

Anthropologists, Development and Tourism Networks Encounters and Shadows of a Colonial Past

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Abstract: Anthropologists have long held contrasting viewpoints about their relationships with governments and about how far they should work with them and other stakeholders involved in 'development.' Such divisions also occur among anthropologists and social scientists working on tourism's role in development, and when they are prepared to work in matters related to tourism policy, management and planning, their positions may contrast greatly with those of (others) expatriates and local personnel, for example, in NGOs and aid agencies, and with attitudes of consultants and government officials. Indeed, even academics from the same discipline, but in different countries, may have quite different perceptions of their role. When tourism projects are being set up, time should be set aside to build relationships and a common understanding of stakeholders' positions and what is entailed and expected of them. In this process, it is important for social scientists to listen to other stakeholders and to be reflexive of their own positions and activities.

Keywords: anthropologists; applied and pure anthropology; consultants; stakeholders; tourism development.

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to situate and describe some of the problems that emerge when sociologists/social anthropologists from developed societies become involved in 'development' work in developing countries. The paper is in three distinct sections: a brief overview of the debates about anthropologists' roles during colonialism, a discussion of tourism academics' attitudes to applied work and, finally, a more personal reflection of some of the issues arising from this writer's experience in working with various stakeholders on tourism in developing countries.

An Historical Overview

Anthropologists and Colonialists: The Debates

In 1983, at the third decennial conference of the Association of Social Anthropologists, held in Cambridge, there was a section of papers on 'Anthropology in the Eighties' and, as part of this discussion, there was a sub-theme of 'applied anthropology.' The issue was addressed by some of the most notable anthropologists of the time, and tended to centre on the role anthropologists – or at least some of them – had played during the period of British colonialism, most particularly in Africa.

Discussion was clearly heated, and this is reflected in the ensuing publication (Grillo and Rew 1985). In the book, 11 anthropologists, with highly respectable pedigrees,

discuss their role, and that of anthropology, across a wide range of contexts. Most were academics – e.g., from Cambridge, Sussex, London and Toronto – but there was also a specialist consultant and an aid agency official. Several had been involved to a greater or lesser extent with colonial administrations (especially Gulliver), and/or in providing advice to 'native peoples' (Layton in Northern Australia, Cheater in independent Zimbabwe, Whisson in apartheid-governed South Africa, and Strathern in Papua New Guinea). Notably, too, in much of the discussion, but especially in Grillo's introduction, there are periodic references to the attitudes and practices of previous generations of anthropologists, including such notables as Malinowski, Mair and Firth, and to the establishment in 1926 of what was to become the International African Institute, an organization which supported many activities of social anthropologists working in colonial Africa (Grillo 1985: 10-13).¹

In passing, it is no exaggeration to suggest that, irrespective of individual attitudes towards colonial authorities among anthropologists, access to 'their' societies was largely facilitated by the colonial system, albeit sometimes reluctantly. Indeed, Malinowski, the 'father' of the British fieldwork tradition, found himself in the Trobriand Islands only because, as a Pole resident in the UK during the First World War, his alternative was internment as an enemy alien!

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Why were such apparently historical matters of interest in the mid-1980s? First, after the second World War (especially with the onset of independence for many former colonial territories), applied anthropology was considered marginal, even (according to some commentators) tarnished by its association with colonialism. It was no longer appropriate to conceive of such societies as ‘primitive.’ Secondly, with the increasing popularity of phenomenological sociology in the 1960s and 1970s, and the recognition by social anthropologists that anthropological approaches and techniques were as relevant to urban contexts (and peoples of the ‘fourth world’) in developed societies as to ‘traditional societies,’ the distinguishing characteristics of social anthropology, in both locus and methods of study, had become increasingly blurred (Chambers 2000: 856). In general, proponents of social/cultural anthropology were looking for a new role, a search given added focus during the 1970s, when more anthropology graduates were being produced and (as a result) were seeking employment opportunities. Then, as now, the relevance of academic studies to the ‘requirements’ of the job market were a major concern.

The 1980s reprise of anthropologists’ relationships to colonial governments, in particular, revealed, first, a series of polarized stereotypes of (apparently) different kinds of anthropology, accompanied by numerous but implied value judgements and, secondly, a categorization of anthropologists’ attitudes to (and indeed definitions of) applied anthropology.

