Public Interest Anthropology:
A Boasian Service-Learning Initiative

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This article describes the theoretical rationale and practice related to two connected anthropology courses at the University of Pennsylvania and University City High School, a predominantly African-American school on Penn's border. The courses are part of Penn's ABCS (academically-based community service) program. Grounded in the Boasian legacy of cultural anthropology, the courses share much in common with the principle of service-learning to "link community service and academic study so that each strengthens the other." It is suggested that anthropology is uniquely relevant to the educative function of community service learning because of the role the concept of culture plays in the development of multi-culturally-sensitive citizens.

This article describes the relationship between two courses-a college course entitled Public Interest Anthropology (PIA) at the University of Pennsylvania and a high school course called the World Culture Initiative (WCI). The latter teaches the principles of introductory cultural anthropology at University City High School (UCHS), a predominantly African-American school on the boundary of the Penn campus in West Philadelphia. The aim of the high school initiative is to impart knowledge of world cultures to instill in both sets of students a sense of being world citizens. Students in the college course who select WCI as their class service/research project work as teaching assistants in the high school course and take students on trips to understand Philadelphia as a multicultural microcosm of the global community. The college course is taught by Sanday, professor of anthropology at Penn. The high school course is taught by Jannowitz, a long-time teacher and program administrator at UCHS.

Sanday developed the PIA course and proposed the associated course at UCHS as part of an ongoing effort to reinvent the Boasian legacy of civic engagement through cultural anthropology. Although neither course was developed with the paradigm of service-learning specifically in mind, there is a remarkable overlap of the pedagogical and service goals of both courses and the basic principles of service-learning to (1) "link community service and academic study so that each strengthens the other" (Ehrlich, 1996, p. xi); and to (2) "integrate community service with academic study in order to enhance a student's capacity to think critically, solve prob-

lems practically, and function as a lifelong moral, democratic citizen in a democratic society" (Benson & Harkavy, 2003, p. 1223).

Through examining the operation of WCI and its theoretical foundation in PIA, this paper explores the synergy of the Boasian legacy and the goals of service-learning. It is suggested that public interest anthropology is key to these goals because of its theoretical and practical understanding of multiculturalism and its commitment to problem solving in the interest of building a community-oriented moral order based on equal rights.

The Anthropological Context of Public Interest Anthropology and the World Culture Initiative

PIA grows out of a long legacy in anthropology of shaping public sensitivity to the role of culture in human affairs. From its inception as a formal discipline in the l9th and early 20th centuries, the production of anthropological knowledge was a dialectical process between research and experience with other cultures (Patterson, 2001, p. x). Lewis Henry Morgan, a Rochester lawyer, began his career as an anthropologist after representing the Seneca Indians in a mid-19th century land dispute. In his work with American Indians, Morgan went beyond advocacy to consider one of the major issues of his time—the unity versus diversity of human species. In doing so, he was guided by his knowledge of Iroquoian culture and society.

Franz Boas is primarily responsible for developing the intellectual foundation of the modern con-

cept of culture. Boas rejected the l9th-century evolutionary framework that viewed cultural differences in terms of an evolutionary progression in which tribal societies were relegated to a position low on the scale and Western societies constituted the standard against which other societies were measured. The modern anthropological concept of culture as "pluralistic, holistic, non-hierarchical, relativistic, behaviorally determinist" (Stocking, 1996, p. 4) is based on Boas' recognition of *unity in diversity—unity* in the human ability to adapt to environmental and historical contingencies, *diversity* as represented by the variety of cultural systems that evolved in the adaptive process.

Boas made his mark by inserting the role of culture into debates regarding "racial heredity." He disagreed with public discussions in the United States about "racial heredity" and genetically-determined mental traits by arguing for the determining power of tradition and custom. Although his students were responsible for elaborating the culture concept, in making the claim that culture not race or evolution is the foundation for human diversity, Boas changed the way Americans thought about race as a scientific category. Although he did not succeed in abolishing racial discrimination, Boas provided the framework which undermined its intellectual foundation (see Stocking, l968, pp. 231, 233; Handler, l998, p. 458).

