IDENTIFYING THE NEEDS OF PRECOLLEGIATE ANTHROPOLOGY TEACHERS

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Anthropology is an underrepresented subject in precollegiate education. Despite

concerted institutional efforts through organizations such as the American Anthropological

Association (AAA), there has not been significant growth in the field. Although the field of

anthropology has not shown significant growth at the precollegiate level, there does exist a

presence of precollegiate anthropology, especially through the International Baccalaureate

Organization (IBO) and standalone courses at schools at the elementary through high school

level. Many of these standalone courses were created by an individual teacher. This applied

thesis used anthropological methods to identify if a social network exists among precollegiate

anthropology teachers while also examining how the AAA can create and/or facilitate a

stronger community of precollegiate anthropology teachers. Linking to institutions such as the

Advanced Placement program in addition to IB may create the critical mass to encourage a

positive feedback loop which produces more anthropology students at the college level and

more individuals who create standalone courses. With a growth in precollegiate programs, the

existing social networks within and outside the AAA will grow.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the spring of 2017 while working as a high school social studies teacher at a small school in northwestern New Jersey I was approached by a colleague who taught anthropology. At that time, I had not thought about the significance of our school's anthropology course. My colleague was just the guy who brought kids on a trip to Costa Rica every summer and ran the Ultimate Frisbee club. He approached me in 2017 because he was retiring and he wanted to know if I would take over the anthropology course. At that time, I had no experience in anthropology outside of one undergraduate course. Although I felt ill prepared to teach an introduction to anthropology class to high school seniors, I learned by that point in my career that a small social studies department requires teachers to learn new subjects and adapt on the fly. I knew I could adjust quickly to successfully teach the course.

The school reciprocated my decision to teach the class by offering to pay for a master's program. I could advance my education while the school could benefit by keeping the dual-enrollment status of the course with the local community college once I earned fifteen credits. After taking a few non-matriculated graduate classes to get some foundation in anthropology, I enrolled in a three-year master's degree program in applied anthropology. This reciprocity has led to my completion of over thirty credits in graduate anthropology courses. My involvement in anthropology at the graduate school level has also led to me becoming an AAA and SfAA member, participating in AAA Communities, presenting at a roundtable at an AAA conference, encouraging yearly cohorts of graduating high school students to take at least some anthropology in college, and undertaking this applied thesis project.

As I embarked on that degree program, the significance of the small anthropology program that my colleague started and which I had taken over began to come more into focus. The idea that this high school anthropology course existed at this small high school was special and extraordinary.

The client for this applied thesis project is the American Anthropological Association (AAA). The American Anthropological Association has been in existence since 1902 and is the "world's largest scholarly and professional organization of anthropologists" (American Anthropological Association 2021). The AAA has been involved with institutional pushes for anthropology since the 1950s (Dynneson 1998).

The research questions in this project look at how the AAA can better support the community of precollegiate anthropology teachers. The questions that focus this project explore what current programs in precollegiate anthropology exist and how they came to be, to what extent a community of precollegiate anthropology teachers exists, the needs of that community of teachers, what the AAA can do to support these needs, and what has worked in other disciplines as far as creating an expanded presence at the precollegiate level. The full set of research questions are listed below:

- How were existing anthropology courses created? What commonalities may exist across such courses in terms of needs?

- How do secondary teachers with anthropology backgrounds (B.A. in Anthropology or those currently teaching K-12 anthropology classes) connect with each other? Are there communities in social studies or science K-12 groups?

  o If these communities exist, how are they organized?

  o If not, is it possible to create a community?

- For this community of teachers, what are the common needs in terms of policy, resources, and standards?

- How can the AAA help to address these needs either through online community hosting, resource creation, or standards development?

- What can the AAA learn from existing programs in other fields to lead to an expanded reach of anthropology into K-12 settings?

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

History of Efforts to Expand Anthropological Efforts in K-12 Education

Over the past seventy years there have been cycles of activity in the push to expand

anthropology's presence at the precollegiate level. From Jules Henry's push for precollegiate

anthropology in the 1930s until the most recent March/April 2021 *Anthropology News* which

focuses on pedagogy, the anthropology community has pushed in some form for an increased

presence of anthropology (Dynneson 1998, Peck-Bartle 2021).

An early institutional push for precollegiate anthropology education came during the

1960's when the NSF funded Jerome Bruner's "Man: A Course of Study" materials for

precollegiate teachers. This program was short lived due to conservative criticism during the

Nixon Era (Dynneson 1998). The 1960's brought a flurry of activity including the AAA's

Anthropology Curriculum Study Project (ACSP). The January 1964 edition of the AAA's *Fellow*

*Newsletter* publication contained "A Report from the Anthropology Curriculum Study Project"

(Collier 1964). According to this report, the ACSP piloted anthropology programs at eleven

schools. These pilot programs included curriculum materials including a textbook, *The*

*Emergence of Civilization*, written by Jack Ellison (Ellison 1964). Through the ACSP, the AAA

collected data on "the depth and accuracy of understanding of the analytical theories

presented." A second unit in the course was developed by the ACSP's curriculum specialist

Robert G. Hanvey and included the reading of ethnographies including *Kiowa Years* by Alice

Marriot, a study on the Dakota written by Ruth Wallis, and Hazel Hertzberg's history of the

Iroquois. In addition to these texts and pilot programs, the ACSP prepared a film, "Anthropology

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in the Classroom," showing students and teachers working with this material.

The following year, the ACSP curriculum specialist Robert Hanvey wrote an article titled, "Anthropology in the Schools" (Hanvey 1965). In this article he described the presence of a variety of anthropology lessons in precollegiate classrooms around the country varying in grade level from fifth grade through high school. These classes reflected the diversity of courses available to precollegiate educators under the four fields of anthropology. Some of the existing classes touched on primatology while others focused more on cultural anthropology or the origin of cities. Hanvey described these courses as "experimentations" toward the contribution of anthropology "for anthropology has been the social science most underrepresented in the traditional social science program" (Hanvey 1965, 313). Hanvey discussed the importance of the four fields as a rounded approach in precollegiate settings. Along with an overview of these existing programs, he identified four institutional pushes in addition to the ACSP towards precollegiate anthropology at the time. These included Educational Services, Inc. in Cambridge and the Anthropology Curriculum Project at the University of Georgia. Along with these direct pushes for anthropology, Hanvey also discussed adjacent fields contributing content that is not "primarily anthropology." One such program was the University of Illinois' School Science Curriculum Project materials on race. Additionally, the state education departments in Pennsylvania, New York, and Wisconsin's created content standards including elements of anthropology (Hanvey 1965, 314). Beyond these institutional pushes for anthropology, Hanvey identified schools with standalone precollegiate anthropology programs. Hanvey described the anthropology programs at Edsel Ford High School in Dearborn, Michigan, the Francis Parker School in Chicago, and the Verde Valley School in Arizona as having "long standing" programs

created by independent teachers (Hanvey 1965, 314).

Hanvey's article was written for the *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision* through the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD). Coming from this curriculum development domain, Hanvey outlined how the "ecology of education" dictates how new programs in schools are created and evaluated. This ecology of education explains how "the brightest plans pursued with the most capable energies tend often to be submerged, transmuted, or accelerated by circumstances, by quiet trends and movements" (Hanvey 1965, 314-315). There is continuity and change in these circumstances, quiet trends, and movements between 1965 and now, and it may be important to co-opt the theories existing in curriculum development using an applied anthropology approach when considering the successes or failures of the implementation of precollegiate anthropology programs.

Thomas Dynneson wrote extensively about the status of precollegiate anthropology throughout the mid-1970 and up until 1998. His 1976 doctoral thesis, "Anthropology for the Schools: An Analysis of Selected Anthropology Curriculum Projects and Units with Anthropology Curriculum Projects and Units with Content Ratings by Professional Anthropologists" provides an extensive overview of the history of anthropology education as well as a snapshot of the status of anthropology in the 1970s. In that thesis paper he cited the formal programs which were flourishing at the time, the influence of anthropology on other subjects such as the "New Social Studies" movement, as well as a history of standalone programs. Of note is his description of an early standalone high school program at the Frances W. Parker School in Chicago taught by Jack Ellison. One of the benefits of this program as stated by Dynneson is in the "seniors who return to report its value after high school" (Dynneson 1972).

In addition to this doctoral thesis, Dynneson published update articles on the status of precollegiate anthropology in 1975, 1986, and 1998. He also published a monograph through the Anthropology Curriculum Project at the University of Georgia in 1975 titled "Precollegiate Anthropology: Trends and Materials." In Dynneson's most recent article (1998) he asserted that although some individual teachers often create anthropology courses, "separate courses in anthropology remain limited." This observation of the existence, though limited, of programs outside of the formal institutional push highlights the role of a sole energetic teacher in the creation of precollegiate anthropology courses, "A few teachers organized and taught anthropology courses as innovative electives" (Dynneson 1998, 118).

Another topic Dynneson discussed which is corroborated in other reviews of high school anthropology is the socio-political roadblocks to anthropology education. In reference to the socio-political resistance to the "Man: A Course of Study" program. Dynneson writes, "Its rise and decline represent the type of controversial troubles that can accompany the behavioral sciences, especially when suggested at the elementary level of instruction" (Dynneson 1998, 118). Dynneson's 1998 update describes a decline in the institutional push for anthropology since the 1970s "due to financing." This update in 1998 is one of the only works on precollegiate anthropology in the period between the 1970s and the early 2000s.

There were two works on precollegiate anthropology in 2005. Kory McNeil Bennet of the University of South Florida wrote a graduate thesis "Developing an Anthropology Curriculum for High School: A Case Study from Durant High School, Hillsborough County, Florida" for the University of South Florida Applied Anthropology masters' degree program. Rather than a look at precollegiate anthropology as a whole field, this project focused on

suggestions for one program in Florida (McNeil Bennett 2005) .

Pamela Ashmore's 2005 paper in the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, "Role of Physical Anthropology in Intermediate and Secondary Education," also discusses the challenges in creating precollegiate anthropology classes that exist due to the diverse nature of the four fields of anthropology. Physical anthropology, cultural anthropology, archaeology, and linguistics may have similarities in foundational ideas and theory, but pre-college instruction in linguistics, for example, looks very different from archeology, especially at the K-12 level (Ginsberg, Honda and O'Neil 2011). Ashmore writes that of the four fields, physical anthropology and archaeology may offer the most promise in an elementary school when compared with the more theory-laden cultural anthropology and linguistics. Ashmore advocates for a specific push for precollegiate physical anthropology. She argues that physical anthropology "provides novel content that can be translated across subject areas to address critical thinking skills and the scientific method" through inquiry-based learning (Ashmore 2005, 154). Although Ashmore makes compelling arguments for the power of physical anthropology to promote an inquiry-based classroom, like Dynneson, she also discusses the socio-political challenges of teaching evolution in American public schools Ashmore cites a bias against evolutionary education as a main cause of these challenges. Despite the socio-political pushback, particularly regarding human evolution, Ashmore argues that the teaching of physical anthropology may have a "trickle-down" effect (Ashmore 2005, 155). Approaching these concepts which may trigger a socio-political backlash from conservative, anti-science communities through a physical anthropology lens may enable these scientific concepts to reach younger learners. This early education in physical anthropology may lead to increased

understanding of human history and evolution and serve as a positive feedback loop. She

states, "Precollege-aged students are capable of very sophisticated learning and are competent

to explore and identify patterns and trends in the natural world" (Ashmore 2005, 160). Through

this approach, more than directly challenging anti-science sentiment, the teaching of physical

anthropology in elementary settings may lead to decreased anti-evolutionary thinking in

posterity due to this positive feedback loop.

Ashmore's study identifies multiple physical anthropology programs and

precollegiate/professional partnerships in existence in 2005 including the Los Angeles Unified

School District (LAUSD), the L.S.B. Leakey Foundation, and the Los Angeles County Museum of

Natural History. The LAUSD has produced "Stones and Bones," an interdisciplinary program for

grade levels 6–12. Ashmore also discusses a program at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

in which physical anthropologist Andrew Petto has worked with middle school students and

both pre- and in-service teachers through a collaboration between the University of Wisconsin-

Madison and precollegiate schools.

James Banks' discussion of the implementation of multicultural education in his chapter

in the 2010 collection, *2010 Multicultural Education: Issues and Concepts* discusses the positive

impact the teaching of anthropological concepts can have in support of other subjects in the

quest to become more culturally responsive. His discussion centers on policy initiatives for

multicultural education through social studies and English literature (J. Banks 2010). Banks

writes, "Multicultural education grew out of the ferment of the Civil Rights Movement of the

1960s. During this decade, African Americans embarked on a quest for their rights that was

unprecedented in the United States" (J. Banks 2010, 5). While, as Banks outlines, there was a

push for more multicultural education in the period following the Civil Rights movement, it was paradoxically at this time that pushes for an anthropological perspective fell off.

Hanvey's discussion of the ecology of school policy and curriculum implementation is an important consideration. What political and social capital is needed for an individual teacher to successfully implement educational policy? Banks expounds on the need for multicultural education such as anthropology in stating that "A mainstream-centric curriculum has negative consequences for mainstream students because it reinforces their false sense of superiority, gives them a misleading conception of their relationship with other racial and ethnic groups, and denies them the opportunity to benefit from the knowledge, perspectives, and frames of references that can be gained from studying and experiencing other cultures and groups" (J. Banks 2010, 233). In considering how best to navigate the implementation of anthropology, it is beneficial to consider Banks's statements about how ideological and political resistance have slowed the growth and development of multicultural education.

Also in 2010, Popson and Witteveen published, "Grassroots Dedication and Opportunism: The Pre-University Anthropology Education Movement in the United States" in the journal *Anthropology in Action* (Popson and Witteveen 2010). They extoll the value in offering anthropology programs at the middle and high school level because of the impact precollegiate anthropology can have on anthropology education as a whole. Of note is their comment, "Often educators are so impressed by the impact anthropology has on their students' motivation and increased understanding of the modern world that they decide to dedicate themselves to attracting wider interest in pre-university anthropology education" (Popson and Witteveen 2010, 34). This comment speaks directly to the positive feedback loop

that can come from increased presence of preccollegiate anthropology. Their analysis of the

status of anthropology recognizes the push in fifteen states as of 1997 to include elements of

anthropology in the state standards of other subjects.  However, this inclusion in standards

does not directly reflect the presence of standards targeted directly at standalone anthropology

courses.  Like the NCSS C3 standards, these standards are often companions to other subjects

(National Council for the Social Studies 2016).   Appendix D of the NCSS Framework is

"Anthropology Companion Document for the C3 Framework" and was prepared by the

American Anthropological Association. This stands in contrast to other social sciences, most

notably psychology and sociology, which have a greater representation in state standards as

standalone classes and electives. Popson and Witteveen cite the involvement of the American

Psychological Association (APA) and American Sociological Association (ASA) in pushes for

precollegiate education as a major factor in the growth of psychology and sociology in

precollegiate settings. The success of psychology in particular is reflected in the data which

Popson and Witteveen cite that 31% of high school students had taken a psychology course at

the time of their paper in 2003 (Popson and Witteveen 2010, 35).

Another area which Popson and Witteveen explore is the presence of anthropology in

teacher education programs at colleges. The AAA conducted a study in 1990 and found that 19

out of 50 responding colleges of education had included anthropology courses in their teacher

certification programs and that 13 of the 30 state departments of education that had

responded to the study included some sort of certification in anthropology education at the K-

12 level.

