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The Fifth Subdiscipline: Anthropological Practice and the Future of Anthropology[1]

by MARIETTA L. BABA

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Over the past two decades, the character of anthropological practice outside the academy has been transformed. What was once the part-time avocation of a few seasoned academic anthropologists has become a full-time career path for hundreds of members of our discipline's younger generation. Since the early 1970s, there has been an explosion in the number of employed anthropology PhDs who do not work as college or university faculty yet continue to identify themselves as anthropologists. The explosion of full-time practice was triggered by the collapse of the academic job market in the 1970s, but its full force has been fueled by the burgeoning information and policy needs that spring from the transformation of social, economic, and organizational systems on a global scale. The profound changes that are shaking the very foundations of the world as we have known it are opening many new niches for anthropological knowledge and skills, both in the public and private sectors. The US of the 1980s and 90s has rediscovered the utility of anthropology. In many fields of practice, prospective sponsors are beginning to pursue anthropologists specifically, convinced that we can do for them what no one else can do. Now, for the first time in our history as an institutionalized discipline, significant numbers of anthropology students are coming to their graduate training with little or no intention of ever joining the professoriate. These students often have backgrounds, interests, and goals that diverge from the traditional. As these students leave the university to become full-time practitioners, we are left with many questions—questions about the consequences of a growing practitioner community, about the relationship between academic and non-academic anthropology, and about the long-term significance of this relationship to the future of anthropology. It is the purpose of this paper to examine some of these emerging questions, and to suggest possible courses of action that may enable our institutions to address the challenges that lie ahead.

Conceptualizing the Practitioner Community

The National Association for the Practice of Anthropology (NAPA) defines a "practicing anthropologist" as "a professionally-trained individual who applies specialized knowledge, skills and experience to problem-solving in any of the human dimensions (past, present, and future)" (NAPA 1990). This definition is meant to include both non-academic and academic professionals who accept assignments and provide professional services to public and private sector organizations and other clients. Practicing anthropologists may have their formal training in any one of the four traditional subfields of anthropology, and may apply anthropological knowledge from any one of these subfields in their respective practices. The practice of anthropology thus represents an activity domain that potentially establishes common interests and linkages across the traditional subdisciplines.

In conceptualizing the modern community of practitioners, it is useful to compare NAPA's definition of the "practicing anthropologist" with George Foster's earlier conception of "applied anthropology." For Foster (1969:54), applied anthropology was:

> . . . the phrase commonly used by anthropologists to describe their professional activities in programs that have as *primary goals* changes

in human behavior believed to ameliorate contemporary social, economic, and technological problems, rather than the development of social and cultural theory [emphasis added].

These definitions, separated by roughly 20 years or one generation, reveal the enduring core that is common to both practicing and applied anthropology—a focus on current problems, as they are defined within the context of the larger social order. This type of problem focus contrasts with basic, or theoretical, anthropology in which focal problems are defined within the context of our discipline. The problem orientation of practicing and applied anthropology is both the basis for its potential to strengthen our discipline's link to the policy arena, and its tendency to be conceptualized by some as activity that is separate from the main body of "pure" (theoretical) anthropology. The tension between these two aspects of practicing and applied anthropology has generated controversy in the past, and presents a challenge to our vision of the future.

The NAPA and Foster definitions also point to an important difference in the use and meaning of the terms "practicing" and "applied" anthropology. In 1969, the common term that described the use of our discipline to address contemporary social and economic problems was (and had been since the late 19th century) "applied anthropology." For Foster, this latter term referred *not* to an occupation, but to a *role* that could be played by any anthropologist. When Foster wrote *Applied Anthropology* (1969), full-time anthropological practitioners were rare. Anthropology was typically "applied" by individuals who oscillated between academic positions and temporary roles as consultants or project directors for government agencies or other sponsors. Such applied anthropologists might work for a few months or even a few years on a project basis, but would return to academia eventually (either as soon as such return became possible, or at the termination of the project). This pattern was well established in the United States by the end of World War II, and it continued through the mid-1970s; those anthropologists who worked on the war effort during the 1940s (some say this cohort represented 95% of all anthropologists at the time) were drawn into academia during the 1950s and 1960s to fuel the rise of academic science (Partridge and Eddy 1978). Thus, during the post-war period and up through the 1980s, an "applied anthropologist" typically had an academic base. The Society for Applied Anthropology (SfAA), founded in 1941 by a group of anthropologists working around Washington, DC and Cambridge, MA, reflects this pattern. The society has been led primarily by individuals who are both academically affiliated and experienced in application (although SfAA also has encouraged the formation of a non-academic practitioner arm of the discipline through such activities as sponsorship of the career-oriented journal *Practicing Anthropology*, and recent efforts to include non-academics on its governing board).

When the AAA formed the National Association for the Practice of Anthropology (NAPA) in 1983, it was not simply (as George Stocking states) a "shadow" organization meant to substitute for the SfAA (which declined to become a unit of the Association; see Stocking 1988). In the minds of some observers, "practicing" was perhaps just another name for "applied" anthropology, something to make NAPA appear different from SfAA. To the participants involved in the process of founding NAPA, however, the name was not a pretense, but the symbol of an important distinction—NAPA was to be the first anthropological organization in the United States devoted to representing the needs of full-time anthropological practitioners (especially non-academics). As such, NAPA's primary mission has not been the advancement of applied anthropology as an intellectual domain, per se; that task is still viewed as the legitimate role of the SfAA, and is reflected in many of the society's core activities (such as sponsorship of *Human Organization*, a scholarly journal devoted to the application of social science knowledge). Rather, the founding of NAPA represented the declaration of non-academic anthropology as a distinct and legitimate *occupation* in its own right, separate in professional identity from the role of traditional applied academic anthropology.[2] *Practice* is the name given to the utilization of anthropology by dedicated, full-time professionals (including academically based, non-faculty anthropologists who are full-time practitioners, and faculty members for whom practice is a second profession).

The distinctive, yet overlapping interests of practicing and applied anthropologists are depicted in Figure 1 which shows the relationship between academic anthropology as a whole, academic applied anthropology, and practicing anthropology. In this diagram, sector 1 represents those areas of interest that lie primarily within the domain of academic applied anthropology (e.g., strategies for applied departments, accreditation of applied programs, promotion and tenure criteria for applied faculty, applied anthropology curriculum development). In sector 2 lies a substantial area of overlap where academic and practitioner interests are shared (e.g., training and skills needs of practitioners, certification of practitioners, funding for applied research, methodology in applied research design, outlets for applications-oriented writing, utilization of anthropology in policy-making, linking theory and application). Finally, in sector 3, we find a set of issues and concerns that lie primarily within the domain of practice (e.g., obtaining non-academic employment, making the transition from academia to non-academic work settings, developing careers in business or government, maintaining contact with and currency in the discipline, managing one's own anthropological consulting firm and/or other anthropologists). These examples are meant to be illustrative, not exhaustive.

