### COMMENTARY

### Applied and Practicing Anthropology: The Fifth Sub-discipline at the University of Colorado at Boulder<sup>1</sup>

### Robert A. Hackenberg<sup>2</sup>

### Introduction: The Anthropologist as Advocate

must first express my appreciation to the Anniversary Committee for its invitation to represent cultural anthropology on this occasion. It is the 50th year since the Department of Anthropology was founded at the University of Colorado at Boulder, and the 40th year of my association with it. Prior to my arrival in Boulder in 1966, I served as applied anthropologist for a decade at the Bureau of Ethnic Research (now the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology or BARA) at the University of Arizona, to which I have now returned. The Fiftieth Anniversary Committee included Cathy Cameron, Carla Jones, Payson Sheets and Dennis Van Gerven. Invited speakers were David Breternitz for archaeology and Jack Kelso for biological anthropology along with me for cultural anthropology.

In a well-known essay, Marietta Baba (1994) proposed that non-academic anthropology and its practitioners had achieved separate status and substantial numbers, deserving to be recognized as a fifth sub-discipline of anthropology, compared to physical or biological anthropology, archaeology, cultural anthropology, and linguistics with language and culture relationships as the well-known first four branches of the discipline of anthropology. Though they now serve as subjects for text books (Gwynne 2003; Ervin 2000), neither applied nor practicing anthropology is grounded in theory and method. Both are more frequently illustrated or exemplified; seldom intellectually analyzed.

Baba's claim for distinctive recognition rests on the unique function of our subject rather than on its widely shared content. This function, documented in each text referenced above, is advocacy – the performance of the informed anthropologist as an appointed agent and proponent of directed culture change. (see Gwynne

2003, Chapter 6, "Advocacy Anthropology"; Ervin 2005, Chapter 10, "Advocacy Anthropology").

The applied tradition in cultural anthropology at the University of Colorado at Boulder was already established when I arrived. Omer Stewart (1908-1991) and Ted Graves had both been appointed and housed in the university's Institute of Behavioral Science (a "prestige" location on the campus) when I joined them as the third member. The tradition begins with Omer Stewart as the founder of the department. His record as an advocate on behalf of Native Americans was terminated only by his death in 1991. In 1987, Omer's Peyote Religion: A History was published. His other major research interest was fire ecology and its role in shaping aboriginal subsistence. His final manuscript was Forgotten Fires: Native Americans and the Transient Wilderness. It was edited by Henry Lewis and Kat Anderson and published posthumously in 2002.

### Omer Stewart's "Indianology"

Omer was instrumental in creating the department in 1957 and was its first chairman. He soon abandoned the recording of culture element distributions in which he had been trained by Alfred L. Kroeber as a graduate student at the University of California at Berkeley. He preferred cultures that were so-called going concerns, especially the Native Americans of the inter-mountain west with all their attendant adjustment problems.

William Adams, "Shonto Bill" to his friends, recently completed a monograph on the foundations of American anthropology which, because of its primary subject matter, he designated as "Indianology" (Adams 1998). The post-war years of the 1940s and 1950s were dominated by John Collier, superintendent of Indian Affairs (1933-1945), and the applied anthropology projects that he sponsored. Foremost was the Indian Administration and Personality Project (1941-

1947) with an all-star cast including Clyde Kluckhohn, Laura Thompson, Rosamund Spicer, Gordon McGregor, Dorothea Leighton and Omer Stewart. The final report, Laura Thompson's "Personality and Government" (1951) is a neglected classic.

Major tribes whose capacity for self-government and self-support were evaluated included the Hopi, Navajo, Papago (now the Tohono O'odham), Pine Ridge Sioux (Lakota), and Zuni. The Zuni study, which was assigned to Stewart, ended prematurely when the project was terminated in Washington. Omer returned to his lifelong research on the Southern Ute in and near Ignacio, Colorado.