Like previous studies Popson and Witteveen's research showed that many precollegiate

anthropology courses were the product of a motivated individual's efforts. These standalone

courses were often in private or charter/magnet schools, schools in wealthy districts, "and a

few ordinary schools blessed with an avid and prepared teacher able to create the lessons"

(Popson and Witteveen 2010, 35). Popson and Witteveen point to several challenges in creating

anthropology courses including misperceptions about anthropology, lack of institutional

support, the nature of public education, and state and national standards. The authors

recommend working outside of these challenges and argue for a need to "introduce as many

educators and students as possible to anthropological concepts and methods" (Popson and

Witteveen 2010, 37). They argue that if more teachers and students are exposed to

anthropology, than more teachers might become the types of teachers who "fight to have

anthropology included in their schools or districts." This argument echoes Ashmore's discussion

a positive feedback loop as more students are exposed to anthropology at a young age. They

also recognize and discuss sporadic efforts by the AAA through numerous task forces over the

years. These pushes are often ignited by events such as the Space Race, social justice

movements, or simply the "heroic efforts of a few dozen AAA members" (Popson and

Witteveen 2010, 38). Looking forward to the potential for anthropology in precollegiate

settings, Popson and Witteveen discuss efforts at the time by the AAA such as the

dissemination of precollegiate materials on a AAA-sponsored wiki and the continued work of

the AAA's Anthropology in Education Task Force (AETF).

A final area of interest discussed by Popson and Witteveen is the creation of

precollegiate anthropology classes through the International Baccalaureate (IB) program as well

as the potential of courses created through the Advanced Placement (AP) program. This is the

first mention of these programs in the literature. These types of anthropology courses created through standardized programs such as IB or AP often "help lay a foundation for the creation and spread of elective classes in high-school subjects" (Popson and Witteveen 2010, 41).

In 2014, the AETF published a report which focused on three major charges from the AAA: anthropology in teacher preparation programs; anthropology explicitly offered in K-12, community college, and museum settings; and how other social sciences have enhanced their presence in K-12 schools. This report concluded anthropology is "behind our sister disciplines on every metric examined within our charge" (McCarty 2014, 3). One area which the AETF report addresses is the lack of social networks for K-12 anthropology teachers. David Homa, an anthropology teacher in Los Gatos, CA, and member of the Task Force, sums up the lack of support for individual teachers teaching anthropology as being akin to "a ship floating around a vast ocean of education that occasionally bumps into someone else attempting to teach high school anthropology" (McCarty 2014, 22).

The 2014 AETF report states that only two states include anthropology directly in their state education standards, a step back from what Popson and Witteveen reported in 2010. A lack of anthropology in state standards could prove to be a barrier to those few and far between individuals interested in creating anthropology courses. The AETF report also identifies that where anthropological concepts are mentioned in state standards, it is in the context of other subjects, such as science and social studies.

Colleen Popson and Ruth Selig made another gaze at anthropology in K-12 schools in 2019. Their "Putting Archeology and Anthropology into Schools: A 2019 Update" was published in the *Journal of Archeology and Education*. Both Popson and Selig identify an affiliation with

the Smithsonian Institute through the National Museum of Natural History. Their 2019 report agreed with a common theme throughout the history of precollegiate anthropology, "The essential ingredient is almost always an energetic teacher with some anthropology training" (Popson and Selig 2019, 3). The Popson and Selig report points again to the creation of courses that are aligned with the International Baccalaureate Organization (IBO). The IBO provides a community and a foothold for anthropology in high schools through the Cultural Anthropology IB course offering. In 2012, 193 of 777 IB Schools offered Social and Cultural Anthropology. From these 193 programs, 475 capstone essays were submitted to the IB program for the IB Social and Cultural Anthropology test worldwide (Popson and Selig 2019, 9). Popson and Selig discuss the impact of the IB program and hint at the potential impact of an Advanced Placement (AP) program helping to spread other subjects into high schools if an AP anthropology course were to be created. Like IB, AP is an international organization which certifies precollegiate courses for college credit. IB differs from AP in that it provides a path to a high school degree in a field.  AP offers a selection of classes which may be recognized by colleges for credit, but there is no degree offered.

The areas of cultural study in the IB Social and Cultural Anthropology course are "belonging; classifying the world; communication; expression and technology; conflict; development; health; illness and healing; movement, time, and space; production; exchange and consumption; and the body." The course has a rigorous assessment including an internal assessment in which the students "engage in the practice of anthropology" by conducting and reflecting on participant observation while collecting and interpreting data and considering ethical issues (DP Anthropology - International Baccalaureate 2021).

Although linguistics is often offered in four-field introduction to anthropology courses, it is also a standalone program or course in some precollegiate education settings. The Linguistics Society of America currently has a committee on AP Linguistics and is working on the approval of an AP Linguistics course. The Committee's website outlines the challenges in getting an AP course implemented including letters of support from 250 high schools (Committee on AP Linguistics 2021). Committee member Suzanne Loosen of the Milwaukee School of Languages published a 2014 paper, "High school linguistics: A secondary school elective course," outlining related primary and secondary school linguistics courses as well as success and challenges she has encountered while teaching high school linguistics. One issue Loosen discusses is the willingness of professionals to serve as guest speakers in her class. She writes, "I have found that people are very willing to come in to share their expertise. I think many linguists are interested in helping spread the word and their excitement about what they do, and coming to speak to high school students can be a great way to share the field" (Loosen 2014, 267). If the Committee on AP Linguistics is able to show traction of the field by collecting 250 signatures of support from high schools, it will show real traction in precollegiate education. As this effort continues, it may hold some keys for the anthropology community to consider.

In addition to Loosen's article, three AP Linguistics committee members published a "Commentary" on the progress of the committee in 2019. The committee highlights how "Linguistics offers tools to navigate a multilingual, multicultural world" (Larson 2019, 382). They also argue that "Our attitudes towards ourselves and other groups correlate, often strongly, with attitudes toward the ways in which we and they speak." Another interesting benefit of linguistics in this report is that "Linguistics offers opportunities for school-university

collaboration" (Larson 2019, 384). What is most important in this report is commentary on the importance of AP courses to school districts. "Advanced Placement (AP) curricula have become increasingly attractive to districts focused on college readiness. AP classes have their contents and examinations fixed and regulated nationally by the College Board (CB) and offer rigorous modern college-level curricula" (Larson 2019, 385-386). In discussing competition between electives in high school, the AP Linguistics committee points to AP Psychology as an elective with growth in precollegiate settings. The Committee outlines the steps to implement an AP course, and the most challenging for anthropology may be the "Proof of Demand." The College Board, who regulates AP courses, requires letters of intent from 250 schools. AP Anthropology, if it were to be considered, may be competing with the IB program and other electives while starting "from behind," as most of the reports over the years have shown an isolated push for anthropology from individual teachers.

The March/April 2020 edition of *Anthropology News* focuses on anthropology's role in pedagogy and the K-12 curriculum. Two articles in particular pay attention to the specific role of anthropology at the precollegiate level. First, Susan D. Blum's "Why Pedagogy is an Anthropological Problem" focuses on how anthropology is best suited to address the cultural production in higher education in which "racism, class, gender, ability, and nationalism are produced and reproduced in the classroom" (Blum 2021, 14). These same lessons can be applied to precollegiate education. Additionally, Shannon Peck-Bartle's "Ten Things about Anthropology for K-12 Education" discusses the potential impact of teaching through an anthropological lens. She focuses on the Rose Hill Place-Based Learning Project, a project at her K-12 school which studied black cemeteries. Within the ten points she makes about the value of

anthropology in K-12 education within the article she raises the question, "How can the field of anthropology become more engaged in K-12 education?" (Peck-Bartle 2021, 21). To answer this question, Peck-Bartle highlights the potential collaborations between anthropologists and K-12 institutions which can arise out of these types of collaborative projects. "Teachers are constrained by standards and time, and unlikely to incorporate anthropology in the classroom if anthropology does not directly support the curriculum in a transformative way" (Peck-Bartle 2021, 21). She argues that anthropologists should get involved with museums, textbook publishers, curriculum organizations, and colleges of education to push for an increased presence. This point beckons public anthropology, the branch of anthropology focused on closing the gap between technical and academic anthropology and the larger public, and urges anthropologists to use "the vernacular of education to give students, teachers, and district leaders the opportunity to connect anthropology to their work in K-12 education" (Peck-Bartle 2021, 21).

At the end of Peck-Bartle's article, the editors of *Anthropology News* include a small text box with the question "Ready to get involved?" The Association takes this opportunity to advertise multiple initiatives through the AAA which may benefit precollegiate educators including the K-12 Educator Network, the Anthropologists Go to School program, matchmaking on Anthropology Day, the free K-12 Educator membership tier, and the Junior Anthropologist program. Each of these programs are offered as partnerships between the AAA and precollegiate educators.  This issue of *Anthropology News* shows that although the growth of anthropology in precollegiate education has lacked momentum, the impetus is there for a real collaboration between K-12 educators and the AAA.

Institutional pushes from the AAA such as the Anthropology Curriculum Study Project in the 1960s to the Anthropology in Education Task Force and special edition of *Anthropology News* this year have produced little measurable growth in the field. A common theme throughout the history of the movement for precollegiate anthropology has been the existence, however marginal, of motivated teachers with an anthropology background creating standalone courses in a local district coupled with pushes for involvement in the other social sciences and teacher preparation programs. One area of growth has been the creation of an IB Social and Cultural Anthropology program, as well as movement toward an AP Linguistics program. Of note is that despite the lack of institutional growth, the literature continually points to a group of motivated teachers with anthropology experience who have created their own courses.

## Literature Review of Theory

This study's research questions were born out of conversations with the client, the American Anthropological Association. Because much of the existing research about anthropology precollegiate programs is exploratory and descriptive there is little existing theory directly about these programs, their teachers, and students. An inductive, grounded theory approach fits the exploratory nature of this project. As issues arise in research they can be explored. This approach has informed my inquiry into new theoretical explanations for anthropological and social phenomena while looking for anomalies in the data and observations. In looking at the data, I have considered the theory of online communities, non-producers of culture within cultural domains, policy creation, and non-communities.

Grounded theory was first developed by Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss through

their sociological work with terminally ill patients. Kenny and Fourie's "Tracing the History of

Grounded Theory Methodology: From Foundation to Fragmentation" explains, "They asserted

that the two-fold process of firstly generating and subsequently verifying a theory should

receive equal treatment within social research" (Kenny 2014, 1). Years later, there was a split

between Straussian and Glaserian grounded theory. Straussian grounded theory leaned more

on literature-driven research before data collection. Glaserian grounded theory is considered

"classic" grounded theory and is more inductive in nature as far as research (Kenny 2014, 5). In

this study I have followed grounded theory's model to generate theory about cultural

phenomena in precollegiate anthropology while analyzing interview, participant observations,

and autoethnographic data.

The next stage in the history of grounded theory was Charmaz's constructivist grounded

theory.  Constructivist grounded theory was more closely aligned to the literature-driven

Straussian grounded theory. Charmaz's "The Power of Constructivist Grounded Theory for

Critical Inquiry" focuses on how "doubt both inspires and sustains critical theory" (Charmaz

2017, 14). She separates constructivist grounded theory by explaining that it "locates the

research process and product in historical, social, and situational conditions" (Charmaz 2017,

34). Charmaz suggests that the researcher stands behind her subjects and looks at the research

from a participant's point of view. Charmaz refers to Elaine Keane's work in constructivist

grounded theory as "explicating her position in her texts as she coded data, wrote memos,

drafted her dissertation, and crafted papers (Charmaz 2017, 36).  Like Charmaz, as I have

gathered data, I have attempted to situate myself in relation to the anomalies within existing

research.

In Keane's 2015 discussion of her study of increased enrollment in Irish higher education she explained that grounded theory is contested in research communities but argued that it is "grounded in and 'fits' the data" (Keane 2015, 417). She argued that the idea that grounded theory is positivist is debated and that researcher impact on data needs to be considered, she writes, "One's historicality is inescapable" (Keane 2015, 417). In her study, Keane used procedures common to both constructivist and objectivist approaches to achieve 'intimate familiarity;" consider both researcher and participants' standpoints and perspectives; focus on meaning, process, action, and language; and consider social justice-related concepts (Keane 2015, 420).

The anthropological theory behind communities, both online and in-person, plays an important role in my applied thesis project. Bak Buccitelli's 2016 "Hybrid tactics and locative legends: Rereading de Certeau for the future of folklorists" compares de Certeau's practice theory to Bourdieu and Giddens by discussing a study of people's walking habits (Bak Buccitelli 2016). He describes that the group he is studying is often considered non-producers of culture. This focus on the non-producers of culture is important in my study of a group of anthropology teachers who don't really have a community and are on the "systemic edge" of the domain of anthropology academics and practitioners. Multiple participants identified feeling like outsiders, and theoretical anthropologists such as Norma Gonazalez have discussed K-12 education falling outside the mainstream of the anthropology of education (Gonzalez 2010). This concept of systemic edge comes from sociologist Saskia Sassen. She explains, "The key dynamic at this edge is expulsion from the diverse systems in play – economic, social, and biospheric (Sassen 2015, 174). This theory has helped me to understand the role of the

precollegiate teacher within the anthropological community as participants discuss feeling

outside of the anthropological community.

Buccitelli's work also addresses questions of modern research spaces through his

research on digital loci such as Facebook and Twitter. Buccitelli mapped the spread of a viral

image through various digital loci and social media. This identification of a tangible, mappable

space within a digital space has provided a helpful locative framework for my project as I aim to

identify a space in which the precollegiate anthropology community exists. As a group of

physically disjointed anthropology teachers each read a new edition of *Anthropology News* or

check the AAA listserv alone in their homes or at work, what space do they occupy? Buccitelli's

discussion of these digital loci has helped to orient the research site in this project. A

community does not need to be physically present to exist.

Bonilla and Rosa's work on the spread of hashtags during the Ferguson protest

movement similarly attempted to map the movement of an idea through a digital space. They

asked, "what kind of field site does a platform like Twitter represent?" (Bonilla 2015, 5). These

social media digital spaces have their own set of socialites and forms of engagements.

Hashtags, they explain, can be used as an indexing system – a convenient tool for a researcher –

but they can also frame ideas and distort ideas. Just as Geertz identifies the trouble in reading

the semiotics of a wink, Bonilla and Rosas write, "part of the problem of engaging in hashtag

ethnography then, is that it is difficult to assess the context of social media utterances" (Bonilla

2015, 6, Geertz 1973). The use of hashtags will help me to find posts about anthropology in the

presence of the non-community of anthropology teachers. When doing so, I must consider if

these hashtags such as "#AnthroDay" or "#anthropology" or Twitter search terms such as "AP" have a loaded meaning.

Twitter has a multivocal and dialogical nature. Lin, Cranton, and Bridglall's "Psychological Type and Asynchronous Written Dialogue in Adult Learning" discusses from a psychological perspective how dialogue can help adults to learn in asynchronous environments. They speak to how asynchronous dialogue may allow a speaker to clarify thoughts, review previous dialogue, make new discoveries, and share meanings in a deeper and clearer way (Lin, Cranton and Bridglall 2005). The research site in this applied thesis project resides in digital social media spaces and community message boards which make use of asynchronous communication. It is important to reflect on the difference between synchronous and asynchronous communication in the student of online behavior.

