to the most complex current societies. They used social institutions such as family and religion as well as technology to place each society on an evolutionary scale of increasing complexity. Their scale began with simple, small-scale societies (classified as living in a state of “savagery”); passed through larger, more centrally organized societies (usually classified as living in a state of “barbarism”); and ended with societies such as their own (which they called “civilization”). Although Morgan and Tylor were deeply critical of many aspects of their own societies, they were also convinced that they lived in the most highly evolved society that had ever existed.

Morgan and Tylor’s evolutionary anthropology had numerous problems. Explorers, colonial officials, and missionaries were highly motivated to play up the most exotic, and often the most brutal, aspects of the societies they described. Doing so increased the fame of the explorers (and the number of books they were able to sell). It made the natives seem more in need of the good government the colonial official claimed to provide or the path to salvation the missionary claimed to offer.

The claim that many societies were “living fossils” was also a problem. Nineteenth-century evolutionary anthropologists assumed that the societies they analyzed were unchanged for thousands of years, but many of these societies were of recent origin. Sometimes they were created by the processes of colonialism and Western expansion itself. And, even if they were ancient, almost all had been dramatically affected by colonialism, trade, and warfare resulting partially from the expansion of European economic interests (Chapter 14 describes this process).

Perhaps most important, the evolutionists were so sure that they had properly formulated the general evolutionary history of society that they twisted and contorted their data to fit their theories. Tylor, for example, wrote that his theoretical perspective was so well established that he could ignore any data that did not fit with the surety that such data were inaccurate (Tylor, 2017/1871).

Franz Boas and American Anthropology

Problems such as these led to a radical reappraisal of evolutionary anthropology at the end of the 19th century. The most important critic of evolutionism was Franz Boas (1858–1942). Born in Minden, Germany, Boas came to the United States after completing his doctorate in physics and geography and living among the Inuit on Baffin Island in the Canadian Arctic (Figure 2.2). In the late 1890s, he became the first professor of anthropology at Columbia University in New York City. There he trained many students who became leading anthropologists of the first half of the 20th century. These included A. L. Kroeber, Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, Fay-Cooper Cole, Zora Neale Hurston, Gene Weltfish, Manuel Gamio, Gilberto Freyre, Edward Sapir, and many others. As a result, Boas’s ideas had a profound impact on the development of anthropology in the United States.

Boas’s studies as well as his experiences among the Inuit convinced him that evolutionary anthropology was both intellectually flawed and, because it treated other people and other societies as inferior

FIGURE 2.1 ■ Lewis Henry Morgan (1818–1881) was a founder of anthropology in the United States. He traveled widely but saw himself as a compiler and analyst of ethnographic accounts rather than as a field researcher.



The History Collection/Alamy Stock Photo

FIGURE 2.2 ■ In the first half of the 20th century, Franz Boas (1858–1942) had a huge impact on anthropology in the United States. He emphasized fieldwork and cultural relativism. In this picture, Boas performs part of a Kwakwaka'wakw (Kwakiutl) dance at the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History in the 1890s.



Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History, CC0 1.0 <https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/zero/1.0/>

to Europeans, morally defective. He was deeply critical of the data-gathering techniques and the reasoning of Morgan, Tylor, and others. Boas argued that anthropologists should not be mere collectors of tales and spinners of theories but rather should devote themselves to fieldwork and objective data collection. Anthropologists must live among the people they studied, carefully collecting the stories of elders and inventorying the material goods they possessed. They should study people holistically, recording the cultural patterns of the group, their language, the tools they used, and their religion. Anthropologists should investigate the group using archaeology and historical archives. They should collect statistical measures of the bodies of those they studied.

One of Boas's core beliefs was that cultures must be understood in context. Cultures, he argued, are the products of their histories. Therefore, each culture's standards of beauty and morality, as well as many other aspects of its members' behavior, could be understood only in light of that culture's historical development. Because our ideas were also the products of our history, it was inappropriate to use our standards to judge other cultures. Evolutionists had failed, in part, because they had made just this mistake. They assumed, incorrectly, that the more a culture's values, morals, and esthetic standards approached those of Europeans, the more evolved that culture was. In other words, the evolutionists failed because of their ethnocentrism, their belief that their culture was better than any other. As discussed in Chapter 1, ethnocentrism is the application of the historical standards of beauty, worth, and morality developed in one culture to all other cultures.

Boas insisted that anthropologists free themselves as much as possible from ethnocentrism and approach each culture on its own terms, carefully considering the notions of worth and value carried by its members. This position came to be known as cultural relativism, and it is one of the distinguishing features of anthropology. Boas and his followers maintained that anthropologists must suspend judgment

to understand the logic and dynamics of other cultures. Researchers systematically distort the cultures they study if they view the actions of people in those cultures simply in terms of the degree to which those actions correspond to the researcher's notions of the ways people should behave.

Boas was a tireless campaigner for human rights and justice. He argued that all human beings had an equal capacity for culture and that although human actions might be considered morally right or wrong, no culture was more evolved or of greater value than another. He was an unwavering supporter of racial equality. His work and that of his students, notably Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead, were widely used by Americans who argued for the equality of men and women and the rights of African Americans, immigrants, and Native Americans. He had a deep effect on African American activists such as W. E. B. Du Bois (V. J. Williams, 1996) and was cited in the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision outlawing separate but equal schooling (Baker, 2000). He was, in a sense, the first activist anthropologist. Today, virtually all anthropologists rely on Boas's basic insights.

From Haddon to Malinowski in England and the Commonwealth

While Boas was forming his ideas in the United States, a separate fieldwork tradition was developing in Britain. In the late 19th century, Alfred Cort Haddon (1855–1940) mounted two expeditions to the

Torres Straits (between New Guinea and Australia). Haddon was originally a biologist, but his travels turned his interest to ethnography, the gathering and interpretation of information based on intensive, firsthand study. In 1898, Haddon's second expedition included scholars from several different fields. Haddon and his colleagues became professors at Cambridge and the London School of Economics, where they trained the next generation of British Commonwealth anthropologists. Like Boas, their understandings were based on fieldwork, and they made it a basic part of their students' training.

Bronislaw Malinowski (1884–1942) (Figure 2.3) was one of the most prominent students of the Torres Straits scholars. Malinowski grew up in Krakow, then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (now in Poland). He went to England to study ethnography, and his mentor, Charles Seligman, sent him to do fieldwork on the Trobriand Islands (in the Torres Straits). Malinowski arrived in the Trobriands in 1914, as World War I broke out. Because the Trobriands were governed by Australia and Malinowski was a subject of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, he was considered an enemy national. As a result, he was unable to leave the region until the end of the war. Thus, what he had intended as a relatively short fieldwork expedition became an extremely long one.

FIGURE 2.3 ■ Bronislaw Malinowski (1884–1942), one of the pioneers of participant observation, worked in the Trobriand Islands between 1915 and 1918. He appears here with Trobriand Islanders.



History and Art Collection/Alamy Stock Photo

Malinowski's time on the Trobriands was a signal moment in British Commonwealth anthropology. The Torres Straits scholars had studied culture at a distance, observing it for a short time and then describing it. Malinowski spent years with native Trobrianders, learning their language, their patterns of thought, and their cultural ways. Malinowski later wrote that if anthropologists wanted to understand the cultures they studied, they needed to “put aside camera, notebook and pencil and join in [themselves] in what is going on” (1984, p. 21). In other words, anthropologists should not be content with interviewing people and collecting their histories and genealogies. Rather, they should, to the greatest extent possible, participate in the lives and daily activities of the people they sought to understand. This style of fieldwork, which, as we learned in Chapter 1, is called participant observation, became a basic research tool for anthropologists trained in the British Commonwealth and the United States.

A diary Malinowski kept during his Trobriand work shows he was frequently lonely, frustrated, and angry. Despite these problems, he developed a form of ethnography centered on empathic understandings of native lifeways. He analyzed culture by describing social institutions and showing the cultural and psychological functions they performed. Malinowski also stressed the interrelations among the elements of culture.

MAP 2.1 ■ Map of New Guinea and the Trobriand Islands.

In an era when non-Europeans were often considered incomprehensible and illogical, Malinowski forcefully promoted the idea that native cultural ways were logical and rational. For example, in a famous essay on science and magic, he argued that natives used magic only for goals (such as controlling the weather) that they were unable to attain by more rational means. He argued that magic was like science in that it had “a definite aim intimately associated with human instincts, needs, and pursuits.” Like science, magic was “governed by a theory, by a system of principles which dictate the manner in which the act has to be performed in order to be effective” (1948, p. 66).

After his return from the Trobriand Islands, Malinowski became a professor at the London School of Economics. Like Boas, he trained many students, encouraging them to conduct fieldwork based on participant observation and imbuing them with the idea that the actions of non-Western people were rational.

Malinowski’s and Boas’s anthropologies were quite different. Boas and his students focused on understanding cultures with a focus on their contexts and histories. Malinowski and his students emphasized the notion of function: the contribution made by social practices and institutions to the maintenance and stability of society. However, both developed traditions of fieldwork and participant observation. Both traditions have a strong history of opposition to racism. Both saw other members of cultures as fully rational and neither superior nor inferior to their own. There have been a great many new approaches in anthropology since the days of Boas and Malinowski, but these fundamental insights and principles remain basic to current-day anthropology.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL TECHNIQUES

Today, anthropologists work for a wide variety of employers, including universities, businesses, and governments. You find them investigating topics as varied as the way people hunt in Paraguay (Blaser, 2009), illness and injury among migrant farm workers in the United States (Horton, 2016), language and

ethnicity among the Maya in Guatemala (Romero, 2015), the meanings British hoarders attach to the things they collect (Orr et al., 2017), the relationship between music editing and choreography in international air guitar competitions (McDaniel, 2017), and, of course, the COVID-19 pandemic (Manderson et al., 2021). Because of the multiplicity of anthropologies, it would be impossible to describe all the different settings in which anthropologists work and the different ways they go about their work. However, almost all anthropological work has some similarities.

