Applied Anthropology

AN INTRODUCTION

Third Edition

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To Jacqueline, Anne, Juliana, and Elizabeth

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Preface

SOLVING PROBLEMS ANTHROPOLOGICALLY

Ever since anthropology has existed as a research discipline, it has had a practical aspect, in which men and women trained in anthropology used their skills and knowledge to solve practical problems. Historically this aspect of anthropology has been called applied anthropology. As the number of anthropologists who applied their knowledge and skills to activities other than basic research and teaching increased, so did the number of different terms for practical activities. Besides applied anthropology, many other terms are used for the different forms of practice. These include public anthropology, practicing anthropology, action anthropology, research and development anthropology, and advocacy anthropology. All these terms carry meanings appropriate to the specific circumstances that are considered in this book. It is important to recognize that "names" matter and that the use of the term applied anthropology is in some contexts contentious. The meanings associated with applied anthropology will be discussed in a later chapter. Here I use applied anthropology as a general label for the entire array of situations and approaches for putting anthropology to use. In doing this we must recognize that some will disagree with this usage.

The view of applied anthropology expressed here has both research and intervention aspects. It provides anthropologists with a number of effective action strategies that can be used to assist communities in reaching their goals within the context of self-determination. Applied and practicing anthropologists can draw upon experiences from the past as effective guides for work in both intervention and research; thus, knowledge of history is very useful. Activities done by anthropologists in both the past and present

provide choices for problem solving. The foundation of most of the techniques presented here is the ideology of self-determination by communities and individuals. The research techniques presented also have at their base the idea of systematically identifying local viewpoints and needs as these relate to development efforts or program functioning.

SHARING A TRADITION OF PRACTICE

While this book is intended to teach the reader how to put anthropology to use, reading it is not the best way to learn this skill. The way to learn it is to do it, especially—when possible—under the supervision of a qualified applied anthropologist. Basically, it is too much of an art to convey efficiently through books, term papers, and other more traditional assignments—one needs direct experience. So, why read this book? The answer is simple enough: many applied anthropologists work in isolation, operating in agencies or firms which hire few other anthropologists. They spend time tracking over the same ground and solving many of the same problems in ways which may seem to them unique. This book attempts to describe applied anthropology in its breadth and to build a shared tradition of practice as much as teaching some techniques of application. It is useful to grasp the breadth of activity found in anthropological practice because it helps us see the power of the ideas produced within the discipline. That discovery will enhance our own ability to be effective users of anthropological knowledge. Further, the knowledge presented in this book will help link the experiences associated with contemporary practices to those of the past.

The basic point is a simple one: there are many kinds of anthropological practice, and knowledge of these different ways of practice is useful for the applied or practicing anthropologist. Not all useful practices are represented in this book.

ORIENTATION OF THE TEXT

Before we go on to consider the content of the book, it is useful to say something about its orientation. While this text presents approaches that are useful in many different settings and political traditions, it will be immediately clear that the tradition of application drawn upon and presented is that of anthropologists from the United States of America. There are, however, other national traditions which also present useful experiences for us to consider. For example, contemporary Canadian applied anthropology has undergone rapid development (Price 1987), and application has been at the core of Mexican anthropology since the 1917 revolution. Certainly, one could consider other regional traditions as well.

The value orientation of the applied anthropology described in this book

is consistent with the political culture within which it developed; that is, it is pragmatic and democratic. It is pragmatic in that it stresses practices which work to achieve people's goals. It is democratic in that all the approaches, whether they are for research or intervention, have at their core the commitment to discover and communicate the community's perspective. A function of the democratic orientation is a consistent regard for interests of the local community. You will see these attributes manifested continually throughout the text. You may find it useful to regard these features as a kind of bias.