De Certeau's "On the Oppositional Practice of Daily Life" discusses how people lose their names and faces and "wear the 'wig' of work (de Certeau 1980). de Certeau expands on the work of Mauss on gift exchanges and the idea of potlatch and competitive gifting by theorizing that people give a gift to the "sociopolitical order" through their jobs, giving up their individual identity. In this way, de Certeau proclaims that the "potlatch survives into our own liberal system which values the individual" (de Certeau 1980, Mauss 1966). This theory is important to keep in mind while working with people in their professional spaces. Although precollegiate teachers enjoy a vocation which may fit more in the "professional-managerial class" than the working class about which de Certeau was writing, the demands of the job may limit a teacher's ability to make time for personal professional networking (Ehrenreich 2001).

Wilson and Peterson discussed another theory behind online communities in the 2002 "The Anthropology of Online Communities" (Wilson 2002). They ask if the concept of community itself is misleading. They refer to Rheingold's "The Virtual Community" which anticipated in 1993 the internet's capacity to challenge the existing political hierarchy's monopoly on powerful communication media, and perhaps revitalize citizen-based democracy" (Rheingold 1993). Even at this early stage in the world of internet communities they discussed the recursive relationship between virtual and offline interactions. This essay helped me define and reflect on the definition of community as it exists online. They refer to Wolf's ideas that communities are like hard billiard balls which bounce off one another, and in referring to this argument, it appears they are predicting the hybrid online/offline world which developed over the next two decades.

My definition of the community of precollegiate anthropology teachers would be any teacher in a K-12 setting who teaches an explicit anthropology class or a course focusing on one of the four fields of anthropology. As I work in this community, each of these theories of communication and cultural production help me to develop a theory of how precollegiate anthropology exists in the field.

Literature Review of Methodology

I approached the research questions in this project with an ethnographic lens and was guided by ethnographic tools adapted to the context of this study. The fieldwork methods for this project involved remote digital participant observation, mapping, semi-structured interviews, and a reflection on my own experiences in the form of an autoethnography. The participant observation in this study is unique in that it includes asynchronous communication

through message boards and social media as an archive in addition to real-time observations (Anderson 1994).

George and Louise Spindler's "Toward a Good Ethnography of Schooling" outlines standards for quality ethnographic fieldwork in education in the form of eleven "Criteria." I have attempted to model my ethnography after their recommendations. They highlight direct observation as the "guts of the ethnographic approach" (Spindler and Spindler 1992, 63). Although it is logistically impossible to directly observe a scattered group of professionals within individual schools during a pandemic, the theories of online participant observation established below translate into a modern direct observation. Like Charmaz, Spindler and Spindler argue in Criterion II of their "Criteria for a Good Ethnography of Schooling" (Table 1) for an inductive approach because "The problem that one thinks one is going to study is usually not the one actually studied" (Spindler and Spindler 1992, 67). They argue that sociocultural knowledge is used by actors within a cultural domain, including the researcher, who is often unsure if their understanding of the cultural domain is accurate at the beginning of research. In my research, my role as a precollegiate teacher of anthropology provides me with access to the sociocultural knowledge of the field. Spindler and Spindler cast importance on understanding and defining an object of study throughout the course of research to develop a more robust understanding of how the knowledge within a cultural domain is used in social interactions. To understand this cultural knowledge of actors a researcher must start with the emic, what the actors know, and work to the interpretive etic position, the outside explanation for a culture (Spindler and Spindler 1962, 70). Spindler and Spindler argue for a holistic approach to understand relationships "beyond the immediate focus of our research or relevant contexts"

(Spindler and Spindler 1962, 71). My situated nature as a "native" precollegiate teacher helps

me to more clearly focus on and understand the cultural knowledge of this cultural domain. The

full overview of a "good ethnography" is listed in complete detail in Table 1.

**Table 1: Criteria for a Good Ethnography of Schooling**

| Criterion | Description |
|---|---|
| Criterion I | Observations are contextualized as relevant (in the immediate setting and in future contexts beyond that setting). |
| Criterion II | Hypotheses emerge as the study continues in the setting selected for observation. Judgment of what may be significant is deferred until latter. |
| Criterion III | Observation is prolonged and repetitive. |
| Criterion IV | The native view of reality is attained through inferences from observation and through the various forms of ethnographic inquiry. |
| Criterion V | Sociocultural knowledge held by social participants makes social behavior and communication sensible. |
| Criterion VI | Instruments, codes, schedules, questionnaires, agenda for interviews and so forth should be generated as a result of observation and ethnographic inquiry. |
| Criterion VII | A Transcultural, comparative is present. |
| Criterion VIII | Some of the sociocultural knowledge affection behavior and communication in any particular setting being studied is implicit or tacit, not known to some participants and know only ambiguously to others. |
| Criterion IX | Because the informant (any person being interviewed) is one who has the emic, native cultural knowledge, the ethnographic interviewer must not predetermine responses by the kinds of questions asked. |
| Criterion X | Any form of technical device that will enable the ethnographer to collect more live data -- immediate, natural, detailed behavior -- will be used. |
| Criterion XI | The presence of the ethnographer should be acknowledged and his or her social, personal, interaction position in the situation described. |

Since the early anthropological work of Franz Boas, Margaret Mead, and Bronislaw

Malinowski participant observation has been at the center of ethnographic research. In the

decades that have passed, participant observation has evolved. This literature review focuses

on how participant observation can be applied to a local, modern ethnography in an online

space.

Margaret Eisenhardt's participant observation of environmental biology undergraduate programs, "The Production of Biologists at School and Work: Making Scientists, Conservationists, or Flowery Boneheads" studied the perception of other scientists in a corporate setting towards recent environmental science graduates. To conduct participant observation, she volunteered in an organization four days a week, interviewed employees, and used archives in the form of published literature to study the cultural production of environmental scientists. This research project is an important example of how an anthropologist can use participant observation to study cultural production. Of note in this study is the connection to the theme which emerged in my research about both the perception of precollegiate anthropology teachers about their role in the anthropology community and the idea that members of the anthropology community may not respect precollegiate anthropology teachers (Eisenhardt 1996).

Doughty's 2000 chapter "Ending Serfdom in Peru: The Struggle for Land and Freedom in Vicos" shows how participant observation can be used in an applied anthropology approach. Doughty lived and worked with the management of a hacienda in rural Peru while observing the social conditions and actions towards ending the cycle of serfdom that had not evolved much in the 500 years since Spanish colonization in the Peruvian highlands. Working between the management of the hacienda and the people living and working the land provides an opportunity to see how an applied anthropologist can conduct an ethnography and recommend policy changes (Doughty 2002).

Alison Henward's paper on resistance to anti-consumerism authority in preschool students provides an example of how an anthropologist can link participant observation

methods to the application of theory (Henward 2015). Henward worked to gain rapport as an

adult with preschool students, most below six years old, to recognize the ways in which they

resisted authority. Henward applied de Certeau's theory of "la perruque," or "the wig," to the

students' resistance. This ethnography is a clear example of how participant observation can be

an effective means for understanding a culture. It is also a good introduction to the application

of theory in a fieldwork setting. Henward's frank discussion of gaining rapport, especially in a

domain separated from the researcher in age and social status is also a good insight into how to

gain rapport (de Certeau 1980).

My research makes use of modern, digital anthropological methods and tools such as

videoconference and online participant observation. Some traditional anthropologists have

questioned the value of digital fieldwork. An important window into this discourse is the

published debate on digital, mixed, and in-person ethnographic fieldwork carried out by

spouses Ken Riopelle and Julia Gluesing. Riopelle argues that modern ethnography must rely on

"IT-based methods" as "ethnographers alternate between investigation of physical and digital

spaces" (Riopelle 2013, 38). Riopelle argues that most work is happening on screens, "making it

nearly impossible to tell exactly what work people are doing and with whom they are

communicating" (Riopelle 2013, 39). Riopelle's discussion is focused on large-scale corporate

infrastructure including software that can aggregate company-wide e-mail systems. The idea

that ethnography and participant observation has moved "beyond the notebook" is a key part

of Riopelle's argument for modern methods. Julia Gluesing argues that "Being there, practicing

participant observation in physical contexts and conducting face-to-face interviews, is critical to

uncovering the emergent local, -emic meanings and work practices" (Gluesing 2013, 24). She

argues that the "conventional, primary" method is participant observation. She points to a story

in which various multinational teams in one project did not have a common definition for the

English term, "market research" but that this fact had not been realized due to their remote

meetings (Gluesing 2013, 26). She also points to the value in observing "leisure activities" in a

corporate setting, what she describes as "deep hanging out," as well as observing "everyday,

informal conversation" as a form of interview. The nature of conducting an ethnography under

pandemic restrictions has forced my research into the digital world, but the value in both

conventional and remote, high-tech participant observation is a balancing act as anthropology

moves deeper into the 21$^{st}$ century. Although Gluesing makes convincing arguments for the

value of "being there," the tools of modern ethnography provide access that is limited in

traditional fieldwork.

Seligmann and Estes' "Innovations in Ethnographic Methods" reflects on changes in field

work in the past 25 years, including multi-sited fieldwork and digital ethnographic methods

(Seligmann 2020). They describe the identification of multi-sited field sites as an extension of

Clifford and Marcus' critique of research being artificially delimited as "contained loci." They

write that it is, "worth noting that doing fieldwork in one's home environment—even if that

"site" stretches into multiple places far from home—requires that fieldworkers have the skill to

defamiliarize what they have taken for granted" (Seligmann 2020, 178). They identify shifts

towards digital fieldwork as leading to "significant and productive innovations" (Seligmann

2020, 180). They argue that these new applications of ethnography to digital field sites require

the "core tenets of ethnographic methods" (Seligmann 2020, 180). An important consideration

is access to technology and how people use technology which may lead to under or over-

representation of certain voices. Participants in this study, participants teaching remotely during a pandemic would have increased access to technology, however, other access to free time outside of work is an important consideration.

Josh Bluteau's 2019 "Legitimizing Digital Anthropology through Immersive Cohabitation" discusses from a practical sense his experience and the methods he used while conducting digital and blended fieldwork in the bespoke male fashion culture. What makes Bluteau's research unique and applicable to my research in precollegiate anthropology is that he was a member of the bespoke male fashion community that he is researching just as I am a member of the precollegiate anthropology teacher community. Bluteau describes his work as immersive cohabitation and outlines some of the logistical strategies which help to make this fieldwork more effective from a methodological standpoint. These strategies include making it clear to the community that he is a digital ethnographer through his biography on the social media platform in which he was working – which in his case was Instagram. As a supplement to his immersive online participant observation, he also reached out to people through this digital space and conducted offline fieldwork through interviews. Bluteau describes these online and offline spaces as "blended" (Bluteau 2019).

Nanna Schneidermann's ethnography of the socially conscious rap and hip-hop music community in Uganda known as Batuuze also used a blended approach between social media and in-person, traditional fieldwork. She discovered that social media played an important part of this community's world building, "Extending social networks through hip hop and via social media, they amplify their opportunities of negotiating legitimate and morally right actions in their future-making in Kampala" (Schneidermann 2014, 101). She used Facebook during her

fieldwork to become "co-present" in her observation while tapping into this important aspect of the Ugandan rap community.

A rapid ethnographic study can rely upon a participatory social mapping activity before each interview to help participants map their professional activity and to help make interviews more productive. Schensul and LeCompte discuss the power of mapping, including interactive social mapping in the *Ethnographer's Toolkit* (Schensul 2013). One use of mapping in the literature was Chambers' influential mapping work in Kenya (Fang, et al. 2016, R. Chambers 2017). Chambers outlined the history of mapping in indigenous communities and how that work can be connected to modern technologies such as GIS systems. A project such as this study of K-12 educators in a digital space, which focuses in part on determining if a space exists at all, benefits from maps as a tool to locate the "non-place" or virtual spaces in which K-12 anthropology teachers exist as a community

One such use of mapping to find a community was Chris Brennan-Horley and Chris Gibson's use of environmental mapping techniques to map creativity in a city. They write of their research, "In a most basic sense this is an important question because culture and creativity have grown as components of national and urban economies (notwithstanding debates about their conceptualization, and 'true measured value); and because forms of innovation at the heart of creative industries are likely to manifest themselves in rather more different spaces and sites from those in earlier phases of capitalism" (Brennan-Horley 2009). It is approaches such as this which can help to identify a community of K-12 anthropology of educators and the space in which that community exists.

LeCompte discusses the benefits of the use of new methods such as social mapping in

ethnographic design. She specifically addresses how mapping is a new technique which can challenge traditional ethnographic thought such as the idea that ethnographic fieldwork takes place in small, "homogenous" groups." She asserts that modern ethnographies often study populations that are multi-layered and highly diverse (LeCompte 2002). This approach addresses the community of precollegiate anthropology teachers which I am studying. K-12 teachers of anthropology are not a bounded group but rather multi-layered and multi-sited.

The interview is one of the cornerstones of anthropological research (Anderson 1994). The use of a semi-structured interview provided me with the openness and flexibility to pursue individualized information and to identify and qualify domains as I applied an inductive approach (Schensul 2013). The semi-structured interview can more deeply explore individuals' personalized beliefs about the interview topic (Boster 1989). It also allows the freedom for participants to discuss in more depth, as Geertz puts it, their own "constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to" (Geertz 1973).

Rachel Rinaldo and Jeffrey Guhin point to the value of interviews, especially when coupled with ethnographic context such as the mode of culture (Rinaldo 2019). They argue that the interview is best suited to identify the "non-declarative" culture, that is, the culture that is slowly ingrained in members of a culture rather than declarative "flashbulb" memories (Lizardo 2016). Rinaldo and Guhin argue that interviews access the "habituated practices" that are not "freely chosen 'declarations'" (Rinaldo 2019, 5). This space occupies an area between observation and the survey. Rinaldo and Guhin differentiate interviews into randomized and formal, structured ethnographic interviews. For the more formal interview, they argue that ethnographers can observe from a "meso-level" to triangulate respondents' understanding of

their own culture with the ethnographer's own observations from the outside (Rinaldo 2019, 9).

Literature Review of Autoethnographic Methods

The autoethnography can "describe and systematically analyze" personal experience (Ellis 2011). As a precollegiate anthropology teacher and member of the AAA, I have significant personal experience in my research site. The autoethnography is an opportunity for me to systematically analyze my own experience. Ellis, Adams, and Bochner describe autoethnography as a response to postmodernism, they claim that autoethnography helps a researcher be "self-consciously value-centered rather than pretending to be value free." They describe the process of doing autoethnography as writing about personal "epiphanies" "for the purpose of helping insiders (cultural members) and outsiders (cultural strangers) better understand the culture." This quote fits my approach as I attempt to merge my experiences with my research.

Luvaas's immersive work in street fashion led to his use of autoethnography. He describes autoethnography as useful to anthropologists as "an additional methodological step of focusing their project in some way on their own direct experience as lived, embodied, and interpreted through 'the self'" (Luvaas 2016). Deborah Reed-Danahay echoes these sentiments regarding the power of autoethnography to inform native anthropology. She argues that autoethnography can lead to a "social science which does not privilege the individualism of the author but rather requires an awareness of the researcher's positioning in various social fields and social spaces" (Reed-Danahay 2009). This approach flips the author's positionality from a drawback to a strength within the ethnography.

Jacqueline Copeland-Carson describes this interjection of the author into a study as a "delicate dance of theory and practice; objectivity and subjectivity; applied and basic research" (Copeland-Carson 2006, 55). She argues that ethnography will never be completely objective, but an awareness of the ethical pitfalls of immersive observational participation can be made into a strength. Copeland-Carson calls this approach "seeing double" to identify multiple perspectives, including her own. Copeland-Carson used her own experiences of marginalization to develop the "patient eye for observing" while attempting to remain objective about her observations (Copeland-Carson 2006, 62). The autoethnography transcends this objectivity in observing others and attempts to apply objectivity strictly to oneself.

