

# Fieldwork

## The Human Experience

Edited by  
Robert Lawless  
Vinson H. Sutlive, Jr.  
Mario D. Zamora



CRC Press  
Taylor & Francis Group

# FIELDWORK

The Human Experience

# LIBRARY OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Editor: Anthony L. LaRuffa

Editorial Assistant: Phyllis Rafti

Advisory Board: Edward Bendix, Robert DiBennardo,  
May Ebihara, Paul Grebinger, Bert Salwen, Joel Savishinsky

SAN CIPRIANO Life in a Puerto Rican Community  
*Anthony L. LaRuffa*

THE TRAIL OF THE HARE Life and Stress in an Arctic Community  
*Joel S. Savishinsky*

LANGUAGE IN AFRICA An Introductory Survey  
*Edgar A. Gregersen*

OUTCASTE Jewish Life in Southern Iran  
*Laurence D. Loeb*

DISCOVERING PAST BEHAVIOR  
Experiments in the Archaeology of the American Southwest  
*Paul Grebinger*

REVOLT AGAINST THE DEAD  
The Modernization of a Mayan Community in the Highlands of Guatemala  
*Douglas E. Brintnall*

ISSN: 0141-1012

Other volumes in preparation

FIELDWORK The Human Experience  
*Edited by Robert Lawless, Vinson H. Sutlive, Jr., and Mario D. Zamora*

This book is part of a series. The publisher will accept continuation orders which may be cancelled at any time and which provide for automatic billing and shipping of each title in the series upon publication. Please write for details.

# FIELDWORK

The Human Experience

Edited by

Robert Lawless  
University of Florida

Vinson H. Sutlive, Jr.  
College of William and Mary

Mario D. Zamora  
College of William and Mary



CRC Press

Taylor & Francis Group

Boca Raton London New York

---

CRC Press is an imprint of the  
Taylor & Francis Group, an **informa** business

First published 1983 by Gordon and Breach Science Publishers

Published 2021 by CRC Press  
Taylor & Francis Group  
6000 Broken Sound Parkway NW, Suite 300  
Boca Raton, FL 33487-2742

© 1983 by Taylor & Francis Group, LLC  
CRC Press is an imprint of Taylor & Francis Group, an Informa business

No claim to original U.S. Government works

ISBN 13: 978-0-677-16460-1 (hbk)  
DOI: 10.4324/9781003209539

This book contains information obtained from authentic and highly regarded sources. Reasonable efforts have been made to publish reliable data and information, but the author and publisher cannot assume responsibility for the validity of all materials or the consequences of their use. The authors and publishers have attempted to trace the copyright holders of all material reproduced in this publication and apologize to copyright holders if permission to publish in this form has not been obtained. If any copyright material has not been acknowledged please write and let us know so we may rectify in any future reprint.

Except as permitted under U.S. Copyright Law, no part of this book may be reprinted, reproduced, transmitted, or utilized in any form by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying, microfilming, and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without written permission from the publishers.

For permission to photocopy or use material electronically from this work, please access [www.copyright.com](http://www.copyright.com) (<http://www.copyright.com/>) or contact the Copyright Clearance Center, Inc. (CCC), 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers, MA 01923, 978-750-8400. CCC is a not-for-profit organization that provides licenses and registration for a variety of users. For organizations that have been granted a photocopy license by the CCC, a separate system of payment has been arranged.

**Trademark Notice:** Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

#### **Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data**

Main entry under title:

Fieldwork: the human experience.

(Library of anthropology, ISSN 0141-1012)

Bibliography: p.

1. Ethnology – Field work – Addresses, essays, lectures.

I. Lawless, Robert, II. Sutlive, Vinson H. III. Zamora, Mario D.

IV. Series.

GN346.F53 1982 306'.072 82-11955

ISBN 0-677-16460-2

Visit the Taylor & Francis Web site at  
<http://www.taylorandfrancis.com>

and the CRC Press Web site at  
<http://www.crcpress.com>

## Introduction to the Series

One of the notable objectives of the *Library of Anthropology* is to provide a vehicle for the expression in print of new, controversial, and seemingly “unorthodox” theoretical, methodological, and philosophical approaches to anthropological data. Another objective follows from the multi-dimensional or holistic approach in anthropology which is the discipline’s unique contribution toward understanding human behavior. The books in the series will deal with such fields as archaeology, physical anthropology, linguistics, ethnology and social anthropology. Since no restrictions will be placed on the types of cultures included, a New York or New Delhi setting will be considered as relevant to anthropological theory and method as the highlands of New Guinea.