Since the days of Boas and Haddon, fieldwork has been the cornerstone of anthropology. Most anthropological data are generated through fieldwork, and virtually all anthropologists do fieldwork as part of their graduate training. For most, doing fieldwork continues as a basic element of their careers. Some anthropologists return to the same fieldwork location year after year, creating a record of the community throughout their lifetime. Others may change their fieldwork location and the research problems that concern them every few years.

Fieldwork in anthropology is the firsthand, intensive, systematic exploration of a culture. Although fieldwork includes many techniques, such as structured and unstructured interviewing,

mapping space, taking census data, photographing and filming, using historical archives, and recording life histories, for most anthropologists, the heart of anthropological fieldwork is participant observation. Participant observation is the technique of gathering data on human cultures by living among people, observing their social interaction on an ongoing daily basis, and participating as much as possible in their lives (Figure 2.4). This intensive field experience is the methodological hallmark of cultural anthropology. In other social science disciplines, such as psychology, sociology, and economics, the key methodological tools tend to be laboratory experimentation, large-scale survey, close readings of archives, or analysis of statistical information. Anthropologists believe that only by living with people and engaging in their activities can we begin to understand the interrelated patterns of culture. Anthropologists observe, listen, ask questions, and attempt to find a way in which to participate in the life of the societies they study. Although the length of time anthropologists spend living with people during a major fieldwork-based project varies, it is typically over a year.



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Participant observation has both advantages and limitations. Perhaps the key advantage is that anthropologists are on the job 24/7. Anthropologists observe people at work, at play, and when they are socializing. They share the good times of the communities where they work and frequently the tragedies as well. Regardless of their specific interests, the constant attempt to participate in another culture gives anthropologists a depth of understanding that is almost impossible to achieve in any other way.

An important limitation of participant observation is that anthropologists necessarily work with a relatively small number of individuals. A sociologist carrying out a carefully constructed survey of several thousand individuals may be able to describe certain aspects of a large community accurately. Anthropologists rarely work with more than 50 individuals, and it is sometimes difficult to say how well these individuals represent larger communities.

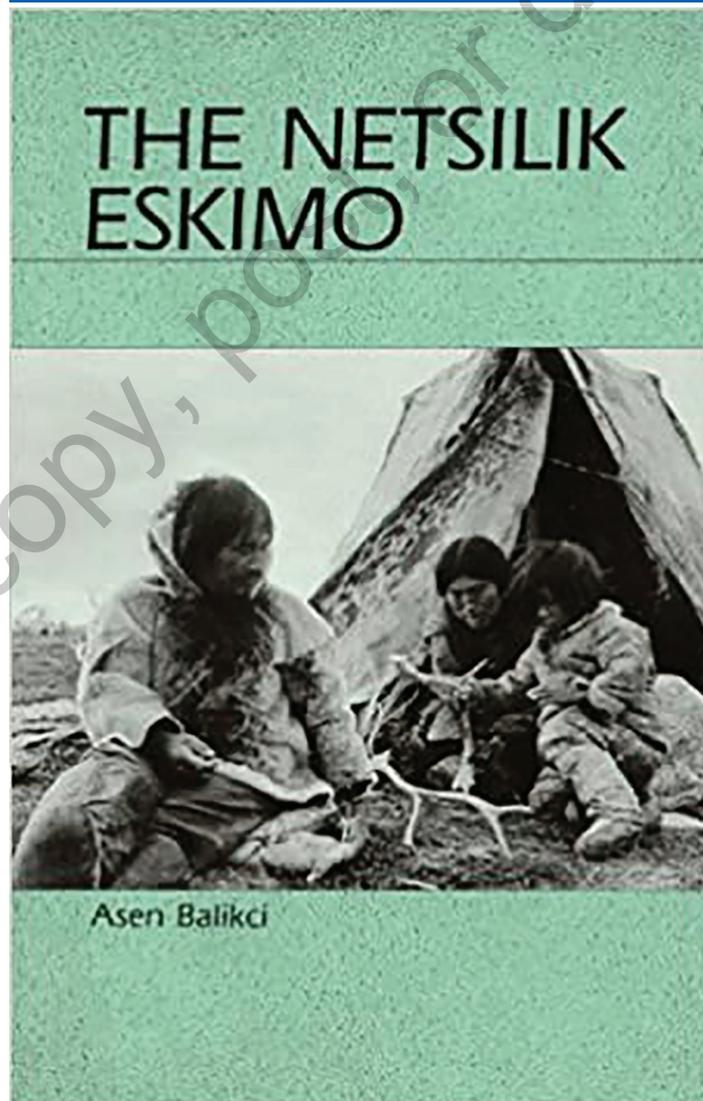
Sometimes anthropologists will pay for their research themselves, but since research frequently involves extended stays in distant places, doing it is fairly expensive. Because of this, fieldwork is often funded by grants given by universities, government agencies, and nonprofit organizations that promote social science research. Examples of organizations that fund anthropological research include the Council of American Overseas Research Centers, the American Museum of Natural History, the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, and the U.S. government, through its Fulbright Scholar Program.

In most cases, anthropologists are required to submit their research proposals to an **institutional review board (IRB)**. An IRB is a committee organized by a university or other research institution that approves, monitors, and reviews all research that involves human subjects. The goal of an IRB is to protect the rights and welfare of the research subjects, the research institution, and the researchers themselves. IRBs were originally started to review medical research, but in most places, they have expanded their scope of operations to include all research involving living people.

Decisions about which communities anthropologists investigate are based on many factors. Some of these include personal history, geographical preferences, political stability, cost, physical danger, and connections their professors and other mentors may have. However, the most critical aspect of choosing a location has to do with the research questions that the anthropologist wishes to answer.

In the early 20th century, anthropologists studying relatively small groups often attempted to write complete descriptions of societies. Their books, which had titles such as *Portrait of a People: The Tiwi of North Australia* (Hart & Pilling, 1960), *The Sebei: A Study in Adaptation* (Goldschmidt, 1986), and *The Cheyennes: Indians of the Great Plains* (Hoebel, 1960; Figure 2.5), contained chapters on the whole range of culture and

FIGURE 2.5 ■ Until the last third of the 20th century, many ethnographies, like *The Netsilik Eskimo*, were intended as complete descriptions of societies.



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society, including subjects such as family, religion, farming, and legal affairs. In a sense, it did not matter much where these authors chose to work; any small-scale community or society could be described.

Today, few anthropologists attempt to write such descriptions. This is partly because most feel that societies are so complex they cannot be adequately described in a single work. But more important, although societies were never really isolated, today they are so interconnected and so changed by these connections that they must be seen in regional and global contexts. Current ethnographies focus on specific situations, individuals, and events and frequently on culture change. Some recent examples describe inequality and food rights in Uzbekistan (Rosenberger, 2012), families and reproductive technologies in India (Khanna, 2010), and the commercialization of traditional medicine in Bolivia (Sikkink, 2010). As research questions have narrowed, the conditions under which and the locations where they can be answered have become more specific.

After they have identified an area of general interest, anthropologists spend a great deal of time reading the existing research on their subject. It is no exaggeration to say that most researchers spend many hours reading for each hour they spend doing active field research. From their studies, they gain an understanding of the geography, history, and culture of their chosen area. They find out what is known and what remains to be learned about the subjects of their interest. Then they try to design projects that help to close the gaps in existing knowledge. It is a bit like filling in pieces of a jigsaw puzzle, with one important exception: You can finish a puzzle, but good research leads to the posing of interesting questions and, thus, more research.

The opportunity to do participant observation, to live a life and understand a culture very different from the one in which the anthropologist grew up, is one of the key factors that bring people to anthropology. However, arriving at a field location can be a difficult and disorienting experience. Often, anthropologists will have made a brief trip to the field location to arrange logistics such as obtaining the necessary research clearances and finding a place to stay. Despite this and a great deal of other preparation, for most people, living in another culture and trying to learn its ways is difficult. Culture is learned behavior, and we have been learning our culture since the moment of our births. When we move to a radically different culture, much of that learning is no longer relevant.

Anthropologists arriving in new cultures are in many ways like children. Their local language skills are often weak, and their speech is sometimes babyish. Their social skills are undeveloped. They are ignorant of many aspects of their social and physical environment. One common result of this is the syndrome often called **culture shock**—the feelings of alienation, loneliness, and isolation common to one who has been placed in a new culture (Figure 2.6). Almost all researchers experience some degree of culture shock.

FIGURE 2.6 ■ Insects are difficult foods to learn to eat for most Americans but are highly prized in other cultures. In this photo, snacks of insects, spiders, and scorpions are for sale in Thailand.



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For graduate students, sometimes the journey stops there. You can be an outstanding scholar—well versed in literature and able to think and write creatively—yet be unable to do fieldwork. Sometimes aspiring anthropologists return after a few weeks of fieldwork and pursue other fields of study.

Getting past culture shock is a process of learning. Anthropologists need to learn the language, customs, and social organization of the groups they study. They need to acquire the fundamental grounding knowledge that it takes to be an adult in a different culture. It is probably accurate to say most anthropologists never feel like they are truly members of the cultures they study. We are separated from our subjects by our backgrounds, education, and sometimes the way we look and the color of our skin. Perhaps most important, most of us are separated by the knowledge that our time in the field is temporary and we will leave to rejoin our other lives. However, in our best moments, anthropologists do come close to acting and feeling like members of the cultures we study.