I match the qualifications of a participant in this study, and as such, I systematically apply the interview questions to an analysis of my own "habituated experiences."

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH SITE

My research topic evolved through my concurrent work as a graduate student in the

applied anthropology program at the University of North Texas and my role as a teacher of high

school anthropology. This site was born out of my personal interest and investment in the

world of precollegiate anthropology (Schensul 2013). As I planned my research, the cultural

shifts due to the COVID-19 pandemic evolved on a daily basis. People across all industries,

including teachers, shifted to a new remote mode of work. More and more people worked at

home remotely, frequently on video conference software such as Zoom. As people grew further

apart, they grew closer together. While planning to locate my research site before the

pandemic, I knew that logistically I would be conducting most of my research remotely. First, I

was interested in the online communities that my client can offer. But also, the community of

precollegiate teachers I wanted to access was not located centrally, but rather all over the

United States. The community of anthropology teachers in America exists in many spaces at

once and lends itself to a multi-sited approach. This cultural shift in many ways made my

research more accessible, while the challenges posed by the shifting cultural landscape also

negatively affected access.

In the winter of 2019-20, while planning this research, I planned to focus on the online

spaces in which a loosely knit culture might exist. These online spaces include the AAA

"Communities" platform of online discussion, social media platforms such as Twitter, published

literature, and within participants' own experiences. In addition to these digital spaces, my

original plan for hybrid participant observation also included attendance at the in-person

American Anthropological Association meeting in November 2020. The realization that the COVID-19 pandemic would eliminate any in-person research shifted all of my research into this online "non-place." This would not be a Malinowskian experience as an anthropologist, surrounded by all my gear, "alone on a tropical beach close to a native village, while the launch or dinghy which had brought (me) sails away out of sight" (Malinowski 1922). In many senses, that research site in anthropology has sailed, like Malinowski's dinghy, almost out of sight.

My foreign beach in the Pacific was a home office window with a view of a peaceful lake glittering in the sun and an oak tree, not a palm, flittering in the breeze. The shifting nature of work brought about by the COVID-19 pandemic coupled with the online nature of the high school anthropology community made digital ethnographic methods both a necessity and an integral tool in this study. This shift at the outset of my research led to participant's familiarity with videoconference communications such as ZOOM meetings. This shift had a positive impact on access to my research site which included conducting online video interviews

Within the research site itself is the existence of myriad subcultures. The overlapping cultures that exist within the community of precollegiate anthropology teachers exist in individual teachers' classrooms, within the teachers' specialties in the four fields of anthropology, in the culture of the school in which they teach, in their participation in anthropological professional communities, and in their professional and social roles within their individual schools. These different cultures may often sometimes overlap between and within people. This variation of culture within the anthropological community is reproduced to some degree in hundreds of students each school year. These overlapping cultures diffuse into the hearts and minds of recent high school graduates as they enter college or the workforce. As I

have considered the size and complexity of my research site, I have taken this holistic picture of the world in which precollegiate anthropology teachers reside into account.

Despite the far reach of this culture of precollegiate anthropology, precollegiate anthropology often sits outside of anthropological culture in the minds of some actors. Anthropology is often presented in the literature as a dichotomy between academic and practicing anthropologists. For some precollegiate teachers as well as stakeholders within the field, precollegiate anthropology exists on the peripheral systemic edge of the anthropological community (Pinsker 2006, Lawrence 2004, Baba 1994). Precollegiate anthropology is at times "wholly independent of its physical surroundings" within the anthropological community (Augé 2008). A question which has emerged in my research is whether this perception is a reality which affects what the AAA can provide for the precollegiate anthropology teacher community.

My positionality as a member of the community in this research site at once facilitates elements of my research while complicating others (Lawrence 2004). This positionality has facilitated my attempts at "finding contexts" of the semiotics of the field while moving to "rename and reframe what is already known" (Narayan 1993, 678). While conducting research, the language and key terms used by the participants as well as the contexts surrounding their experiences was familiar to me due to my own experience in the field. Although familiarity can be a tool, it can also be a hindrance. Clifford Geertz argued for a thick description even when surrounded by familiar symbols. Words and phrases from other anthropology teachers which may appear to be familiar could be akin to Geertz's "wink." Geertz asked if an observed wink is a conspiracy between two actors? Is it a tic? Is it a sarcastic take on a conspiracy? While using my familiarity with the field as a tool, I have had to temper my familiarity at times while

deciphering the semiotics of this field and avoiding looking for what I want to see as a

precollegiate anthropology teacher myself (Geertz 1973).

My "problem," reflecting on Harraway's critique of situated objectivity, is at once

recognizing my own "semiotic technologies' for making meanings" and (having) a no-nonsense

commitment to faithful accounts of a "real world" (Harraway 1988, 579). How do I use the

familiarity with language and experiences as a tool while taking an objective look at this topic? I

kept these contingencies in mind as I navigated my research site, welcoming what is familiar

while examining it from a distance.

CHAPTER 4

PROJECT DESIGN

Data Collection Methods

This project made use of three data collection methods: Participant observation,

interviews, and mapping. Participant observation took place in online professional communities

hosted through the AAA, on Twitter, and at AAA professional functions. I conducted

videoconference interviews of seven precollegiate anthropology teachers. These participants

also completed a mapping activity. In addition to these methods, I conducted an

autoethnography of my day-to-day experience in the precollegiate anthropology program

which I teach at a small grade 7-12 public school of about 900 students. The data collection

took place from October 2020 through March 2021.

I conducted participant observation throughout my daily activities in my role as a high

school anthropology teacher and member of the AAA. This involved active participation in the

AAA Communities of which I am a member (All Member, Council on Anthropology and

Education, Digital Anthropologies Interest Group, Music and Sound Interest Group, and

National Association of Student Anthropologists). In February of 2021, the K-12 Education

Network Community was added to the AAA Communities. The Communities are online message

boards for different communities of AAA members. Of particular interest for this project is the

Council on Anthropology and Education and the K-12 Education Network Communities. I

actively participated in these Communities as a part of my role as a teacher, an anthropology

graduate student, and a research.  I posted explicitly about my role as a high school

anthropology teacher and my research on precollegiate anthropology in the hopes of generating conversation.

In addition to this activity on the AAA Communities, I also participated in a roundtable entitled "Examining the Fit and Function of K-12 Anthropology" at the Fall 2020 Raising Our Voices event which was held virtually and replaced the 2020 AAA Annual Meeting which had been cancelled due to the COVID-19 pandemic. As a part of this event, I met by video conference and by e-mail with the other presenters in the roundtable. These other presenters were also teachers of high school anthropology. I also spent time in the virtual "hallway," a feature of the virtual conference which encouraged socialization, but was stopped during the conference due to issues with moderation.

In addition to these activities with the AAA, I followed several anthropological organizations on Twitter, and I searched Twitter for posts on precollegiate, K-12, and high school anthropology using the terms "high school anthropology," "precollegiate anthropology," "IB anthropology," and "AP anthropology." I also followed the following Twitter handles which relate to anthropology: American Anthropological Association, Society for Cultural Anthropology, @WileyAnthro, @AnthropologyTip, @AmEthno, @TheJRAI, @WennerGrenOrg, @NapaAnthro, @AGPublicAnthro. This participant observation was asynchronous as the social media posts on Twitter create an archive. I focused on conversations from between Oct 2020 and March 2021.

Interviews with participants were conducted and recorded using Zoom. Conducting interviews on Zoom videoconference software enabled for flexibility in scheduling and accessibility. The closure of in-person business and schools beginning in March 2020

throughout the entire research period led to participants having an increased familiarity with

remote technologies (Cairns, et al. 2020).

Interviews were structured in nature and covered a range of topics from demographics

of teacher participants including age, gender, race, and income to the type of school in which

participants taught, public or private, as well as the size of school and the administrative

structure in terms of whether the school was a part of larger district. Participants were asked to

reflect on how they network as anthropology teachers, what types of classes compete with

anthropology at their school, and whether the class has another "anchor" such as IB or

concurrent status. A full interview transcript is included in the Appendix.

As a mapping activity, participants were asked to complete a Google Draw online

template to visualize where they are professionally and where they want to go as precollegiate

anthropology teachers. This mapping activity was purposefully open-ended. Although I was

concerned about the ability of participants to figure out the technology, participants in this

project were teachers who would be familiar with a digital assessment technique using an app

such as Google Draw. I only received two copies of the mapping activity back from participants.

An influence on this low response rate may fall on me as an inexperienced ethnographer. I sent

the request for the mapping activity in a separate email from the interview request and consent

forms.

As a native participant observer in the field of precollegiate anthropology, the

autoethnographic data came from participant observation activities which coincided with my

everyday life as a high school teacher. These activities included department meetings,

curriculum writing sessions, teaching my high school anthropology classes, and the policy

process of offering my anthropology course as a dual-enrollment course in a public high school for community college credit at a local college. I also considered and responded to the interview questions from this study to create a systematic approach to my autoethnography.

Participant Recruitment

I recruited by contacting anthropology educators discussed in the literature, members of the AAA, and anthropology teachers who had posted through anthropology-centric social media posts. I then used a snowball technique to build out from initial participants. In October 2020, at the outset of my research, I was invited to take part in a roundtable on K-12 Education at the AAA's Raising Our Voices conference, a virtual AAA meeting that took place in lieu of the in-person annual meeting. The panel consisted of myself and five other teachers of anthropology. I began my recruitment with the members of this panel. One other presenter agreed to sit for an interview. In October, I also made a post to the AAA "Council on Anthropology and Education" Community through the AAA. There were no responses to this post. In terms of teachers identified in the published literature, I reached out to teachers mentioned in the AETF and Smithsonian Reports as well as the Youth Participatory Action Project in Tucson Schools.

From this initial round of recruitment, I was able to recruit two participants, one presenter and one attendee from the Roundtable event. Each of these first two participants indicated that they had individuals in mind that they could refer as potential participants in the study. At the outset of my research, it seemed as if this chain-referral method would provide me with access to enough participants to meet my goal of twenty participants. However, despite follow-up communications each of these referrals failed to produce new participants.

Recruitment in this project did not produce as many participants as I had expected it to. After I conducted the first three interviews I reached out to a key informant and my client in this project, Daniel Ginsberg of the AAA. His response to my question about referrals for participants in my study in mid-December 2020 was that in response to his most recent message to his mailing list of people in the precollegiate anthropology community, "most responses were enthusiastic, but some asked me to stop spamming them." A short period later, a new Community was launched through the AAA, the "K-12 Education Network." I made a post describing my research and recruiting participants on February 17, 2021. There were zero responses from the 35 members of the community.

Although I had aimed for twenty interview participants, the lack of participants is in itself interesting data. The request to "stop spamming" people interested in precollegiate anthropology, minimal responses to posts on AAA Community boards, and the lack of snowball recruitment each speak to a lack of a strong community on their own and taken as a whole corroborate the idea that a community is not established.

CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS

Demographics

Although the sample size is small, a look at the demographics of study participants reveals a few interesting anomalies. Although this data is not statistically significant, it is worth mentioning to paint a picture of the participants in the study. The average age of participants was 46, which is four years older than the average age of teachers in the United States (National Center for Education Statistics 2021). Every participant had an advanced degree of at least a master's degree. The average salary was $79,000 as compared to an average salary for teachers in the United States of $61,730. Four participants taught in traditional public schools, one in a public magnet school, one in a public school for students with individualized education plans, and two taught in private schools. One private school was a Christian school and the other was an International School. Only one of the seven programs was offered concurrently for credit in partnership with a college.

When I compare my own experience with the participants in this study there are many similarities worth identifying. I am 37 at the time of the study, nine years younger than the average age of the participants. Like other participants, I have earned a master's degree in teaching social studies. My salary is above the average of the participants; however, this is influenced by geography and my role at a public school in New Jersey, a state which ranks first in teacher salary in the U.S. (World Population Review 2021). The school where I teach is a regional high school, but the school is a separate district than the four sending districts. Less than 900 students are enrolled in the six grade levels (7-12) at the school.

**Table 2: Interview Demographic Data**

| | MH (Self) | T1 | T2 | T3 | T4 | T5 | T6 | T7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age | 37 | 43 | 38 | 57 | 61 | 39 | 48 | |
| Gender | M | M | F | F | M | F | M | F |
| Highest Degree | MA | MA | Ph. D | MA | | MA | MA | |
| Most Recent Salary | 82,500 | | A little under 60,000 | 75,000 | 90,000 | 88,000 | 82,500 | |
| Currently Teaching? | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| Type of School | Public | Public (Special Needs) | Private | Private (Inter-national) | Public | Public (Magnet) | Public | Public |
| IB Course | No | No | Pilot Next year (2021-22) | Yes (Non-Tested) | No | No | Yes | No – (AP Human Geo) |
| Concurrent Course? | Yes | No | No | No | Yes | No | No | No |
| Type of Course | Four Field | Four Field | Cultural | Cultural | Four Field | Four Field | Cultural | Cultural |
| Grade Level | 11-12 | "Challenge track – pre-requisites) | 10-12 (mostly 12) | 11-12 | 11-12 | Senior | 11-12 | |
| Number of Students | 45 | 6 | 10 | | 45-50 | 60 per semester (2 semesters/ year) | Two Big Sections – It Fluctuates | |

Interview, Mapping, and Participant Observation Data

Data from interviews, mapping, and participant observation revealed several emerging patterns. First, multiple teachers in interviews discussed their personal involvement in the creation of the precollegiate anthropology programs which they teach. Second, some teachers described being "pushed in" to anthropology when they were asked to take over an existing program. A third pattern which emerged from the data is the need for precollegiate anthropology teachers to recruit students, often competing with other electives. Within this theme of competition with other electives, the importance of the IB and AP programs in course selection emerged. Fourth, interviews and participant observation revealed that there is some variance in what is considered an anthropology course at the precollegiate level; The four fields of anthropology provide quite a bit of lateral movement within the field. Fifth, teachers discussed how to make higher-level anthropological concepts accessible to high school students. Last, participants discussed to what extent they are involved in a community at the AAA level or at other levels within anthropology and their professional lives.

Courses Created by Individual Teachers

Several teachers in this study created the anthropology programs which they teach. Often, these teachers had some background in anthropology but were teaching in a social studies department. They were able to leverage capital within their school's administration to suggest that an anthropology course should be offered (Bourdieu 1990).

One interview participant who had personal involvement in the creation of the anthropology program was a teacher, T1, at a small school for students with disabilities in New Jersey. T1 had a background in anthropology, and when he proposed the class during his job

interview, it was approved immediately: "Even before I signed the contract, I said here is what I am going to need, the textbooks and whatnot, and they were right on board." As a new teacher in the school, T1 had limited professional capital, but the unique structure of this alternative school enabled some freedom.

T1's experience of proposing a class and having it launched with relative ease is not singular within this study. T2, a teacher at a private high school in Florida, currently teaches a one-semester, four-field intro to anthropology course. She stated, "I brought the class. I wanted to teach it, and my department was open to it." Like T1, she proposed the class early in her employment without the professional capital that is earned years into employment at a school. She ascribed the school's willingness to offer the course to the school's mission, "The school is very global minded and into interdisciplinary learning...They were like, if you get enough people to sign up for it…" Similar to T1 in New Jersey, T2 leveraged her experience in anthropology, in her case a Ph.D. in anthropology, with an easy-to-navigate private administrative policy structure to introduce the course to the school.