An indication of the stereotypes prevailing in the mid-1980s, as discussed by Grillo (1985: 4-9) and informed by the writer’s own experience, is given in Table 1, which contrasts perceptions of ‘pure’ and ‘applied’ anthropology, here defined as the activities of anthropologists that are non-theoretical and goal-oriented. The adjectives are really self-

Table 1. Pure vs Applied Anthropology

PURE ANTHROPOLOGY	APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY
Abstract and Theoretical	Practical and empirical
Disinterested	Interested, engaged and action-orientated
Objective	Subjective
Moral	Immoral
Academic	Non-academic
Discipline-based	Client-based (e.g., government, aid agencies, NGOs)
Intellectual	Policy-orientated
Comprehensive	Half-baked
Exponents are wise	Exponents are ‘experts’
Paid by the state in universities – not polytechnics!	Paid by government in aid agencies or (worse??) by the private sector?

explanatory, but it is especially noteworthy that those who (allegedly) pursue anthropology for anthropology’s sake (whatever that might mean) are contrasted with those of a more practical, empirical bent and, certainly if it is the former who are doing the classifying, not to the latter’s advantage.

As Grillo pointed out, such polarization was unjustified even in the 1920s, as well as in the 1980s. There was no reason, for example, to suppose that applied anthropology was less intellectually demanding than ‘pure’ anthropology, and applied research can produce data and ideas of great relevance to the corpus of disciplinary knowledge, including theory. Nevertheless:

We must face the fact that an applied/theoretical opposition persists in anthropology and affects both ‘sides’: one abjuring practice, the other theory. Why does anthropology, more than any other social science, appear to make such heavy weather of this distinction? What, one wonders, would Keynes have made of it? If, then, the meaning of applied anthropology is to be found in its rejection by those in the mainstream of the subject, we have to ask why this rejection has occurred (Grillo 1985: 9).

The second issue, which really follows from the first, is that it was possible to categorize anthropologists according to where they stood on the pure versus applied debate. Grillo suggests they can be placed in one of three camps: principled rejectionists, monitorists and activists (1985: 28–31).

- Principled rejectionists are those who might suggest anthropologists are not qualified to intervene in social matters, that those with whom they would have to deal make the effort dirty and unworthwhile, and/or that they should resist incorporation into a system they dislike and even despise.
- Monitorists are those who assess what is going on and carry out research ‘to investigate specific plans, policies or projects and their implementation’ (Grillo 1985: 29), thus pursuing the anthropology of development without actually being in development, so to speak. Like St. Paul, they are of but not in the world.
- Finally, activists ‘are actively engaged in customer-contractor relationships in which they are called upon to devise and review development policies’ (Grillo 1985: 29–30). They are at the opposite end of the spectrum to the rejectionists, and (unlike the latter) believe at least in the possibility that their actions can improve the existing situation. Quoting Belshaw, Grillo suggests that such a view is characterized by the belief or hope that ‘the application of anthropological knowledge will moderate the bad and enhance the good’ (1985: 30).

This debate over the role of anthropologists in the

colonial period is no mere historical footnote. Since 2001, for instance, the UK government-sponsored research councils have launched several major initiatives that focus on terrorism, including the Economic and Social Research Council's programme entitled 'Domestic Management of Terrorist Attacks.' Initially, the focus was on assessing the risk of terrorist attacks, and managing and monitoring the authorities' response to them (www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200203/cmselect), but studies of terrorism have since multiplied on a massive scale. Most relevant to the present context, in 2008:

A £1.3 million ESRC [Economic and Social Research Council] and AHRC [Arts and Humanities Research Council] programme, jointly funded by the [UK] Foreign Office on 'Combating Terrorism by Countering Radicalisation,' was pulled after academics claimed it was tantamount to asking researchers to act as spies for British Intelligence (Attwood 2009).

Similar debates over the militaristic or nationalistic applications of anthropology have occurred in North America. In 1919, Boas angrily suggested that some fellow anthropologists had 'prostituted science by using it as a cover for their activities as spies' (McFate 2005), while Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict, both prominent American anthropologists, assisted the US government during the Second World War. Later, the infamous Project Camelot, initiated in 1964, sought anthropologists' assistance in defeating protest movements in developing countries (Horowitz 1967), and a few years later the American Anthropological Association was split by acrimonious debate over the role of anthropologists with fieldwork experience in Thailand who offered their services to Project Agile, a programme of the US Agency for International Development designed to ensure Thailand remained 'in the Free World' (Wakin 1992). Similarly, Hickey, the author of an ethnography of a Vietnamese village, (unsuccessfully) advised the US government on its conduct of the Vietnam/American War (McFate 2005: 34). The advent of the Cold War gave added impetus to the development of Area Studies in the USA and, once again, many anthropologists were engaged by the state for political purposes, though others, by contrast, were targeted for their involvement in the civil rights movements of the 1940s and 1950s (Price 1998).