Depending on the circumstances, the approaches can be both radical and conservative. In some cases, these different kinds of applied anthropology can be used to slow and redirect change which political authorities are advocating. In other cases, the practices discussed here can be used to transform communities into more powerful organizations, giving control where none existed previously. It is important for you, the reader, to realize these features are at the core of all the approaches to using anthropology discussed here. It is not about getting people to change against their will; it is about helping people express their will. Yet the framework for action which we discuss here is practical; it has to do with the job market, and it has to do with politics, power, and will.

Although most of the technique chapters have to do with change-producing strategies, this book is also about cultural persistence. You will notice that even in the more explicit change-producing approaches, there is a strenuous commitment to identifying the community perspective in the development process. None of the approaches involve unilateral imposition of development goals from outside the community. The basic task is to foster acceleration of the adaptation process. Sometimes expressed simply as "getting more" for the community, the process involves creating a better adaptation for the people of the community. Adaptation questions are ultimately survival questions. Therefore, we should recognize that community-defined development aided by the applied anthropologist is basically a culture-conserving activity.

IS IT ANTHROPOLOGY?

This book does not ask the question, "Is this anthropology?" The question itself is viewed as basically destructive from both intellectual and action perspectives in that it generally limits competition and protects vested intellectual interests. In the case of applied anthropology, the question is particularly problematic. Further, if we look at the effect of applied anthropological work on the rest of the field through time, we can see that applied work often functioned as the cutting edge of the discipline. Consequently, applied anthropologists have always been the targets of the "but is it . . ." refrain. As we permanently set aside the "but is it anthropology?"

question, we should be reminded of more relevant questions: "What is the problem?" "What are the solutions to it?" And, most important, "What are the skills and knowledge necessary to implement the solution?"

CONTENT OF THE BOOK

The book is divided into four parts. Part I, "Introduction and Overview," includes chapters intended to provide background for better understanding the core of the text, as presented in Parts II and III. Part IV of the book deals with some issues of the professional's role.

Chapter 1, "The Domain of Application," will consider both the relationship between theoretical and applied anthropology and the content of contemporary anthropologists' work situations. An explicit definition of applied anthropology is presented to give the reader more systematic and comprehensive understanding of what applied anthropologists do. The relationship between application and theory is seen as poorly understood within the discipline. Two aspects of the relationship between theory and application are stressed. First, good knowledge of theory is a necessity for the applied anthropologist because it guides research and increases the scope of applicability of the information obtained. Second, theory which is useful to the applied anthropologist will concern variables which can be acted upon. The chapter maps out a strategy for self-instruction concerning potential employment situations.

Chapter 2, "The Development of Applied Anthropology," provides a synthesis of the history of applied anthropology from the standpoint of developments in the United States. There are a number of fundamental points made in this chapter: the theoretical and applied aspects of anthropology developed simultaneously, and, to a large extent, activities in the academic realm were often motivated or at least rationalized by the information needs of governments, research funding organizations, and other policy research consumers.

The "Introduction and Overview" section of this book is concluded with a chapter on ethics organized around fundamental principles for ethical professional behavior. These principles are derived from the "Statement of Ethical and Professional Responsibilities" of the Society for Applied Anthropology. The research component of this chapter discusses the core of ethical research practice: informed consent, voluntary participation by informants, and the issue of risk. The discussion of ethics is expanded to include consideration of the conflicts which may exist between the different groups with which anthropologists work. Although most research or action situations can be carried out without facing overly difficult dilemmas, even very simple situations can turn into a labyrinth of apparently insoluble conflicts. While it is best to be prepared for these problems, they cannot all be anticipated because learning requires experience. Situations of irreconcilable conflict are easy to read about, and can even be discussed around seminar tables with some benefit, but being faced with harmed communities, betrayed colleagues, and unfulfilled contracts is quite another thing. All these complexities aside, it is important to understand that standards of ethical practice need not be viewed solely as constraints, but more importantly as good guides for effective professional action. Indeed, ethical behavior is more often than not the most effective action.