The *Library* is designed for a wide audience and, whenever possible, technical terminology will be kept to the minimum required. In some instances, however, a book may be unavoidably somewhat esoteric and consequently will appeal only to a small sector of the reading population – advanced undergraduate students and graduate students in addition to professional social scientists.

My hopes for the readers are twofold: first, that they will enjoy learning about people, second, and perhaps more important, that the readers will come to experience a feeling of oneness with humankind.

New York City

*Anthony L. LaRuffa*



# Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

This volume

is

dedicated to Nathan Altshuler, Professor of Anthropology and Founder of the Department of Anthropology, The College of William and Mary in Virginia, for his significant contributions to American anthropology.



# Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

# Contents

## Chapter

Introduction: Human Variations in Fieldwork . . . . .	xi
1 Learning Fieldwork: Guatemala <i>Charles Wagley</i> . . . . .	1
2 On First Being an Anthropologist <i>Robert Lawless</i> . . . . .	19
3 From Structure to History in Malaya <i>David J. Banks</i> . . . . .	35
4 Field Experience in Three Societies <i>Enya P. Flores-Meiser</i> . . . . .	49
5 The Conversion of a Missionary <i>Vinson H. Sutlive, Jr.</i> . . . . .	63
6 Contrasting Experiences in Fieldwork <i>Daniel T. Hughes</i> . . . . .	81
7 Between Being Near and Distant: Reflections on Initial Approaches and Experiences of an Indian Anthropologist <i>R. S. Khare</i> . . . . .	91
8 “Come Ahead, If You Dare” <i>Victor A. Liguori</i> . . . . .	109
9 Feds and Locals: Stages of Fieldwork in Applied Anthropology <i>Allan F. Burns</i> . . . . .	129
10 Initial Encounter, Choice, and Change in Field Research <i>Mario D. Zamora</i> . . . . .	143
11 Filipinos Were My Teachers <i>Patricia Snyder Weibust</i> . . . . .	153
12 The Observer Observed: Changing Identities of Ethnographers in a Northeastern Thai Village <i>Charles F. Keyes</i> . . . . .	169
About the Contributors . . . . .	195



# Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

## Introduction: Human Variations in Fieldwork

Until a little over two decades ago anthropological fieldwork was one of the greatest mysteries of all scientific and humanistic endeavors – to all, that is, except the appropriately initiated anthropologists. In the uniformed stereotype of the lay public these courageous (or foolhardy) souls – dressed most probably in pith helmet and knee socks – left the comforts of family, friends, and civilization to actually live, eat, and perhaps even hunt with unlettered savages for interminable periods of time under the hot sun, over the frozen tundra, through the dense, dangerous jungle. And anthropologists for the most part seemed content to let the public think what it wished and did little – until recently – to correct, augment, or deny the stereotype.

Such a situation reflected no particular intent on the part of anthropologists to fool the public; they simply were doing other things for other audiences – audiences composed for the most part of other anthropologists, various cross-culturally oriented behavioral and social scientists, and perhaps a sophisticated humanist or two. Many of the readers in this audience had already gone through some sort of fieldwork initiation, others had strong powers of empathy (or imagination), and still others – hopefully a small group – probably simply missed the inevitably unstated point of fieldwork. The point being of course that fieldwork cannot be stated but must be experienced.

In the 1960s when books on the experience of anthropological fieldwork began to appear, it became clear to all that the experience is both more and less than the stereotype suggested. It is less romantic because not all fieldworkers suffer the tundra, jungle, and sun, and few dress (or behave) like heroes out of a Tarzan movie; most are simply serious, hard-working professionals. It is more exciting than any stereotype could anticipate because the rewards are revolutionary – for example, the startling discovery of the psychosocial comforts and temporal affluence of preagricultural peoples. Nevertheless, personal accounts of the efforts involved in gathering the data that lead to these revelations were kept at a minimum throughout most of the history of anthropology. Until recently such accounts were even considered by many anthropologists to be unprofessional. Two anthropologists with an enormous amount and

variety of fieldwork experience between them write of “the tradition – almost a code – of the third person: the anthropologist does not go to the field to discover or write of himself but to write of the subjects of his research” (Kimball and Watson, 1972: 2).