Most recently, since 2007, as part of its Human Terrain System, the US army has experimented in attaching anthropologists to combat brigades in Iraq and Afghanistan (Rohde 2007; Shweder 2007). The aim has been to provide 'direct social science support in the form of ethnographic and social research, cultural information research, and social data analysis that can be employed as part of the military decision-making process' (Marlowe 2007). How far this has

been achieved is not yet known (though little evidence of success seems to have emerged to date), but the effort has again led to discussion of the anthropologists' role in war zones (Johnson 2007; Marlowe 2007).

Unity Despite Diversity

Clearly, concerns over anthropological involvement with government, especially at times of perceived insecurity, are as relevant today as they were in the 1920s, 1940s or 1980s, and current attitudes among sociologists and anthropologists reflect these earlier viewpoints. Such disagreements are entirely consistent with individual integrity. However, this should not disguise the fact that these debates, even when acrimonious, occur within an established scientific discipline. Despite their differences, anthropologists (and by extension other social scientists) occupy a key position in what might be described as the Western intellectual tradition, best characterized by Weber's famous reference to 'Science as a Vocation.' As members of a network of scientists operating in a world characterized by disenchantment, by rationality, they are committed to understanding what they have previously selected as 'culturally significant' by exercising their (value-based) vocation, or calling, in the pursuit of 'science,' which is 'organized in special disciplines in the service of self-clarification and knowledge of inter-related facts' (Weber 1948: 152). And where disagreements do emerge, as is inevitable, they are mediated from within the scientific community, by those who, to all intents and purposes, are part of a common culture.

The Pure-applied Division Among Tourism Academics

The extent to which anthropologists are willing to work with, for or against governments continues to exercise concern in the current international climate, and principled rejectionists, monitorists and activists are still distinguishable among academics interested, more widely, in matters pertaining to 'development.' At the same time, it must also be recognized that since 1945, and especially since the 1980s, the development context has also changed. There are new generations of leaders in what were once described as 'new nations'; 'transitional economies' (really a synonym for another set of new nations) have emerged with the disappearance of the 'Third World' and the subsequent merging of the 'First' and the 'Second;' transnational companies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are now major players on the world economic stage, and unilateral and multilateral aid have become increasingly important to developing societies. And while in this increasingly globalized context there has perhaps been a further dilution of policy-makers' interest in (what they

regard as) 'pure' academic subjects (including social anthropology), there has also been an increased preference for 'useful' qualifications. What is required, it would seem, is not academic excellence but expertise.²

More specifically, the divisions discussed in the previous section are evident among academics who focus their attention on tourism, either as a series of inter-related phenomena worthy of academic study or, more generally, as a 'tool' for development. A passing mention of those initially involved in establishing tourism as an academic subject in the 1970s highlights some of the tensions. In 1989, for example, MacCannell, who was influential in establishing tourism as a proper subject of anthropological enquiry (1976), and who is situated firmly at the academic end of the continuum, was to reflect as follows:

Perhaps this is an appropriate place to note that while I may seem to have overlooked or neglected to report the sources of support for my research on tourism and travel, this is not the case. I have never received any institutional funding for this work. This was certainly not my intention at first....Now I admit to a certain perverse pleasure in the knowledge that none of this work is on anyone else's balance sheet or ledger....Nor have I taken any fees for consultation on matters of travel and tourism....(MacCannell 1989: xiv-xx).

While MacCannell was quite willing to accept institutional funding for other research projects (1992: xi-xii), and presumably felt obliged to accept his university salary, towards tourism, at least, he apparently adopted a rejectionist position. It is echoed by many others. Sometimes this rejection of any involvement with policy-making goes further, and comes close to opposition to tourism as a system and to tourists as a category. MacCannell was thus led to ask: 'What is an expeditionary force without guns Tourists?' (1989: xviii). Similarly, Nash was clear, in the 1970s, that tourism is a form of 'imperialism' (1978), and Graburn likens tourism in developing countries to a form of prostitution, penetration and rape (1983).