Although almost all anthropologists rely on participant observation, there are numerous different styles of anthropological research within this general method. The research techniques and tools that anthropologists use depend on the type of research they do and the sorts of questions they want to answer. As mentioned in Chapter 1, anthropological research styles are sometimes characterized as either *emic* or *etic*, terms drawn from the study of language. Anthropologists using the *emic* perspective seek to understand how cultures look from the inside. *Emic* research aims to enable cultural outsiders to gain a sense of what it might be like to be a member of the culture. Anthropologists using an *etic* perspective seek to derive principles or rules that explain the behavior of members of a culture. *Etic* analysis may produce conclusions that conflict with the ways in which people understand their own culture. However, *etic* research is judged by the usefulness of the hypotheses it generates and the degree to which it accurately describes behavior, not by whether or not members of the culture studied agree with its conclusions.

Some anthropological research follows a model drawn from the natural sciences. In this sort of research, anthropologists propose a hypothesis and collect empirical data to determine if the hypothesis can be supported. For example, Wendy Phillips (2005) analyzed pregnancy beliefs among women of African descent in three communities in the United States. The communities differed in the degree and extent of their contact with the dominant American culture. Phillips hypothesized that the women who historically had the least contact with the dominant culture would report more traditional practices. She interviewed 36 mothers with children under the age of 5, 12 from each community. Her analysis of the interview data largely confirmed her hypothesis, although she found that some West African beliefs persisted even among members of the community with the greatest contact with the dominant culture.

Some anthropological research is more highly interpretive and uses techniques drawn from the study of history and literature. For example, Allison Truitt (2008) studied the important role of motorbikes in current-day urban Vietnam. She had no formal hypothesis but used data from interviews, advertisements, observations of traffic patterns, and legal codes to analyze the value and meaning of motorcycles in Vietnamese culture (Figure 2.7). She explored both the practical and symbolic importance of motorcycles, showing how motorcycles are markers of social and economic mobility and middle-class identity. Her work describes how motorcycles have become key symbols in a political struggle that pits consumer demand against government attempts to control production and consumption.

Regardless of their style of research, in most cases, as anthropologists begin to observe and participate in new cultures, they develop networks of contacts. These are often the people who both guide anthropologists in their new surroundings and offer insights into the culture. Anthropologists often develop deep connections, and even lifetime friendships, with some of these contacts (Grindal & Salamone, 1995). Historically, in anthropology, such friends and contacts are called **informants**, though the term has fallen somewhat out of use (to some, it sounds too much like spying). More current terms are *respondents*, *interlocutors*, and *consultants*. To some, these terms emphasize the collaborative nature of fieldwork and suggest that the people who work with anthropologists are active and empowered. Regardless of what these people are called, anthropologists learn much of what they know from such people. In some cases, anthropologists work with a few individuals (sometimes called key informants) who they believe are both knowledgeable and eager to talk with them. Alternatively, they

FIGURE 2.7 ■ Allison Truitt used data from interviews, advertisements, observations of traffic patterns, and legal codes to understand the importance of motorcycles in current Vietnamese culture. In this picture, motorcycles crowd the streets of Ho Chi Minh City in 2012.



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may construct statistical models and use techniques such as random sampling to choose their consultants. Sometimes they work in places that are small enough that they can interview all members of a community.

In the early stages of fieldwork, anthropologists may just observe. Within a short time, however, they will begin to participate in cultural activities. Participation is the best way to understand the difference between what people say they do, feel, or think and what they actually do, feel, or think. It is not that informants deliberately lie (although they may) but rather that anthropologists and informants have particular interests and individual ways of looking at issues. People wish to present their lives, their families, and their communities in a certain light. No one, including anthropologists, can present a fully accurate and unbiased portrait of a culture. Participation, however, forces researchers to think more deeply about culture and gives greater context and depth to the information they glean through interviews and observation.

Working with consultants is often informal, but anthropologists also use an arsenal of more formal tools depending on their theoretical interests. Much of anthropology is done by interviewing, and anthropologists use many different interview techniques. Some anthropologists prepare exhaustive inventories and questionnaires; however, more frequently, they design a series of open-ended questions that allow their subjects to talk freely and extensively on a topic. Occasionally, an anthropologist will use a structured interview, a technique designed to help identify the objects and ideas that their consultant thinks are important (Spradley, 1979). Because kinship structures are important elements of many societies, anthropologists also become adept at gathering genealogical information. Table 2.1 details some specific types of interviews. Almost all anthropologists use informal, unstructured, and semistructured interviews. Structured interviews are less common.

In addition to interviewing, anthropological data gathering also includes mapping, photography, careful and silent observation of a wide range of activities, measurements of various kinds of production, and, in some cases, serving in apprenticeships. It all depends on the nature of the problem an anthropologist is investigating.

As with the techniques used, the analysis of data also depends on the questions being asked and the theoretical perspective of the researcher. Anthropological data generally come in the form of extensive

TABLE 2.1 ■ Interviewing Techniques

Informal Interviews	Researchers engage in, overhear, remember, and write down conversations from their daily experiences.
Unstructured Interviews	Researchers engage with subjects in a scheduled conversation. Researchers may have a plan but informants are allowed to express themselves as they choose.
Semistructured Interviews	Similar to an unstructured interview but based on the use of a written list of questions or topics that the researchers intend to cover in a specific order.
Structured Interview	Researchers ask different subjects to respond to a set of questions as nearly identical as possible. This often involves the use of very explicit instructions.

field notes, voice recordings, and photographs. In most cases, organizing data presents substantial challenges. Notes have to be indexed, recordings transcribed, and data entered in spreadsheets. Aspiring anthropologists should keep in mind that, as with background research, successful anthropologists often spend more time working with their data than they did collecting it in the first place. Recording an interview may take only an hour or two. Transcribing and indexing that recording may take several days. Anthropologists increasingly use computer-based analytic tools, particularly Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software, often referred to as CAQDAS. Some examples of CAQDAS include NVivo, Atlas.ti, and MAXQDA.

ETHNOGRAPHY

DANGEROUS FIELD

Throughout much of the history of anthropology, researchers assumed that they would be safe in the field. Most students are drawn to anthropology at least partially by the chance to do work in interesting places—to live with people, learn their ways of life, and become friends with them (Chagnon, 1997). Anthropologists have generally assumed that they will work under conditions of stability, trust, quietude, security, and freedom from fear. Although anthropologists today do often work in places where these conditions are possible, in many other places, anthropology, if it is done at all, is done under conditions of instability and violence.

A 1990 study of dangers to anthropologists in the field identified malaria, hepatitis, and vehicle crashes as the three greatest risks anthropologists face (Howell, 1990). However, the study also noted a surprisingly high rate of encounters with violence, criminality, and political instability. For example, at least 42% of anthropologists had experienced “criminal interpersonal hazards” and 22% reported living through political turmoil such as war, revolution, and rioting. A more recent study pointed to the problems of random violence, drug gangs and mafias, and state violence from the police, military, and paramilitary (Goldstein, 2014).

J. Christopher Kovats-Bernat (2002) pointed out that the conditions under which Malinowski, Mead, and many other anthropologists operated were, in many cases, artificially peaceful. Anthropologists worked in areas that were controlled by colonial governments or were American protectorates. In these cases, hostility among groups was suppressed and managed by colonial authorities. Anthropologists themselves, regardless of who they worked for, were protected by these authorities, and natives could expect that violence against anthropologists would be punished rapidly and harshly.

The world of colonial anthropology is gone. Although most anthropologists today continue to work under conditions of relative peace and security, some work in conditions of danger and physical risk to themselves and those who work with them. Kovats-Bernat has worked on the streets of Port-au-Prince, Haiti, in an area of the city often called “Kosovo” because of the prevalence of gangsterism, political violence, and drug terrorism (Figure 2.8). Most of the street kids in the area sniff glue, and some carry razors. Kovats-Bernat reported that he has at various times “been present at street shootings, threatened, searched, suspected of subversion, and in the midst of crossfire” (2002, p. 209).

Anthropologists have faced danger and physical violence during fieldwork in many parts of the world. *Ethnography as Risky Business* (Koonings, 2019), a recent essay collection, recounts

FIGURE 2.8 ■ Anthropology can be dangerous. In the early 2000s, Christopher Kovats-Bernat worked in the slums of Port-au-Prince, Haiti, seen here, in an area where gangsterism, political violence, and drug terrorism were common.



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anthropological experiences in violent contexts in El Salvador, Sudan, Nicaragua, Sri Lanka, Mozambique, and other places. Anthropologists work among gang members, police, guerillas, and others.

Danny Hoffman, a photojournalist turned anthropologist, has written about his experiences of civil war in Sierra Leone. He recounted an incident at a United Nations (UN) disarmament center when tensions increased as the number of armed combatants grew beyond the ability of the UN monitors to control them. Finally, one of the combatants threw a grenade into the crowd. Fortunately, the grenade did not explode, and Hoffman reported that he was able to “observe . . . the dynamics of a crowd at an instant of intense violence and confusion and to understand the accounts we later gathered through the prism of our own experience of the event” (2003, p. 12). Monique Skidmore did field research in Burma. She wrote that anthropologists and informants inevitably share experiences and that, in her case, these experiences included being frightened, confused, and disoriented as well as suffering from a general loss of perspective (Skidmore, 2003, p. 6).

