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Navigating a Joint Doctoral Program in Social Work and Anthropology

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My interdisciplinary degree experience at the University of Michigan Joint Program in Social Work and Social Science combined the master’s and doctoral degree requirements of social work and anthropology. Completing these requirements simultaneously involved learning and unlearning multiple and often conflicting concepts of good scholarship and best practices. In particular, the positivistic approaches dominant in social work often seemed to cancel out the interpretivist approaches commonly favored in cultural anthropology. In social work courses I would defend the scientific rigor of

cultural anthropology as expertly applied qualitative field methods. Across campus in anthropology

seminars I would then discuss how rigid and pre-packaged methods can distort data collection and

analysis. I remember bringing a social work professor’s concern about the validity and reliability of ethnographic research to an anthropology professor. He mimed his answer by pretending to crumple a piece of paper and toss it in the trash.

# Managing Conflicting Approaches

The greatest challenge of this kind of interdisciplinary education is learning how to manage multiple approaches. In my experience, faculty mentors were helpful in recommending critical theorists in social work and applied researchers in anthropology. In my classes and field training, however, I struggled with seemingly forced choices in underlying assumptions of epistemology, methods and ethics, such as in understanding the relationship between scholars and clients or informants. Initially, trying to use both approaches seemed analogous to wearing special headphones that eliminate unwanted noise by playing equal and opposite frequencies. This then left the problem of sorting through the remaining silence.

Over time, I realized that social work and anthropology do not operate on equal and opposite frequencies as much as they are sibling rivals within the academy. Very similar battle lines of theory, method and ethics are drawn across the social sciences and social work. Binaries are constructed for the opposing sides: quantitative versus qualitative, engaged versus neutral, applied versus basic research. What varies by discipline and over time is the location of the battle lines. At times, divisions can also blur, as when Roy Rappaport argued for the application of ecological anthropology to the study and resolution of social problems in his lecture “The Anthropology of Trouble.”

In Michigan’s joint program, students are required to complete a dissertation under the supervision of a committee representing both disciplines. My efforts to draw out contradictions rather than commonalities between social work and anthropology initially perplexed my professors. The problem was that I had organized my dissertation around a basic tension between what I called “practical” and “critical” approaches to scholarship. It is a tension familiar to applied social scientists and similar to David Mosse’s discussion of “managerial” and “critical” approaches in development work. In my experience, practitioners often treat the contradictions feeding this tension as an occupational hazard.

Discussions during my dissertation defense brought out important debate over the proper relationship between the ivory tower and the “real world” for producing good scholarship and scholarship that “does good.” At the same time, my committee told me to either resolve the practical–critical tension or explain how the lack of resolution was analytically meaningful. My answer was to

adapt Arjun Appadurai’s analytic method from *The Social Life of Things*. I chose not to resolve the tensions I identified between practical and critical interpretations, but rather to use them to provide a

productive way to understand the complex dynamics and contexts of global and domestic interventions

to “do good.” I argued in my dissertation that there is a social life of helping in which problems, interventions and solutions are created, debated and exchanged. This context is often obscured by a more common problem-solving lens in which interventions are evaluated as overall successes or failures. Addressing helping work in terms of negotiation and exchange raises critical questions of how and who defines helping, interventions and evaluation, as well as practical questions of how to interpret the process through which helping work not only persists but also expands through international networks. As it turned out, my challenge was not in resolving contradictions but understanding how tensions surface and are made significant in the context of helping work, as well as how they can be reinforced, challenged and changed over time.

# Lessons from Both Points of View

The AAA theme this year—Inclusion, Collaboration and Engagement—raises very similar questions to those that are integral to Michigan’s joint program, where I have benefited from a course of study that moves beyond traditional disciplinary limits. What I have gained from anthropology as a social work scholar and practitioner is the ability to ask questions that challenge helping professionals: Why do you think there are social problems demanding your intervention? How do you know that social work as a profession can solve individual and social problems? When is it more ethical to refrain from Intervention? How are unintended consequences integral rather than an occupational hazard of Intervention work? How does researcher engagement impact data collection and analysis, even when that engagement is mediated by hired assistants and telephone survey operators?

I must also consider the primary question from social work that challenges my work as an anthropologist: “So what?” While academics ponder ethics, epistemologies and practices of engagement, social work and other helping professionals have to make decisions given imperfect contexts. The client case is either kept open or closed; the project manager seeks continued funding despite failures and unintended consequences or moves to another project; the policy analyst strives to improve policy implementation or reframes and seeks alternative problem identification and implementation.

In negotiating competing loyalties within an interdisciplinary program, one simple answer is to choose sides. However, this can significantly diminish the potential benefits of an interdisciplinary education and can perpetuate a division of labor between the disciplines. With the fields of social work and anthropology, it can force a distinction between critical observers and engaged practitioners, both of whom may secretly or not so secretly claim to promote best practices. The most valuable part of my education has been examining tensions between observation and direct participation, and between critical inquiry and practical awareness. A single set of universal best practices may

be elusive, but the tension between competing notions of best practices can itself be productive.

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