Not all tourism academics are hostile towards tourism. By definition, all those who participate in tourism management, or who are involved in planning, at local, national, regional or even international level, might best be described at least as monitorists, and many take a truly active role in promoting tourism, or some types of it. Valene Smith, another major influence in the development of the anthropology of tourism, for example, has long been a tour guide. Contributors to the first edition of her volume *Hosts and Guests* (1978) adopt a variety of stances, as do those of de Kadt's similar collection, which soon followed (1979).

It is also the case that some anthropologists of tourism have changed their views over time. By 1996, for example,

Nash seems to have rejected the notion that tourism was a form of imperialism, and was arguing instead that while anthropologists should become more involved in applied work, they 'still have a way to go towards scientific maturity' (1996: 169). However, most sociologists and anthropologists working on tourism write from a perspective which, at best, can be described as monitorist, tending to be decidedly ambivalent to tourism and indicating little respect for the tourists they study. They prefer, instead, to 'side' with destination communities (as if they somehow constitute a homogeneous unit), thus raising, yet again, the question long ago posed by Howard Becker: 'whose side are we on?' (Becker 1967; Liebling 2001).

Such attitudes can be explained in several ways. First, as Kit Jenkins, one of the few to have combined successful academic work with consultancy, points out, this 'great divide' between tourism academics and tourism practitioners arises, in part, because they 'occupy very different work situations, and those academics who do participate in tourism projects tend to be approached only after strategies and methods have been agreed' (Jenkins 1999: 55). However, this is not the only reason. The second is that because tourism academics were mainly educated in liberal higher education establishments in the 1960s and 1970s, some (like MacCannell) have been opposed to capitalism from the outset. This would help explain why consultancy work, especially for the private sector, is often considered to compromise academic independence, and even (rightly or wrongly) to be seen as an out and out betrayal and loss of intellectual integrity (Mowforth and Munt 1998: 214).

True, there is continued advocacy of stakeholder partnership; environmentalists and economists often contribute to applied and policy-oriented research, and there seems to be little objection to an involvement in ecotourism or community-based tourism (CBT), perhaps because they are considered 'politically correct' (Rowe 2003: 131). By contrast, though, academics tend to distrust such major development agencies as the UNWTO, the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank, and are quick to voice their disapproval of mass tourism and the role of transnational companies in it, especially in developing countries (Rowe 2003: 131). In particular, as indicated elsewhere (Harrison 2004: 9), direct co-operation with the private sector is rare, and those who do manage to cross this 'great divide' find that institutions in which they work, especially in the traditional university sector, give them little credit for doing so (Mars 2004: 2).

Thirdly, even if they want to become involved in policy-orientated research, they are often unable to do so. A brief examination, for example, of the list of 139 consultants in

the UK's Tourism Society in 2003 reveals that a mere six were based in academic institutions, and this is no indication that the 'lucky' six obtained many (even any) consultancy contracts! Indeed, consultancies are awarded on the basis of prior consultancy experience which, by definition, most academics lack. And the attitude of many consultants and contract-awarding bodies towards academics, justified or not, is hardly encouraging. On being shown a copy of the *Annals of Tourism Research*, for example, one leading British tourism consultant exclaimed: 'Who writes this stuff? And who reads it?' The obvious answer to this partly rhetorical question is that academics write it, because that is what they are paid to do, and academics read it (for the same reason). For their part, consultants and policy-makers are not paid to read journals, rarely have the time, and usually lack the inclination. Instead, they write or commission reports, which may or may not be peer-reviewed, and which are read by others from a similar background: other consultants, NGO personnel, officials in aid agencies and international institutions, and so on. And the net result? Two largely separate networks – academic and non-academic – and two largely separate bodies of literature, written in different styles, according to different criteria, and for very different audiences.

Finally, it can be argued that the anthropological project is, in many respects, based on a form of intellectual tourism and, at least for some residents in tourist destination communities, anthropologists appear as but another kind of tourist. Faced with such an embarrassment, and with due regard to the low opinion they might already have of tourists, it should occasion no surprise that anthropologists act somewhat defensively to protect their reputation (Berno 1999; Crick 1994; Errington and Gewertz 1989; Lacy and Douglass 2002; MacCannell 1976: 174–178; Mintz 1977; Nash 2001)!