T3 is a teacher at a private International School in Houston, TX. As a part of my participant observation activities, I recorded field notes while serving as a panelist at the 2020 AAA Raising Our Voices conference roundtable "Examining the Fit and Function of Anthropology at the K-12 Level." T3 was a panelist at this roundtable along with five other teachers of high school anthropology including myself. T3 also sat for an interview as a part of my research. In this interview, she described how, like T1, she pushed to create an anthropology program at the time she was hired. Although the class was not implemented at the time T3 was hired, when she gained capital and was promoted to department head she was

able to offer the course.  She recalls this promotion coming with a promise of being able to

offer an anthropology course. T3 recalls being told, "Okay, I was asked who do I think should be

the department head. And I said you. And now you finally get your chance to teach

anthropology, but you are going to have to make the anthropology course. You have to build

the program on your own." Just as the mission of T2 and T1's schools was conducive to an

anthropology course, the mission of the International School at which T3 teaches helped her to

be able to offer the class. International schools follow the International Baccalaureate (IB)

program and the IB Social and Cultural Anthropology course fits within that curriculum.

My colleague T4 started the course which I teach at a small, regional public school in

New Jersey. His course was, and still is, an introduction to anthropology course which covers

the four fields of anthropology. T4 recounted the ease with which he was able to navigate the

policy structure of the school. Although he was a new teacher at the school when he created

this course, he was able to leverage a colleague's capital within the local, private policy of a

small school. T4 also came to the school with a background in anthropology after being enrolled

in a PhD program in anthropology. T4 remembered the experience, specifically the role played

by his colleague's professional capital, as follows:

> MH: And what was that process like getting that started?
>
> T4: Oh, my gosh, it was so easy. Like, Mike, I didn't even try because I didn't expect. At
> (former school) I tried, and I just thought, you know, it was kind of useless, like banging
> my head against the wall. But (colleague) had a very special relationship with our
> department chairman. He went to him and it was just like a short conversation, we got
> him to agree to let me write, you know, the curriculum, and to teach anthropology and
> sociology.
>
> MH: And so, you wrote it in -- like pretty much sounds like right away they approved it?

T4: Yeah, I wrote it over the summer, and I think it was approved at the board meeting, like, in August. And I was ready to go in September.

MH: Oh, wow. Look at that. Bureaucracy.

T4: Well

MH: Go ahead.

T4: So, I mean, I have so much gratitude to Joe. I mean because it was a very selfless act. You know, (colleague) teaching sociology and then going back to whatever that course was that he was teaching involving newspapers and magazines and TV with, you know, challenging kids.

MH: Was that Current Events?

T4: Yes, yes. And you know, so…

MH: So, he gave up sociology classes so that you could do the anthropology?

T4: Yeah. Talk about a great guy.

Each of these experiences show a relatively new teacher with a significant background in anthropology, often an advanced degree, successfully proposing an anthropology program. A combination of a various factors including school's mission being conducive to anthropology, some amount of professional capital within an administration, and the teacher's background led to the school agreeing to offer the class in each of these cases.

## Teachers "Pushed in" to Anthropology

Another significant point to come out of interview and observation data was the experience of teachers being "pushed in" to teaching anthropology. These teachers were asked to teach anthropology with relatively little previous anthropology background. The term "pushed in" may suggest force, and often times this choice to teach anthropology is out of the teacher's control due to lack of professional capital. This "pushing in" often happened after an

individual teacher created a course and moved on from the role. As a member of a social studies department at a small school, I have been asked to teach different classes which are out of my "specialty." This was the case when I was asked to teach both world history and anthropology after focusing on United States history in college. It is my experience that in a competitive job market there is not much opportunity to pick and choose topics within a high school department. For these reasons, "pushed in" may be a suitable term.

Interviews revealed this theme of being "pushed in" to be true for others, as well. T5, now a working anthropologist and primatologist for an NGO, was asked to take over the anthropology program at a high school in Northern Virginia after that program was founded by an energetic teacher (Popson and Selig 2019). T5's experience with anthropology before being asked to teach it was minimal. She had attended a high school with a dual-enrollment introduction to anthropology course taught by "this amazing, you know, teacher who had envisioned the course and taught it since its inception." T5's description of the teacher who founded her program fits the mold of the first theme – an individual with an anthropology background who created and spearheaded the program. T5's background in anthropology was minimal. She had taken one high school dual-enrollment course. A dual-enrollment course is affiliated and accredited through a college but taught in a high school (National Alliance of Concurrent Enrollment Partnerships 2021). The course which T5 described in her high school experience sounded similar to the dual-enrollment introduction to anthropology course which I currently teach. Although this high school course left an impact on T5, it was her only anthropology experience before teaching. She completed a master's of arts in teaching social studies and secured a job teaching social studies at a public high school. It was at this point that

the school asked her to teach high school anthropology as a part of her duties within the social studies department. Her description of how she became an anthropology teacher matches this second theme of being "pushed in." She said of her path, "I stumbled into this." Her use of the word "stumble" matches linguistically with the experience of being "pushed." However, her after being "pushed" she continued along an anthropological path into the world of practicing anthropology in her current role working with international environmental policy as a primate director for an international NGO.

T6, a teacher of IB Social and Cultural Anthropology at a school outside of Portland, Oregon echoed this story of being "pushed into" anthropology. He recalled, "When I student taught 17 years ago, there was a woman who taught anthro. She left, I got hired, they were like, 'Do you want to teach anthro?'" T6 is now a dedicated precollegiate anthropology teacher considering enrollment in a master's degree program in the field. Again, T6's experience being "pushed into" anthropology through the IB Social and Cultural Anthropology program has led him to influence hundreds of high school anthropology students each year just as they enter college. This path is also influencing him to pursue anthropology at the higher education level.

I was "pushed" into anthropology when I was asked to take over the course at my school. At the time, I had very little experience in anthropology. I had taken one course in ethnomusicology as an undergraduate at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Like other participants in this study who were pushed into teaching precollegiate anthropology, I have found tremendous personal and professional value in teaching anthropology after being pushed in to the field and I know look to play a larger role in the anthropological community. Being asked to teach anthropology has led to my completion of over thirty credits in graduate

anthropology courses, paying AAA and SfAA membership dues, participating in AAA Communities, presenting at a roundtable event at an AAA conference, encouraging yearly cohorts of fifty graduating high school students to take at least some anthropology in college, and undertaking this applied thesis project.

A key element of the theme of being "pushed in" to anthropology is the second part of the story told by each participant. Participants continued to broaden the part of their career that focuses on anthropology either by making the course their own, taking higher education courses, or encouraging students to pursue anthropology.

## Maintaining Precollegiate Programs

Interview participants related the need to get enough students to take anthropology electives when those courses are often in competition with other electives. Most participants reported some level of competition with other electives in terms of recruiting students. T4 described this competition by saying, "You have to market it." T6 echoed T4's assessment while highlighting one specific challenge, "It's a hard course to market, kids don't know what anthropology is." He discussed specifically the challenges of competing with psychology and economics classes. "You know, psychology is, like, kids know what it is." T3 reported a similar sentiment that students often opt for psychology or business management. This belief about psychology is supported by the statistics cited by Popson and Witteveen in 2003 that 31% of graduating high school students had taken some form of psychology.

T2's interview shows how this competition with other subjects can affect the offering of anthropology. She explained that her course is not running this year due to competition with other electives, "There's a lot of electives...It runs two years on, one year off...If enough

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students sign up for it then it runs." T2 completed a mapping activity in which she identified a goal of "teaching a mandatory anthropology 9-12 class that is offered every year."

During senior year, the approximately 150 students at the school where I teach have a choice of multiple electives. In New Jersey, students need three years of social studies, so anthropology does not satisfy any state standard as far as being a required course if it is offered to seniors (NJDOE 2014). In the social studies department at my school, during senior year students can choose from the "standard" course which is "Current Events." Students also have a choice of taking AP Government and Politics or AP European History. Additionally, there is a dual-enrollment Sociology course. Outside of social studies there are several other options for electives including Film Studies, AP English Composition, Psychology, Creative Writing, Graphics, 3D Art, Architecture, Social Media Marketing, Sports Management, Forensics, AP Physics, AP Environmental Science, Study Hall, Independent Study. There is also the option of being an aid for a department.

Coupled with this competition with other electives is teachers' worry that the school may cut the anthropology program for other reasons such as school funding. One teacher stated, "There were a couple people in the administration that didn't really think that the course was the most important of all the courses being offered." T4 explained, "The school didn't really like singletons," regarding the course he created at the school where I currently teach. A singleton is a course that is taught by one teacher with a small cohort of students. T6 recounted pressure on the anthropology program at his school due to budget cuts, "Yeah, there was actually one year, the year after the big economic downturn – a big budget deficit."

Although recruiting is a concern, T4 touted anthropology's ability to attract students once they are in the class, "It sells itself."

The course I teach has a maximum number of roughly fifty students total spread out over three sections. My contract requires that I teach five course periods. Depending on staffing numbers, I can be asked to teach six courses, but not more than two years in a row. My other responsibilities over the past seven years at the school include a world history course which was an honors class for at time before being converted to an AP Modern World History class for the last three years. Between the AP Modern World History class and the dual-enrollment anthropology class, I can teach five classes. My numbers have been historically around 20 students per class. If I have a larger group of AP Modern World History students, I would be limited in how many anthropology classes I could teach. For the past three years I have taught three sections of anthropology and two sections of AP Modern World History. Despite competition from other electives, numbers have remained high.

Within this theme of maintaining enrollment a subtheme emerged highlighting the importance of accredited programs such as AP and IB. Participants in this research identified a belief that courses affiliated with a program like AP or IB as well as dual-enrollment programs are often more attractive to college-bound students and school administrations alike. T5 stated that students could take AP Art History and AP Psychology and would often choose AP "for the bump in their GPA." T4 expressed the belief that students had to choose between anthropology and AP courses and they sometimes chose anthropology when "they could have taken AP."

Likewise, multiple interview participants cited the impact of the categorization of the schools in their district schools on course offerings as far as the schools being magnet,

specialized, IB, or AP. T6 explained the impact of this on what courses his school could offer, "In the district, some schools are AP, and some are IB. It is based on geography, so some kids have to go to an AP school and some go to an IB school." If a student lives in an IB geographic region they could attend a school that offers IB Social and Cultural Anthropology, but if that student lives in an AP district, the school will not offer IB Social and Cultural Anthropology. There is currently no AP Anthropology offering in anthropology. Another example of how this could affect anthropology in high school is in T5's district in Virginia. T5 taught a standalone course not affiliated with IB, however, she explained how the district in which she teaches has three IB schools, and all three of them have IB Social and Cultural Anthropology. Because her school is not IB affiliated, she can offer a four-field anthropology course outside of the limits of the IB curriculum which focuses only on social and cultural anthropology.

As a part of my participant observation, I used Twitter to look for discussions of high school or precollegiate anthropology. These conversations are taking place on Twitter as well as in institutional spaces such as the Raising Our Voices conference. One tweet reads, "I have spent the last couple of @AmericanAnthro meetings listening to discussions centered on how to get anthropology into the minds and mouths of younger (especially secondary) students. I would have loved to explore an "AP Anthropology" class after Human Geography or similar" (@runsamskara 2018). A search for high school anthropology produced a number of tweets from users discussing AP Anthropology classes. Interestingly, there is no anthropology offering in the AP catalog (College Board 2021). This phenomenon of people tweeting about a class that doesn't exist may point to the desirability of AP.

Three of the interview participants teach programs affiliated with the International

Baccalaureate Social and Cultural Anthropology course. T6 spoke extensively about the IB curriculum and how he applies it to his course. He said his approach of focusing on accessible ethnographies and local application of anthropology is backed up by scores on the IB assessment, "kids have scored really well." He also related how the requirement for students to conduct ethnographic research has led to many interesting local anthropology projects such as an ethnography of AA and Al-Anon meetings in the area and another ethnography on barber shops. T2 is piloting the IB Social and Cultural Anthropology test in her school next year. T3 also teaches the IB curriculum, but she does not have enough students to register for the test this year.

Another way anthropology can gain a foothold may be through dual-enrollment through a college. The course which I teach is the only course of any of the participants' courses which was affiliated as a concurrent, dual-enrollment course with a local community college. Most participants were unaware of the dual-enrollment policy which exists in some schools. At our school students can choose to pay a tuition of $225 to earn credit for the introduction to anthropology course which is offered at the local community college while taking the course at high school. Administration in my school has stated that they "prefer" programs which are dual-enrollment as they are marketable to the community in the effort to keep student enrollment numbers. Our school added a forensics course which is a dual enrollment course with Syracuse University in the 2019-2020 school year.

This competition with other classes has become increasingly important. Over the course of this project my school lost over 25% of State Aid funding through a reconciliation in the state education budget. This reconciliation is based on our decreasing enrollment (Morel 2021). As a

teacher, I have experienced multiple meetings during which our administration has told us that around ten teachers will be laid off and programs will be cut through a Reduction in Force (RIF). They have explicitly stated that although they want to avoid cutting "programs," that "they will have to cut programs." The school's administration has relayed that they want to keep AP and dual-enrollment electives when possible as they can "sell" these programs to prospective students who may making a choice between our school and other private schools, public charter schools, public technology schools, or other public schools through the NJ School Choice program.

This discussion of funding and teacher cuts ties into questions of the reciprocity and potlatch gift exchange as discussed in the literature review of theory. de Certeau theorized that in the modern workforce, workers may give up themselves for a job. Iinterview data and my own autoethnographic reflections about the demands of the profession reflect this idea. Although teachers may fit more into Barbara Ehrenreich's "professional-managerial class there are times in which there may be a competitive gift giving in line with the potlatch. For example, in order to focus more on my role as a member of the AAA and spending more time in that community, something must give from my schedule. I recently talked to a colleague about resigning from my role as a coach. His advice was due to cuts I should avoid "sticking my head out in any way." At our school, as in many others, the pay for an extracurricular activity is below the salary of a teacher. In many professions overtime translates to a higher pay. Multiple participants discussed not having time for personal professional development when most professional development is dictated and mandated by the school's administration. As the AAA considers how to connect to a community of teachers, accessibility may be an important

consideration. The shift to virtual conventions may have opened a window into more accessible conferences and networking opportunities.

My interviews with participants probed whether there was ever a fear that the anthropology program would be cut at their school. Multiple participants discussed fears of cuts, including one who said the anthropology class was discussed during a budget crisis. If I were asked if I fear it may be cut, I would certainly discuss my concerns about the future of the anthropology program. Just as the interview participants related that enrollment affects the continuance of their anthropology classes, I have had the same experience. I have maintained about 45-50 students per year, which is the maximum I can have enroll in the class.

My recruitment process is relatively hands-off. Based on my first-day-of-class activities in which I probe students' knowledge of anthropology, most students do not enroll based on a prior knowledge of anthropology. My process of "selling my class" is mostly through my other work in the school as a teacher of underclassman and as a coach. I get about 50% of students directly through my other jobs in the school teaching AP Modern World History to freshman or other courses in the social studies department. Three years ago, I taught a sophomore US History class and this years' cohort of senior anthropology students include about ten students of the 20 who were in that class. I also coach tennis and baseball and every year about 5-10 students who take my class were athletes from those programs. In response to the pressure that programs may be cut, I more actively recruited this year for the upcoming school year. I wanted to be sure I have a visible interest in my class for next year. I created a flyer and asked my supervisor if I could e-mail it to the junior class. This was not a practice I had seen done at our school before, and our supervisor asked other teachers of electives if they also wanted to

make flyers to recruit. In response to this more active recruiting, I have over fifty students registered for the anthropology class in the upcoming school year.