By directly responding to issues that deny equal rights or policies that ignore social disorders, PIA is grounded in the Boasian legacy of civic engagement. Based in the academy, PIA bridges the distinction between applied and academic anthropology, which divided anthropology in the years after Boas' death. It does so by grounding theory, research, and knowledge production in the interest of solving social issues. This means knowledge generation and theory development are never far removed from civic engagement and social action.

PIA is part of a late 20th-century trend in anthropology to address the "disorders" of current times and think "not merely about the world but on behalf of the world" (Rappaport, 1995, p. 292). The trend is reflected in Sanday's (l976) early call for anthropology to serve the needs of science and society by holding human welfare and the objectivity of science in balance. More recently, it is seen in efforts to (1) confront the political as part of the research process in the interest of correcting the disorders of our times (Hyatt & Lyon-Callo, 2003; Rappaport, 1995); (2) develop theory by working directly with public(s) in their interest rather than applying theory to work for public(s) (Sanday, 2003); and, (3) communicate the public implications of research to multiple audiences in the inter-

est of change (Scheper-Hughes, 1992, p. 172).

Together with a number of colleagues (see Johnston, Paley, & Sanday, 1997), Sanday (2003) labels such trends Public Interest Anthropology. The label is based on codifying a conceptual framework for public interest ethnography focusing on *public(s)* and *interest(s)* associated with public pronouncements of citizen interests and strategies for action (see Sanday for a discussion of public interest ethnography).

PIA addresses *macrosocial* issues related to equality of educational opportunity, social justice, health and nutrition, human rights, and social well-being. The idea that theory develops from engaged research conducted to solve problems in the interest of social action is at the heart of PIA. As practiced in the classroom setting through initiatives such as WCI, the educative goals and pedagogic strategies of PIA are remarkably similar to the principles of service-learning.

PIA's Contribution to Community Service Learning

In line with the Boasian legacy, one of PIA's most important contributions is a better understanding of how microcultural processes limit or facilitate communication in multicultural contexts. In the classroom, the epistemology of PIA is taught through assigned readings and civic engagement through service-learning projects such as WCI.

Why, one might ask, turn to service-learning to facilitate civic engagement? The anthropological answer to this question is that civic engagement without multicultural awareness renders the former null and void. Students who volunteer for community service projects with no understanding of the pluralistic nature of modern society do more harm than good. Priding themselves on "doing good," culturally insensitive individuals reproduce the very boundaries they believe themselves to be breaching.

The harm comes from the tendency to reduce culture differences to essentialist, homogenizing assumptions about the impact on identity of race, class, and national origin. Uninformed volunteerism can exacerbate inequities produced by classism and racism (see Hyatt, 2001 for an analysis of the neoliberal implications of "volunteerism"). The harm is reminiscent of that inflicted by l9th-century evolutionists who treated cultural difference as evidence of evolutionary backwardness and blamed poverty on unwillingness to work hard to get ahead.

Multicultural sensitivity, so important to democratic participation, cannot be taught from books alone. No matter how much undergraduates might parrot an intellectual understanding of multicultur-

alism and the meaning of democracy from lectures and text books, personal experience with cultural difference and directly confronting one's own prejudice (and cultural ignorance) makes a more lasting impression.

As ethnographers know from the theory and practice of *doing ethnography*, knowledge of the other always works dialectically in relationship to the self. The more we know of the other, the more we understand of the self. The participant observation method of ethnography is a powerful tool because it is a form of understanding the self through the detour of the study of the other (Ricoeur, in Rabinow, 1977, p. 5). This is another way of saying that abstractions out of context do not make a lasting impression.

PIA's focus on merging theory and practice requires hands-on experience in a nonacademic setting. Students learn best through combining service with learning and reflecting on their personal reactions in the process. Through a Freirean dialogue with "the other," service-learning helps to collapse the distinction between self and other so that both parties to the interaction come to see themselves as part of a common community of interests. As anthropologists Marcus and Fischer (l986, p. 1) put it in an often quoted line: "In using portraits of other cultural patterns to reflect self-critically on our own ways, anthropology disrupts common sense and makes us reexamine our taken-for-granted assumptions" (p. 1). Although they wrote this with the small-scale societies traditionally studied by anthropologists in mind, this thought also applies to service-learning in the inner city.