Besides having somewhat distinctive domains of interest, it is important to note that the context in which practitioners op-

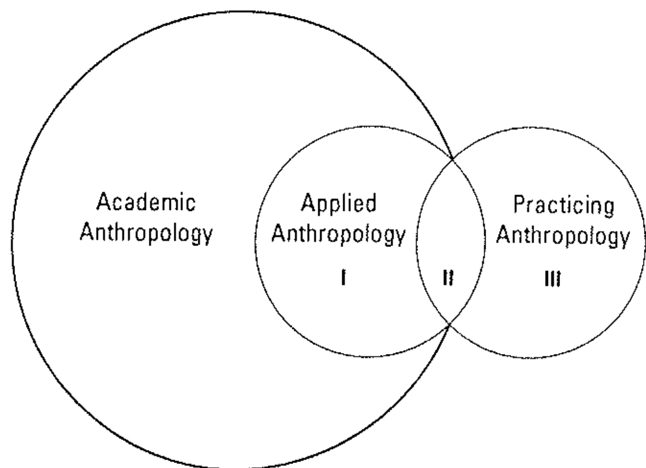


FIGURE 1. ACADEMIC, APPLIED, AND PRACTICING ANTHROPOLOGY

erate is quite different from that of academics. The rules of the game in practice may require that practitioners assign different priorities to a given set of activities, approach these activities differently, and/or seek different outcomes than academics. For example, practitioners typically are under greater time pressure than academics to complete a research effort, and they often are required to deliver "results" (e.g., policy recommendations) at the conclusion of research. While applied academics also face such pressures in their consulting, they always have the option of returning to academia if they do not care for the pressure or are not willing or able to comply with sponsor requirements. Thus, the applied academic can "escape" from practice whenever such escape seems necessary or desirable. Such options typically are not available to practitioners, who must cope with the sponsor's or employer's requirements, or find another sponsor (who probably will have similar requirements, and will want to know what happened on the last job). Thus, from a career standpoint, the stakes of practice are different (perhaps higher), and the risks are greater for the non-academic than they are for the academic anthropologist. Practitioners have an urgent need to find solutions to practice-related issues because, unlike the academic, their primary livelihood is at stake.

Because professional practitioners share concerns that are relatively new within our discipline, some characterize the community of practice as a fifth subdiscipline within anthropology, one that cross-cuts the traditional four fields. Although this fifth subdiscipline is defined primarily by occupational status, it also holds the potential to make valuable intellectual contributions to theory (a subject we shall return to at a later point in this paper).

Characteristics of the Practitioner Community

It is difficult to determine with accuracy the size of the current practitioner community, but it is possible (given existing databases and a few operating assumptions) to develop rough estimates of the general magnitude of this population now and for the rest of this decade. For these projections we will use data drawn from the American Anthropological Association's (AAA) biennial surveys of PhDs, and NAPA's 1990 membership survey. We begin by setting forth some operating assumptions concerning the supply of, and demand for, anthropology PhDs, and then attempt to project the size and growth of the practitioner population.[3]

THE SUPPLY OF ANTHROPOLOGY PHDS. Since the mid-1970s, American academic institutions have been producing approximately 350 to 450 new anthropology PhDs each year (see Table 1), a total of 8025 new PhDs between 1972 and 1992. (All figures cited here are drawn directly or extrapolated from data provided by the American Anthropological Association.) Although annual PhD production has fluctuated somewhat with the economic climate, in general it has remained fairly stable over this entire period, ranging from a high of 445 in 1976 to a low of 360 in 1982.

In estimating the current and future size of the practitioner community, we assume that a relatively stable level of new PhD production will continue over the next several years. This assumption rests on two additional assumptions. First, it is assumed that we are not likely to see dramatic changes in the total size of the anthropology faculty over the next eight years (i.e., 1993–2000). Total faculty size in the United States (now at 6095, including all faculty listed in the AAA *Guide to Departments*) has changed only very gradually over the past 15 years, averaging an increase of about 1.5% per year between 1975 and 1992 (Givens, personal communication, 1993). Barring economic disaster in this country (or a windfall of good fortune), it is not likely that there will be a sudden, dramatic downsizing (or upsizing) in the total body of anthropology faculty during the im-

TABLE 1 Degrees in Anthropology, 1948–1992 by David B. Givens, AAA [Updated Sept. 16, 1992; From the *AA* article by Eugene Hammel et al. (thru 1974) and, subsequently, *Guides to Departments* (1975–1992/1993)]

Year	PhDs	MAs	BAs
1948	24	26	139
1949	17	45	190
1950	22	69	352
1951	35	89	364
1952	51	73	284
1953	37	80	284
1954	33	87	235
1955	47	95	289
1956	44	89	303
1957	48	80	329
1958	50	79	372
1959	51	120	374
1960	55	117	449
1961	72	112	425
1962	49	87	499
1963	82	143	594
1964	86	160	768
1965	85	180	994
1966	89	228	1250
1967	102	317	1564
1968	141	385	1887
1969	150	523	2339
1970	195	553	3103
1971	224	712	3810
1972	250	814	4594
1973	295	886	6121
1974	409	935	6166
1975	381	1063	6239
1976	445	1078	6008
1977	402	1114	5346
1978	414	516	6324
1979	394	931	4440
1980	389	929	3623
1981	422	937	3876
1982	360	919	3610
1983	402	918	3572
1984	403	855	3686
1985	393	839	3624
1986	420	839	3490
1987	369	873	3686
1988	375	911	3888
1989	363	945	4091
1990	375	980	4504
1991	397	1000	4932
1992	367	1048	5945
TOTAL	9,814	23,779	118,962

mediate future. Second, since the pipeline for PhD students (i.e., enrollment in Masters and baccalaureate degree programs; see Table 1) has been growing over the last several years, it seems reasonable to assume that a more or less stable faculty body will generate a fairly steady stream of PhDs over the near future.

THE DEMAND FOR ANTHROPOLOGY PHDS. Until the mid-1970s, the majority of new anthropology PhDs in the United States found employment inside the rapidly growing ranks of the professoriate. About 85% of the 1971–72 cohort of new anthropology PhDs, for example, found employment as faculty members in anthropology, joint, or other academic departments. Starting in 1975, however, the bottom began to fall out of the academic job market; only 61% of the 1975–76 cohort were able to find employment as faculty, and by 1985–86 this number had fallen to 43% (see Table 2).

The end of the expansionist era in academic anthropology did not, however, deter institutions from graduating large numbers of new PhDs, but the largest PhD cohorts were graduated *after* the academic job market collapsed (see Table 1). Even after that point, PhD production did not adjust downward to reflect the more limited need for new professors. Thus was created a "crisis of overproduction." Unlike inventory, however, the "surplus" PhDs could not sit awaiting liquidation. They had to find jobs outside the academy.

Only a trickle of new PhDs found their way into non-academic jobs in the early 1970s (9% of the 1971–72 PhD cohort), but this number turned into a torrent by the mid 1980s (51% of the class of 1985–86). At present, it appears that a regular employment channel has been established leading away from the academy and toward non-academic jobs in the public and private sectors. At least 30% of all new PhDs in anthropology now find jobs in government, or in the non-profit or for-profit private sectors (see Table 2; 30% probably is a conservative estimate given that 1989–90, the latest date for which we have data, was a recession year). Another 30% are working in an academic setting, but not as traditional anthropology faculty; many of these non-traditionals are faculty in professional schools, researchers in centers or institutes, or academic administrators. Finally, about 40% continue to land jobs as anthropology faculty (but about half of the 1990 PhDs were not on the tenure track).