Omer's ethnographic fieldwork among the Utes was tireless. But he is best known for three components of advocacy on their behalf:

- his testimony on the legalization of peyote consumption as a religious rite,
- recognition of the Native American Church for its work in combating alcoholism, and
- 3) his evidence in support of aboriginal land use before the Indian Claims Commission in which he was opposed by his Berkeley professor Julian Steward.

In a recent article, Deward Walker (1999) offers "A Revisionist View of Julian Steward and the Great Basin Paradigm from the North," in Richard Clemmer's and Mary Rudden's edited anthology, Julian Steward and the Great Basin: the Making of an Anthropologist, Omer and Julian gave conflicting presentations before the Indian Claims Commission. Deward explains why Omer Stuart was right.

## Beginning Field Research with the Tri-Ethnic Project

Using his position in the Institute of Behavioral Science (IBS) and his friendship with Clyde Kluckhohn, Omer promoted a substantial five-year, interdisciplinary research project on alcoholism among Anglos, Utes, and Hispanics residing in the vicinity of Ignacio, Colorado. With NIMH (National Institutes of Mental Health) funding from 1959 to 1964, it was known as the Tri-Ethnic Project and gave equal representation to psychologists, sociologists,

and anthropologists in its design and execution. While Omer resigned as Tri-Ethnic co-director, it could not have been completed without his 48 file cabinets of notes, clippings, and documents. The legendary 48 cabinets were uncounted but a recurrent item in IBS folklore throughout the 1960s.

The Tri-Ethnic field anthropologist involved with was Ted Graves, who was the first faculty member at the University of Colorado at Boulder to hold a half-time anthropology and half-time IBS appointment. The formula, once established, was subsequently passed on to me and to others. The outcome of the Tri-Ethnic Project was a highly regarded volume published in 1968 titled Society, Personality and Deviant Behavior. The study director, psychologist Richard Jessor, was the principal author. Ted Graves was a major contributor. The study was framed in the hypothetico-deductive mode, using subjective interview schedules to generate statistics. But, according to Graves (2004: 30-31), it was Omer's arrest records, sorted by ethnic group, which provided the empirical base needed to reach conclusions. Graves (2004 volume 1: 27-32) provides a view from inside the Tri-Ethnic Project, and his second volume (Graves 2004) opens with reprints of two journal articles summarizing it.

# Expanding Modernization Studies in the Southwest at the Institute of Behavioral Science

The National Institutes of Mental Health was the funding source for the Tri-Ethnic Project, and its success built a platform on which Graves was able to construct a substantial NIMH-based behavioral science program in the Institute of Behavioral Science. Half of the way through Tri-Ethnic's funding cycle in 1962; Graves applied for and captured our first quarter-million dollars for the support of training graduate students and expansion of our faculty resources. He called it the Research Training Program in Culture Change. The seven-year grant paid for five pre-doctoral fellowships and the salary and expenses of the director.

Since he was holding "hot dice," Graves placed a second NIMH bet in 1964, this time on a five-year grant to finance the Navajo Urban Relocation Project. This project examined the

success or failure of the federal resettlement plan to persuade reservation Indians to move to Denver with a range of inducements including job placements. See Graves (2004 volume 2: 119) for six reprinted articles from the Navajo Urban Relocation Project. Five authors were Training Program Ph.D.s: Braxton Alfred, Robert McCracken, Peter Snyder, Robert Weppner and Bryan Michener. Their dissertation titles appear in the University of Colorado at Boulder library catalog, available online through *Google*.

With this abundance of riches, Graves was clearly beyond his personal limits, and in 1965 he began recruiting for a co-director of the Training Program. Omer, as senior IBS anthropologist was nominally in charge of recruitment. Using Tohono O'odham study data, I joined them both on a tribal development panel at the 1965 SfAA (Society for Applied Anthropology) meetings in Lexington, Kentucky.