The situation I am describing may be slightly different in Australia and New Zealand, where links between academic studies and consultancy work seem closer, simply because of the way higher education (especially applied studies) has emerged. However, in the UK and, I suspect, in other parts of Europe and North America, partly because of the trends I have described, the divide between practitioners and academics, and their respective outputs, continues to be deep and wide.

The Anthropologist in Developing Countries – Examples from Tourism

Despite the kind of hurdles I have been describing, anthropologists/sociologists do sometimes work in developing societies³, perhaps as consultants with aid agencies or the private sector, and/or through international

links made with universities. In so doing, they move from operating within a largely academic network where, despite differing perceptions towards 'applied' work, widely disputed theoretical positions, less than perfect administrative environments, and debates over the cross-cultural applicability of research methods (Berno 1996), there is still a wide degree of consensus over the value of 'research' and 'scholarship' and (for those with formal training in social anthropology) the lasting importance of a relatively long exposure to the 'field' of enquiry, as well as the need to submit research outcomes to peer group review. On moving away from this network and entering the 'development' environment, and thus encountering a new range of 'stakeholders', with quite differing characteristics, such a consensus cannot be assumed to continue. Consultants, aid workers and NGO representatives, and politicians all have their own networks, and their own agendas, which may or may not coincide or overlap with that of the academic.

Consultants, for instance, operate in a highly competitive environment. In the UK, they are likely to have graduated from 'redbrick' universities, with qualifications in economics or geography, or in such applied disciplines as urban planning. Once appointed, they may use fairly standard templates, and the terms of reference generally require them to produce speedy, succinct and unreferenced reports and recommendations. Under severe time constraints and deadlines, they often have to juggle time spent on one consultancy with that on others. There is little emphasis on (or time to carry out) primary research. Instead, focus is largely on secondary sources, and there may be unashamed borrowing from official and other documents. Tourism consultants, for instance, rely heavily on Lonely Planet or Rough Guide publications. And their conclusions, which may indeed be correct, are rarely informed by academic publications on their area of research, or validated according to academic rules of evidence, and they do not have the luxury of numerous caveats and qualifications.

Example: In one international tourism consultancy, funded by the Asian Development Bank, consultants were charged, *inter alia*, with anticipating the impacts of infrastructural developments (such as new or upgraded roads and airports) on local communities in South-East Asia. Most sites were visited for, at most, two days, and sometimes for as little as a morning or an afternoon, before leaving for the next destination.

By contrast, NGOs in developing countries are likely to be staffed by relatively young and committed expatriates, who often form the basis of a distinct social segment in urban centres, and also constitute an equally distinct market

segment in the demand for housing and the use of Western-orientated bars and restaurants. Assisted by members of the local elite, whose employment frequently circulates among NGOs, they are reliant on aid from international donors, and continually have to submit applications for continued funding. They operate within an ethos which is highly budget-conscious and distinctly managerial, but nevertheless lack experience in carrying out research or running businesses.

Example: People employed by NGOs may have a very different perspective on tourism to the visiting consultant (or academic). Indeed, in development circles generally, it has long been fashionable to express contempt for tourists and tourism. Nowadays, however, NGOs are becoming more involved in running their own 'pro-poor' tourism projects, under the umbrella of 'Community-based Tourism.' At a four-day conference in Taveuni, Fiji in July 1998, convened by the New Zealand Overseas Development Agency, international donors and local NGOs involved in ecotourism projects over the previous five years throughout the region agreed that, measured in terms of economic sustainability, most were demonstrably unsuccessful. A lack of business and marketing skills and experience on the part of NGO personnel, unrealistic expectations by donors as to the length of training in hospitality required for community members, along with an underestimate of the time-frame needed before adequate economic returns would materialize, and a failure to utilize the expertise of the private sector were just some of the factors held responsible for the almost universal failure of ecotourism projects in the region (Tourism Research Consultants 1999).

Another example: Even successful projects operated by NGOs may not match the performance of the private sector, though it must also be accepted that sometimes benefits from the former's involvement are difficult to measure. In Lao PDR, for instance, by 2008 the Nam Ha Ecotourism Project, which commenced in 1999, had received some US\$ 900,000 from international donors, but the direct gross revenue from its operations (primarily training guides and running treks) to the population of about 2,000 in eight minority villages over this period was no more than 25% of the income from aid donors. By contrast, annual tourist expenditure on the Mekong island of Don Det, in southern Laos, where small locally-owned and privately-financed guest houses and restaurants are the norm, is estimated to be in the region of US\$ 450,000 (Harrison and Schipani 2007).