Kovats-Bernat, Hoffman, and Skidmore are drawn to the ethnography of violent places for different reasons, but all believe the risks they and their informants take are worthwhile. Skidmore considers herself “an activist by proxy” determined to write against terror (2003, p. 6). Hoffman (2003, pp. 9–10) noted that media conglomerates are increasingly unwilling to support correspondents in out-of-the-way places. Reporters sent to locations of violence are usually there only briefly. They depend on governments for access and thus tend to report news that governments allow. Their reporting generally follows the interests and understandings of the host government. Given this, anthropologists are often among the very few who witness dangerous events and have the depth of knowledge to understand and analyze them. Kovats-Bernat wrote that doing the ethnography of violence can make a critical contribution to anthropological theory. For him, violence is not something that covers and contaminates society; rather, in many cases, it is the stuff of social relationships, inseparable from kinship, market activities, language, and other aspects of culture (2002, p. 217).

Doing fieldwork in dangerous locations raises important ethical questions. Kovats-Bernat wrote that he has often found the Code of Ethics of the American Anthropological Association (AAA) to be “irrelevant, naïve, or insufficient to guide [his] actions” (2002, p. 214). For example, the AAA’s Principles of Professional Responsibility state that “anthropologists must do everything in their power to protect the physical, social, and psychological welfare . . . of those studied” (American Anthropological Association, 1986, p. 1). Kovats-Bernat questions how this can be done under conditions of violence and lawlessness. The AAA statement assumes that the researchers have the knowledge and power to look after the subject of the research, yet in real field situations, the reverse is often true.

In situations of instability, activities basic to research may be fraught with danger. For example, even the most innocuous of field notes may, under certain conditions, mean the difference between life and death for anthropologists and their subjects. Efforts at encrypting notes or locking them up are often futile. The AAA's Code of Ethics and Principles of Professional Responsibility urges anthropologists to maintain transparency and avoid deception. However, in violent societies, trying to explain what an anthropologist is and does could, in some cases, lead to arrest—or worse.

Kovats-Bernat wrote that when anthropologists do research under conditions of violence, they invite the possibility of victimization and violence on both themselves and their informants. If anthropologists and informants accept that such research is worthwhile, we must understand the relationship between anthropologists and their subjects in a new way. Our relationship needs to be “one of *mutual responsibility*” [in which] “all participants in the research must . . . willingly accept the possibility that *any* involvement in the study could result in intimidation, arrest, torture, disappearance, assassination, or a range of other, utterly unforeseeable dangers” (Kovats-Bernat, 2002, p. 214).

Critical Thinking Questions

1. Given the ethical problems of conducting research in violent locations, should anthropologists ever be involved in such research? If not, will their analyses of society be biased in favor of seeing violence as an aberration?
2. The AAA Code of Ethics and Principles of Professional Responsibility makes moral demands on researchers. These may have costs in terms of personal safety and limit the types of information anthropologists may collect. What level of danger should anthropologists be ready to accept to remain true to these professional codes? Are some research topics off limits to anthropologists?
3. Anthropologists who work in violent locations are motivated by intellectual goals and professional advancement. What motivates informants to take the risk of working with anthropologists?

Ethnographic Data and Cross-Cultural Comparisons

Boas and his students were interested in describing cultures in their contexts. Because they understood each culture as the product of its unique history, they did not attempt systematic comparison of one culture to another and were not very interested in discovering laws or principles of cultural behavior. However, some level of comparison has always been implicit in anthropology. One goal of the Boasians, for example, was to use their research to cause Europeans and Americans to compare their societies with the societies anthropologists described. Anthropologists hoped that this would help people think about their societies in a new light and help change them for the better.

Historically, British and European anthropologists were more explicitly interested in ethnology, the attempt to find general principles or laws that govern cultural phenomena. They compared societies in the hope of deriving general principles of social organization and behavior. Starting in the 1860s, Herbert Spencer began to develop a systematic way of organizing, tabulating, and correlating information on a large number of societies, a project he called *Descriptive Sociology*. The American scholar William Graham Sumner, his student Albert Keller, and Keller's student George Murdock brought Spencer's ideas about cross-cultural comparison to the United States. In the late 1930s, Murdock and Keller created a large indexed ethnographic database at Yale University. First called the *Cross-Cultural Survey*, the project was expanded in the late 1940s to include other universities and its name was changed to the **Human Relations Area Files** (HRAF, Figure 2.9).

The HRAF is an attempt to facilitate cross-cultural analysis. It provides a single index of ethnographic reports and other sources on 710 numbered subject categories. Some examples of categories are 294 (techniques of clothing manufacture) and 628 (traditional friendships and rivalries within communities). Using the HRAF, researchers can find information on these and many other topics for a wide range of current and historic societies.

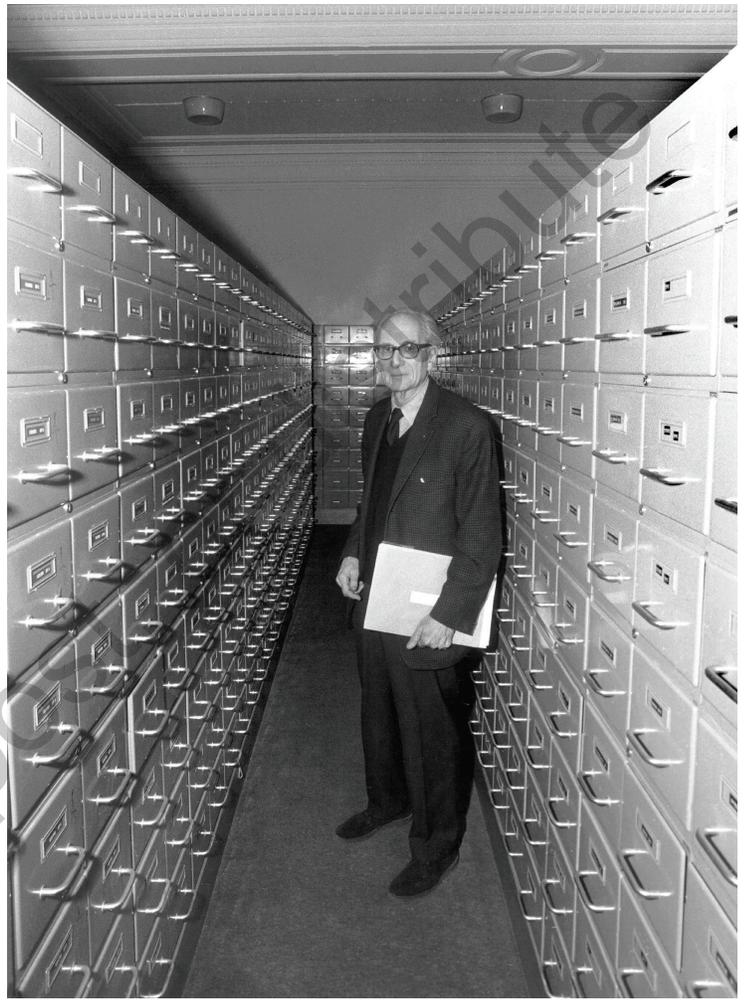
The HRAF frequently comes under fire; critics charge that the project takes cultural data out of context and therefore corrupts it. They say that the works indexed in the HRAF were written from different perspectives, for different purposes, and in different eras. Because of this, the indexing is often

inconsistent or inappropriate, and therefore analyses based on it are suspect. Despite these problems, work based on the HRAF is often both interesting and insightful. For example, back in the 1950s, the rising divorce rate in the United States was causing alarm. Was divorce truly something new and different—a product of modernity? Murdock used the HRAF to show that almost all societies had some form of divorce and that the divorce rate in the United States (in the 1950s) was lower than average. Thus, his use of the HRAF allowed people to think about divorce in a comparative context. In recent years, the HRAF, now available online and in computer-searchable formats, has been used to consider a wide variety of issues. These include menopause (Sievert, 2006), corporal punishment of children (Ember & Ember, 2005), patterns of cultural evolution (Peregrine et al., 2004), and wealth exchanges at marriages such as dowry payments (Huber et al., 2011).

Another example of cross-cultural research using HRAF examined the practice of bribery in a wide variety of preindustrial societies. Researchers Bo Rothstein and Davide Torsello (2014) used cross-cultural data to analyze the ways people in various nonindustrialized societies conceive of and practice what we, from the perspective of our society, would consider bribery. They particularly wanted to compare societies practicing different subsistence technologies such as foraging, herding, and gardening. They found that bribery was understood as a type of corruption in all the societies they studied. In other words, people almost universally recognize that bribery exists and that it is wrong. However, there is a great deal of variation in people's expectations about the behavior of others and what is considered a corrupt practice. Things that are considered clear examples of bribery in some societies are not thought of as bribery at all in others. These differences are not related to differences in moral understanding but rather to what members of each society consider private or public property.

Of course, not all cross-cultural research involves the use of the HRAF. Much research is done by a single investigator working in two or more locations or by teams using the same techniques in multiple locations. Some examples include cross-cultural studies of violence (Aijmer & Abbink, 2000), of economics (Durrenberger & Marti, 2006; Henrich et al., 2004), and of language and cognition (Wierzbicka, 2003). Medical anthropology is a particularly rich area of cross-cultural research. The delivery of effective medical services to members of different cultures is a critical area of interest for applied medical anthropologists. Medical anthropologists need to know how people in different cultures understand the causes, symptoms, and cures for different diseases. For example, Carod-Artal and Vázquez-Cabrera (2007) investigated migraine headache symptoms among three different groups of Native Americans: the Tzeltal Maya of Mexico, the Kamayurá of Brazil, and the Uru-Chipaya of Bolivia. They found that all three groups had named syndromes whose symptoms matched migraines. However, the groups' understandings of the origins of such headaches and how to treat them differed greatly from each other and from our own.

FIGURE 2.9 ■ Today, the HRAF is available electronically, but in the 1960s, it consisted of tens of thousands of cards that were filed in cabinets. Here, Claude Lévi-Strauss, a famous 20th-century anthropologist, consults a copy of the HRAF in Paris.