One interesting feature of the demand side of the picture relates to the fact that increasing numbers of new PhDs appear to be finding employment that is close enough to their original training to enable them to maintain their identities as anthropologists. The 1990 AAA survey of anthropology PhDs shows that 63% of non-academic PhDs found jobs that were very close or closely related to their PhD training, up from 48% in 1981–82. This figure compares with 78% for academics in 1990. Only 11% of the 1990 non-academics were working in positions unrelated to anthropology, compared with 22% in 1981–82. Increasingly, there are new employment opportunities for PhD anthropologists to utilize their skills in domestic corporations, international businesses, health care organizations, a variety of types of consulting firms, and a wide range of other settings (as discussed in greater detail below). Many of these opportunities did not exist ten years ago. The emergence of a global economy, the intensification of international economic competition, and the newly discovered "multicultural" character of the American work place are some of the major forces that are opening a growth market for anthropological knowledge and skills which probably will last throughout the remainder of this century and into the next.

ESTIMATING THE SIZE OF THE PRACTITIONER POPULATION. The size of the current population of anthropological practitioners may be estimated by first finding the number of practitioners from each PhD cohort, and then summing these annual estimates. These calculations can be performed using existing AAA data. The number of practitioners from each cohort is estimated by multiplying the total number of new PhDs graduated each year by the appropriate percentage of new PhDs in each cohort

TABLE 2 Primary Work Setting of Anthropology PhDs

Cohort	1971–1972 [in 1982]	1976–1977 [in 1982]	1981–1982 [in 1986]	1983–1984 [in 1986]	1985–1986 [in 1986]	1987–1988 [in 1988]	1989–1990 [in 1990]
Academic [%]							
Anthropology department	56	28	23	19	23	27	25
Joint department	19	21	14	9	10	13	17
Other department	10	12	11	18	10	16	15
Residence C/I	3	7	11	10	5	4	8
Administration	3	3	3	2	2	3	5
Other academics	1	1	2	2	1	3	2
TOTAL*	92%	72%	64%	60%	51%	66%	72%
Non-Academic [%]							
Federal government	1	6	5	6	7	5	3
State government	1	2	3	5	3	2	4
Local government	0	1	1	3	3	3	1
Private section	4	10	12	10	9	13	9
Museum	1	5	3	4	6	5	2
Self	0	1	1	2	1	3	1
Other	2	3	12	8	22	2	10
TOTAL*	9%	28%	37%	38%	51%	33%	30%

Source: AAA Survey of PhDs 1990.
* Errors due to rounding.

finding employment outside the academy, and then subtracting the number whose jobs are not related to anthropology. Such calculations estimate the current population of PhD practitioners at a little over 2100 (counting only those individuals who received the doctorate in 1972 or later; see Table 3).[4] [This population would be larger if the total number of MA practitioners, now unknown, were added.]

If we further assume that at least 350 new PhDs will be produced every year until the year 2000, and assume that at least 30% of them will become non-academic practitioners (both conservative estimates), we arrive at an increase in the practitioner pool of about 105 annually (i.e., about 840 more practitioners by 2000). Adding these 840 to the current estimated pool of non-academics that already exists gives us an estimated total population of nearly 3,000 practicing anthropology PhDs by the end of the century.

THE SUBSTANCE OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL PRACTICE. Although the many varieties of practice suggest that there is probably no "typical" practitioner, there are some central tendencies or general characteristics of the practitioner population that are useful to bear in mind as we think about the future. The most recent information on the practitioner community comes from NAPA's 1990 membership survey (more than half of NAPA's ~800 members are non-academic). This survey ($n = 531$) provides the following profile of the practitioner community (Fiske 1991):

Job Sector: The largest segment of practitioners (25% of the *entire* survey response group) work in the private sector for consulting firms or large corporations (or as independent consultants). About 14% work in the public sector, mostly in federal government but with state government well represented also. Another 11% work for non-profit organizations. About 44% are academically-based; a small number work for international agencies (e.g., CARE).

Job Role: The largest group of respondents indicated that their primary job role is research (37%). This figure corresponds with the 1990 AAA survey of PhDs, which found that 55% of the 1990 non-academic cohort spend 21-60% of their time involved in research (compared with 34% of the academic cohort). Another 28% are involved primarily in administration and management. Teaching occupies most of the time of 24% (probably those who are academically based), while 19% are primarily engaged in program implementation or service delivery.

Substantive Focus*: The application areas for anthropological practice are quite diverse, as indicated below in the listing of primary areas of expertise in which practitioners are employed. Note the large number of responses in the categories labeled "Evaluation" and "Social Impact Assessment." In these categories are individuals employed principally to utilize *ethnographic or other qualitative methods.*

Evaluation	31%
Public Health/Health Services	29%
Social Impact Assessment	24%
Private Sector	23%
Agricultural Development	14%
Natural Resources	13%
Education	12%

[* More than one response could be given.]

TABLE 3 Estimating the Current Size of the Practitioner Community

	PhD cohort	Percent non-academic	Total non-academic	Percent (number) non-anthropology	Total practitioner community
1971-1972	250	9	23	17 (4)	19
1972-1973	295	18.5	55	17 (9)	46
1973-1974	409	18.5	76	17 (13)	63
1974-1975	381	18.5	70	17 (12)	58
1975-1976	445	18.5	82	17 (14)	68
1976-1977	402	28	113	17 (19)	94
1977-1978	414	32.5	135	17 (23)	112
1978-1979	394	32.5	128	17 (22)	106
1979-1980	389	32.5	126	17 (21)	105
1980-1981	422	32.5	137	17 (23)	114
1981-1982	360	37	133	18 (24)	109
1982-1983	402	37.5	151	18 (27)	124
1983-1984	403	38	153	19 (29)	124
1984-1985	393	44.5	175	17.5 (31)	144
1985-1986	420	51	214	16 (34)	180
1986-1987	369	42	155	16 (25)	130
1987-1988	375	33	124	16 (20)	104
1988-1989	363	31.5	114	12 (14)	100
1989-1990	375	30	113	8 (9)	104
1990-1991	397	30	119	8 (10)	109
1991-1992	367	30	110	8 (9)	101
TOTAL					2114

Source: American Anthropological Association.

Legal Systems	4%
Community Development	1%
Human Resources Management	1%

Human Resources, Archeology, Cultural Resources Management, Women and Development, Substance Abuse, Gerontology/Aging, Mental Health, Social Casework, Refugee Programs were mentioned less than 1%.

Preparation: The majority of survey respondents hold the PhD in anthropology or are PhD candidates (80%). A significant minority have Masters degrees (11%), baccalaureate degrees (4%), or non-anthropology degrees (4%). According to the AAA 1990 survey of PhDs, only 28% of non-academic anthropologists did their dissertation research in an applied area (versus 22% of academic anthropologists).

This brief profile, although useful, does not do justice to the variety and complexity of the practitioner landscape. In my own research and consulting in the private sector, I have discovered full-time anthropological practitioners in roles that range from research scientist in a corporation-based artificial intelligence laboratory, to trainer in the cross-cultural communications industry, to international marketing executive in a pharmaceutical firm, to president (and founder) of a consumer research consulting firm. In many of these roles, anthropologists were deciphering and translating for their sponsors the behavior of cultural "others," including "others" in the form of employee occupational groups, customers, and foreign nationals.