It might be expected that Western anthropologists would fit most easily into networks of academics in developing countries, and productive and successful

collaboration and friendships do indeed develop among academics across cultures. At the same time, it cannot be assumed that there will be a meeting of minds. Even in the West, academics from apparently similar social scientific traditions, for example, the USA, France, Germany and the UK, can experience huge difficulties in cross-cultural discussion and research.⁴

In fact, the expression and practice of science is inevitably filtered through historical, structural and cultural contexts in developed and developing societies. Indeed, if the development of an international community of scholars following (Western) science as a vocation (Weber 1948) is difficult across developed societies apparently characterized by rationality, in those that are developing or transitional, described by Riggs as 'prismatic' societies (1964), possibilities for misunderstanding and disagreement are even more marked. Ideas and institutions related to scientific practice will be differentially incorporated into their political, social and cultural structures, and similarities in institutional form may disguise considerable discrepancies in function, as indicated in Figure 1.⁵

In some South-east Asian societies, for example, social scientists in universities (like their colleagues) receive what, by Western standards, is a pitifully low salary, amounting to little more than US\$ 30 a month. As a consequence, much sought-after appointments as national experts on international projects come to be their major source of income, and a per diem of US\$ 75 is more than twice their monthly salary. In addition to being financially advantageous, consultancy may attract prestige and lead to the accumulation of considerable cultural and/or political capital as well as a greatly enhanced income, also providing much valued opportunities for overseas travel. The local consultant might also be expected (in a modern equivalent of the potlatch) to contract out all or some of the work involved in the project to his/her less-qualified colleagues or students.

Furthermore, depending on the society, the university education of academics might have been quite different from their Western counterparts. In Lao PDR, Vietnam and Cambodia (and countries in the former Soviet bloc) there was considerable training in collecting numerical data but relatively little in more qualitative techniques, especially techniques of participant-observation – a problem which can only be compounded where populations have long been subjected to dictatorial rule and may continue to be subjected to surveillance by government agents.

Example: In an EU-funded international project involving cross cultural co-operation of two European

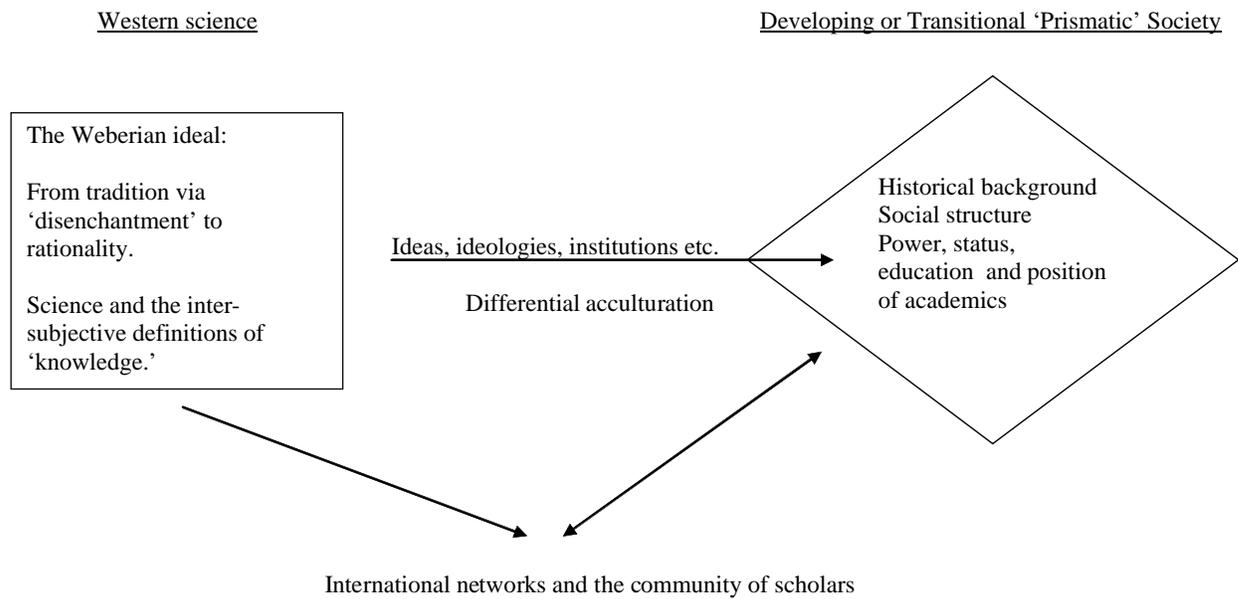


Figure 1. From Ideal Western 'Science' to 'Prismatic Societies'