Keystone-France/Gamma-Keystone via Getty Images

SOME CRITICAL ISSUES IN ETHNOGRAPHY

In the past several decades, new trends and issues in anthropological research have emerged. These include anthropology and gender, postmodernism, engaged and collaborative anthropology, issues surrounding studying one's own culture, and issues in the ethics of fieldwork and ethnography.

Anthropology and Gender

By the 1960s, the role of fieldwork in anthropology was extremely well established. In addition, the position of women within academic anthropology was relatively good, particularly in comparison to other areas of universities. After 1918, the majority of Franz Boas's students were women. In 1920, he reportedly told a friend that all of his best students were women (Menard, 2019). Some of the women Boas trained went on to become well known in the discipline. Boas students Margaret Mead and Zora Neale Hurston became widely known outside of anthropology as well.

Despite this (or perhaps because of it), the political movements of the 1960s, particularly the civil rights movement and the feminist movement, caused anthropologists to begin thinking about gender and their discipline in new ways. Feminists soon discovered that the presence of some very high-profile women within anthropology did little to counteract the fact that the overwhelming majority of anthropologists were men and that their areas of interest tended to focus on the social roles, activities, and beliefs of men in the societies they studied.

There were several reasons anthropologists had focused on men. First, in many societies, men and women live quite segregated lives. Because they were men, most anthropologists had little access to the lives of women. Second, anthropologists tended to assume that men's activities were political and therefore important, whereas women's activities were domestic and therefore of less importance. Third, in most societies, men's activities were far more public than women's activities. Anthropologists tended to assume that what was public and visible was more important than what was more behind the scenes and less visible. However, this is not always (or even often) the case (Figure 2.10).

FIGURE 2.10 ■ Starting in the 1970s, anthropologists began to pay more attention to the daily lives of women. Here, an Aymara indigenous woman waves a Whipala flag—representing native peoples of the Andes—during a pro-government rally in La Paz on October 12, 2021.



JORGE BERNAL/AFP via Getty Images

The result of taking men more seriously than women was systematic bias. Anthropologists had often reported with great detail about men's social and cultural worlds, but they had barely scratched the surface of women's worlds. Furthermore, the assumption frequently implicit in ethnographies that men spoke for all of society often made cultures appear more harmonious and homogeneous than they actually were.

Starting in the 1970s, increasing numbers of women joined university anthropology faculties. By the late 1990s, more than 50% of new anthropology PhDs and more than 40% of all anthropology professors were women (Levine & Wright, 1999). They began paying greater attention to women's lives.

By the 2000s, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and questioning (LGBTQ) people also found increasing representation on university faculties, leading to the emergence of LGBTQ studies as an academic field. As this happened, anthropologists turned from the study of women to more general considerations of the nature and role of gender in our own and other societies. We will address these issues more fully in Chapter 9.

The Postmodern Critique

Ultimately, the issue of gender in anthropology focused on ways of knowing. Feminists argued persuasively that male anthropologists had missed vital dimensions of society because their gender and their academic interests predisposed them to see certain things and not others. These ideas about perspective dovetailed well with postmodernism, a critique of both natural and social sciences that gained prominence in the 1980s.

Postmodernists hold that all knowledge is influenced by the observer's culture and social position. They claim fieldworkers cannot discover and describe an objective reality because such a thing does not exist (or exists but cannot be discovered or comprehended by human beings). Instead, postmodernists propose that many partial truths or cultural constructions depend on the frame of reference, power, and history.

Postmodernists urged anthropologists to examine the ways they understood both fieldwork and writing. They demanded that anthropology become sensitive to issues of history and power. Some postmodernists challenged the ethnographer's role in interpreting culture, claiming that anthropological ethnographies were just one story about experienced reality and the ethnographer's voice was only one of many possible representations.

During the 1990s, reflection on the nature of fieldwork and the anthropological enterprise became a central focus of writing in anthropology. Works such as *Writing Culture* (Clifford & Marcus, 1986) and *Women Writing Culture* (Behar & Gordon, 1995) encouraged anthropologists to think about how their own status, goals, and the techniques of academic writing shaped the work they produced.

The claims of postmodernists were a subject of intense debate in anthropology. Few anthropologists accepted the postmodern critique in its entirety. However, some of the ideas of postmodernism have become part of the mainstream. The issues of power and voice (who gets to tell a story, who is believed) have become basic aspects of current anthropology. Most ethnographers spend time reflecting critically on their positions as observers, considering the way their background and interests affect their work. And most think far more about the moral and political consequences of their work than they did before the postmodern critique.

Collaborative and Engaged Anthropology

Collaboration, the process of working closely with other people, in a sense describes all anthropological research. **Collaborative anthropologists**, however, highlight this aspect of their work. They consult with their subjects about shaping their studies and writing their reports. They attempt to displace the anthropologist as the sole author representing a group, turning research into a joint process between researcher and subject.

The work of James Spradley (1934–1982) is an important contribution to collaborative, engaged anthropology. His classic ethnography, *You Owe Yourself a Drunk* (1970), was aimed at encouraging the public to understand and help the homeless alcoholics who were the subject of the book.

Eric Lassiter, an anthropologist inspired by Spradley, has done collaborative work with the Kiowa Indians in Oklahoma. The Kiowa were particularly interested in an ethnography of Kiowa song. They stipulated that it be written so that it could be read and understood by the Kiowa people themselves and that they would be acknowledged for their contributions. Lassiter emphasizes that a critical aspect of his collaboration with the Kiowa was to give the highest priority to representing the Kiowa cultural consultants as they wished to be represented, even if this meant adding or changing

information or changing his interpretations. For Lassiter (2004), collaborative ethnography is not just eliciting the comments of the cultural consultants but, even more important, integrating these comments into the text.

Although many anthropologists practice some elements of collaborative anthropology, there are deep problems with the notion that the primary job of anthropologists is to write and say what their consultants want. First, most would probably agree that anthropologists have an obligation to accurately report what people say and do rather than what people want said of them. Further, communities are rarely so homogeneous that they speak with a single voice. Collaborative anthropology may give voice and legitimacy to one element of a community over another. Sometimes, writing what consultants want really means choosing their side in a political contest.

Engaged anthropology moves from the production of texts to political action. Most anthropologists would like their work to further a deep understanding of the human condition. Most also feel a deep sense of connection with the people among whom they work. In many cases, the communities in which anthropologists work are poor, and in some cases, they face political oppression as well. In these circumstances, it is not surprising to find that many anthropologists believe that for anthropology to be relevant and meaningful, it must be involved in political and social efforts to improve the life chances of people in these communities.

Anthropology has a long history of engagement with the societies that anthropologists study, as well as of political activism in anthropologists' own societies. Franz Boas, for example, wrote and spoke frequently on the major political and social issues of his day, particularly race but also education, culture, foreign policy, and violence (McGowan, 2014). He was deeply involved with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and contributed to its journal, *The Crisis* (Lewis, 2001). Many other anthropologists have followed Boas's example of engagement.

Pauline Wiessner has been a working anthropologist since the early 1970s. Though she trained in archaeology, her interests shifted to working with current-day people during research for her doctoral thesis among the Ju/'hoansi in Botswana and Namibia. In Botswana, she documented the gift-giving and exchange patterns that tied people together and helped them survive in difficult times by allowing them to gain broad access to resources. However, Wiessner's academic interests soon led to a deeper and more active engagement in the community.

As the Ju/'hoansi lost access to their historic lands and were forced to move from nomadic to sedentary lifestyles, Wiessner became concerned with their ability to feed themselves. She established a nonprofit organization, the Tradition and Transition Fund, to help the Ju/'hoansi protect their water sources and gardens from animals and develop new sources of food.

Wiessner's involvement with the Enga of Papua New Guinea (PNG) has been even more dramatic. She began working with the Enga in the 1980s. As with the Ju/'hoansi, her initial interest was in documenting exchange patterns and social networks. However, by the 1990s, it turned to warfare. The Enga, like many PNG groups, had a long history of warfare. Though these wars were serious, they were fought with bow, arrow, and spear, and the number of people killed was small, usually fewer than five. This changed in the 1990s when young Enga men became increasingly impoverished and hopeless but had growing access to weaponry such as M16 rifles. Previously small wars erupted in large-scale violence that claimed hundreds of lives and turned large areas of Enga territory into wastelands.

Wiessner's studies have shown that the violence came to an end after more than a decade as the result of three factors: the exhaustion of the majority of the population, the influence of the Christian church that provided an alternative ideology of peace to the Enga ideology of war, and the presence of a traditional justice system that could be used to mediate disputes (Wiessner & Pupu, 2012; Figure 2.11). Wiessner used the results of her research to lobby both Enga leaders and local government officials to support the use of the traditional justice system in resolving disputes.

In the past decade, Wiessner and the Enga Provincial Government have become increasingly concerned with threats to this system. The customary law courts handle 80% to 90% of all Enga disputes. However, the Enga are rapidly losing cultural knowledge. If young people do not know the customs, principles, and values of their own society, these courts will struggle. Beginning in 2005,

FIGURE 2.11 ■ In Enga Province, Papua New Guinea, in 2019, Jerry Ak, a performer with the Tiria Theater, performs in a play written to educate people about issues important to them, including armed violence.



Betsy Joles/Getty Images

Wiessner used her own funds along with money she and her Enga colleagues raised to open the Enga Take Anda, a community center and museum located in the capital of Enga Province that both preserves Enga culture and provides a neutral place where members of different groups can come together (Balter, 2010).

More recently, with the support of the Enga Provincial Government, Wiessner has developed a curriculum for schools, Grades 6 to 12, that integrates culture into every subject and encourages students to do cultural research in their own communities. The Cultural Education Program was launched in Enga Province in late 2016 (Yama, 2016).