## Diversity of Topics in Precollegiate Anthropology

There are challenges posed in the diverse nature of what is possible to cover in a precollegiate anthropology class. Courses may vary between cultural anthropology, physical anthropology, archeology, a four-field approach, and numerous variations between. This variation was evident in interviews as well as in conversations with participants at the AAA roundtable. As indicated inTable 2, four of the programs in this study focused only on cultural anthropology and four covered all four fields of anthropology. T2, who teaches a cultural anthropology class, stated that she teaches a brief introduction to the four fields of anthropology at the beginning of her semester-long cultural anthropology course. T7, who teaches an intro to anthropology course also teacher an AP Human Geography course using many elements of cultural anthropology.

Two interview subjects taught four-field courses which cover cultural anthropology, archeology, physical anthropology, and linguistics. T1 said, "I do everything. We start with archeology, physical anthropology, linguistics, and then culture." T4 created the four-field introduction to anthropology course which I teach. This course spends ten weeks on each unit, physical anthropology, archeology, cultural anthropology, and linguistics. Additionally, the physical anthropology unit contains a subunit in primatology and animal studies and the linguistics unit contains a subunit in ethnomusicology.

Participants in the AAA roundtable showed a similar variety when discussing their classes. Courses covered diverse topics within the four fields of anthropology from dendrology

to the study of black cemeteries to simulated archeological digs and linguistics. When considering what is precollegiate anthropology, this diversity may affect policy decisions if a targeted push for anthropology occurs at the institutional level.

As other participants identified in interviews, I find some areas of anthropology to be easier for me to teach than others. This recognition of my strengths and weaknesses within the four fields of anthropology is based on the amount of experience I have teaching each field as well as my personal interest for a specific field. As I gain experience in each field, my experience and efficacy teaching evolve. For example, during this current school year I found inspiration in archeology through a partnership with the Penn Museum and its "Artifact Box" program. I had previously struggled to find what grabs the students' attention in archeology. The artifact box led me to create a unit on cuneiform tablets and ancient math and writing as a transition to our linguistics unit.

Making Anthropology Accessible to Precollegiate Students

One other theme in common with interview participants is how to make anthropology accessible to high school students when there are few materials created for precollegiate students. Additionally, students often come to precollegiate anthropology at a variety of learning levels. One method which participants identified as having used to make anthropology engaging was by leaning on their own higher education in anthropology to find and modify materials. In doing so, participants are using a public anthropology approach. Another method to increase student engagement was using the inquisitive and holistic nature of anthropology as a driver of student interest.

I have had a similar experience with making content accessible. With the lack of

"packaged" resources such as would be available for most high school courses; I often use excerpts from anthropological texts which I have read as a part of my graduate studies. To make these works accessible, I may assign a couple pages of something interesting that is mentioned in the textbook be it from Malinowski, Mead, Geertz, or Frans de Waal. The textbook provides some background, but I provide the primary source. Although these readings are limited and highly excerpted, assessments I have conducted have shown that students are able to understand key anthropological ideas and apply these ideas to readings when readings are adapted. As the class progresses, students are able to read and approach more complete anthropological texts based on research within their personal interests.

For example, as a culmination of our primatology unit, I ask students to find a peer-reviewed article in primatology or animal studies based on a research question they have created. Students are asked to read the article and write an annotation summarizing the article and explaining how the primatology/animal studies research can be applied to humans and how it relates to their research question. An assessment of student performance in this activity reveals that high school students of various learning levels not only understand anthropological research but can apply it to their own interests while conducting college-level research. The topics in anthropology are often naturally engaging material for students. After showing a video produced by Wired, "Accent Expert Gives a Tour of the U.S. Accents," a student left class saying, "I really like this. It is so interesting." In a sociolinguistics unit, students have research multilingualism, "vocal fry," and the hearing world's perception of ASL.

Multiple participants expressed that precollegiate anthropology classes must adapt to reach a variety of learning levels. T2 expressed that her administration has put pressure on her

to not make the course too challenging. "There has been some resistance from students. They enjoy me as their teacher. They enjoy the content. But they are like, 'do we have to do all the tests, do this much reading?' This is an elective; it should be fun." Likewise, T1's class is offered at a school for students with special needs. He referred to it as a "challenge class" in that there are pre-requisites which students must meet to approach the more challenging material in the anthropology course. To address the balance between accessibility and rigor, T1 tells them, "You are not going to have to read the textbook, but you will have to read ethnographies." T1 related that he has had success in engaging the students by gearing the class towards debate and discussion, "Like we had in the nineties."

The class offered at my school attracts a variety of learners, as well. A portion of students who sign up for anthropology come from the AP population that I teach during their freshman year. This group may be used to more challenging academic work. Other students sign up for the dual-enrollment status and may or may not be used to the rigor of an AP level or dual-enrollment class. There is a large group of students in the cohort who approach the class as a senior elective that they have heard is interesting but have no interest in paying for the dual-enrollment credits. Like T2 and T1, I play a balancing act between rigorous academic work and accessibility. In my assessments as a teacher I am looking for success in the course through students achieving learning outcomes which I have set. Although my pre- and misconceived notions of why specific students are in the class are colored my biases, student success in achieving learning outcomes is not dictated by academic status or academic cultural domain.

T1 discussed in his interview the use of engaging ethnographies to capture students' interest. He referenced "Eating Christmas in the Kalahari" as an approachable ethnography

which he related his students get excited about and actively debate. T3 explained that she

spends her summers reading and finding interesting materials for students. She also echoes the

successful use of ethnographies to grab students' attention. "They like ethnography." Like T1,

T3 assigns a series of approachable ethnographies in her class. T6, in Oregon, related a similar

sentiment about accessible ethnographies. He uses an IB Social and Cultural Anthropology

social media group to find interesting ethnographies. He specifically mentioned "Fresh Fruit and

Bodies" and "Working the Night Shift" as two engaging ethnographies. He explained that the

students enjoyed local ethnographies that deal with topics they can relate to rather than those

that were more exotic.

I applied this approach of using ethnographies to the class I teach and assigned the

ethnographies "Eating Christmas in the Kalahari" and "Motorcycles, Membership, and

Belonging" (McCurdy 2015). Being in New Jersey, I was able to make connections to the

upcoming college experience for my students through "Eating Christmas in the Kalahari"

(Borshay Lee 2015). T4, who created the high school class, was a product of the Rutgers Ph.D.

program in anthropology. Richard Borshay Lee wrote Eating Christmas in the Kalahari while at

Rutgers. I also use this connection to incorporate excerpts from Michael Moffat's *Coming of

Age in New Jersey*, another product of the Rutgers Anthropology Department (Moffatt 1989). I

have found that the use of these ethnographies can provide a dual purpose in that they

introduce students to ethnographic writing while giving me an opportunity to talk about

anthropology at the college level. The use of ethnographies, especially as applied in the IB

program, is something I will develop in the future as a part of the cultural anthropology section

of my course. Like other participants in this study who teach four-field courses, it is a challenge

to fit theory, methods, and examples of ethnography into a short semester-long unit in cultural

anthropology.

Some resources do exist. T1 recalled using an "older" collection of ethnographies, "the

orange one." A follow up to his interview uncovered that the book he is referencing is the

supplement to the Barbara Miller *Cultural Anthropology* textbook and contains the three

ethnographies which T6 mentioned along with a large selection of short ethnographies (B.

Miller 2016). A search on the internet reveals multiple scanned copies of readings from these

books available. The reproduction of this content on the internet points to the thirst for

content. The American Anthropological Association hosts a link to the Smithsonian's

*AnthroNotes* publication which is a periodical collection of accessible anthropological writings.

Another participant referenced the *Annual Review of Anthropology* from the *Annual Review*

series. This publication comes with a significant cost which may be beyond the budget of some

social studies departments. The Tier 6 price is $ $3,688 (Annual Review 2021). Since

*AnthroNotes* stopped publishing in 2012 and the *Annual Review* is out of the price range of

many teachers or departments, a need may exist for a public anthropological collection of

modern ethnographies.

Participants expressed that they had a hard time accessing resources to make class

more accessible, specifically in terms of finding a textbook. T3 said, "I haven't found a high

school anthropology textbook." T2 expressed the same sentiment, "It's a challenge. I can't even

find a textbook."  Although the AAA has created two free, online textbooks, only one interview

subject was familiar with either the cultural anthropology book, *Perspectives,* or the physical

anthropology book, *Explorations* (Brown, McIlwraith and Tubelle de Gonzalez 2020, Shook, et

al. 2019)*.*

　　While updating our course textbook, I asked for a book recommendation from the head

of the anthropology program at the local community college with which my class has dual

enrollment status. Upon his recommendation, I chose Conrad Phillip Kottak's *Anthropology:*

*Appreciating Human Diversity* (18th Ed.) (Kottak 2019). When purchasing copies of the book

through my department supervisor, we learned that the book was priced at significantly more

expensive price point than the high school books in our department. Although my supervisor

approved the book, she pointed out the price difference between this book and the high school

books which our department purchases. This book comes with an online access portal. When I

signed students up for the online portal for the book, they had to access a different online

portal as their high school books from the same publisher. To make matters more complicated,

they had to use the same e-mail for high school level books through a different portal with the

same name. Navigating this logistical issue and making sure students had digital access during

the remote 2020-21 school year took a few class periods. This discrepancy in textbook policy

between high school and college-level books by the publisher points to the lack of

anthropological presence in high schools. Another issue came up this spring with this textbook.

In early March, several students let me know that their access to the book was denied on the

online portal. Upon further exploration, the digital access to the book expired after 180 days,

which was well before the end of a high school year. The digital access was designed by the

publisher for one college semester, not one high school year. Although the publisher issued

extended access, students had to completely re-enroll with a new access code. These

administrative issues do not point to the quality of the content of the book, which is excellent

for my class, but rather to the hurdles faced by a high school anthropology program (Kottak,

2019).

Social and Professional Networks Among Precollegiate Anthropology Teachers

A final theme which emerged through participant interviews was the question of

whether a community exists among precollegiate anthropology teachers. There are certainly

signs of such a community being offered. The AAA has a "Learn and Teach" section of its

website with a subsection, "Resources on and around K-12 anthropology" (American

Anthropological Association 2021) One of the main community development resources on this

site is the "Teaching Materials Exchange." The AAA also offers the K-12 Educator Community. In

my observation, I noticed technological problems with both of these features. I have reached

out to contacts ask for help and have still had trouble accessing these features. Another feature

of the AAA website is a directory of IB Social and Cultural Anthropology programs around the

United States. Few participants were aware of the AAA offerings to connect precollegiate

anthropology teachers.

One participant who was aware of AAA offerings that apply to her role as a precollegiate

teacher was T2. She related positive experiences at anthropological events such as the AAA

and the Society for Applied Anthropology (SfAA) annual events. She reported positive

recollections of getting precollegiate teaching resources from the SfAA, "I love it, it (the SfAA) is

so much smaller (than the AAA), and I have always felt like my voice there really matters." She

recalled learning about the archeology resource "Sherlock Bones" which she was introduced to

at an SfAA event. This participant came to precollegiate teaching after earning a Ph.D. in

Gender Studies and teaching at a large research university. These experiences may have connected her with the communities at AAA and SfAA.

T7 also benefitted professionally in precollegiate anthropology education by attending professional events. She went to a workshop put on by the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH). According to her interview, this event was a social studies education workshop run by an anthropology professor with whom she has remained in touch with about teaching resources. Although not an anthropology-centric professional development, this NEH workshop enabled her to network with other anthropologists in education. Despite this networking, T7 responded to questions about AAA resources by stating, "I wasn't aware they had professional development for K-12 teachers."

T5 recounted that her professional anthropology network was more local and limited and "was essentially hanging out with (colleague)" who created the course T5 was teaching. Together T5 and her colleague worked with various professional anthropology initiatives including *AnthroNotes*, the Smithsonian Institute, and the George Washington University anthropology department; however, these professional activities are not linked to a larger social network, but only through this colleague who is a member of the anthropology community. T5 identified her connection to this network as "through her" rather than through herself.

Other teachers expressed that there is a lack of community. T1 responded to a question about the resources offered by the AAA by saying, "I didn't even know about the AAA and they have the conference." T1 relayed to me that he was recently cold contacted by e-mail by a person who was asked to teach anthropology at a different school and did not know where to

start. This person did a Google search for high school anthropology and found T1's course website. T1 offered to follow up with this teacher to participate in my study, but a follow-up e-mail did not lead to participation. T1 said that he enjoyed e-mailing with this person and he also expressed excitement at an online group. Throughout his interview, T1 expressed that he felt alone as an anthropology teacher.

T4 was another teacher who did not connect his high school teaching to the larger anthropology community through the AAA. He said that he knew about the AAA but that his involvement was "off and on," and "I never attended any conferences." Likewise, T6 responded, "I don't really do anthropology conferences." T6 referred to an IB Anthropology group hosted on a social media site as an active community of IB Anthropology teachers. When asked about professional organizations, participants often conflated these organizations with the annual conference. This conference plays a world centering and world renewal role within the organization, however, these participants do not recognize the regular offerings of organizations such as the AAA such as periodical journals, listservs, and the Teacher Resource Exchange.

Participants in the Raising Our Voices roundtable discussion also expressed feelings of being outsiders within the anthropology community and specifically within the AAA, even at this event hosted by the AAA. During our planning session, a comment was made that there may not even be anyone attending. Outside of one of the presenters' high school class students who helped to present during her portion of the roundtable, there were only three other attendees. One interview participant expressed concern about, "Both the Association and its members who do not view K-12 teachers as "actual" anthropologists." Whether this belief

about precollegiate teachers as "outside" the organization is widespread or not, it is a belief that was repeated in interviews.

An idea to create more of a connection between precollegiate anthropologists and academic/practicing anthropologists which was discussed at the roundtable was the facilitation of links between precollegiate programs and working anthropologists in the field or in the academy. Such a directory exists on the AAA website in addition to the All-Member Community which could facilitate such a solicitation. Although a few of the participants in the roundtable shared activities done in conjunction with museums and other anthropologists, there was a sentiment that more could be done to link anthropologists to precollegiate classes, especially at the upper high school level. Participant T2's mapping activity reflects a desire to, "Increase local archaeological connections so that I can bring students to an existing dig (or at least simulate one on campus)" and "Enhance local museum connections so that I can add an additional field trip experience and ongoing student involvement." This mapping activity was able to show where T2 thought she was in relation to anthropologists but also where she wanted to be.

Links between museums and high school level anthropology classes may demand a different type of program than an elementary class visiting a museum which many educational outreach programs are geared towards. Presenters during the Raising Our Voices roundtable related very positive educational activities coming out of partnerships with museums including the Penn Museum, the American Museum of Natural History, the Poew Museum, and the Crow Canyon Archeological Center. From an autoethnographic standpoint, I have been able to build partnerships with multiple working anthropologists and museums through my high school

program including a cultural anthropologist working in Papua New Guinea, a linguist, and the Penn Museum.

An increased presence of precollegiate anthropology educators on the AAA website may provide traffic to the already existing networks that exist. During the course of my fieldwork, the AAA made steps to make this partnership more accessible to precollegiate anthropology teachers. It advertised on its website a K-12 Educators' membership tier as "Available Soon!" This link does not provide more details about the pricing or membership process as similar links for other membership tiers provide. There is also a K-12 Educator's Trial Membership advertised with the description "Do you know (or are you) a K-12 educator who introduces anthropology to students? Nominate them for a one-year K-12 Educator trial membership. After the first year, educators may apply for the renewable K-12 membership."