universities with two South-east Asian universities, designed to further understanding of how tourism can benefit the poor, considerable problems arose because of different interpretations towards fieldwork and, more generally, on how the research should be conducted. For the Europeans, the research was an enjoyable, intrinsic and necessary part of their university positions; by contrast, for the South-east Asian partners, although research was also part of their normal university duties, this kind of research, funded as it was by the European Commission, was categorized more as a form of consultancy, to be remunerated according to known and commonly used pay scales. It was a perspective also evident in other parts of the project, and drivers of vehicles and local officials who necessarily had to accompany the research team similarly expected a per diem, which was invariably several times their monthly salary.

Expectations of the type of research to be conducted also varied. For the Europeans, time spent in the field was a bonus, to be extended by eking out the per diem for as long as possible. It meant the opportunity to get the feel of a place, to observe, to participate, and try and make sense of data that were being collected through more formal research techniques. By contrast, South-East Asian academics attached great importance to carrying out the research quickly, and then returning to other duties. Indeed, there seemed also to be an expectation that, if fieldwork involved traipsing across muddy fields in the monsoon season to isolated villages, it was more appropriate for junior colleagues to go than the senior academic who was actually awarded the contract.

Similar experiences have emerged in a recent tourism project, working with academics in the Lower Mekong Sub-region. These include a reliance on data obtained from interviews with government and other officials (and a corresponding reluctance to involve other informants, either local residents or tourists), and in one case the national expert, an academic, used students to obtain data he was committed to collecting (an approach which admittedly could have been useful, but appears not to have been so in this case). In another instance, one of the national experts (selected by his compatriots) had no expertise in carrying out similar research, with somewhat dire consequences.⁶

Finally, as in developed societies, it cannot be assumed that the agendas or expectations of politicians are identical to those of other stakeholders. Clearly, circumstances vary across societies and over time, and generalizations can be misleading. However, in societies where there is a recent history of highly centralized government, as in parts of South-east Asia, politicians and government officials, and some senior academics, may hold their positions as a consequence of party influence rather than established expertise. This can have noteworthy implications. First, there may be little understanding of the project requirements and, secondly, if they involve widespread consultation at community level, politicians and officials (like some researchers) may be unwilling to follow either the spirit or the letter of the project. Practices that characterize top-down development can be addictive. Thirdly, where positions may have been obtained not through party affiliation but by purchase, a client/patron system may have emerged, where those who purchase a

senior position must then sell junior positions in order to recoup their own costs.

Conclusions

The underlying aim of this paper was, first, to indicate that anthropologists have long held contrasting viewpoints about their relationships with, and the value of their research to governing authorities, and it has been suggested that debates preoccupying anthropologists during the colonial period have continued to the present, and still influence the way they work (and are perceived to work) with governments and other stakeholders involved in 'development.' Indeed, it is still possible to variously categorize the position of anthropologists towards governments in developing societies as principled rejectionists, monitorists or activists.

Secondly, it has been shown, more specifically, that such attitudes continue to divide anthropologists and other social scientists working on the role of tourism as a tool for development. Whereas some quite willingly promote tourism, or forms of tourism considered to be sustainable, others prefer a more neutral monitorist position, while yet others actively disparage tourism and, in some case, the capitalist context in which it thrives.

Finally, the above divisions within networks of social anthropologists and tourism social scientists co-exist and are thrown into relief by an even more complex series of overlapping networks when academics work on applied projects in developing countries. Expatriate and local personnel in NGOs and aid agencies, consultants and government officials, may all have markedly different agendas from visiting academics. Indeed, even local academics, formally a part of what might broadly be defined as the Western scientific tradition, reflect the values, status systems and expectations of their own 'prismatic' societies. In such cases, there are further impediments to the marriage of true minds, which here, as always, remains an ideal!