Studying One's Own Society

When most people think of anthropologists, they imagine researchers who study others in exotic locations, but since the early 20th century, anthropologists have also studied their own societies. W. Lloyd Warner, Solon T. Kimball, Margaret Mead, Zora Neale Hurston, and Hortense Powdermaker were all American anthropologists who wrote about American culture. Kenyan anthropologist Jomo Kenyatta (Figure 2.12), who was also a freedom fighter and the first president of Kenya, wrote about the Gikuyu of Kenya in 1936, and Chinese anthropologist Francis Hsu wrote extensively on Chinese society.

In recent years, writing about one's own culture has become even more common. This trend is driven by many factors, including the training of more anthropologists from more different cultures, the rise of interest in ethnicity in the United States and Europe, and the dangers of violence in some areas where anthropologists have studied in the past.

The emphasis on more reflective fieldwork and ethnography affects all anthropologists but particularly those who study their own societies. Traditionally, anthropologists doing fieldwork try hard to learn the culture of the people with whom they are working. In a sense, anthropologists working in their own culture have the opposite problem: They must attempt to see their culture as an outsider might. This is challenging because it is easy to take cultural knowledge for granted. In addition, it may be as difficult to maintain a neutral stand in one's own culture as it is in a different one. As Margaret Mead once noted, it may be easier to remain culturally relativistic when we confront patterns, such as cannibalism or infanticide, in other cultures than when we confront problematic situations such as child neglect, corporate greed, or armed conflict in our own.

FIGURE 2.12 ■ Jomo Kenyatta (1897–1978), the first president of Kenya, was a student of Bronislaw Malinowski and wrote an important book, *Facing Mount Kenya* (1965), about his ethnic group, the Kikuyu. He's seen here addressing a political rally in 1963.



Rolls Press/Popperfoto via Getty Images/Getty Images

Some of the problems and the rewards of studying one's own culture can be seen in Barbara Myerhoff's books and films. Myerhoff contrasted her 1974 work with the Huichol of northern Mexico with her 1978 work among elderly Jewish people. She notes that, in the first case, doing anthropology was "an act of imagination, a means for discovering what one is not and will never be." In the second case, fieldwork was a glimpse into her possible future, as she knew that someday she would be a "little old Jewish lady" (Myerhoff, 1978, pp. 18–19). Her work was a personal way to understand that condition and to contemplate her own future. Tragically, it was a future that never arrived. Myerhoff died of cancer when she was only 49.

More recently, Darren Ranco, an anthropologist and member of the Penobscot American Indian Nation, has considered the problems and issues **native anthropologists** face. Ranco notes that in his earliest anthropological projects, he had trouble trying to do work that seemed anthropological to him and at the same time treat his family and friends in respectful ways. For Ranco, one way out of this dilemma was to try to do work that the Penobscots themselves would find interesting and important. He decided that the criteria for such work included empowering people, involving members of the community, making the finished products of research available to them, and focusing on research that provides direct benefits to the community. Ranco writes that when he considers a project, he asks himself how the project will "endorse, elaborate, or enhance tribal sovereignty" (2006, p. 74), and he will not do the research if he cannot answer the question.

We can all empathize with Ranco's desire to benefit his community. However, we can also see the complications it may create. How can one be sure of the outcome of a project at its beginning? What should anthropologists do if project results turn out not to enhance tribal sovereignty or another predetermined aim? Should any anthropologist refrain from asking questions for fear that the answer might be displeasing? Is enhanced tribal sovereignty always beneficial to all members of the Penobscot Nation? Richard Meyers, an anthropologist who is also a member of the Oglala Lakota Nation, writes that assuming that an anthropologist who is an American Indian necessarily has an insider's understanding of Indians in general or their tribe, in particular, denies the complexities of both Native American societies and the individual anthropologist's personal history, political perspective, theoretical orientation, and socioeconomic class (Meyers, 2019, p. 31). Despite the issues raised by native anthropology, anthropologists should certainly investigate groups to which they belong and may have particularly useful insights into those groups.

ANTHROPOLOGY MAKES A DIFFERENCE ANTHROPOLOGISTS AND DRUG USE

In the 1960s and 1970s, the identification of a drug addict subculture drew anthropologists into the world of substance abuse and addiction (Schensul, 1997). Ethnography was a particularly suitable methodology for studying street drug scenes and their participants.

Most of the time, when researchers try to understand drug use, they turn to medical or sociological models. Medical models treat drug use as a kind of disease and emphasize its physiological and biochemical elements. Most social science models of drug use and distribution treat drug users and sellers as members of a deviant community, separate from the larger population and operating outside of its social networks and cultural norms. Anthropologists, on the other hand, in keeping with their broader holistic perspective, have introduced models that aim at connecting individual drug users and sellers with the larger structural features of the society and economy. For example, in the 1990s, Hamid (1992, 1998, 1990) demonstrated that patterns of drug use, distribution, and drug-related violence are related to the ways that political decisions and economic processes impact neighborhoods, families, and kinship networks.

Philippe Bourgois has been one of anthropology's most consistent and effective drug researchers. His 1995 work *In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio* focused on the complex relationship between deindustrialization, male identity, race, and ethnicity in East Harlem. More recently, Bourgois has focused on drug addiction and homelessness. His 2009 book *Righteous Dopefiend*, done in collaboration with photographer Jeff Schonberg, is based on 9 years of ethnographic work with homeless heroin injectors in San Francisco. During their fieldwork, Bourgois and Schonberg shared the lives of several dozen such individuals, often spending nights with them under freeways or in marginal areas.

Bourgois and Schonberg describe their fieldwork as taking place in a gray zone, a term they borrow from Auschwitz survivor Primo Levi. By gray zone, Bourgois and Schonberg mean that the structures of society and the facts of addiction "create a morally ambiguous space that blurs the lines between victims and perpetrators" (2009, p. 20). Although heroin injectors are certainly responsible for their decisions, these decisions take place in the context of personal history, governmental policies, institutional contexts, and a social hierarchy that all have profound and almost always deleterious impacts on their lives.

Bourgois and Schonberg had to learn to survive and do productive fieldwork. They had to balance their feelings of being manipulated and victimized by the constant demands of their informants with the reality that gifts of money, food, and goods such as blankets were critical to defining friendship and community among homeless addicts. They were witnesses to innumerable illegal acts, from drug dealing and consumption to petty theft and violence. The people who they worked among were both perpetrators and victims of these acts. Bourgois and Schonberg had to carefully and constantly consider their obligations to the community they studied, to the broader community, and to the discipline of anthropology.

Bourgois and Schonberg's work provides an intimate and detailed account of the lives of homeless addicts. They explored topics including love and sex among addicts, addicts' relationships with their families, the strategies they use to survive on the streets, the ways they interact with health care providers and treatment programs, and, sometimes, the ways they die. Schonberg's gritty black-and-white photos give readers an almost visceral sense of life on the streets.

One focus of *Righteous Dopefiend* is the way that race affects addict behavior. In a world in which everyone is self-destructive, white addicts tend to be even more self-destructive than Black addicts. They are less likely to have contact and support from their families, are often clinically depressed, and more frequently inject in ways that lead to abscesses and infection than do Black addicts.

Bourgois and Schonberg's work shows why many of the programs designed to help the homeless must fail. Such programs are often designed with good intentions but do not take close account of the actual lives of addicts. For example, health workers constantly advised addicts never to share injection paraphernalia. However, the sharing of drugs and equipment is basic to the survival of addicts on the streets. Early in their fieldwork, Bourgois and Schonberg participated in a needle exchange program, providing boxes of 100 needles to some of the people they worked with. This was extremely effective because the addicts who received the needles sold them for small amounts of money, flooding the area with clean needles. However, it also illustrates the institutional problems associated with such programs. Needle exchange activists were unhappy that free needles were resold. And many conservatives viewed providing needles as encouraging drug use. Ultimately, the needles were confiscated in police sweeps because possession of a large number of needles is illegal.

Bourgois and Schonberg's work underscores the strength of anthropological fieldwork. The understandings of the lives of homeless addicts that they presented can only be achieved through

long-term study, during which anthropologists become deeply involved in the communities they study. Such understandings can lead to suggestions that can greatly improve the effectiveness of programs designed to help addicts, and Bourgois and Schonberg provided numerous such suggestions. However, their work also demonstrates that the problems of homeless addicts are symptomatic of far larger issues, such as economic change, cultural understandings about drugs, addiction, homelessness, race, and inequality. These are political, economic, and cultural structures that are not easily changed.

ETHICS IN FIELDWORK AND ANTHROPOLOGY

As questions about native anthropologists show, ethical issues frequently arise in anthropological research. Anthropologists have obligations to the standards of their discipline, to their sponsors, to their own and their host governments, and to the public. However, their first ethical obligations are usually to the people they study and to the people with whom they work. Under some circumstances, these obligations can be more important than the goal of seeking new knowledge.

According to the American Anthropological Association's Principles of Professional Responsibility (AAA, 2012), anthropologists must grapple with the difficulties of complex rights, responsibilities, and involvements. They must avoid research that harms their subjects' dignity or bodily and material well-being. They must weigh the potential consequences of their research and consider the possibility that the potential for harm might be more important than the new knowledge they gain. Anthropologists have obligations to be open and honest and to inform their participants and collaborators about their work.

Anthropologists must obtain the **informed consent** of study participants. This requires anthropologists to take part in ongoing and dynamic discussions with their consultants about the nature of the study as well as the risks and benefits of participation in it (Clark & Kingsolver, n.d.). Informed consent means that people involved in an anthropological study should understand how their participation is likely to affect them. Individuals must always be free to decide whether they will participate in the study.