There is insufficient space in this paper to provide detailed profiles of practice in various domains of expertise, but several such profiles are available in Baba (1986) and Briody (1988). These detailed accounts (supplemented by information drawn from the AAA PhD surveys) suggest that most practitioners find their work stimulating and challenging, and often point out that their salary and benefits are greater than those of their academic colleagues. Further, the majority of practitioners do not appear to be interested in "returning" to academia as faculty members (even if a position were available).

LOCAL PRACTITIONER ORGANIZATIONS. A final feature of the practitioner landscape that is worthy of mention is the tendency of practitioners to form independent, regionally based voluntary associations called Local Practitioner Organizations (LPOs). In 1988, there were 17 active LPOs in the United States, with membership lists totalling about 850 (Bennett 1988). These organizations generally have not been willing to affiliate formally with any national body, although several have informal ties to the SfAA and/or NAPA (and their memberships overlap significantly with these national organizations). LPOs gather together many of the practitioners in a geographical area for purposes of professional development, job networking, informal support, and socializing. Larger LPOs (such as the Washington Association of Professional Anthropologists and the Southern California Applied Anthropology Network) have speaker's programs, newsletters, and even publish informational brochures. Groups of LPO representatives regularly meet at annual professional association meetings to discuss common issues and concerns. LPOs constitute a grassroots support network that functions actively throughout the year, and enables non-academic practitioners to maintain their identity as anthropologists in the absence of linkages to academia.

Academic and Practicing Anthropology: Issues at the Interface

Practice, by definition, is something that takes place primarily outside the academy. The future of our discipline, however, will be shaped largely within the academy and within our academically grounded associations. It is the principal responsibility of academic anthropology and its associations to advance the core intellectual content of our discipline, and to train the practitioners who will utilize that intellectual core to solve problems and provide practical benefits to society as a whole. Since practice is an extension of our discipline, one that depends on the base of the discipline for its sustenance, questions about the future of practice and its impact on anthropology as a whole ultimately must be addressed within academia.

The question before us concerns the relationship between the core of our discipline, which is academic, and the growing community of practice, which is non-academic. How should this relationship be constructed to provide the greatest benefit to our discipline and our society? This question assumes that we—academics and practitioners—share the related goals of advancing anthropology as a discipline and facilitating the utilization of anthropological knowledge to solve social and economic problems. These goals are clearly interdependent; it is likely that neither could stand alone for long. In general, public support for a discipline is based on the public's perception of the benefit that the discipline brings to society—the greater the perceived benefit, the greater the support. In turn, practice cannot stand for long without a vital and thriving intellectual academic community to give it birth and provide it with unique capabilities that allow it to add value to society.

There are three principal areas in which the relationship between academic and practicing anthropology is most critical: 1) in the education and training of future practitioners; 2) in the link between theory-building and applied research; and 3) in the utilization of anthropological knowledge to address policy needs. We will explore several issues that emerge in each of these three areas.

PREPARATION FOR PRACTICE. The training of practitioners has traditionally been considered the bailiwick of applied academic anthropology. It is my contention, however, that the education of practitioners should be the concern of the entire discipline. My argument rests not only on the estimated size and projected growth of the practitioner community, but on data that suggest that the majority of practitioners are not trained in applied anthropology, receiving instead a traditional education in basic anthropology programs. The 1990 AAA Survey of PhDs shows that 72% of the non-academic cohort did not conduct dissertation research in "applied anthropology"; this figure is up from 62% for the 1981–82 cohort. Even among MA-level anthropologists, where a sizeable fraction are working outside the academy, it is likely that many received their graduate training in traditional programs. The AAA's 1993 pilot survey of 80 MA anthropologists revealed that 46% had not been trained in an applied program (Givens, personal communication). That most practitioners at the PhD level (and many with MAs) receive a "basic" education in one of the four traditional fields of anthropology is not a problem in itself; practitioners frequently report that a strong background in the theory of their subdiscipline is one

of their greatest assets (e.g., see Baba 1986). They also report, however, that in order to obtain employment and/or advance in their professional roles, they needed additional skills beyond those offered by traditional anthropology programs (Baba 1986, Black 1993, Briody 1988, van Willigen 1986). Other skills mentioned most frequently include quantitative/computer methods, oral and written communication skills, mastery of a foreign language, and knowledge and/or skill in a substantive area of practice such as health care or international business.

These findings raise two issues. First, if a substantial proportion of future practitioners is being trained in traditional anthropology programs, do these programs contain within them that which we want our practitioners to know? Traditional programs generally were created to prepare future faculty, yet only 30% of each PhD cohort are becoming traditional faculty. What is it within our discipline that future practitioners must know in order to represent our discipline responsibly and ethically, and contribute to its future growth and development? Further, what must future generations of anthropology faculty know in order to prepare future generations of practitioners? Should courses in ethics be required? What about requirements in methodology, or in the application of anthropological knowledge?

A second issue relates to the "other" skills that practitioners often find that they need (e.g., quantitative methods, communication). These skills are not typically required within a traditional liberal arts curriculum. In order to get them, students must go outside the anthropology department. There is an issue of control here, and one of enculturation. To "imprint" our future practitioners more thoroughly in the ways of our discipline, should anthropology departments be offering courses that provide some of these skills? Some departments (e.g., University of Maryland) have constructed an innovative applied curriculum that follows a professional school, rather than a liberal arts model. Future practitioners are placed in a special Master of Applied Anthropology degree program that offers some of the general skills they need to succeed outside the academy (e.g., planning and management; see Chambers and Fiske 1988). This approach raises another issue that returns us to the basic question of practitioner training. Do we want to segregate future practitioners (including those with MAs) in special "tracks," or keep them integrated with the mainstream?

These education and training questions take on greater significance when we consider the tendency of practice to erode disciplinary boundaries (van Willigen 1979). Despite increasing employment opportunities, many practitioners still do not apply for jobs advertised as "Anthropologist Wanted." Instead, they occupy niches that could be filled by individuals with other types of liberal arts or professional backgrounds. In these niches they often are expected to be generalists of sorts, commanding a wide range of skills and abilities, and to interact well with people trained in a variety of other disciplines. If our graduates increasingly must seek training that points them in other directions, and if they are assuming professional positions in which disciplinary boundaries are blurred, then we are at risk of having future practitioners—who may not have been sufficiently enculturated—lose their identity as anthropologists and drift away from our discipline. This danger may be exacerbated by the tendency of some anthropologists to "go native" if left alone too long in the field (i.e., the "field" of practice). If we wish to bond future practitioners—regardless of degree level—to our discipline in a way that ensures their future identity as anthropologists, then we should consider very carefully the nature of the graduate education they receive and whether or not it meets these objectives.

Finally, we face the question of accreditation of training programs for applied anthropologists. Should the discipline initiate, via some existing or future organizational entity, the process of reviewing and accrediting applied academic training programs? This is a question that has been debated actively by the SfAA and NAPA. In view of the preceding discussion, however, it appears that the accreditation debate may be asking the wrong question, or at least missing an important issue. Many practitioners are not trained in applied programs. No one has suggested (and there probably would be little or no support for the suggestion) that traditional programs be accredited. Given our current circumstances, it would appear to be appropriate to address some fundamental issues concerning the education and training of *all* anthropologists—for example, how can we better prepare future generations of our discipline to survive and flourish in a 21st century world in which approximately one-third of all living anthropologists will be practitioners?