Just as the participants in this study are not be accessing the AAA K-12 resources, the community within AAA shows signs of reciprocating this apathy. At the outset of my research I made a post in the K-12 Educators Community listserv explaining the work I am doing on anthropology in K-12 schools, and at the time of writing this paper I have yet to receive a response from the 32 members of the community. A similar post to the "All Member" and "Council on Anthropology and Education Communities" in October have each received no responses.

An autoethnographic observation to note is that although my involvement in this research has put me into communication with several precollegiate anthropology teachers and I am an active member of the AAA, the time constraints on me as a part of my primary job of high school teacher, along with my secondary and tertiary jobs as a coach, advisor, tutor, and

graduate students in addition to the role I play in my family limit my active involvement in the

AAA and other anthropological organizations. It is not uncommon for a professional event to

come across the AAA forum which piques my interest only for me to discover that it conflicts

with my school day or an extracurricular event at the school for which I must be responsible.

Research on teachers various fields and other professions' habits and activities in professional

organizations may give the AAA insight into how best to make the AAA accessible to

precollegiate teachers.

### Teachers' Feelings about Teaching Precollegiate Anthropology

Overall, participants related a very positive experience teaching anthropology. One

participant said, "This is what I love." Another says of the students "It always blows their

minds." Another said, "It is such a charismatic discipline. It's like Indiana Jones. It sells itself." In

my personal experience, I have seen first had how anthropology as a subject in a precollegiate

setting can work together with many other subjects. One student 3D printed a model of a

cuneiform tablet while in his STEM class. Students have been in the art room firing clay

cuneiform tablets on which they had written ancient Sumerian math. This experience has led to

discussions with members of our math department about a collaborative math/anthropology

ancient math unit. Likewise, the environmental science teacher came in my room recently

because some students we have in common were discussing the environmental impact of

different burial customs. I have been in a forensics classroom discussing a collaboration on a

forensic linguistics lesson.

Likewise, anthropological concepts can provide a more well-rounded understanding

within the social studies department. My social studies department assigned the book "If These

Stones Could Talk" as our department reading for the year (Buck and Mills 2019). This book is a local, New Jersey study on a black cemetery. Although it was not written by an anthropologist it delves into the types of multicultural questions that anthropology may best be suited to answer. Interestingly, during the roundtable another participant, Shannon Peck-Bartle, discussed how a history class at her school conducted a study of the history of black cemeteries to incorporate anthropology into the history curriculum. Peck-Bartle published an article in the March/April edition of *Anthropology News* detailing how projects such as the black cemetery project can bring anthropology and precollegiate education together (Peck-Bartle 2021).

A recent student email demonstrates why I love teaching high school anthropology. A recent graduate enlisted in the U.S. Navy last year with the goal of becoming a Cryptologic Technician. She recently emailed to reach out because she remembered that my class covers linguistics in the spring, and she would love to do a Zoom presentation to the class. Just as students in T2's class have conducted an ethnography of Little Havana or students in T4's class have studied AA meetings, this student is applying high school anthropology to real world situations.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

My experience researching precollegiate anthropology over the course of five months

has revealed several themes. These themes include the way anthropology courses are created,

the impact of teachers who are "pushed" and "pulled" into the field, the identification of a

network experienced by teachers of precollegiate anthropology, and the potential benefits of

precollegiate anthropology programs on the anthropological community as a whole.

Interviews with participants corroborated Selig and Popson's finding that many

anthropology programs are created by an enthusiastic teacher and exist as "standalone"

programs (Popson and Selig 2019). Erve Chambers' discussion of the role of applied

anthropology in policy creation is a useful lens to look at how these courses are created.

Chambers differentiates public and private policy and in doing so he divides policy creation into

four stages: formulation, planning, implementation, and review. School systems live in an

interesting world, simultaneously public and private. Even within one state with a set of public

educational standards, local school administrations have a great deal of latitude in meeting

those standards. This "local" approach is more private than public. Sometimes in a school, the

formulation, planning, and implementation stages can happen "privately" between one or two

people within the "public" bounds of a larger system. This was the experience of several

participants in this study.

First, the program in which I teach, created by T4 in the early 1990s, reflects this

public/private policy discrepancy. Although the public school where T4 created this program

operates within the bounds of New Jersey public education policy, the small administration's

easy-to navigate policy structure operates more like private policy. In addition to the Board of

Education, there are less than ten administrators in the single-school district. T4 discussed the

ease with which he navigated this system when he proposed and created the course in the

1990s. He recalls:

> Oh, my gosh, it was so easy. Like, Mike, I didn't even try because I didn't expect… At
> Delaware Valley I tried and I just thought, you know, it was kind of useless, like banging
> my head against the wall. But Joe had a very special relationship with our department
> chairman. He went to Terry and it was just like a short conversation, we got Terry to
> agree to let me write, you know, the curriculum, and to teach anthropology and
> sociology.

T4 describes a colleague's "special relationship" and a "conversation" with an

administrator leading to T4's writing the curriculum and starting the course. In this situation,

the formulation, planning, and implementation stages were relatively private. I teach in this

school now, and the "review" stage of policy implementation is relatively private, as well. My

department supervisor signs off on any changes to unit plans, lesson plans, and materials. As I

reflected in my autoethnography, the "public" policy of state aid has elevated this review policy

to a higher level of administration as the administration determines what programs to keep and

what programs to cut in the face of State Aid cuts. Still the parameters for review may be based

on enrollment numbers, teacher salary, dual-enrollment status, and other factors that do not

directly relate to the review of the content, pedagogy, or teaching of the class. Other

participants also pointed to enrollment numbers being a key indicator for the continuance of

the course offering. As T2 stated in her interview, "If enough students sign up for it then it

runs…right now the class runs two years on, one year off." Her administration's response to her

desire to have an anthropology course was, "If you get enough people to sign up for it" you can

teach it. T4 described the administration's approval of the class based on how many sections he

could fill, "They don't like singletons." This has also been my experience during budget cuts and teacher layoffs. The message has been, keep your class sections full.

T1 had a similar experience with public and private policy at another small school in New Jersey. In this situation, he navigated the first three stages, formulation, planning, and implementation of Chambers' four stages of policy formation in a very short period. As T1 recounted in his interview, he mentioned wanting to teach anthropology when he was interviewed for his teaching position and was told that he could write the class and implement it in the school. Whereas some new educational policy initiatives are the culmination of years of work by teams of people, T1 mentioned he wanted to teach the class and was told he could in a matter of minutes. The fourth stage of Chambers' policy stages, review, is ongoing.

T3's account also referred to the "private" policy nature of her course implementation. Although her course is run as an IB class in an International school, the creation of the course was local and private. In this situation the stages of policy formation were stalled in the formulation stage until she was able to rise to the role of policy maker – department head. She recalls being told, "And now you finally get your chance to teach anthropology, but you are going to have to make the anthropology course. You have to build the program on your own." The local, private nature of this policy structure enabled T3 to quickly move through the formulation and implementation stages. When she became the policy maker, she could implement the course.

Each of the preceding situations as described by interview participants show a local, rapid policy process through the formulation, planning, and implementation stages. Even when there is public policy such as state standards, the administration was not limited by this public

policy in creating an anthropology class, which may not be directly described in the standards. The local, private policy of the school may prove more important than the public policy of standards. Whereas Chambers points to implementation of a plan as a role fulfilled by many different actors, in the creation of these anthropology courses the formulator, planner, implementer was often one person (E. Chambers 1985).

The role of AP, IB, and dual enrollment is important to consider. Interview participants in this study mentioned that in their districts some schools are "IB Schools" and some are "AP Schools." This competition between the two major accredited, college-level elective programs adds a level of complexity to the policy question of making an institutional push for anthropology. Does dual-enrollment provide the same attraction for students and administrators while providing access to interesting courses such as anthropology. Anthropology's involvement with the IB program produces hundreds of high school students graduating with a real interest in cultural anthropology. How many more students would the presence of an AP course add? A more complete picture of the tangible, quantitative value of these programs could be uncovered with a more detailed analysis of the impact of AP, IB, and dual enrollment in other fields such as psychology, physics, and chemistry.

Stakeholders who have an interest in the growth of anthropology, both practicing and academic anthropologists outside of education, might take this opportunity to "turn the critical gaze on anthropology as a field" (Gonzalez 2010). Applied anthropology, which sets out to solve organizational problems, might be a useful tool in the process of navigating educational policy to grow anthropology at the precollegiate level (Anderson 1994, Baba 1994, Butler 2006, Goldschmidt 2001). Anthropologist of education Norma Gonzalez finds fault with

anthropology's ignorance of precollegiate education while focusing on a binary view of the field between practicing and academic anthropologists. Marietta Baba further discusses this rift between practicing and theoretical anthropology. She states, "Practice is often viewed by academics as a domain in which sponsors' time restrictions on research encourage "quick and dirty" methods that yield data of questionable validity" (Baba 1994, 182). A concerted effort from both academic and practicing anthropologists from within the anthropology community and using the tools of anthropology could affect real change if the goal of increasing precollegiate anthropology is pushed from within the field. An emerging question is whether there is an increased value to the field as a whole that is caused by an increased presence at the precollegiate level. The tools of anthropology can identify and measure this value of precollegiate exposure in other academic and professional fields with a greater precollegiate presence.

It would be valuable to probe the role of the precollegiate, high school teacher in adjacent fields with a much greater high school presence such as literary analysis, physics, computer programming, advanced math, and history to compare their academic preparation. To what extent do collegiate students and practitioners in those fields value the early education they received at the precollegiate level? Would they be in the field at all had it not been for a skilled precollegiate instructor? If anthropology has a dearth of precollegiate programs it may not be properly renewing its future practitioners. Anthropologists who study world centering and world renewal may be interested in how these phenomena function in the field of anthropology.

A push from within the academy for an increased presence of precollegiate

anthropology education may find a policy process that is more private than public "in the field." Participants in this study who created their own courses proposed anthropology courses as a passing remark in an interview or during lunch with a colleague and were able to take advantage of local, private policy. These private, internal policies in individual schools are easier to navigate and narrower than the broad state-level public policy sphere, which are not restrictive, according to the data in this study. Anthropology is a field that is best suited to navigate the private and public policy structure of schools. This is what modern anthropologists do, they identify cultural needs and norms from an angle many others ignore. Of all the fields present in precollegiate education, anthropology is best suited to figure out how to effectively reach precollegiate students.

The answer to accessing the local, private policy initiatives may lie in institutional approaches which already have a foothold in precollegiate education, the AP and IB programs. In addition to the standalone anthropology courses discovered through this study, a significant number of programs exist within the IB framework throughout America.

Does the existence of an IB program lead to the presence of more courses? Participants pointed to their beliefs that when students choose an elective, often the AP course or IB course takes precedence over personal interest. When discussing the challenges in recruiting students, one participant related, "There were a lot of students who could have gone to Advanced Placement." This topic of AP/IB as a magnet for anthropology programs was discussed at the October 2020 Raising Our Voices roundtable. David Homa, who was a member of the AETF, is a proponent of pushing for an AP Anthropology option. The experience of the AP Linguistics exploratory committee may point to the possibilities in creating an AP Anthropology program.

Many questions remain: Is there room for both AP Linguistics and Anthropology? Should an AP Anthropology course cover the four fields or only cultural anthropology? Are there 250 schools who would sign a letter of intent to show "Proof of Demand"? Another task would be to look at the measurable impact the existence of AP in other fields has had on college enrollment and enrollment in professional organizations. Could an AP Anthropology program grow membership in the AAA and provide jobs for academic anthropologists at the college level? Perhaps the most significant impact would be as a "feeder program" for college anthropology programs. Participants related that most students had very little knowledge of anthropology before enrolling in the high school course. More precollegiate offerings would plant the anthropological seed in more students before they register for college courses, moving anthropology from its role as a "discovery" major into a target major. Most importantly, more students taking anthropology in high school and subsequently in college would create more of the types of future teachers who would push for anthropology precollegiate courses. This whole process could create a positive feedback loop for the anthropological community. A clear next step would be to measure growth in fields such as psychology, which has a large high school presence including a robust AP program.

The anthropological field of public anthropology may be where the push for precollegiate anthropology can originate. Demerath argues that the anthropology of education can strengthen its impact in three ways using public anthropology (Demerath 2019). The first of these three ways includes "refusing to capitulate to dominant forms of knowledge and using our field's powerful lens to intervene in limited understandings of educational phenomena and persistent problems of policy and practice." Despite the calls for ethnic studies and socially

responsive education and the inclusion of anthropological concepts within other subjects'

standards, anthropology does not take up space as a "dominant form of knowledge" in the

precollegiate school. Demarath's second strategy to strengthen the impact of anthropology is

"Striving to be more useful by adopting the sensibilities of public anthropology; taking up local

problems as our own; translating analytical categories and research findings and writing for

broader audiences." One of the major figures in public anthropology, Robert Borofsky,

describes public anthropology as engaging "issues and audiences beyond today's self-imposed

disciplinary boundaries" (Borofsky 2000). Norma Gonzalez's identification of anthropology's

"self-imposed boundaries" coupled with the calls for public anthropology may point to a larger

opportunity for the field of anthropology to accept precollegiate education more readily as an

important line of anthropological vocation and study. Borofsky argues against the specialization

of the field in favor of a more holistic approach. "If the devil dwells in the details, anthropology

possesses a hell all its own – as details are piled upon details without clarifying how they fit

together." Demerath's third and final strategy is "Being as expansive in our collaborations and

networks as we are in our considerations of context" (Demerath 2019, 448). An expansive

precollegiate presence will help to address all three of Demerath's points.

Although this project has revealed that many precollegiate anthropology teachers have

advanced degrees and competitive salaries, precollegiate anthropologists themselves refer to

non-precollegiate anthropologists in the field or the academy as "professionals," creating a

linguistic border between precollegiate teachers and "legitimate" professionals in

anthropology. In addition to the self-identification by precollegiate anthropology teachers as

being non-producers of anthropological culture within the anthropological community,

precollegiate anthropology teachers are also outsiders in education, not finding a home in traditional educational fields like science or social studies or the professional organizations that represent those fields. The AAA has the tools in place to bridge this gap through its resources for K-12 educators. A closer look at how precollegiate teachers best take advantage of resources in similar professional organizations which work within professional and academic fields, like perhaps in physics or math, might give the AAA an angle to access and engage these teachers.

The experience of participants first being "pushed into" anthropology by being asked to take over an existing program and then being "pulled" further into anthropology through becoming involved in the anthropology community may be an important area to research further. It may be a worthwhile endeavor for the AAA to take a census of how anthropologists "got into" anthropology. When was their first exposure to the field? Mary Odell Butler's retracing of the steps she took into anthropology and as a professional in the field provide an interesting look at an anthropologist's relationship with the field. She describes finding anthropology by flipping through the graduate catalog while going back to school and finding anthropology first alphabetically. This graduate program led to getting a job teaching anthropology and providing "myself with the bachelor's degree in anthropology that I lacked…I learned the four fields, and the ethnography of the North American Indian, and physical anthropology and population genetics" (Butler 2006, 25-26). Working backwards from a graduate degree to self-teaching herself foundational anthropology as a professor led her into applied anthropology. She describes her relationship with anthropology as "anthropology is not something I do, it is something I am." How many working anthropologists would identify

discovering anthropology in this way? Likewise, anthropologist Jacqueline Copeland-Carson discovered anthropology through exposure to Zora Neale Hurston in an English course as an undergraduate (Copeland-Carson 2006). Again, anthropology serves as a "discovery" field for many. Interviews show that several participants in this study discovered anthropology as professionals being asked to teach it, yet each of those teachers currently exposes anthropology to up to hundreds of high school students each year. The letters and e-mails from students, first reported by Hanvey in 1965, are still a common occurence according to participants in this study and my own autoethnographic observations. AAA programs such as the Junior Anthropologist program may help to expose a small number of high school students to the field, but precollegiate programs can provide a systematic, sustainable exposure and world renewal. T5's identification of her path as "stumbling into this" to a career working with great apes and public environmental policy highlights the benefits for the field of anthropology in having a path in which more teachers with non-Anthropology backgrounds could "stumble into" the field of teaching K-12 anthropology and beyond, working in anthropology.