I was able to present my credentials of twelve years of experience in Southwest Indian adjustment at the Bureau of Ethnic Research, University of Arizona. Omer was also impressed with my capacity to match his consumption of Kentucky bourbon. I got the job on the plane flying back to Denver, which was also a convivial encounter.

In the fall of 1966, Jack Kelso, chair of the department, was surprised to find me on his doorstep introducing myself as a department member. He crisply observed that, though I claimed to have been hired by Omer, he had somewhat overstepped the limits of his temporary appointment as summer chairman. Since half of my appointment as an IBS associate professor was to be funded from the Training Program, we were able to come to terms. My starting salary was \$11,100 for the academic year.

My IBS responsibilities expanded quickly when Graves decided to accept a two-year National Science Foundation field fellowship in African studies, after which he moved to a prestigious professorship at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA). I was left with two groups of graduate students, mine in the Training Program and his in the Navajo Project. With the balance of the budget for salary, I hired Delmos Jones (1936-1999), who had been my

master's student at Arizona and was finishing his doctorate at Cornell. Del served as my codirector for 1966-1969, and then moved on to the Graduate School of the City University of New York (CUNY). He is remembered by the SfAA's student travel grant issued annually in his name since his passing in 1999.

Jones in turn was replaced by Deward Walker who, as I note later, has done the most to keep Omer's tradition of advocacy alive at the University of Colorado at Boulder. When another divided position became available in the Department of Anthropology and the Institute of Behavioral Science, I was able to persuade Gottfried Lang, a graduate classmate from Cornell, to accept it. Friedl was also housed in IBS quarters and our production of Ph.D.s in applied anthropology flourished.

Following Omer's retirement, the three of us – Hackenberg, Lang, and Walker –became the continuing tri-fold source of applied anthropology research and dissertation supervision through the 1970s and 1980s. Our work was interdisciplinary in scope, and our professional interests were much closer to those of the Society for Applied Anthropology than to those of the American Anthropological Association (AAA). We initiated four basic courses – applied, urban, medical, and development anthropology and related seminars. Culture area courses were also offered pertinent to North America and Native Americans (Walker), Southeast Asia (Hackenberg), and East Africa (Lang).

Student response exceeded our expectations and, perhaps, our capacity. Between 1970 and 1975 we graduated ten Ph.D.s with rotating Training Program fellowships, several in the single year of 1973. The 1973 graduates were a cohort holding IBS table and typewriter space: Mary Gallagher, Kerry Feldman, David Glenn Smith, Julie Uhlmann, David Zimmerly and Donald Stull. Earlier IBS program graduates from were Larry Stucki (1970) and Rod Wilson (1972).

A steady flow of temporary appointments in cultural anthropology supplied additional course options and committee members with Ph.D,s and varied field experience. Some of you here tonight may remember them. Kerry Pataki, Richard Smith, Colby Hatfield, Jose Cuellar and

Richard Basham come quickly to mind. There may have been others.

# Opening the Philippine Field Station: The IBS Population Program

The importance of research grants to our work cannot be overestimated. The Research Training Program was twice renewed extending its life to 1983 with a 21-year sequence of student and research support. Following Ted Graves' example, I sought grants continuously to expand student dissertation opportunities and defray the cost of our IBS appointments.

The terms of my 1966 employment included a mutual commitment to establish an overseas field station in Southeast Asia. A modest 1967 travel grant of \$4,632 from the Council on Research and Creative Work paid for Beverly and for me to scout possible sites and network connections in the Philippines. The United States Information Service had been employed her there. We selected Davao City as an ideal location for modernization research. Recently settled by post-war migrants from Luzon, it offered irrigable river valley agriculture and seaport facilities. Explosive rural growth was already in progress.

The recently created Population Program within the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development shared our view that this was a perfect site for research on population dynamics. Between 1968 and 1977, we renewed the Research Training Program for \$260,000 and obtained four grants with an average value of \$125,000 each for Philippine research. All were studies of the impact of either farm modernization or urban migration on fertility and household formation.