These ideas are remarkably similar to those found in the service-learning literature, especially the literature that emphasizes democratic participation, learning abstract ideas through practice, and engaging in problem solving through action research. As defined by Harkavy, Puckett, and Romer (2000), action research is "a problem-solving strategy that encourages academic researchers and community members to work together to: (a) identify and analyze community problems, (b) find solutions to those problems through the best methods of research, and (c) test those solutions in the community" (p. 113).

This approach takes from Dewey what some anthropologists take from Boas. While anthropologists focus on the importance of ethnography and participant/observation, scholars inspired by Dewey stress the importance "of creating democratic cooperative communities, in which the ills of the community are addressed through the joint action and decision making of all its members" (Harkavy, Puckett, & Romer, 2000, p. 114; see also

Dewey, l927). When applied in the context of service-learning, the overlap between the principles of action research drawn from Dewey (and Francis Bacon, as discussed by Harkavy & Benson, 1998) and those of PIA drawing on Boas are striking. The following demonstrates how PIA grounds these principles in practice through WCI.

Translating Principles into Practice: The Role of Ethnography, Reflexivity, and Finding Common Ground in the World Culture Initiative

The WCI provides students with the opportunity to ground the abstractions mentioned so far in personal experience recorded through ethnography. From the time the college students first enter the high school, they are asked to keep an ethnographic journal of observations and personal reactions. The ethnographic enterprise conceptualizes the various parties participating in the initiative as interacting publics (high school and college students, high school and college teachers) who bring different interests, goals, and ideas about the society in which they live to the service-learning relationship.

The college students record the "social imaginaries" expressed by the high school students in class discussions. This concept refers broadly to the way groups imagine their collective social life (Gaonkar, 2002, p. 10; see also Taylor, 2002, pp. 91-2.). The goal is to develop a collective imaginary which treats the classroom as a public sphere of rational critical debate guided by the principles of cultural anthropology to respect and understand difference. The idea is to develop a common imaginary that is animated by an image of a moral order based on the mutual benefit of equal participants and building bridges across differences. Students are encouraged to think of themselves in the classroom setting as world citizens in a global community rather than as citizens divided by class, color or ethnicity. The ethnographic enterprise records progress toward these goals by tracking the collective imaginary expressed in the many hours devoted to discussing the political and social issues raised in *Newsweek* magazine given each week to the students to read.

The classroom is treated as a "public sphere," following Habermas' definition of the public sphere in terms of "rational critical debate" (Calhoun, 1992, p. 1.) In the college classroom, Sanday teaches college students to debate their issues in the interest of either finding common ground or learning to respect contrary views. The same procedure is adapted in the high school class

the one day each week when the students discuss the issues they choose from reading *Newsweek*.

The goal of "finding common ground" by engaging in debate facilitates anthropology's presumption that engagement across culture differences helps to develop mutual understanding. In the high school classroom, this was a crucial exercise because of the differences that separated the two sets of students. For example, at first the high school students expressed fears that the college students would act "superior" and treat them as "lab rats." The college students, on the other hand, came with preset ideas about life in the "inner city," which they conceptualized in terms of drugs, poverty, and crime.

Gradually, during the course of the student interaction, the gap between self/other and familiar/unfamiliar broke down as the students came to know one another through sharing common experiences in class discussion and working with one another on writing projects. As differences collapsed and understanding and friendships developed, students began to find common ground in what united, as opposed to divided, them.

The Knowledge Production Component of PIA and Service-Learning

Knowledge production refers both to learning from practical experience and to gaining new knowledge through research. In the context of PIA and WCI, the goal is to learn something about the power of culture—how it works to instill ways of thinking, feeling, and acting so that it can be turned into a tool for shaping a consciousness of one's self and others as world citizens who can find common ground despite different backgrounds and experiences.