Indeed, the published accounts of the results of fieldwork, the ethnographies, conform to fairly well standardized reporting procedures. These procedures, from sophisticated research designs to simple categories of phenomena to be described, have been widely discussed, though there is a myth about research methods even among trained anthropologists; as one reports, “In anthropology we believe that there is not much literature on field methods. That’s not quite true. There’s an unbelievable amount of literature, but it’s scattered widely through time and across many journals” (Agar, 1980: 11).

Despite the neatness suggested by most of these writings on methods, the personal experience of fieldwork encompasses enormously complex variations in personality, environment, customs, climates, beliefs, and so forth – all further complicated by the intercultural character of fieldwork with its explosive potential for interpersonal misunderstandings and conflicts. Nothing in the field is ever quite so clear as it was back home. And a lot of the unfamiliar experiences and strange events in the field somehow become understandable only when anthropologists return home to face the demands for a structured ethnography! One of the editors of this volume has, for example, addressed himself to the complicating variable of “accidents”:

As, I think, with most anthropological fieldwork, my experiences at the time seemed to be composed of an uncomfortably large number of half-understood events and apparently accidental happenings, which included going places I did not intend to go and hearing things I did not expect to hear. Most such “accidents” do not find their way into the standard academic literature for a variety of reasons, e.g., investigators may feel that confessing anything less than a smooth fieldwork experience may make them appear somewhat less than professional, most social paradigms emphasize final results and perhaps formal methods but not informal learning experiences. I suspect, however, that many of the data gathered in the field and much of their initial interpretation – which, I think, always begins in the field – result from lessons learned by accident, i.e. unexpected events unanticipated in the research design” (Lawless, 1979: 481).

In contrast to the actual experience, a formal definition of fieldwork presents it as a rather straightforward activity, a by-product of the investigative perspective of the natural sciences. Fieldwork is, then, “the act of inquiring into the nature of phenomena by studying them at first hand in

the environments in which they naturally exist or occur" (Georges and Jones, 1981: 1). The expectation is that the inquiry will lead to understanding. Therefore it makes sense that "to understand a society, the anthropologist has traditionally immersed himself in it, learning, as far as possible, to think, see, feel, and sometimes act as a member of its culture and at the same time as a trained anthropologist from another culture" (Powdermaker, 1966: 9).

The paradox of fieldwork should now be obvious. Anthropologists are both observers and observees. In addition to the naturalistic methods of, let's say, botanists, who may study plants firsthand and indeed observe them in their natural environment, anthropological fieldworkers identify and empathize with the objects of their study, for they are studying members of their own species. Furthermore the "objects" that anthropologists study give their own explanations for their beliefs and behaviors – explanations that make more and more sense as the fieldworker comes more and more to think, see, feel, and act as a member of the target culture – even while the fieldworker-anthropologist is supposed to be striving toward or maintaining or even intensifying scientific objectivity. In fact, the reason for the stress on objectivity in gathering data and reporting the results of fieldwork (and for the commonly lamented sterility of ethnographies) springs from this bifurcated nature of fieldwork – anthropologist as friend and stranger, anthropologist as participant and observer, anthropologist and citizen and scientist, anthropologist as first person and third person, anthropologist as there but not there, present but unobtrusive, recording but not recorded. Precisely because of the personal presence of humanness, pure scientific objectivity is impossible to obtain. Disciplined subjectivity should be the goal – a goal made possible only through a clarification of the human variations in fieldwork.

These two aspects of fieldwork are so firmly entrenched that anthropologists who write about both the scientific results and their personal experiences usually find that they must write two books (see, e.g., Turnbull, 1961; and Turnbull, 1965). The ambiguity often noted in Claude Levi-Strauss's autobiographical account (see 1963) partially reflects the discomfort felt by many anthropologists with the mixture of personal feelings and abstract models in *Tristes Tropiques*.