This platform financed the creation of the Davao Research and Planning Foundation, which remained self-supporting in the Francisco Building on San Pedro Street until 1983. Beverly Hackenberg served continuously as DRPF codirector. The foundation published seven research monographs and gained international prominence during the 1976-1978 interval when we contributed an annual set of Mindanao data to the World Fertility Survey. The survey provided material for my 1985 Westview Press vol-

ume, Demographic Responses to Development: Sources of Declining Fertility in the Philippines. We remain grateful to Kathleen Moody Jones, a 1984 program Ph.D. and Westview editorial assistant, for the decision to print this. These activities did not go unnoticed at home. Gilbert White, who became IBS director in 1970, established the Population Program as a new IBS component and named me to manage it. Beverly was appointed a senior research associate.

### Preserving Omer Stuart's Legacy

With both shared experiences and interests, Deward Walker assumed Omer Stewart's role as advocate, providing legal testimony on a range of religious and cultural issues confronting American Indian tribes in the Intermountain and Northwest regions. To provide a forum for addressing these issues, and to encourage exchanges among students and younger professionals, Deward organized the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology in 1980. He, Omer Stuart, Gottfried Lang, and I were founding members.

The High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology (HPSfAA) publishes The Applied Anthropologist, formerly the High Plains Applied Anthropologist, and holds annual meetings in such places as Estes Park and Denver, Colorado. Each year it selects a senior professional to receive the Omer Stewart Memorial Award for contributions to the advancement of applied anthropology. The society also confers a student award in the name of Gottfried and Martha Lang at its annual meeting. The High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology is the largest local practitioner organization outside Washington, District of Columbia, referring to the Washington Association of Professional Anthropologists (WAPA). Here follows a list to date of the Omer Stewart Memorial Award recipients.

- 1) Muriel K. Crespi, National Park Service, for 1993
- 2) Robert A. Hackenberg, University of Colorado at Boulder, for 1994
- 3) Deward E. Walker, Jr., University of Colorado at Boulder, for 1995
- 4) Darwin D. Solomon, United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization, for 1996

- 5) Donald D. Stull, University of Kansas, for 1997
- 6) Gottfried O. Lang, Emeritus at the University of Colorado at Boulder, for 1998
- 7) Howard F. Stein, University of Oklahoma, for 1999
- 8) Carla N. Littlefield, Littlefield and Associates of Denver. Colorado, for 2000
- 9) Kenneth M. Keller, Metropolitan State College of Denver, for 2001
- 10) Peter W. Van Arsdale, Colorado Mental Health Institute and University of Denver, for 2002
- 11) John van Willigen, University of Kentucky, for 2003
- 12) Edward C. Knop, Colorado State University, for 2004
- 13) Pamela J. Puntenney, Environmental and Health Systems Management of Michigan, for 2005
- 14) Lenora Bohren, Colorado State University, for 2006
- 15) Lawrence F. Van Horn, National Park Service, for 2007

Deward Walker's stature in the field was also recognized by the Society for Applied Anthropology, which chose him to edit Human Organization (1970-1976). Several of our graduates must join me in recalling our debt for a special issue that I edited under Deward's overall editorship in which we described our "Modernization Research on the Papago Indians," now Tohono O'odham (Hackenberg 1972). Publication was preceded by a group appearance for a session of papers on the same subject at the 1971 annual meeting of AAA in New York. Included with Beverly and me were Larry Stucki, Kerry Feldman, David Zimmerly, Julie Uhlmann, Mary Gallagher and Don Stull. This work was an extension of my former employment at the University of Arizona, financed by contracts that I was able to transfer to the University of Colorado at Boulder in 1966. Deward also edited the High Plains Applied Anthropologist (1995-2005), now The Applied Anthropologist, in which some of our best work was presented. Here follows a list to date of our journal's editors.