THEORY-BUILDING AND APPLIED RESEARCH. It is generally acknowledged that the mission of science includes both the search for, and discovery of, new phenomena and relationships between phenomena, and the utilization of knowledge thus gained for the betterment of humankind (Tornatzky and Fleischer 1990). In the physical sciences, the division of labor often is such that basic, theoretical scientists develop new knowledge, which then is handed down to, and utilized in problem-solving activity by applied scientists or technologists. This division of labor is exemplified by the physics-engineering relationship—theoretical physicists unravel the mysteries of the universe and formulate the laws of matter, which are then translated by engineers into solutions embodied within technological systems. In this model, the flow of knowledge is unidirectional: from theory to application. The personnel involved in each stage receive different types of training, use different methods to accomplish their objectives, and do very different types of work.

It has often been assumed that this "engineering model" also describes the relationship between theory and application in anthropology (Foster 1969). Radcliffe-Brown, for example, wrote that:

> Applied anthropology must, of course, be based on pure anthropology. What is therefore necessary in the first place is the development of pure science by the discovery and formulation of the fundamental principles of social integration (1931:276; see also, Foster 1969:41).

A closer look at the actual flow of knowledge between theoretical and applied endeavors in the human and social sciences (including anthropology) suggests that the "engineering model" of practice is not always accurate or appropriate. In psychiatry and medicine, for example, data generated through applied research and/or practice often has been utilized in the construction of theory. Probably the best known example is Freudian theory, which was generated from data collected in Freud's practice. The use of problem-oriented research data to guide theory-building is commonplace in medicine.

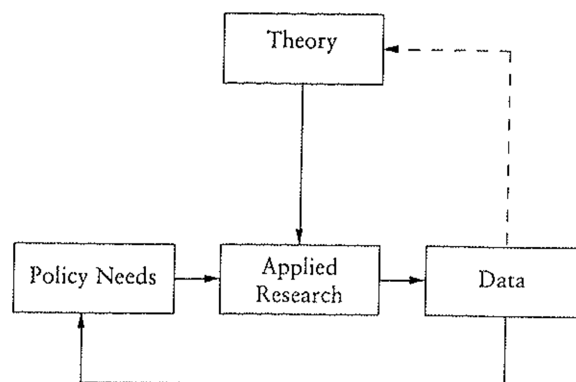
In anthropology there are numerous illustrations of a similar process. Research monographs commissioned by the British government to aid in colonial administration, for example, became an important part of the foundation for British social anthro-

pology (and much of the basis for the radical critique of applied anthropology; van Willigen 1988). The applied research design of W. Lloyd Warner at Western Electric's Hawthorne plant in Chicago yielded data that led to the discovery of informal organization, a discovery that revolutionized organizational theory and launched the neo-classical human relations school of management (see Baba 1986). Warner and his colleagues then went on to extend and elaborate the concept of informal interaction networks in their classic Yankee City community studies (e.g., Warner and Low 1947). Edward Hall (the anthropologist most widely cited in business literature today) developed several novel theoretical constructs pertaining to cross-cultural communication after many years of exposure to the practical problems of Americans working abroad (Baba 1991). These are only a few examples that readily come to mind.

The human and social sciences are different enough from physics and other physical sciences to warrant a model of the relationship between theory and application that differs from the "engineering model." (For a lengthy treatment of this subject, see Foster 1969). First, the practitioners in these fields (i.e., human and social sciences) generally are trained in the same basic sciences as the theoreticians; often there is no separate group of "technicians" who are trained primarily to apply rather than to discover (unless, of course, such a group is created by the segregation of certain classes of trainees, such as those enrolled in "terminal" applied MA programs). Indeed, the practitioners and the theoreticians may even be the same people (as was certainly the case in the early days of applied anthropology). The close correspondence between the training of theoretical and applied scientists in these fields relates to the fact that there is no set of "hard laws" that can be handed down to technicians for application; both theoretical and applied researchers work with the same basic set of theoretical constructs and methodological principles.

This latter point leads to a second observation, namely that the form and content of basic science on the one hand, and of application on the other, are not always radically different in the human and social sciences. In many cases, practitioners in these sciences are engaged in the same type of basic observation and description as are theoretical scientists. Where practitioners are employed to explore new territory (and that is often the reason why anthropologists are employed), the first phases of applied research may be virtually indistinguishable from basic research. Of course, this factor depends on the sponsor, but some sponsors permit and even encourage a period of basic research. In my own recent research at General Motors/Electronic Data Systems (1990–1993), for example, I received 18 months of funding to conduct what amounted to basic ethnographic observation, description, and analysis of work culture in several design and engineering work groups. Although the general problem-focus was defined by the sponsor, the research design was left entirely up to my team of researchers. This is the type of research that also is being conducted at Xerox's Palo Alto Research Center and at General Motors Research Laboratories (see Briody and Baba 1990, Suchman 1987). Under such circumstances, new data concerning hitherto unexplored domains of human experience (or domains that were explored previously using quantitative approaches) can flow from applied research design back to policy-makers, and to theory.

Figure 2 is a simplified representation of the relationship between theory and application that could emerge from the situation described above. In this diagram, adapted from the work of Foster (1969), applied research is shown to be influenced by two forces – the problem-oriented policy needs of a sponsor, and theoretical anthropology. Application is linked to theory in two ways. First, applied research design is (or should be) informed by theory; a strong link to theory improves the quality of applied research. Application is linked to theory in a second way when applied research yields data that become part of the foundation for future theoretical development, including both modification of existing theory and new theory.



Source: Adapted from Foster (1969)

FIGURE 2. THEORY AND APPLICATION IN ANTHROPOLOGY

One problem with the picture presented above is that it represents the ideal more than the real. Although there are exceptions, data from applied research do not flow regularly to general theory-building in anthropology. As one reflection of this problem, the *American Anthropologist* has had very few submissions from applied/practicing anthropologists that meet the journal's criteria of contributing to theory, even though the editorial board has solicited such manuscripts actively for the past four years. There are several reasons for the general decoupling of theory and application/practice in our discipline, four of which are discussed below.

1. *The Nature of Practice.* John van Willigen (1986) has noted that applied and practicing anthropologists often do not publish their data, either because of sponsor restrictions on proprietary information, and/or because their employment situation does not encourage or reward such efforts. In earlier years, anthropologists were prohibited by the AAA professional code of ethics from engaging in research that could not be disseminated publicly. The ethical code has changed to accommodate the reality of non-academic employment, and more and more anthropologists are now spending time on research that cannot be published. Even if proprietary restrictions do not exist, many practicing anthropologists work under conditions that are not conducive to the generation or writing of theory. They may not be allowed the time to work on publication of their material, and if they take the time "out of their hides" for writing pieces that would be acceptable by journals such as *American Anthropologist*, such activity may not be recognized or rewarded by their employers. Van Willigen has addressed this issue by establishing an archive that documents applied research through the collection and organization of the "grey literature" that flows out of applied research (i.e., technical reports and other doc-

uments that are not in journal-publishable form). The extent to which this archive is used by scholars and theorists is not clear.