Part II of this book, "Approaches to Development in Anthropology," contains chapters descriptive of six approaches to development practice in widespread use in anthropology. The section is introduced with a chapter entitled "Anthropology in Development" that considers three topics: the anti-development critique, the historical legacy of development practices within anthropology, and a thematic discussion of what we are calling the new synthesis in this book. The development practices discussed here are addressed in chapters entitled "Action Research and Participatory Action Research," "Cultural Action," "Collaborative Research," "Participatory Rural Appraisal," "Cultural Brokerage," and "Social Marketing."

Both collaborative research and cultural brokerage seem better adjusted to complex urban environments because of their advocacy stance. Advocacy is used here as a general term for situations in which the anthropologist is directly working on behalf of community groups. This often entails working in opposition to more powerful political forces. In cultural brokerage the anthropologist serves as a link between a community service–providing institution, such as a hospital and an ethnic community which receives services from the institution. In contrast with the other approaches, the primary goal of cultural brokerage is not change per se, but increased efficiency through effective culture contact. That is, it aims at improving services for ethnic groups through enhanced communication, as well as changing the service provider and the ethnic community. Social marketing makes use of techniques derived from commercial marketing to promote new behaviors that are socially useful such as safe sex, smoking reduction, and changes in diet. These efforts benefit from the anthropologist's research skills and community knowledge.

Part III of this book is entitled "Policy Research in Anthropology." This very important aspect of contemporary anthropological practice is presented in four chapters entitled "Anthropology as Policy Research," "Social Impact Assessment," "Evaluation," and "Cultural Resource Management." The eleventh chapter provides an overview of anthropology as a policy science by discussing various application domains. A special section on using policy research data is included in this chapter. Anthropologists are both on the producing and using ends of policy research enterprises these days. In fact, one anticipates that more and more anthropologists will take on the role of policy maker as they gain experience in the agencies and firms which employ them. The next three chapters, "Social Impact Assess-

ment," "Evaluation," and "Cultural Resource Management" provide practical instruction in the three important research areas. Social impact assessment (SIA) describes a generalized approach for doing this type of analysis. It is important to note here that SIA is usually done in response to a set of agency guidelines. Social impact assessment is most often done in response to specific federal laws, such as the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, and consequently is limited to domestic situations in the United States. Other projects are mentioned in order to describe some of the variety of such research efforts. Chapter 13 deals with evaluation research. For certain kinds of evaluation tasks, traditionally trained anthropologists are quite well equipped. This chapter focuses on those tasks that best fit the traditional array of research skills. Basically, we can say that anthropologists are usually best prepared to serve well in evaluation of smaller scale programs or local components of larger national programs. One might also say that ethnography works best in evaluation strategies which respect qualitative data and/or are interested in the community perspective. The potential of anthropologists goes much beyond the qualitative evaluation of smaller programs. Because of this, the chapter will describe a variety of evaluation modes, including a number of case presentations. Part III is concluded with the chapter, "Cultural Resource Management." This is an area in which archaeologically and culturally trained anthropologists are very much involved. There are very close parallels between social impact assessment and cultural resource management. They are mandated by some of the same laws and share some administrative concepts.

"Approaches to Development in Anthropology" (Part II) and "Policy Research in Anthropology" (Part III), as noted above, represent the core of this text. These development and research approaches represent most of the major types of practice found in contemporary American anthropology. In addition to these activities there are many other kinds, most specific to particular new occupations for anthropologists which are an important part of the total picture. Many of these kinds of activities are commented upon throughout the text.

Part IV of this book is entitled "Being a Professional," and includes just one chapter, entitled "Making a Living." This last chapter focuses on skills which are important in anthropological practice. Most important, anthropologists need to be able to produce useful knowledge for their clients. Important communication skill areas which are discussed are report writing and proposal writing. Many anthropologists find that both skills are especially important in their jobs. Some would say they were hired because of these skills, not for their ability to do cultural analysis or ethnography. Proposal writing holds an especially enticing lure, since it often allows one to create one's own employment, either in self-organized consulting firms or for various other organizations, including universities, agencies, and firms. There are a variety of organizational skills which are treated in this

chapter. In addition, this chapter also looks at the role of the consultant. Topics discussed include why people use consultants, different styles for being a consultant, and marketing your skills as a consultant.