Anthropologists also have obligations to the discipline of anthropology. Two of these obligations seem both important and problematic. First, anthropologists should conduct themselves in ways that do not endanger the research prospects or lives of other anthropologists. Anthropologists who violate the norms and ethics of the communities where they work make it unlikely that those communities will accept other anthropologists in the future. Anthropologists who become involved and identified with governments, military forces, or political platforms may endanger not only their own lives but also the work and lives of others. For example, if people know that some anthropologists are working for an army or an intelligence-gathering agency, they may suspect that all are.

Second, many anthropologists believe that the primary purpose of research is to add to the general store of anthropological knowledge. Thus, they argue that anthropologists are obligated to publish their findings in forms that are available to other anthropologists and the public. Publishing usually involves a review of the work by other anthropologists, and this helps ensure the validity and quality of research. Anthropologists acknowledge that certain forms of secrecy are acceptable and, on occasion, even required. For example, anthropologists often protect the communities and individuals with whom they work by not revealing the precise location of their research and by using pseudonyms for individuals they discuss.

The obligations to protect other anthropologists and to publish research findings both pose dilemmas. The engaged anthropologists described earlier believe that anthropologists must work for the communities they study. However, this purpose may make it impossible for future anthropologists to work at all. For example, governments may not grant anthropologists research visas, and organizations may not allow research if they believe anthropologists will promote political action against them.

Applied anthropologists wish to work for businesses and governments. Often anthropological findings have the greatest value for these entities when they are kept secret. There may be very few

jobs available for applied anthropologists who insist on the right to publish all the results of their research.

Numerous projects have tested the boundaries of ethics in anthropology. One of the best known of these was “Project Camelot,” a mid-1960s attempt by the Army and Department of Defense to enlist anthropologists to achieve U.S. foreign policy goals. Project Camelot’s avowed purpose was to create a model for predicting civil wars, but it was also implicated in fighting insurgency movements and propping up friendly governments (Horowitz, 1967). When Project Camelot was made public in 1965, the United States had recently invaded the Dominican Republic and was escalating the Vietnam War. Project Camelot created controversy both inside and outside of anthropology. In countries where anthropologists worked, people began to see them as spies whose presence presaged a U.S. invasion. At American Anthropological Association meetings, Project Camelot led to vitriolic debate; members raised concerns about the integrity of research, the safety of anthropologists in the field, and the purposes to which anthropological knowledge might be put. These concerns eventually led to the issuing of the first official statement on anthropological ethics in 1971.

Concerns like those raised by Project Camelot have recurred over the engagement of some anthropologists with the U.S. military. Anthropologists and other social scientists are involved with the military in two ways. They have worked at military colleges and bases providing training for officers or analyses of the culture of the military itself. Anthropologists and other social scientists have occasionally worked on the ground collecting data in zones of active conflict. Between 2007 and 2014, these researchers were involved with a program called Human Terrain System (HTS). HTS members collected information on village social structure and other aspects of culture. They also took part in the interrogation of detainees (Weinberger, 2011; Figure 2.13). Several social scientists working in this program were killed.

FIGURE 2.13 ■ Anthropologists and other social scientists who work for the military raise important ethical concerns. Here, Ted Callahan talks to Afghan villagers in 2009. Callahan spent 18 months working for the U.S. Army’s Human Terrain System (HTS) program. The HTS program ended in 2014.



Marco Di Lauro/Getty Images

The use of anthropologists in military training is by far the less controversial of these two forms of engagement. Anthropologists who favor this argue that such anthropologists generally present publicly available information. Military personnel are free to enroll in university anthropology courses. Presenting such courses as part of military training is no different. Others argue that this engagement is wrong. David Price (2009) notes that at least in theory, anthropologists in universities seek knowledge for its own sake, whereas those working for the military seek it for victory, security, and defense. The use of anthropologists as part of HTS teams on the ground raises deeper problems. The

effectiveness of HTS was the subject of intense dispute. Some argued that it saved both troops and civilians in Afghanistan (Fondacaro & McFate, 2008), but these claims were refuted by others (Price, 2010). Whether or not the military's use of anthropologists is effective, most anthropologists find it deeply troubling. It is difficult to see how many of anthropology's ethical requirements can be met under conditions of warfare (Forte, 2011). How, for example, are participants to give coercion-free consent while subject to military occupation? How can anthropologists honestly inform participants about the ways the research data will be used and are likely to affect them? Can anthropologists working under such circumstances ensure, within reason, that the information they supply will not harm the safety, dignity, or privacy of the people with whom they work? Isn't the point of their work sometimes just the opposite of that? What of anthropologists' obligations to publish their research? Aren't the results of this sort of research necessarily secret? Historically, anthropologists have been concerned with protecting the rights and safety of the people they study. The primary concern of anthropologists working in projects like HTS must be the safety, security, and goals of their employers instead.

Given all of the problems with HTS, it is probably safe to say that a strong majority of anthropologists oppose this use of anthropology. Anthropologists voiced opposition to HTS and other forms of involvement with the military at the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association in 2007 and 2008, and the HTS program was shut down by the military in 2014. However, the issue is likely to reappear in the coming years.

Ultimately, ethical behavior is the responsibility of each anthropologist. The members of the AAA are supposed to subscribe to its code of ethics. However, not all anthropologists are subject to the AAA or university-based institutional review boards. Lawyers who behave unethically can be disbarred. Doctors can have their medical licenses revoked. In both cases, they violate laws and can be punished if they continue to practice. There is no comparable sanction for anthropologists (and, indeed, for the members of most disciplines). Therefore, there will always be a great diversity of anthropological practice.

Conclusion: New Roles for Ethnographers

Although there have been native anthropologists for a long time, until the 1970s, the prevailing model of fieldwork was a European or North American ethnographer visiting a relatively isolated and bounded society and then reporting on that society to other Europeans and North Americans. In the past several decades, this model has changed. Though societies have always been interconnected, inexpensive communication, relatively cheap airfare, and migrations have greatly increased the scale of these connections. These forces have altered the world and the nature of the anthropologist's job. Whether they work in cities, villages, or with tribal groups, anthropologists nowadays must take regional and global connections into account. Research may mean following consultants from villages to their workplaces in cities, collecting genealogies that spread over countries or even continents, and following cash and information flows around the world.

In addition to expanding the research site, contemporary ethnographers must often use techniques such as questionnaires, social surveys, archival material, government documents, and court records in addition to participant observation. The deep connections among cultures and the global movement of individuals mean that we must constantly reevaluate the nature of the cultures we are studying, their geographical spread, their economic and political position, and their relation to one another.

Today, not only are native anthropologists much more common, but the people anthropologists study also generally have a far greater knowledge of the world than they did in earlier times. They are likely to understand what anthropology is and what anthropologists do, something not true in the past. In some cases, this awareness has led to difficulties as people struggle over the question of who has the right to speak for a group. In other cases, people from the groups that anthropologists have described have publicly taken issue with researchers' analyses. For example, in the early 2000s, a fierce controversy broke out over anthropological descriptions of the Yanomami, a well-known Amazonian group. Had their primary ethnographer, Napoleon Chagnon, portrayed them accurately? Was the research team that he was part of responsible for spreading disease and decimating Yanomami villages? Anthropologists, journalists, and Yanomami tribe members debated these questions at meetings and in the popular press (for a review of the debate, see Borofsky, 2005).

Despite controversies, for the most part, natives' increased knowledge of the outside world has resulted in closer relations among anthropologists and the people they study, as well as more accurate ethnography. Ethnographic data are often useful to members of a society. Sometimes they serve as the basis for the revitalization of cultural identities that have been nearly effaced by Western impact (Feinberg, 1994). Sometimes they play important roles in establishing group claims to authenticity and are useful in local political and economic contexts. For example, when Kathleen Adams (1995) carried out her fieldwork among the Toraja of Sulawesi, Indonesia, she became a featured event on tourist itineraries in the region. Toraja tour guides led their groups to the home of her host, both validating his importance in the village and bolstering the tourists' experience of the Toraja as a group sufficiently authentic and important to be studied by anthropologists.

In the past, anthropologists sometimes worried about their subject disappearing. They argued that the main thing anthropology was designed to study was small-scale, relatively isolated, "primitive" societies. They worried that, as economic development spread around the world, such societies would go out of existence, and anthropology, as a field, would essentially be finished. In a small sense, they were right, but in the larger sense, they were wrong. Any anthropologist today looking to study a society untouched by the outside world would be out of luck. No such societies have existed for a long time. On the other hand, the forces of globalization have produced an increase in diversity as well as homogeneity. Economics, politics, and social forces bring groups of people together in new ways, in conflict, and cooperation. New cultural forms are created and old ones modified. Human cultural diversity, imagination, and adaptability show no signs of dying out, so anthropologists will always have material to study. Wherever human cultures exist and however they change, anthropologists will be there, devising means to study, understand, and think about them.

THE GLOBAL AND THE LOCAL: THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF PANDEMICS AND OTHER DISASTERS

Plagues and pandemics have had profound effects on world history. The Justinian plague of the mid-500s CE was probably implicated in the decline of the Eastern Roman Empire. The bubonic plague of the mid-1300s hastened the collapse of feudalism in Europe and led to broad social and economic changes. In the 1500s, as we discuss in Chapter 15, tens of millions in the Americas died from diseases brought by Europeans, and the world was forever changed. Pandemics and plagues have continued to the present day. The influenza pandemic of 1918 is believed to have infected about one third of the world's population and caused at least 50 million deaths (Jordan et al., 2019). In 1957, an influenza epidemic killed about 1.1 million worldwide, including more than 110,000 in the United States. Worldwide, another million died in a similar epidemic in 1968, and as many as half a million in the H1N1 epidemic of 2009 (CDC, 2019). Cholera broke out in Haiti shortly after the 2010 earthquake, and by that fall, about 800,000 Haitians had been sickened and 10,000 died, a huge toll in a population of 11 million (CDC, n.d.).