2. *The Nature of Applied Academic Anthropology.* It would appear that applied academic anthropologists would be in the best position to link theory and application; research and publication are required and rewarded in many applied departments. Although a substantial number of applied academic anthropologists do publish their work (e.g., see *Human Organization*), it is my impression (and that of others; see Partridge 1985; Hackenberg 1988) that these efforts have not made much of an impact on theory-building in the discipline in recent years.

It may be that the decoupling of application and theory is symptomatic of the general specialization and fragmentation that characterize anthropology at the present time. Applied anthropologists work in many diverse domains of expertise, especially domains that intersect with, or are centered within, other disciplines (e.g., cognitive science, organizational theory, information theory, diffusion of innovations theory, to name only a few that are relevant to research in industry). Due to the interdisciplinary nature of application and practice, many applied anthropologists conduct research aimed at, and write for, audiences in other disciplines, or for interdisciplinary audiences that generally lie beyond the boundaries of traditional anthropology. As an illustration, efforts to review the key writings of business and industrial anthropologists require a survey of literatures in computer science, engineering, management, marketing, and organizational studies. Few of the works written by such anthropologists appear in traditional disciplinary journals. I suspect this is the case in many other fields of application as well.

William Partridge (1985) has discussed the tendency of applied anthropologists to orient their work toward the problems of other disciplines. He attributes this tendency to the apparent lack of interest in, and attention given to, applied research by the professional mainstream in anthropology. Other, more practically oriented disciplines such as agriculture, nutrition, economics, biology, education, and medicine often have shown greater appreciation for the contributions of applied anthropologists than have other anthropologists. As a result, published data from problem-oriented research appears to be flowing outside anthropology where it may be incorporated into the theory-building activities of other disciplines.[5]

An additional barrier to the theoretical contribution of applied research in our discipline may be the lack of support for applied research by traditional anthropological funding agencies (e.g., National Science Foundation, Wenner-Gren Foundation). Such agencies are in a good position to encourage and promote a productive relationship between theory and application. The fact that they generally do not do so means that applied anthropologists must turn to other sponsors (typically non-anthropological) that do not have theory-building in our discipline as one of their objectives.

3. *The Prestige Gap.* As in many disciplines, there has been a long-standing perception in anthropology that basic, theoretical work confers greater prestige than applied or practicing activity. This perception was captured in Kroeber's disdainful remark: "Applied physics is engineering and applied anthropology is social work" (*in* Hackenberg 1988:172). Commenting on remarks such as these, Foster (1969:131) noted that:

> Applied research is viewed by a majority of anthropologists as less profound, less scientifically valid, and hence less worthy of applause than research seen as having no immediate practical ends.

Recent evidence of a continuing prestige gap is reported in Black's (1993:45) study of anthropologists working in the private sector. When Black asked these PhD anthropologists how their professors had responded to the news that they were working for business or industry, their comments included the following: "They don't see it as research, so they don't see it as valid in an academic setting. . ." "My professors at the university where I got my PhD do not consider what I do anthropology." "I got the impression that I had somehow sold out the discipline." "[They were] patronizing."

The perception that application is less worthy of praise than "pure" science is widespread in academia, and has deep roots in western philosophy (a subject that is beyond the scope of this paper). Although this perception probably is weaker in the United States (with its culture of pragmatism and anti-intellectual tendencies) than in Europe (where applied anthropology faces severe criticism), there remains in this country an image of application that detracts from its respectability (at least within academe). Practice often is viewed by academics as a domain in which sponsors' time restrictions on research encourage "quick and dirty" methods that yield data of questionable validity. Further, because problem-solving frequently requires a multidisciplinary approach, there is the additional perception that practitioners explain their data using a hodge-podge of theoretical bits and pieces torn from a disharmonious assortment of explanatory models. Such problem-oriented "theory-building" is not viewed as advancing the state of "pure" theory in anthropology, which is a principal academic goal. The greatest prestige in academe is reserved for those who contribute most to this latter mission.

4. *The Ethics Gap.* Beyond the sources of impurity discussed above, practice also is viewed as "dirty" in a second sense; many scholars believe that anthropological practice is ethically impure, or "less ethical" than that of basic ("pure") anthropology. It is my impression, based on anecdotal evidence, that questions concerning the ethics of practice are widespread in American anthropology. For example, a number of graduate students from various institutions have told me that they have had anthropology courses in which faculty have cautioned them against engaging in application or practice due to the ethical dangers that supposedly are inherent in such activity. Another anecdote comes from my own experience. When lecturing to anthropology department audiences on the subject of business and industrial anthropology, I find that the comment and question period invariably is dominated by allegations and arguments concerning the questionable ethics of private sector practice. Although evidence of unethical behavior generally is lacking in these discussions, many faculty and graduate students seem to fear that practitioners will be forced into situations that compromise their ethical principles (e.g., pressured to divulge confidential information, or to recommend individuals for layoff). Such fears reveal a general lack of understanding concerning the power of professional codes of conduct within work settings. If formal codes are in place and practitioners stand by them, their requirements generally are respected by employers and other sponsors (who recognize that violations will jeopardize the integrity of professional employees, thereby limiting the employer's ability to contract with professionals in the future).

An even greater problem, however, may be the distaste with which some anthropologists view the powerful elites that employ practitioners. Often, there is the implication—implicit, and sometimes explicit—that powerful elites are "bad," and that

working "with them" makes you one of them.[6] Again, this viewpoint suggests a general lack of understanding of the ethical requirements that drive many practitioners into government and business work settings where, to some minds, the insights of anthropology are most sorely needed.

The subject of ethics in application and practice points to a deeper divide that characterizes the discipline as a whole. There is a profound ambivalence within anthropology regarding the relationship between our discipline and the power structures of the larger society. This ambivalence is reflected in two distinct, and fundamentally contradictory ethical paradigms—one that strongly discourages or even *forbids* the danger (and implied impurity) that allegedly follows the acceptance of "taboo" work assignments from certain organizational sponsors (e.g., corporations, government), and another that encourages or even *requires* anthropologists to gain knowledge of the modern world through engagement in those same forbidden forms of work and to use the knowledge thus gained in "ethically responsible and politically effective action" within the halls of power (i.e., *praxis* in the Aristotelian sense; Partridge 1985). This basic philosophical conflict is the source of many disagreements between academic and practicing anthropologists, disagreements that can hamper efforts at collaboration. For example, some traditional anthropologists believe that they are ethically (and methodologically) prohibited from interfering in the lives of the cultures they study, and for this reason they may refuse to engage in research that requires them to make recommendations that could result in culture change. Practitioners, on the other hand, often become involved at a field site specifically for the purpose of enabling change through recommendations that emerge from their work. Such conflicts have prevented anthropology as a whole from embracing and integrating the work of application and practice, and they could cast a shadow over our efforts to move toward greater participation in the policy arena.

If applied and practicing anthropology are perceived by some to be the work of individuals who hold a lower status, either intellectually or morally, then it seems reasonable to expect status and ideological barriers to collaboration between theoretical and applied/practicing anthropologists. Indeed, suspicion of unethical practices may serve to justify the separation of academics from practitioners. Such suspicions are exacerbated by the fact that practitioner salaries often are higher than those of similarly qualified academics, leading to bitter allegations that practitioners have "sold out" to powerful employer elites. Such dynamics may explain why so many practicing anthropologists have not been successful in establishing linkages with academic departments in their geographical area, even though they often long for such connections (Black 1993, Briody 1988).