If the account provided here is at all valid, and accords with the experience of researchers elsewhere, it carries several implications which merit further discussion, both in 'academic' terms and for more practical reasons.

1. When academic exchanges across international boundaries are arranged, even within the European context, it cannot be assumed that the intellectual baggage of all participants is going to be identical. It is not. Ideas and intellectual practices can undoubtedly be transferred and shared, but all carry with them the cultural soil in which they prospered, and sometimes spend much time defending, and this has to be recognized.

2. Time must be taken – and allowed for by donor agencies – to enable detailed and sustained discussion of the principles underlying the project, and to build up relationships among academics. The benefits from immediate, one-off associations are likely to be limited, whereas forms of cooperation developed over the years will inevitably be more productive.
3. Similarly, all participants – but perhaps especially those in donor agencies – need to be aware of the cultural contexts in which projects are being undertaken, and differences which may exist in underlying approaches. Even among academics, 'doing research' may have quite different meanings across cultures.
4. Anthropologists, in particular, note the importance of time spent in the field, as do most sociologists with a phenomenological approach. And – as Robert Chambers has long shown – much of this time should be spent listening to local people and learning from them (Chambers 1994). This applies at all levels, and should include the major stakeholders discussed in this paper and also 'lower level' participants, who are most likely to be affected by development programmes, for good or ill.

Other issues may also arise. However, what is necessary, above all, is for anthropologists and other social scientists working in tourism or other sectors, to be reflexive of their involvement in development and about their relationships with other stakeholders. Ironically, reflexivity in this context will enable them to theoretically situate their own roles more rigorously and to apply their skills and insights more appropriately and efficiently when involved in more practically-orientated projects.

End Notes

1. Another example, not mentioned in the Grillo/Rew collection, was the direct involvement of some anthropologists in independence movements. Hilda Kuper, for example, who carried out research among the Swazi, was much associated with King Sobhuza II (Kuper 1978). She helped the Swazi hierarchy articulate the nature of Swazi tradition (not surprisingly, perhaps, highlighting the importance of the king) when the constitution for independent Swaziland was being formulated. It was finally implemented in 1972, replacing a constitution previously imposed by the British in 1968
2. Notably, though, what is not usually requested is anthropological expertise! Indeed, the perceived

association (correct or otherwise) of anthropology with colonialism led to its withdrawal from many universities in developing countries or (at best) its incorporation as but one aspect of sociology. More generally, in the UK, for instance, the tension between 'applied' and 'pure' disciplinary activity is reflected at numerous levels. Government policy is to increase the number of university students (thus inevitably increasing teaching commitments) but also to emphasize the importance for academics to obtain grants and publish in peer-reviewed journals. This prompts starker divisions between academics who teach and those who do research in the same institutions, as well as highlighting and exacerbating divisions between 'old' and 'new' universities.

3. In many Western universities, the distinction between anthropology and sociology is now extremely blurred, though separate departments often continue to exist. By contrast, in many developing societies, especially those with a colonial history, anthropology has been rejected - mistakenly or otherwise - as too closely associated with colonialism.
4. Petty nationalisms and linguistic ignorance frequently emerge, for instance, in discussions over the language to be used in academic debate and discussion.
5. This perception of Western science, derived from Weber and portrayed in Figure 1, and earlier, is not universally

accepted but, for Weber, the validity of scientific knowledge and its related 'truths' ultimately rest in the inter-subjective nature of the scientific community. 'This itself reflects the evaluative ideas which 'dominate the investigator and his age,' and the community is the arbiter of the value and significance of research (1949: 84). Anthropology, then, does not have to follow the precedents of, say, empirical social anthropology, though this clearly continues to predominate in both developed and developing societies (cf. Bernard 2006). In so far as the views of postmodernists who consider qualitative research techniques as 'the telling of tales,' as stories cobbled together for various purposes (Lincoln and Denzin 2000: 1061) are shared by other social scientists, they too will be 'doing science' (though in developing societies, more misunderstandings and tensions than those described in the following pages are likely to occur).

6. It is recognized that this is a subjective account, written from personal experience. National consultants may have very different perspectives of their international counterparts who, as Aziz points out (2003), may be quite ignorant of local contexts, and may also lack the time (or the inclination) to familiarize themselves with them. Not surprisingly, this, too, can lead to considerable suspicion or scepticism among local residents, including local academics.

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