- 1) Peter W. Van Arsdale
- 2) Edward C. Knop

- 3) Lawrence F. Van Horn
- 4) Susan Scott Stevens
- 5) Deward E. Walker, Jr.
- 6) Lawrence F. Van Horn

### Celebrating the Accomplishments of Our Ph.D.s

There is no immortality for our published work and little enough that lives as long as we do. If any of our contributions survive, they do so in the professional activity of our students. I will mention four whose non-academic accomplishments are outstanding examples of advocacy in action: Peter Van Arsdale, Jody Glittenberg, Mark Grey, and Donald Stull.

Peter Van Arsdale (Ph.D. 1975), senior lecturer in the Graduate School of International Studies at thle University of Denver, has had major responsibilities for refugee and immigrant adjustment with the Colorado Division of Mental Health for several decades. He served as president of the National Association for the Practice of Anthropology (NAPA), 1998-2000, and authored Forced to Flee: Human Rights and Wrongs in Refugee Homelands (Van Arsdale 2006).

Jody Glittenberg (Ph.D. 1976), after three decades as a nurse scientist and administrator at the Universities of Colorado and Arizona, became a professor emerita in 2003. After a professional life devoted to mental health issues, she presently directs research at the Violence Intervention and Prevention Center, University of Colorado at Colorado Springs. Her forthcoming book is entitled *Violence and Hope in a U. S.-Mexico Border Town* (Glittenberg 2007). It reports a four year National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) study of alcoholism and drug abuse in south Tucson, Arizona.

Mark Grey (Ph.D. 1989) holds a professor-ship at the University of Northern Iowa. He is the founder and director of the Iowa Center for Immigrant Leadership and Integration, also known as the New Iowans Program. New arrivals are primarily Mexican, and their primary employment is in meat packing. Mark's work extends beyond the minimal essentials of cross-cultural accommodation for new arrivals and their destination communities. He has also promoted an unofficial sister cities program in

which Iowans visit source villages in Michoacan, Mexico. Insight into conditions motivating migration blends with appreciation of the ways in which remittances sent back home have improved village life. Intergroup tensions are diminished and support is gained in Iowa for health, housing, and law enforcement. Mark received Iowa's highest public health award in 2005. In that year, he co-authored with Michele Yehieli Health Matters: A Guide for Work with Diverse Cultures and Underserved Populations (Yehieli and Grey 2005).

Donald Stull (Ph.D. 1973), a professor of anthropology at the University of Kansas, is at this time of writing, September 9, 2006, president of the Society for Applied Anthropology. He and his colleague Michael Broadway have produced and promoted an early warning system for alerting rural communities to the perils they will encounter if they are selected as sites for the future construction of meat and poultry packing plants. While the in-migration of workers, usually Hispanic, promotes the growth of commerce, strains on all forms of service can reach the breaking point and inter-group tensions can be destructive. Team research initiated by Stull and his associates explore the best practices for stress management in locations where warnings are ignored, and the packers, in fact, "have come to town." Results of research across two decades are presented by Donald Stull and Michael Broadway in Slaughterhouse Blues: The Meat and Poultry Industry in North America (Stull and Broadway 2003).

## Advocacy as a Living Tradition at the University of Colorado at Boulder

We have offered a retrospective view of a half century, presenting variations on the theme of advocacy introduced by Omer Stewart. Neither applied nor practicing anthropology at the University of Colorado Boulder are featured prominently in either student recruitment or course offerings today. The courses listed earlier as part of an applied specialization for several decades are no longer offered. Yet living examples of faculty advocacy, and recognition received for it, are still present.

In 2004, Donna Goldstein, current departmental faculty member, received the SfAA's

Margaret Mead Award for Laughter Out of Place: Race, Class, Violence and Sexuality in a Rio Shantytown (2003). This volume dramatizes the struggle of women for survival in a cultural context of violence and pervasive misery, only partly relieved by indulgence in black humor.