Anthropologist Carlo Caduff (2015) analyzes the discourse around the inevitability of pandemics as a kind of prophecy. Scientists speak about the future. They speak with authority, arguing that the days of pandemic are closer than people think. However, they also worry that it's difficult to maintain public vigilance when terrible events do not occur. Then public interest wanes and funding fails. This seems to be what happened in the United States and Europe. In the late 2000s and early 2010s, a series of threats led to relatively high levels of preparedness. However, as the epidemics failed to have deep effects, interest declined, especially after the rise of populist regimes in the mid-2010s. These changes, as well as initial denial of the disease's severity, crippled the responses of many nations, particularly the United States and Western Europe, when the COVID-19 epidemic began in late 2019. As of July 1, 2022, the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention has recorded more than 87 million COVID-19 cases in the United States and more than 1 million deaths (CDC, n.d.). This is almost certainly a substantial undercount. A study published in April 2022 showed that almost 60% of the U.S. population and 75% of U.S. children showed seriological (blood-based) evidence of having been exposed to COVID-19 (Clarke et al., 2022). Globally, there have been more than a half a billion cases

and more than 6.3 million deaths (World Health Organization, n.d.). This, too, most likely severely underrepresents the true toll of the disease.

Now, 3 years into the pandemic, we can see some of the effects of the disease on our own culture and others throughout the world. For many people, the pandemic changed the nature of work, of school, and of daily life. Some of these changes, such as the increasing prevalence of remote work and school, will be very long lasting. The pandemic is implicated in many other social changes. It has been one element increasing political, cultural, and social polarization in the United States and many other countries. It is a critical reason for both the economic boom of 2021 and the inflation and economic downturn that followed it. These, in turn, will have strong political effects.

Anthropologist Monica Schoch-Spana has studied community responses to disasters. Schoch-Spana notes that governments often assume that in times of disaster, their principal job will be maintaining public order. However, when communication from public officials is honest and accurate, scenes of chaos are rare.

With other anthropologists, Schoch-Spana held engagement forums in Maryland and Texas to explore community values in the distribution of medical resources, such as ventilators, that might be scarce in an emergency (Schoch-Spana et al., 2021). She found that people did have concerns over the fairness of procedures for allocating these resources. They were afraid of biased decisions by practitioners and worried that some people would try to game the system. Authorities need to address these concerns directly and be transparent about how such decisions are to be made. Schoch-Spana's other suggestions for leaders and authorities include speaking in human terms rather than in statistics, empathizing with people who must make extraordinarily difficult decisions, giving people concrete things that they can do to help, and setting realistic expectations. Messages to the public must be honest, consistent, and frequent. Without this, health care decisions may seem unfair.

Schoch-Spana points out that preventing the spread of disease, treating those who become ill, and dealing with the blows to the economy are only part of the task of coping with a pandemic such as COVID-19. Pandemics impose extraordinary psychic burdens on virtually everyone. Stressors include isolation, loss of income, fear that family members and friends will contract disease, lack of access to the medical and psychological services people are accustomed to receiving, and the enormous pressures placed on care providers of all types. We must not only secure the best medical treatment of the disease itself but also make sure that people have access to both immediate and long-term mental health support.

Key Questions

1. Pandemics have often been critical events in world history. How do you think the world will change as a result of COVID-19?
2. Now that we have all experienced a pandemic, how do you think governments will deal with future pandemic threats?
3. Schoch-Spana points out that communication from authorities during disasters such as pandemics needs to be frequent, consistent, and honest. To what degree did authorities achieve this goal during the COVID-19 pandemic?

SUMMARY

1. When did anthropology begin as an academic discipline and what were the methods and goals of early anthropologists? Anthropology began in the 19th century. In that era, anthropologists were compilers of data rather than fieldworkers. Their goal was to describe and document the evolutionary history of human society. There were numerous problems with their data and methods.
2. Who was Franz Boas, and what role did he play in U.S. anthropology? Franz Boas was a German-trained social scientist. In the United States, Franz Boas established a style of

anthropology that rejected evolutionism. Boas insisted that anthropologists collect data through objectively oriented fieldwork. He argued that cultures were the result of their own history and could not be compared to one another, a position called cultural relativism.

3. Who was Bronislaw Malinowski, and what role did he play in anthropology? Bronislaw Malinowski was a British-trained anthropologist whose approach and fieldwork were critical in establishing anthropology in Britain. Malinowski emphasized participant observation and the rationality of native practices. Although the focus of Malinowski's work was different from Boas's, both promoted fieldwork by professional anthropologists and both saw members of other cultures as fully rational and worthy of respect.
4. How is research in anthropology today different from research in the early 20th century? Almost all anthropologists today do fieldwork, and many continue to work in small communities. Most focus on answering specific questions rather than describing entire societies. Anthropological techniques include participant observation, interviews, questionnaires, and mapping.
5. What is participant observation? Participant observation is the technique of gathering data on human cultures by living among the people, observing their social interaction on an ongoing daily basis, and participating as much as possible in their lives. This intensive field experience is the methodological hallmark of cultural anthropology.
6. What are the emic and etic perspectives? Anthropological research styles are sometimes characterized as either emic or etic. Anthropologists using the emic perspective seek to understand how cultures look from the inside. Their goal is to enable cultural outsiders to gain a sense of what it might be like to be a member of the culture. Anthropologists using an etic perspective seek to derive principles or rules that explain the behavior of members of a culture. Etic research is judged by the usefulness of the hypotheses it generates and the degree to which it accurately describes behavior, not by whether members of the culture studied agree with its conclusions.
7. What is the Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) database, and what is it used for? The HRAF is a database of information on more than 300 cultures. It is used for cross-cultural research. Cross-cultural researchers attempt to compare cultures to derive laws or principles that can be applied to many different cultures.
8. How does Philippe Bourgois and Jeff Schonberg's work among drug users demonstrate the value and limits of anthropological fieldwork? By living with homeless drug abusers, Bourgois and Schonberg gained insights into the addicts' lives that led to concrete suggestions about ways to improve them. However, it also showed that the problems of the addicts were enmeshed with larger issues of race, inequality, and homelessness that are extremely difficult to address.
9. What is feminist anthropology, and what is its importance in the development of anthropological thinking? Most anthropology before the late 1960s focused on men's lives. In the 1960s, feminist anthropology was a movement to change the focus of anthropology to include all people and to increase the number of female anthropologists. Feminist anthropology began a trend of thinking about both the structure of anthropology as a discipline and the role of gender, power, and voice in society.
10. What is postmodernism, and how did it affect anthropology? Postmodernism is a theoretical position focusing on the role of power and voice in shaping society and research. Postmodernists urged anthropologists to become more sensitive to these issues. Postmodernists also held that the objective world was unknowable and anthropologists' voices uncertain. Postmodernism created intense debate within anthropology but ultimately enriched ethnography.
11. What are engaged and collaborative anthropology? Engaged and collaborative anthropology place special emphasis on some of the issues raised by postmodernism. Collaborative anthropologists take great pains to involve members of the groups they study in the production

of ethnographic knowledge. Engaged anthropologists place special emphasis on the political dimensions of their work and combine fieldwork with political and social activism.

12. What are native anthropologists, and what special advantages and problems do they have? Native anthropologists are those who study their own society. Native anthropologists may have advantages of access and rapport. However, in some cases, they also experience burdens more intensely, such as whether to expose aspects of the culture that may be received unfavorably by outsiders.
13. What are some ethical dilemmas that anthropologists face? Anthropological ethics require protecting the dignity, privacy, and anonymity of the people one studies as well as obtaining their informed consent. However, it is not clear that this can be accomplished in all cases. In places of violence and instability, anthropologists may not have the knowledge or power necessary to provide such protection. The use of anthropologists in the military presents an extremely difficult ethical issue for the profession.
14. What is the importance of anthropology in an increasingly globalized world? Anthropologists are increasingly enmeshed in a global society. Those they study are rarely isolated and are often quite knowledgeable about anthropology. Anthropological knowledge is often important in the ways people understand their identity and, as such, is increasingly political.
15. How have anthropologists analyzed pandemics and other disasters? Anthropologists have shown the profound ways that pandemics and other disasters have shaped societies. Anthropological research provides information on the issues that are likely to arise during emergencies and ways to deal with them successfully.

CRITICAL THINKING QUESTIONS

1. Describe some of the key issues surrounding the development of anthropology in the 19th and early 20th centuries. What motivated early anthropologists?
2. Participant observation is the key research technique of anthropology. How is it done? What are its advantages? What problems and issues face researchers using participant observation?
3. Summarize the key challenges that feminism and postmodernism posed for anthropology and the ways in which the discipline responded.
4. To what degree do you think anthropologists should be involved in promoting the welfare of the people with whom they work? What are the advantages and disadvantages of engaged and collaborative anthropology?
5. Should anthropologists work for governments, corporations, and the military? If you believe that anthropologists should be willing to work for these entities, are there limits on the kinds of research they should do or the kinds of information they should be willing to give their employers?

KEY TERMS

collaborative anthropologists (p. 43)

culture shock (p. 35)

engaged anthropology (p. 44)

fieldwork (p. 32)

Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) (p. 40)

informant (respondent, interlocutor, consultant) (p. 36)

informed consent (p. 48)

institutional review board (IRB) (p. 34)

native anthropologists (p. 46)

postmodernists (p. 43)