The chapter gives practical advice on employment. The core of the chapter is about the job search and its component parts. It includes the selection of appropriate education and training experiences, selecting appropriate courses, building marketable credentials, investigating the domain of application, writing resumes, and carrying out job interviews. Survival skills after employment are also discussed. These include networking and collaboration, and skill maintenance.

NOTE ON REVISIONS

The revisions consist of various types. First, I reviewed the text line by line to determine if there were any statements that the intervening seven years had made obsolete. These were all replaced. Second, where there was a more recent statement on a particular issue, I incorporated it. Third, I deleted the chapters on action anthropology, research and development anthropology, and community development. In their place I prepared new chapters on action research and participatory action research, cultural action, and participatory rural appraisal. The chapter on participatory rural appraisal incorporates aspects of the chapter entitled "Technology Development Research" that was in previous editions. The remaining chapters in the "approaches" section have been updated. The "policy research" section was supplemented with an entirely new chapter on cultural resource management.

Acknowledgments

My first encounters with applied anthropology were at the University of Arizona. While there, I participated in the certificate program in community development as part of my MA degree program. This brought me in contact with Edward H. Spicer and Courtney B. Cleland's seminar on community development. I learned a great deal from both of them. I still maintain contact with classmates from this seminar, especially Gilbert Kushner and Chris Fry; I thank them for their support through the years. As part of this program I did a practicum in community development with the Gila River Indian Community. The practicum involved doing a manpower survey as part of a large economic development initiative advocated by the Gila River Tribal Council. I benefitted from working with other development workers, especially Burdette Morago and Milan Makovack, and members of the tribal government, including Lloyd Allison and Edison Evans. The practicum project was transforming for me. In addition to this I appreciated the opportunity to work with Harland Padfield at the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology of the University of Arizona. I was able to learn a great deal while working as the Director of Community Development for the Tohono O'Odham Nation. I am thankful to have had the opportunity to know Thomas A. Segundo. Tom Segundo was the Chair of the Tribal Council and one of the creators of the community development program. His commitment to the people, grasp of the development process, and sense of the people's culture was inspiring. It was a joy to work with the Tohono O'Odham community workers. They include Lupe Jose, Lawrence Juan, Alex Pancho, Charles Lewis, Wilfred Mendoza, and Ralph Antone. I benefitted from my association with a number of academic colleagues. These include Billie R. DeWalt, Kathleen M. DeWalt, Sara Quandt, Peter D. Lit-

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All these people and many others have contributed to this effort.

Part I

Introduction and Overview

Chapter 1

The Domain of Application

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

SOME PRACTITIONER ROLES IN ANTHROPOLOGY

Policy Researcher

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

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

Evaluator

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

Impact Assessor

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

Needs Assessor

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

Planner

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

Research Analyst

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

Advocate

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

Trainer

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

Culture Broker

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

Expert Witness

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

Public Participation Specialist

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

Administrator/Manager

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

Change Agent

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

Therapist

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

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

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

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

CONTENT AREAS FOR APPLIED WORK

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

APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY: WHAT IS IT?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