As already pointed out, learning about the power of culture is both a reflexive and research process accomplished through ethnography. The central research question posed for the college students concerns their understanding of the impact of the high school course on themselves and the high school students. More specifically, the questions were phrased as follows: What stereotypes are expressed in classroom discussions? Do you see the high school students as individuals or in terms of their backgrounds? Is your reaction to the students colored by common stereotypes? How does your vision change over time? Is there any evidence from the classroom discussions that students have a parochial consciousness, and if so, is there any evidence of moving to a more global consciousness? This question applies to the college as much as it does to the high school students. Another question is: What facilitates or disrupts the goal of expanding consciousness in the classroom setting?

In the following these questions are addressed by reference to the pilot year of the program (2002-2003), with some commentary on the second year. Because it is too early to draw definitive conclusions, this information is presented as a preliminary assessment. The data reported in the following is drawn from the ethnographic write-ups submitted by the student teachers and participant observations of Jannowitz and Sanday.

The World Culture Initiative at University City High School

UCHS: Background

UCHS is located a few blocks from Penn. It is a large high school of some 2,100 students. The student body is mostly African Americans (97.2%) and students from families who are recent immigrants from Africa, Asia, Southeast Asia, India, or the Caribbean. Test scores at UCHS place it in the bottom third of the Philadelphia schools. Compared to other district schools it has a higher percentage of low-income students (82.0% compared to 76.4% for the district as a whole.)

Upon the celebration of its 25th anniversary since opening in l971, UCHS claimed to be "unique in the United States in being an urban, inner city high school located on two major university campuses-Drexel University and the University of Pennsylvania." On its silver anniversary Web page, the school acknowledges that it has benefited "from using the resources of our two university partners to support a school whose internal resources have been severely reduced during a series of drastic district budget crises" (www.u-city.com/25years.html).

UCHS is divided into a number of small learning communities called academies. The academies are divided along academic or occupational interests. The Science, Engineering, and Math academy includes most of the college-bound students. However, college-bound students are also enrolled in some of the other academies: Health; Law and Public Policy; Information and Technology; Excel (for the performing arts); EcoTech (for ecology and technology); and CEO (for careers, education, and occupations.)

WCI Goals

The World Culture Initiative is part of the Science, Engineering, and Math curriculum, which means that most of the students in the course are college-bound. The course is two semesters long for five days a week for one period of 45 minutes.

The goals of the course are announced in bold letters on the class-designed webpage

(www.sas.upenn.edu/~psanday/UCHS/:

Reaching Out To The World Through Cultural Anthropology:Going From The Local To The Global

On the class Web page, the goals of WCI are stated as follows:

> The World Culture Initiative seeks to transform student consciousness from a parochial identity to that of world citizen by means of an innovative anthropology course which introduces students to the multicultural nature of their city, their country, and the world. The course is constructed on the assumption that anthropology provides an intellectual understanding of the many multicultural stimuli to which young people are exposed in today's world. The basic hope is that knowledge of the world introduces a cosmopolitan outlook which encourages students to get the education they need to participate fully in the occupational force as world citizens.

Turning the Classroom into a Multicultural Public Sphere

On the grounds that service to society can never be one-sided, because one-sided service reduces rather than enhances agency, the classroom environment was structured to encourage give and take between the two sets of students and between students and teachers. As the high school students learned the principles of cultural anthropology from the college teaching assistants, they also learned about the nature of middle-class life by getting to know the college students outside the classroom. The college students, on the other hand, learned to appreciate the heterogeneity and normalcy of life in the so-called "inner city."

The bridge to cross-cultural understanding, so important to meaningful civic engagement, was accomplished by treating the high school classroom as a multicultural environment consisting of citizens of the world, not just the United States. In addition to the weekly Newsweek discussions, both sets of students were asked to write ethnic autobiographies and share the results in the classroom.

The college students became acquainted with the concept of the ethnic autobiography by reading Fischer's (1986) paper on this topic. Fischer uses the format of ethnic autobiography and autobiographical fiction to explore "pluralist, post-industrial, late twentieth-century" (p. 195) forms of ethnic identity. According to Fischer, identity rooted in ethnicity "is not something that is simply passed on from generation to generation, taught and learned; it is something dynamic, often unsuccess-

fully repressed or avoided" (p. 195). Fischer's understanding of ethnicity is not the kind that is usually taught in anthropology/sociology courses, which he quite rightly says can be "chauvinist, sterile, and superficial" (p. 195).