ANTHROPOLOGY'S IMPACT ON PUBLIC POLICY. Bohannan (1980:520) stated in his presidential address to the AAA that ". . . applied anthropology will provide leadership toward the policy sciences."[7] Although this statement remains more promise than fact, it is clear that the growth of a practitioner arm places our discipline closer to the policy arena than it has been at any time since World War II. The very existence of application and practice is driven strongly by policy needs; policy-makers are, in a sense, the "customers" of practicing and applied anthropology (as depicted in Figure 2). Given this relationship, it would appear that practitioners are ideally situated to transfer anthropological knowledge into the policy arena.

Assuming that we agree that policy leadership can and should be part of our future, a question remains concerning the nature of our relationship to policy. Should we, as a discipline, stand apart from the policy arena in the mode of detached and critical observers? Or, should we enter the policy domain, using our knowledge and skills to comprehend, engage, and actively influence the institutions that create and wield policy? These questions echo those of the ethics debate. The answers that are given will have a determining influence on the role that practitioners can play in our future policy involvement.

If we choose to actively engage the policy arena (and this choice already has been made by many individuals), then practitioners can be on the front lines of the engagement; some will even (as they do now) devote all of their energies to policy development and implementation. Although, at present, many practitioners are relatively young and still fairly junior in their respective organizations, it seems reasonable to assume that as they mature some will rise to positions of considerable influence. Such individuals could bring anthropology to bear on policy in ways that have not been possible in the recent past. If this scenario is to become a reality that benefits the discipline as a whole, it will be necessary to ensure that practitioners are well-grounded in anthropological theory and method, are intellectually linked to, and up-to-date on, the latest developments in the discipline, and continue to identify themselves as anthropologists. Further, our discipline will need to come to terms with its deep-seated ambivalence concerning engagement with politically powerful organizations and elites.

Recommendations

To construct a fruitful relationship between academic and practicing anthropology that can benefit the discipline as a whole, I offer several recommendations. Many other disciplines already have wrestled with the problem of such relationships (see Baba 1988), and some of their innovative solutions may be adaptable to our purposes.

1. *Education and Training.* The anthropology curriculum should be examined to determine whether or not anthropologists in general are receiving the education and training they need to prepare them for the future. We need to think specifically about the needs of the many anthropologists who are never going to become faculty, and about the faculty who will be preparing practitioners. I recommend that a study group be appointed to review the current state of the anthropology curriculum (including special curricula that have been developed by applied programs) and make recommendations concerning ways in which our curricula could be further developed to meet future needs.

The study group should give particular attention to the roles played by MA and PhD practitioners, and the relationship between those roles and the graduate training they received. (Clearly, a data base on MA employment patterns would be needed for a careful study; the AAA and/or SfAA should consider seriously the development of an MA data base, given the increasing importance of practice and the likelihood that many MA anthropologists are working as practitioners.) A review of MA and PhD training and work roles would enable the study group to determine whether MA practitioners are being "tracked" into technical roles that are fundamentally different from work roles played by PhDs. A key issue in this area involves the need to bond practitioners, regardless of degree level, to the discipline. Can such bonding be accomplished through MA degree

programs that deliver an education which is fundamentally different from that received by PhDs (who constitute the disciplinary mainstream)?

The study group also should give attention to the role of internships and practica in applied/practicing anthropology training programs. Such experiences are of growing importance in many academic departments and they raise several serious issues. Chief among such issues is the need for standards around which to structure the internship/practica experience (e.g., minimal critical specifications for knowledge and skills to be obtained during the experience). Also needed are guidelines to support the selection and monitoring of host agencies, the evaluation of student readiness and performance, and the design of support systems and rewards/incentives for faculty coordinators.

2. *Collaborative Research.* Many of the difficulties that prevent applications-oriented research from leading to developments in anthropological theory could be mitigated if there were stronger research and publishing collaboration between theoretically oriented academic anthropologists and applied researchers (particularly non-academic researchers who have access to important new field sites in the public and private sectors). Doing so assumes, of course, that there are theoretical issues in anthropology that can be addressed by data emerging from research in modern social contexts. The National Science Foundation (NSF) has supported such collaborative research initiatives in other disciplines in the past, the objective being to encourage and underwrite some of the costs involved in allowing long-term research collaboration between academic and industrial scientists. The presence of NSF support has reduced many of the barriers to academic-practitioner collaboration, including a) the barrier of time (the partnership of an academic and a practitioner provides the time resource that is required to prepare journal quality work); b) the barrier of proprietary restrictions on publication (which can be negotiated up-front); c) the barrier of research designs that do not address theoretical issues in anthropology (they will do so if the funding agency requires it); and d) the barrier of prestige (NSF support could signal a shift in the value assigned to contemporary anthropology and to practice). Collaborative research also could bring many benefits to academic departments, including tuition support and internship experiences for graduate students. (For a discussion of other benefits, see Baba 1988.) I recommend that appropriate anthropological organizations enter into discussions with the NSF or other agencies to explore the possibility of launching a new collaborative research initiative that would encourage joint research efforts between academic and practicing anthropologists for the purposes of theory-building (and possibly policy leadership) in specific areas of interest.

3. *Addressing the Ethics Gap.* Critical to the future relationship of academic and practicing anthropology is the need to address the ethical issues surrounding anthropological practice in modern contexts. It is unlikely that we will be able to resolve the tension that exists between the two ethical paradigms described above, but we may at least be able to initiate a productive exchange of accurate information about the ethical character of practice (e.g., how *do* practitioners resolve ethical conflicts?), and to provide guidance around some new dangers that are emerging in certain practitioner domains (e.g., invasion of privacy in research, a problem that surfaced recently in a law suit against a major corporation for videotaping people in a place of business without their permission). It might also be possible to "level the playing field" by reminding everyone that serious ethical concerns continue to face those who do not practice anthropology (e.g., the ethical issues that are raised by preparing graduate students for academic positions that do not exist, and then refusing to recognize or accept them as anthropologists after they graduate and take non-academic positions). To address these concerns, I recommend that the SfAA and/or AAA sponsor plenary sessions at professional meetings that focus on anthropological ethics in the 21st century.

4. *Linking Practitioners to Academia.* One critical need of practitioners is to stay current in disciplinary developments. New developments in theory and method, or issues that arise within the discipline, may not be readily accessible by practitioners, especially if they do not hold adjunct teaching appointments. As practitioners move away from the "home" of our discipline, it becomes more and more difficult to stay current. Yet such currency is essential if practitioners are to maintain their identities as anthropologists, if practice and policy direction are to be of the highest quality, and if data from applied research are to address theory. Several mechanisms have been developed by other disciplines to enable practitioners to "refresh" themselves by returning temporarily to academia from time to time. Three possible vehicles that could be explored are practitioner sabbaticals (the practitioner joins the faculty for a period of time, supported partly by her sponsor and partly by the academic institution), special "clinical" appointments (more than an adjunct appointment, in that the practitioner has regular duties on the faculty, and is supported by the academic institution), and continuing education seminars (the discipline sponsors intensive courses in theory and method that are designed for the convenience of practitioners). I recommend that appropriate anthropological organization(s) explore, with potential academic and non-academic sponsors, the possibility of pilot testing these or other approaches to connecting practitioners with academic departments.