Part of the reason for the paucity of writings on certain aspects of fieldwork may be simply due to its newness. Although the history of fieldwork is a sadly neglected area, at least one book gives a fairly substantial introduction, tracing it back to the spread of early empires such as the Greek and the Roman (see Wax, 1971: 21-41). But Franz Boas and Bronislaw Malinowski in the early part of this century were the first to

live for acceptable lengths of time in alien societies and to systematically investigate and report alien beliefs and behaviors – both activities now regarded as hallmarks of modern anthropological fieldwork. For the most part anthropologists interested in improving these fieldwork activities concentrated their writings on the techniques of data gathering. A 1967 book, for example, carries an annotated bibliography of 348 items on fieldwork, and almost all of them are technical pieces scattered about in scholarly journals (see Jogmans and Gutkind, eds., 1967: 214-271). By 1980 we can discern a shift away from a focus on the technical side of methods to a growing concern with broader issues of ethics, rapport, and investigator set. A book published in that year carries about 300 items dealing specifically with the qualitative aspects of fieldwork (see Shaffir, Stebbins, and Turowetz, 1980).

The 1960s and 1970s witnessed the appearance of books that discuss the scientific and epistemological issues surrounding fieldwork (see, e.g., Brim and Spain, 1974; and Pelto and Pelto, 1978), as well as readily available accounts of the technical side of their own fieldwork by anthropologists “who had been there” (see, e.g., Chagnon, 1974; and Beattie, 1965). In the 1970s and 1980s there even became available cookbook-type approaches for students wishing to do fieldwork (see, e.g., Crane and Angrosino, 1974; and Spradley, 1980). During these decades there were also personal accounts of a more emotional character (see, e.g., Maybury-Lewis, 1965; Read, 1965; Powdermaker, 1966; Alland, 1975; and Mitchell, 1978), generally written in addition to the ethnography – whence comes the anthropologists’ professional prestige – reflecting the traditional split into objective and subjective. The most striking example of this split may be seen in the contrast between the highly technical writings of Malinowski (see, e.g., 1935) and his controversial diary (see 1967), a lightly edited field journal that the author never intended for publication.

Around the beginning of the 1970s collections of personal statements about fieldwork began appearing (see, e.g., Spindler, ed., 1970; and Kimball and Watson, eds., 1972). Many of the collections focus on rather narrow topics. At least one early collection, a well-known one, concerns the relationships of various fieldworkers with their key informants (see Casagrande, 1960). Another book concentrates on the interethnicity of fieldwork (see Kimball and Watson, eds., 1972). Some of these collections are indeed highly specialized. We have an entire book that deals only with one variation – the gender of the fieldworker (see Golde, ed., 1970). We have another entire book that deals only with Indian anthropologists and anthropologists working in India (see Beteille and Madan, eds., 1975). There is also a highly instructive and personal account of the relationships

of the novice fieldworker to his mentor back at the university (see Kimball and Patridge, 1979). A new type of book on fieldwork differing from the collections and from the single-person accounts is one in which the authors comb the literature to give a flavor of fieldwork with the various quotations from anthropologists and with discussions of classic fieldwork situations (see, e.g., Georges and Jones, 1980).

After this recitation of books on fieldwork some readers might ask, "Why another one?" More careful readers will recognize that the relatively few books previously discussed only skim the surface of the variables involved in fieldwork. The most complex of the variations concerns humans — as individuals and in groups.

These human variations include not only the personality of the fieldworker and its compatibility with those of the informants but also the sociocultural background of the fieldworker and its often unforeseen influence on intercultural interactions. In addition there exists the tricky question of just what the indigenes make of the "face" the fieldworker puts on — an interpretation that may be entirely different from what the fieldworker anticipates. These variations also include such singularly important contrasts as whether the fieldworker is male or female, single or with a family, an indigene or a foreigner, or is in a hometown or in a new place. The influence of many of these variations are strikingly illustrated by several of the chapters in this volume. Some of the variations are not quite as clear cut as these contrasts suggests. More subtle variations include the initial identities of the fieldworker and how they change through interaction with the indigenes. The initial identities of the fieldworker may also change through events in fieldworkers' lives during intervals when they are away from the field. Still another variable concerns the prefield commitments of fieldworkers. The influences of many of these variations also are illustrated by several of the chapters in this volume.

This book, then, focuses on the important issue of fieldworker identity and on the development of this identity in traditional and modern types of fieldwork. Varieties of this theme include variations in the background and personality of the fieldworker and variations in the culture of the group studied and in the personalities of the informants. Among the messages of this book is that human variations can make a difference in how the identity of the fieldworker emerges. Another message is that most anthropologists seem to have found an acceptable role — or have forged an acceptable one — that allows fieldwork to get done.