Goldstein writes in the tradition established by Nancy Scheper-Hughes (1992) in *Death without Weeping*, which favors "a politically committed and morally engaged anthropology," in other words, advocacy. Moving beyond the award, Donna has initiated a study of pharmaceutical practices for pricing and distributing HIV/AIDS drugs in Argentina to fight acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS), the transmissible disease of the immune system caused by the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV).

In another continent, for work in another world, Terry McCabe, current departmental faculty member, received the 2005 Julian Steward Award from the Anthropology and Environment Section of the American Anthropological Association for his 2004 publication Cattle Brings Us to Our Enemies: Turkana Ecology, Politics and Raiding in a Disequilibrium System.

McCabe extracts the significance of sixteen years of study focused on the rangeland and its utilization by Turkana herdsmen. His argument exposes the mistaken assumptions maintained by traditional policy-makers in arid east Africa. By postulating culture and environment as a disequilibrium system, he proposes drastic rethinking of rangeland management for pastoral peoples. He also has become an advocate.

In present and continuing research, McCabe has turned his attention to national parks in eastern and southern Africa. These locations, often United Nations-designated natural heritage sites, offer much more than conservation of species and ecotourism. Management options may result in either expanding or contracting the subsistence opportunities for indigenous populations in adjacent communities. From this perspective, parks and protected areas can serve as agents of either developmental or destructive change. Terry has just received National Science Foundation (NSF) support for a long-term study of five sites to discover and advocate the most positive impacts.

# Disseminating Applied Research: The Social Science Library of the United Nations

Robert Redfield wrote in 1953 that "the peasant community became immersed in the great society as the anthropologist was studying it." Though applied anthropology research continues to address local issues, their significance is now evaluated for global implications. Some of our recent work at the University of Colorado at Boulder has been made available to a global audience of scientists and students concerned with directed culture change.

The United Nations Decade for Sustainable Development has commissioned Tufts University to compile a Social Science Library of selected items to be edited on a series of compact discs and distributed gratis to 5,000 universities spanning low income countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The complete collection will contain 4,000 articles and chapters from each of the social sciences plus philosophy and history.

Items are chosen for a "focus on sustainable development and human well-being." The Society for Applied Anthropology has been requested to release 27 articles from *Human Organization* for inclusion. Four of them appear in a special 2004 issue of *Human Organization*, volume 63, number 4, which Beverly and I edited, titled "The Future Lies Ahead: Applied Anthropology in Century XXI." Items selected for inclusion were those by Josiah Heyman, Craig Janes, and Conrad Kottak together with our introductory essay, "Notes Toward a New Future," which begins as follows (p. 385):

We are challenged to define a new applied anthropology to meet the terms and conditions of a new century....The new landscape is shaped in the image of globalization, the worldwide expansion of neoliberal political structures and the capitalist economies which they facilitate and promote both at home and abroad....We need to acquire the concepts and processes that define this landscape as scientists see it. Finally, we must build models to apply this revised mindset to the improvement of the quality of life for those who request our services. Applied

anthropology must 'come of age' in this kaleidoscopic environment (Hackenberg and Hackenberg 2004: 385).

The Social Science Library of Tufts University also includes two of our essays that directly address issues of sustainable development. (See Hackenberg and Hackenberg 1999 and 2002). We expect that the Department of Anthropology at the University of Colorado at Boulder will continue to contribute to this disciplinary maturation process.

#### Notes

1. With some reference material added, this article is a minimally edited version of "Bob Hackenberg's last paper" (Walker 2007). It is dated September 9, 2006, and Robert A. Hackenberg delivered it then for the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Colorado at Boulder.

2. Cornell University awarded Robert Allan Hackenberg (1928-2007) his Ph.D. in anthropology. He died on April 22, 2007. At that time, he was a professor of anthropology emeritus at the University of Colorado at Boulder and an adjunct research scientist with the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology in Tucson, Arizona, at the University of Arizona. Please see the obituary on him by Donald D. Stull cited here under *References Cited* below.

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