DOMAIN OF APPLICATION

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

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

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

Information

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

Policy

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

Action

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

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

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

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

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

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

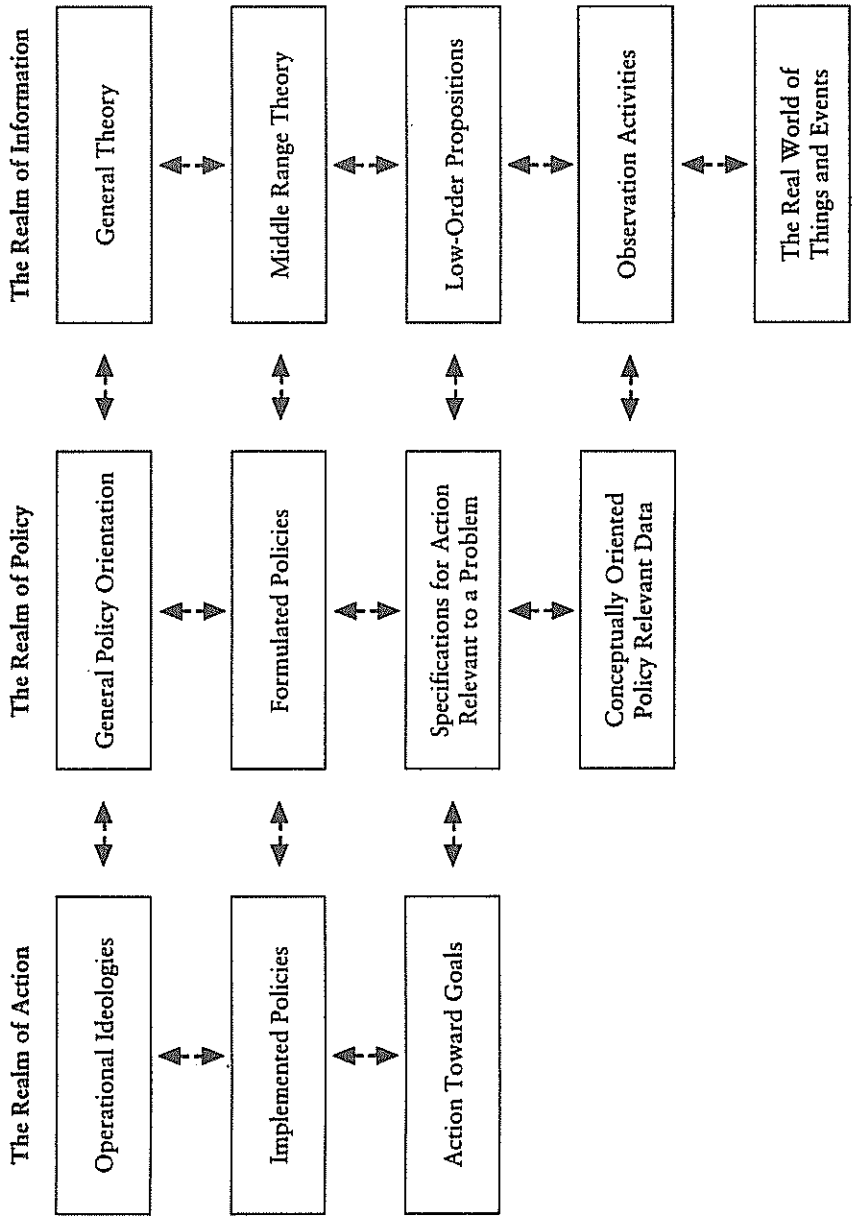

Figure 1.2
Methodology of Application

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

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

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

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

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

KNOWING THE DOMAIN OF APPLICATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SUMMARY

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

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

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

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

FURTHER READING

Chambers, Erve. *Applied Anthropology: A Practical Guide*. Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1989. This text book presents a very useful discussion of work specializations in applied anthropology. Also useful for discussion of policy and policy research.

Ervin, Alexander M. *Applied Anthropology: Tools and Perspectives for Contemporary Practice*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2000. This comprehensive text provides an effective treatment of research methods in an applied context.

Society for Applied Anthropology. *Practicing Anthropology: A Career-Oriented Publication of the Society for Applied Anthropology*. Tulsa, Okla.: Society for Applied Anthropology, 1978. This publication provides information on current practice in applied anthropology. Most articles are written by practitioners, many focusing on their personal experiences.

Chapter 2

The Development of Applied Anthropology

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

PERIODS IN THE HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY

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

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

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

The Predisciplinary Stage (Pre-1860)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Applied Ethnology Stage (1860–1930)

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

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

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

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

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

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