It must be mentioned at this point that not all fieldwork has been successful; there have been failures. All anthropologists know about them

through the cocktail circuit, but they are rarely written up. As editors we first wanted to do a book titled *Failed Fieldwork*, thinking that much could be learned from such a book, but we could not get anyone to contribute chapters.

Some of the chapters in this volume do illustrate extremely difficult field situations, and we think there is indeed much to learn from almost everything that happens in the field. We still do not know, for example, how to match fieldworker to culture. Certainly some anthropologists are better suited, by virtue of their personality, to work in certain cultures rather than in others. We really do not know enough, however, about these human variations to suggest which anthropologist should study what. A lot of grief might be avoided if we did. We hope there are some helpful lessons in the chapters that follow.



The opening chapter on “Learning Fieldwork” is by the dean of American anthropology, Charles Wagley and contains many lessons about fieldwork — lessons given to us as they were learned by Wagley during his first fieldwork experience as a graduate student in 1937 among the Indians of highland Guatemala. Wagley had the advice of the giants of second generation American anthropology — Alfred A. Kroeber, Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Ruth Bunzel, A. Irving Hallowell, and others — but in the final analysis he had to learn his own lessons. One of these lessons is that fieldwork is a creative endeavor dependent on rather unpredictable accidents and human variations.

One lesson learned by “accident” was the value of the “returning fieldworker.” Due to recurring illnesses Wagley took several weeks off to recuperate, and he returned to the field with his objectivity restored (as well as his health). In addition the warmth and openness of the indigenes was appreciably increased since they perceived Wagley’s return as an indication that he sincerely wanted to live with them.

In another passage Wagley speaks of the physical awkwardness in attempting to participate in activities in which the indigenes are highly skilled through decades of practice. In this particular case the daily weeding of a maize field alongside his informants left Wagley too tired at the end of the day to record his experiences. He wisely suggests “passive participation and active observation.”

The physical rigors of fieldwork are an important variable, and in the next chapter Robert Lawless emphasizes his conquest of the requirements for hiking in rugged mountains. Writing about events “On First Being an

Anthropologist” during his fieldwork in the highlands of Northern Luzon among a group of recently pacified headhunters, he implies that there is a close relationship between the physical adaptation with the habitat that every fieldworker must develop and the psychological identity that many anthropologists cultivate with the people among whom they live.

In the chapter by David Banks titled “From Structure to History in Malaya” we follow the fieldwork experiences of a black anthropologist working in an isolated region of western Malaysia. He feels that because of his identity as a non-white the indigenes were unable to fit him into the cultural slot reserved for the British – and by extension almost all other foreigners from First World nations. Because he was perceived as a non-white among non-whites in a world where whites ruled, he may have had an easier time establishing rapport. Banks takes each important category of informant and explains how rapport was established and what the advantages and obstacles were that stemmed from the human variations involved. These categories include the village headman, Banks’s assistant, two teenage informants, the village shaman, and members of Banks’s peer group in the village. Of specific professional interest is that the chapter details how field contact with specific groups caused Banks to shift the focus of his research from the description of structural systems to concern for historical problems of development. Banks also points out that his identity with one particular village faction lead to his anxiety that he was getting only one side of every story.

This problem of identification with a village faction and the resultant difficulty in establishing rapport with other factions is a recurring theme in the literature on anthropological fieldwork. In “Field Experiences in Three Societies” Enya P. Flores-Meiser describes how association with a faction hindered her fieldwork and then goes one step further in suggesting that fieldworkers’ ability to establish penetrating rapport with differing socio-economic groups within the same society is probably rather limited. Flores-Meiser recounts and compares her experiences in three different fieldwork situations: as a Christian Filipino on a Moslem island, as a partially Westernized indigene studying her own natal community, and as a total outsider studying the Japanese in Brazil. In each of these variations she had to maintain a delicate insider-outsider balance.

Flores-Meiser also brings into play a little discussed factor: how anthropologists choose the peoples that they study. Such a choice is probably less rational than we like to pretend. Flores-Meiser tells of her childhood fascination about the Moslems derived from grade school textbooks. Fieldworkers often have a “preanthropological” personal curiosity about certain peoples, tribes, nations, groups that may have been nurtured from

childhood fantasies, adolescent crushes, adult love affairs. Do anthropologists who start from such idiosyncratic premises operate differently in the field? An interesting question that needs further investigation.