An added benefit of having anthropology programs in K-12 schools is the possibility of those school districts paying for teachers' continued higher education. Just as Butler and Copeland-Carson discovered anthropology in school, I have had the same experience. The school where I teach has a very accessible graduate school reimbursement program. An expansion of anthropology programs in precollegiate schools would lead more professionals in the education field to take courses and continue to be exposed to anthropology. This is a part of the world-renewing feedback loop which may be possible with an increased presence at the precollegiate level (Carrasco 2009).

To explore the role of tuition reimbursement in participants professional development, I probed this issue during interviews. Responses to the question of whether teachers' schools would reimburse or in some way reciprocate higher education were mixed. Two of the participants in the study began teaching with Ph.Ds. This higher education status would possibly preclude these teachers from the benefits for teachers in gaining more college credit including an increased salary tied to higher education status. One participant who teaches at a private school had no program of tuition reimbursement. The school where I teach is paying for my master's degree at the New Jersey in-state tuition rate, which has covered over 75% of my tuition in a graduate program. One participant pays $1200 USD per class and his school covers the rest. Due to the nature of that school, which is a school for students with disabilities, the state will pay for approved programs at one specific local college. This local college does not offer anthropology at the graduate level. One participant stated the school would pay for graduate courses, and although he had not started a program, he "thought about doing some anthro stuff because I've really fallen in love with it." He has since followed up with me by email to ask specifics about my graduate studies.

Although interview participants in this study identified feelings of belonging in a variety of networks there was little identification of belonging in AAA-affiliated precollegiate anthropology networks. Multiple participants identified that they were unaware of any AAA activities. T6 is a teacher of an IB-affiliated cultural anthropology course in the Portland, Oregon area. He identified a community of IB anthropology teachers in the Portland area as well as a network on a major social media.  Likewise, T3 found a community within the IB community. AH accessed a network of institutional and museum anthropology through her relationship with a

mentor who founded the high school program where she taught. T5 identified this network as being limited to her relationship with her colleague. T2 regularly attended anthropology-specific conferences and adapted the topics of workshops into precollegiate lessons. The challenges in recruiting participants for this study speaks negatively to the research question of whether a community exists (Bernard 2018). Although it is to be expected that not all referrals bear fruit, the lack of people willing to participate and speak about precollegiate anthropology suggests that a robust community does not exist.

All participants were involved in other professional networks to some degree. Teachers had attended conferences through organizations such as the Florida Council for Independent Schools (FCIS) to National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS), National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), Advanced Placement (AP), and International Baccalaureate (IB). Multiple participants expressed that they spend significant time at local, school-based professional development on topics such as social-emotional learning and curriculum development which takes their time and from finding anthropology-specific professional networks or other "non-required" professional networks and events. This obligation to complete school-mandated professional development may decrease access to personal professional networks.

Professional networks can provide the world-building and world-centering forces that are so important for the survival of a culture. The experience of teaching a "tested" course such as IB and AP may create the cyclical, world-centering routines that exist in so many cultures. The test date in the spring can serve as a type of ceremony, not unlike the New Fire Ceremony in Mesoamerica or Christmas in modern Christendom. Likewise, involvement in an organization such as the AAA recenters itself at the annual meeting. The opportunity for collaboration

between precollegiate anthropology teachers and professional anthropologists and universities

may lead to increased involvement of precollegiate teachers and the AAA. Additionally, the

introduction to the field for precollegiate students before entering college may provide a world

renewal (Carrasco 2009).

George and Louise Spindler and Ruth Landes envisioned training teachers in

anthropology, not to teach the field explicitly, but to "conduct cultural therapy on the teachers"

of all fields (Jewett and Schultz 2011). As more subject-specific educational organizations such

as the National Council of Social Studies (NCSS) react to cultural shifts by being more culturally

responsive, especially in the wake of the 2020 social upheaval highlighted by the Black Lives

Matter movement, there is an increased need to conduct "cultural therapy on the teachers,"

however research does not show that this shift will lead to explicit anthropology courses. Often

a stronger push for culturally sensitive standards is met with resistance as was the case with the

La Raza program in Tucson, Arizona, and the push for Ethnic Studies in California (Palos 2011,

Vasquez 2021). Additionally, these pushes are often carried out within the boundaries of

existing subjects such as Language Arts and Social Studies (J. Banks 2010). Yeager discusses

some of these challenges in the push for teachers to teach from their own values: "Values-

based teaching means that teachers have awareness of their own values and how these values

influence their teaching; it also means that teachers address controversial and ethical issues

appropriate to the social studies and promote critical thinking and decision making (Yeager

2000). It is clear that anthropology can play a role in the push for ethnic studies and culturally

responsive education. In my autoethnographic observations, I discussed with a colleague who

runs a group for students concerned about creating a more accepting climate at our school how

the anthropology class might help by using ethnographic tools such as creating surveys and

analyzing data. Anthropology may provide a tool as schools move to becoming more responsive

to social issues.

CHAPTER 7

RECOMMENDATIONS

The AAA has significant offerings in place for the existing community of precollegiate anthropology teachers. There is not much evidence to suggest that precollegiate anthropology teachers are using these resources or creating much of a community. If the AAA can define its interest in promoting community in precollegiate anthropology and in providing resources to this community as well as creating conditions for the growth of this community, the AAA has a real opportunity to create a positive feedback loop in the anthropological community. In order to provide energy into this feedback loop and continually and systematically renew interest in the world of anthropology the AAA should recognize what incentives precollegiate schools and students look for in choosing course offerings as well as how new anthropology courses are created. Once this network of precollegiate anthropology teachers grows, the critical mass of people will become more involved in the AAA professional community.  When considering how to define the interest in growing anthropology at the precollegiate level, the AAA should consider how an increased presence of explicit anthropology courses can lead to more anthropology students in undergraduate and graduate programs. More collegiate anthropology students can lead to more scholarship, more networking, more jobs for academics, and more critical mass towards future K-12 programs.

Due to the competitive nature of modern public schooling, a pathway for course creation and enrollment often exists through the AP and IB programs. The role of dual-enrollment programs is an emerging field which may be a worthwhile avenue to explore. An exploratory committee of stakeholders could look at the impact of AP on other fields, suggest

curriculum, and find if there are enough schools interested in offering AP Anthropology to satisfy the College Board. To create more dual enrollment programs, a guiding curriculum document produced by the AAA for prospective programs to use as a model when writing curriculum will be a useful tool to help facilitate the creation of dual enrollment programs.

It is likely that inside schools there are individuals who are interested and willing to create new K-12 anthropology programs but are "hiding" in other fields within K-12 teaching, especially social studies, and biological science. These individuals may have a background in anthropology, teach K-12 students, and have enough sway with their administration to create their own course. Even if these strict criteria are met, the lack of anthropology's presence in K-12 schools points to other roadblocks. There may be other potential K-12 anthropology educators who have earned undergraduate, graduate, or post-graduate degrees and are working in non-teaching anthropology or other adjacent fields and would find joy and vocation in teaching anthropology if programs existed, however the conditions to bring them into K-12 anthropology instruction do not exist.

If the field only relies on these "goldilocks conditions" of motivated teachers who can navigate policy, there will continue to be a lack of push-and-pull influences on K-12 anthropology courses and critical mass will not be met. My personal experience of my school reciprocating my willingness to teach an unfamiliar course by providing me an avenue into academic anthropology through higher education using our school's tuition reimbursement policy is just one example of how one teacher's experience can lead to larger change.

Another avenue the AAA should consider is a self-reflection on the field of anthropology specifically focused on how and when "professional" anthropologists discovered anthropology.

What has been the impact of precollegiate exposure to anthropology on current practicing and academic anthropologists? This data could be coupled with a study of similar fields which have professional and academic members as well as robust precollegiate presence.  What is the influence of precollegiate education in the careers of future physicists, mathematicians, chemists, and engineers?

The AAA should continue to provide outreach to precollegiate teachers through initiatives such as the free online textbooks *Perspectives* and *Explorations*, the K-12 Education Network Community, AnthroDay, and the K-12 Educator membership tier. However, the AAA should look more closely at how and why precollegiate anthropology teachers access this online community. The logistical issues which affected my own experience with using a textbook in a high school class point to a larger systemic problem with the textbook and educational resources industry. Participants in this study relied on their own adaptation of college-level and professional anthropology for precollegiate students. Multiple participants pointed to the use of accessible ethnographies but also the lack of an accessible anthology of ethnographies. The AAA could use a public anthropology approach to collect and publish an accessible collection of ethnographies similar to the *Annual Review* or *AnthroNotes*. Perhaps the work of student anthropologists in the Junior Anthropologist program could help to author this supplemental text.

In addition to physical resources, there are several opportunities to provide increased outreach such as a collaboration between academic and practicing anthropologists and precollegiate teachers and their students. The shift to remote education over the past year has provided increased access between people across space and time. A database of sorts of

professional anthropologists such as the one that exists, but sortable by who would be willing to collaborate with precollegiate teachers and students could be an excellent resource for precollegiate teachers to bridge the gap between precollegiate anthropology teachers, academics, and professionals. The All Member Community may serve this purpose already, but it was not used to link precollegiate students and educators with other anthropologists during the course of my study. The AAA should continue to look at how precollegiate teachers communicate. Participants in this study have shied away from social media due to their public-facing role as teachers. The slow uptake of the K-12 Educator Network Community through the AAA may point to a discrepancy between precollegiate teachers and listservs, which are a popular form of communication in higher education. The listerv-style message board used by AAA Communities may not be within precollegiate teachers' communication style. The IB Community uses membership-based, moderated social media communities to host an unofficial community, although not all teachers want to be involved in these types of social media for privacy reasons. This variety of communication methods seems to be a roadblock to the growth of the community.

If the goal of the American Anthropological Association is to have increased networking between precollegiate anthropology teachers themselves and also with the AAA there needs to be an increase in the presence of precollegiate anthropology. The root cause of the separation aside, precollegiate anthropology teachers sit outside the dominant culture of academic and professional anthropology. That said, if there were an increased number of precollegiate teachers, the AAA is equipped to welcome some of these teachers into membership, communication, and the community. As an added benefit, an increase in the number of

precollegiate programs would provide the conditions to sustain precollegiate anthropology and

professional/academic anthropology through the enrollment of more students at the

undergraduate and graduate levels.

CHAPTER 8

REFLECTION

When I was asked to take over a high school anthropology class four years ago, I did not

envision myself conducting an applied thesis project on the role of the AAA in precollegiate

anthropology. As I reflect on this project, I think it is important to consider how close this entire

project came to not happening. This experience frames the fragility of precollegiate

anthropology in modern American school systems. If the school at which I teach decided not to

continue the anthropology program upon the founder of the class's retirement or if they had

asked another teacher to teach the class, I never would have been involved in this work or in

anthropology as a field at all.

Conducting an applied thesis project in applied anthropology has opened my eyes to the

value in anthropological research. It has also made me realize how much is yet to be done with

the tools of anthropology. I am just one graduate student with a minimal set of unsharpened

tools and little experience using them, yet I do feel that this work has revealed some aspects of

the world of precollegiate anthropology which have gone unanalyzed. There were certainly

times where my novice skill set led my research and analysis to fall short. I feel like I could have

made better use of mapping data. Some of the deepest insights in this research came from one

of the two mapping activities completed by participants. As I reflect on recruitment, I know that

I fell short of my goal to recruit twenty participants, but I know that I made every effort to

recruit and met many dead ends.

One of the challenges of this project was in working out of my positionality. As a teacher

of high school anthropology, I come to this research with my own preconceptions about

precollegiate anthropology, my own network within precollegiate anthropology, and my own experiences in the field. My experiences include my role as a graduate student in anthropology, my role in the school in which I work, and my involvement with the AAA. These experiences have each altered my analysis of observations in the field, interview data, and my autoethnography. Although these experiences were a tool at times, it was a challenge to use my familiarity within the field as a tool while setting aside my familiarity to look at the problem as a whole, new problem.

I look forward to using this positionality to both continue to teach high school students about anthropology and grow the field in my own little world while also working within the world of anthropology to continue to grow the field from above. If the goal of the AAA is to expand the presence of precollegiate anthropology and to create a robust network for precollegiate anthropology teachers, I do believe a concerted effort by the anthropology community will be a success. I know that this effort is taking place, and I look forward to looking back at this research in ten or twenty years. With the complete tool set of anthropology and skilled, experience ethnographers, there are many areas of this question which may be looked at more deeply. I look forward to growing my tools and working with the anthropological community towards a shared goal of growing the presence of precollegiate anthropology.

APPENDIX

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

What is your age?

What is your gender?

Tell me about your path to becoming a teacher.

Follow-up questions about educational background if needed.

What is your highest level of education?

What is your approximate salary as a teacher?

Describe your higher education path.

Were there gaps in your education?

Does your school or employer help pay for higher education?

Have you attended in person or online courses?

Have you taken any courses non-matriculated or towards a certificate?

What educational experiences were most beneficial to you and why?

Tell me about your path to becoming a teacher of K-12 anthropology.

Do you have another role such as social studies or science teacher?

Is this your first teaching job?

In what type of school do you teach?

    Follow-up questions about school type.

        Is it public or private? Is it a public charter or magnet school?

How many schools are in the district? About how many students are in your school? Your district? An average class? An average anthropology class? How many people are in your department? Is the anthropology class in a specific department?

Describe your relationship with your administration. Rank it on a scale of 1-10 with 10 being the most positive.

Describe your anthropology program.

    Follow-up questions:

    How many anthropology teachers are in your school?

    What ages is your anthropology class available to?

    What fields of anthropology does your program include?

Is it affiliated with an organization such as International Baccalaureate or a college? Can students earn college credit by taking the course?

Do you feel supported as an anthropology teacher? Rank your feelings of support 1-10. Do you feel more or less supported in your anthropology role than your other role(s)? What would make you feel more supported? What has made you feel less supported?

Where do you find professional development? What is provided by your school? What do you find outside of your school?

Through what organizations do you find professional development?

Through what organizations do you find anthropology-specific professional development? How supported do you feel from each of these organizations on a scale of 1-10 with 10 being the most supported.

How do you make college-level anthropological research applicable to high school level?

Are you active on any listservs?

Are you active on Twitter?

Do you find professional development through Twitter? How?

Which network most helps you carry out your role as an anthropology teacher?

Do you attend conferences or seminars either in-person or online in your role as a teacher?

What conferences have you attended?

Would you like to attend more in-person or online conferences?

If you have attended an anthropology-centric event, on a scale of 1-10 with 10 being the most, how well did you feel that it addressed your role as a K-12 anthropology teacher?

Do you know anyone else who might have experience as a K-12 anthropology teacher and would be interest in talking with me?

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