5. *The Globalization of Practice.* The practice of anthropology is a global phenomenon. There are anthropologists at work outside the academy in most of the nations of the world, and it is our understanding that in some nations, anthropologists may only justify their existence if they contribute to pressing national policy needs. We know very little about the nature of practice in other nations, and we know of no one in our discipline (at home or abroad) who is able to speak authoritatively about global practice in general. To begin our learning about the nature of practice in other nations, the AAA and SfAA initiated the formation of a new commission within the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences – the Commission on Anthropology in Policy and Practice. This commission will begin its official work in Mexico City during the XIII IUAES Congress with a scientific session devoted to exploring the nature of anthropological practice in a wide range of nations; developmental efforts leading to the formation of the commission have been underway since 1990. The commission hopes eventually to design one or more global research and educational collaborations involving academics and practitioners from different nations. Such collaborations could be vital to the establishment of access to foreign field sites in the future, and could support the professional development needs of anthropologists in developing nations. They also could help to address the current dearth of Third World voices in American anthropology. It is recommended that the AAA and SfAA continue

to support and sponsor this IUAES effort, and that they consider the possibility of underwriting a special publication on global practice and its importance to the future of anthropology, using papers that emerge from the commission's first session as a starting point. They might also co-sponsor one or more of the global collaborations (contingent on details, as they emerge).

Conclusion

The practice of anthropology will continue to grow, and will become an increasingly important dimension of professional anthropology in the US. As the practitioner community expands, we need to decide on the types of relationships that should be established between academic and practicing anthropologists—relationships that ultimately can strengthen our discipline and benefit society. The discussion presented in this paper argues for a relationship that recognizes practice as a distinctive and valuable professional role for anthropologists, while at the same time connecting and integrating practitioners with the academic core of the discipline.

From the perspective of many young (and not so young) practitioners, there has never been a more exciting time to be an anthropologist. We are being invited to enter new cultural doorways that often were closed to social scientists in the past. This opening of access occurs at a time when other, more traditional pathways to anthropological inquiry are closing. The opportunities being offered to practitioners can be shared with the entire discipline, and can translate into new energy as we move into the 21st century. We have only to imagine, and then to create, new ways in which to enable such sharing.

NOTES

[1] An earlier version of this paper was prepared for a Wenner-Gren Foundation Conference entitled "Anthropological Priorities in the Next Decade and the Role of the American Anthropological Association," held in Tarrytown, NY, February 3–7, 1993.

[2] Despite this distinction, however, NAPA and SfAA have much in common, including broadly overlapping memberships that contain significant numbers of academic and non-academic anthropologists who share an interest in problem-oriented applications. In recognition of their shared interests, NAPA and SfAA have begun to collaborate on a variety of initiatives. For example, the two organizations jointly sponsored the formation of a new Commission on Anthropology in Policy and Practice within the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences.

[3] This discussion focuses on production of PhD (versus MA) anthropologists, primarily because the AAA data base in PhD-oriented. The AAA has not conducted regular surveys of MA anthropologists (with the exception of a small 1993 pilot study of 80 MAs); thus, our knowledge of MA career patterns is limited. We do know that, since 1975, more than two MAs have been awarded for every PhD in anthropology (MAs = 14,000 from 1975–1990; Givens 1990). While many of these MAs go on to obtain PhDs, at least half of them presumably do not. Among this latter group, many appear to be working as practitioners; the AAA's pilot study of MAs found that 76% were employed in non-academic positions (Givens 1990). An earlier AAA pilot study of non-academic employers found that 32% of the anthropology staff held the MA as their highest degree earned (n = 324; Givens 1990). About 11% of NAPA's membership consists of MA practitioners, but without a more complete data set, it is not possible to formulate an accurate picture of MA-level practice at this time. The focus on PhD practitioners in no way suggests that the practitioner community is limited to anthropologists holding the doctorate. The practitioner community includes a substantial number of MA-level anthropologists (whose total number is unknown at present).

[4] This calculation may be represented by the formula $[(N * P) - U]$, where N = the total size of the PhD cohort, P = the percentage of PhDs employed outside academia for each cohort, and U = the number in jobs unrelated to anthropology; see Table 3. Data on percentages of PhDs taking non-academic positions were available for 1971–72, 1976–77, 1981–82, 1983–84, 1985–86, 1987–88, and 1989–90. Percentages for intervening years were calculated as the average of the two bracketing years for which data were available. For 1990–91 and 1991–92, the 1989–90 percentages were used.

[5] Another possible reason for the lack of theoretical impact by applied research in anthropology is offered by Hackenburg (1988), who argues that many applied researchers in the area of international development are now working as "cogs" in gigantic machines of complex bureaucratic development agencies. As such, they often are reduced to the status of "technician" and do not have access to field sites or data that would permit them to conceptualize social systems as wholes, which is the way in which applied research contributed to theory in the past (that is, through original holistic description of sociocultural systems). My impression (based on observations in industry) is that full-time practitioners, as "insiders," may have greater opportunities to define the scope of research and access to field sites than academically-based researchers, who generally are "outsiders."

[6] "Studying up" in Nader's (1969) sense is quite acceptable, so long as the motive is basic knowledge, or better yet, criticism of elites. Working *with* elites to solve problems often is viewed as unacceptable. Elites, of course, do not often grant access to outsiders unless these others bring something in trade, a point overlooked by many proponents of "studying up."

[7] Policy refers broadly to any governing principle, plan, or course of action that has emerged from an established decision-making process within a society, institution, or organization.

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Training Programs for the Practice of Applied Anthropology

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Key words: practitioner-oriented training programs

I shall here examine the past, present, and future of programs in applications focused on practice.

The Past

Edward H. Spicer began his Malinowski Award Address (1976) by stating that "One of the most important events in the development of anthropology during the twentieth century was the organization in 1941 of the Society for Applied Anthropology." Following his train of thought, as is my wont, it seems to me that one of the most important events in the development of applied anthropology during the 50 years that the SfAA has been in existence was the development of programs specifically aimed at training in applied anthropology, some as add-ons to existing programs, some created exclusively for training in applications.

Among the earliest of the programs were those at Cornell University, the University of Kentucky, and Teachers College of Columbia University. Alexander H. Leighton (1952:9) tells us that Cornell began a "program for research and training in culture and applied science" toward the end of World War II, just a few years after the SfAA was founded. The Cornell program was designed to facilitate what we'd now call "technology transfer" by teaching the "social and cultural dynamics . . . involved . . . [in] introducing new technologies."

In Spicer's introduction to the 1965 edition of his still excellent case book, *Human Problems in Technological Change*, he suggests that the first few decades after World War II made it clear that there had "become a rapidly accelerating need for the training of persons engaged in deliberate efforts to improve human conditions . . . we were at the threshold of a period of increasing activity in planned change that would require specialized preparation of *practitioners* just as surely as has the growth of law, medicine, teaching, and other professions" (1965:1, emphasis added). In his Malinowski Award Address (1976) he sketches the kind of program and courses he thinks would serve to prepare anthropologists for practice in administration, in planned