In "The Conversion of a Missionary" Vinson H. Sutlive, Jr., thoroughly explores the topics of "missionary as anthropologist" and "anthropologist as missionary" — topics maligned by gossip, misinformed by stereotypes, and rarely approached with understanding. Sutlive went among the Iban of Sarawak holding one view of Christianity, and he returned with another. The conversion well illustrates the human experience of fieldwork.

Further developing an understanding of fieldwork and missionaries, Daniel Hughes writes of some uniquely "Contrasting Experiences in Fieldwork." During 11 months in Micronesia he was a Jesuit priest. Later, during his work in the Philippines, he was married and had a son. Hughes's graphic portrayal of his changing circumstances clearly shows how anthropologists' personal characteristics and situations affect fieldwork experiences and the data gathered. In Micronesia, for example, a detailed study of local sex practices would have been impossible for Hughes as a priest, but he could obtain delicate data on traditional and contemporary political systems by taking advantage of the positive image the indigenes have of priests. Hughes's wife in the Philippines was an indigene, and this proved to be both advantageous and disadvantageous.

Anthropologists have often married into the cultures they study, and the effect of having an indigene looking over your shoulder, so to speak, is again another human variation that needs further investigation. Indeed anthropology as a traditional Euroamerican activity now has professional indigenes looking over its shoulder. R. S. Khare, the author of "Between Being Near and Distant," is an Indian studying Indian culture. Introducing the term *native anthropologist*, Khare vividly illustrates the ambivalent burden for indigenous anthropologists of identifying with an essentially foreign profession and thereby becoming alienated from their own nativity. Khare goes on to discuss his identity and passage among three key informants and shows how each became a teacher and presented a process of learning in fieldwork.

As Khare and Flores-Meiser show us, anthropologists need not feel that they must travel thousands of miles from home to find a group exotic enough to deserve their attention. What is most fascinating may be right in our own backyards. Victor A. Liguori went only 20 miles from his university into the Guinea Marshes of southeastern Gloucester County, Virginia, and found an illiterate people whose 17th century English was beyond his comprehension. In "Come Ahead, If You Dare" he explains this language and how he got along with the locally feared Guineamen. Of

particular interest is Liguori's discussion of the prejudice in the public schools against the children of these people. And again in terms of human variations, Liguori gives some well-founded warnings on knowing the intentions and propensities of your colleagues and acquaintances before introducing them as "friends" to the people you are working among.

Allan Burns' chapter "Feds and Locals" reviews the variations in fieldwork found in applied anthropology settings. Burns argues that traditional fieldwork and applied evaluation fieldwork are different in several dimensions. Applied work takes place in familiar contexts, usually in an ethnographer's own culture. Applied work exists in a shifting political environment where research is one of many resources that competing interest groups seek to use for their benefit. Because of these and other differences, Burns suggests that applied fieldwork socializes anthropologists away from the academy and toward the world of professional policy analysis. His own experience gained while working for a research company as an anthropologist is used to illustrate four stages of fieldwork as a socializing institution. For Burns the variety in fieldwork does not reside at the level of the fieldworker or local residents but in the interaction of fieldwork as research, a local community, and extra-local policy makers.

Mario D. Zamora stresses the significance of his "Initial Encounter, Choice, and Change in Field Research" in a Central Luzon village. Specifically he raises the question to what extent does the initial fieldwork experience determine career identity and choice. Zamora also underscores the need for an "anthropology of the anthropologists" to understand changing thoughts and experiences in fieldwork and to understand the emerging ethics of anthropologists from the Third World.

In the next to the last chapter, Patricia Snyder Weibust writes of fieldwork in an extended metaphor, comparing her experiences in a small village in the Philippines to the flood and ebb of the tides as she brings her world into contact with the rural Philippines. As she points out, "Filipinos Were My Teachers." Especially enlightening at a time of increasing numbers of female fieldworkers is the manner in which she handles the constantly amorous advances of the men of the village.

In the last chapter Charles Keyes essentially sums up the thrust of this volume by emphasizing the changing identities of the fieldworker in an alien culture. Using his work in a village in northeastern Thailand as an example, Keyes points out that the fieldworker does not simply gain an identity and then maintain the identity and accompanying role but instead the situation is more complex and always in flux. The fieldworker is plugged into the electricity of the social current producing static and

sparks and causing the indigenes to reassert their own cultural assumptions, for, as Keyes explains, the social identities of his wife and himself “sprang not from our peculiar nature as undefinable aliens but from the cultural premises which the villagers employed in determining all social identities, their own included.” The fieldworkers’ understanding of their identities therefore aids in the understanding of the culture of the people they are working among.

This introduction has highlighted some of the features in the chapters that follow and has shown that all the chapters illustrate in one way or another the importance of human variations in fieldwork. One of the hallmarks of fieldwork and writings about it is that all investigators and readers learn their own lessons. There is much more in these chapters than we can cover in a brief introduction. Readers will discover this on their own. We do not want to delay them any longer.

The Editors

## REFERENCES

- Agar, Michael H., 1980, *The Professional Stranger: An Informal Introduction to Ethnography*. New York: Academic.
- Alland, Alexander, Jr., 1975, *When the Spider Danced: Notes from an African Village*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday.
- Beattie, John, 1965, *Understanding an African Kingdom: Bunyoro*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Beteille, Andre, and T. N. Madan, eds., 1975, *Encounter and Experience: Personal Accounts of Fieldwork*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.
- Brim, John A., and David H. Spain, 1974, *Research Design in Anthropology: Paradigms and Pragmatics in the Testing of Hypothesis*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Casagrande, Joseph B., ed., 1960, *In the Company of Man: Twenty Portraits of Anthropological Informants*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Crane, Julia G. and Michael V. Angrosino, 1974, *Field Projects in Anthropology: A Study Handbook*. Morristown, New Jersey: General Learning.
- Chagnon, Napoleon A., 1974, *Studying the Yanomamo*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Freilich, Morris, ed., 1977, *Marginal Natives at Work: Anthropologists in the Field*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman.
- Georges, Robert A., and Michael O. Jones, 1980, *People Studying People: The Human Element in Fieldwork*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Golde, Peggy, ed., 1970, *Women in the Field: Anthropological Experiences*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Jongmans, D. G., and P. C. W. Gutkind, eds., 1967, *Anthropological in the Field*. Assen, Holland: Van Gorcum.
- Kimball, Solon T., and James B. Watson, 1972, *Introduction*. In *Crossing Cultural Boundaries: The Anthropological Experience*. San Francisco: Chandler.
- Kimball, Solon T., and James B. Watson, eds., 1972, *Crossing Cultural Boundaries: The Anthropological Experience*. San Francisco: Chandler.

- Kimball, Solon T., and William L. Partridge, 1979, *The Craft of Community Study: Fieldwork Dialogues*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Lawless, Robert, 1979, Differing Perspectives on Work Among the Pasil Kalingas of Northern Luzon. *Asian Profile* 7: 481-490.
- Levi-Strauss, Claude, 1963, *Tristes Tropiques*. New York: Atheneum (first published in French in 1955).
- Malinowski, Bronislaw, 1935, *Coral Gardens and Their Magic, Vol. I: Soil-Tilling and Agricultural Rites in the Trobriand Islands*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- 1967, *A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.
- Maybury-Lewis, David, 1965, *The Savage and the Innocent*. Boston: Beacon.
- Mitchell, William E., 1978, *The Bamboo Fire: An Anthropologist in New Guinea*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Pelto, Pertti J., and Gretel H. Pelto, 1978, *Anthropological Research: The Structure of Inquiry*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Powdermaker, Hortense, 1966, *Stranger and Friend: The Way of an Anthropologist*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Read, Kenneth E., 1965, *The High Valley*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Shaffir, William B., Robert A. Stebbins, and Allan Turowetz, eds., 1980, *Fieldwork Experience: Qualitative Approaches to Social Research*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Spindler, George D., ed., 1970, *Being an Anthropologist: Fieldwork in Eleven Cultures*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Spradley, James P. 1980, *Participant Observation*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Turnbull, Colin, 1961, *The Forest People: A Study of the Pygmies of the Congo*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- 1965, *Wayward Servants: The Two Worlds of the African Pygmies*. Garden City, New York: Natural History Press.
- Wax, Rosalie H., 1971, *Doing Field Work: Warnings and Advice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.