According to Fischer (1986), "Ethnicity is a deeply rooted emotional component of identity, [which] is often transmitted less through cognitive language or learning (to which sociology has almost entirely restricted itself) than through processes analogous to the dreaming and transference of psychoanalytic encounters" (pp. 195-196). Ethnicity for Fischer is thus not defined in terms of unidimensional racial, class, or nationalist components, but in terms of "a pluralist, multidimensional, or multifaceted concept of self." As he says, "one can be many different things, and this personal sense can be a crucible for a wider social ethos of pluralism" (p. 196).

WCI utilizes the technique of sharing ethnic autobiographies to facilitate pluralist exploration and discovery. This was the icebreaker helping students to transform strangeness in the classroom to a tolerant, pluralist, and multiculturally sensitive environment. By sharing the details of their lives, the two sets of students personalized the common stereotypes of inner-city and middle-class life, in a way that no book could ever accomplish. The latter (unexpected) consequence of the World Culture Initiative demonstrates how social interaction in the service-learning environment can become both a source of knowledge and a form of service.

The UCHS Cultural Anthropology Curriculum

The curriculum for the high school class was developed by Jannowitz and Tracy-Stickney in conjunction with Sanday and students from her PIA course in spring 2002. As a key administrator at UCHS, Tracy-Stickney played an important role in getting the initiative off the ground and then introducing the class into the UCHS curriculum. Meeting throughout the spring semester, this group decided that the primary goal of the class should be gate-opening (as opposed to gate-keeping) for both sets of students. The gate in question refers to facilitating intellectual growth, responsibility, and engagement in an increasingly global community by imparting a set of cognitive skills and practical knowledge of the world. It was decided that cultural anthropology was the best vehicle for achieving this goal.

The course was conceived as a one-year basic cultural anthropology course, which would include introducing students to Philadelphia as a multicultural environment. Conrad Phillip Kottak's (2002) college text, *Cultural Anthropology*, was chosen for its comprehensiveness, emphasis on maps, and focus on key social issues and controversies.

Together with readings from the textbook, the curriculum included work with world maps, including maps of cultural and political areas.

Throughout the year, the college students worked with the high school students on their writing assignments. In addition to the *Newsweek* assignments, in which the students wrote about one article in the light of what they were learning in cultural anthropology, there were two major writing assignments.

The first writing assignment was the ethnic autobiography. The college students were asked to employ one of the writing styles outlined by Fischer (l986) in his description of published ethnic autobiographies to frame their own autobiography. They then shared their essays with high school counterparts. They also worked with the high school students as they developed their autobiographies.

During the second semester, the major writing assignment involved researching and visiting international sites in Philadelphia; for example, international food stores and markets, ethnic restaurants, buildings designed in foreign architectural styles, music stores with world music sections, museums, and organizations in the city specifically targeting foreign students or citizens.

As teaching assistants, the college students either taught certain chapters of the book or worked singly or in small groups with the students. This role helped the college students to develop an understanding of the daily issues facilitating or blocking learning. The college students' cumulative observations, recorded in their ethnographic fieldnotes and summarized in their final papers for Sanday, provided a compelling summary of the classroom process. The self-reports written by the high school students at the end of the year reflecting on the question "Who Am I?" provided a source for examining the impact of the class on the world view of the high school students (excerpts of these statements were posted on the class Web page (www.sas.upenn.edu/~psanday/UCHS).

Composition of the High School Class: 2002-2003

The students in the first year of the high school class were in 10th and 12th grades. About one-fifth of the class of 20 were immigrants from other countries: Africa, Bangladesh, and Central America. The remaining students were African Americans whose families had either migrated to Philadelphia or were longtime residents of the city. Several students identified themselves as part Native American.

The class drew some of the best and most popular students in the school. Most of the seniors in the class (8 of 20) were college bound. Two were elected President and Vice President of the student body. Many of the students were among those labeled "mentally gifted" by the school, due to their

high test scores. The students had no trouble learning the maps, and most of them were able to identify the location of world trouble spots by the end of the school year. Most of the students came away from the class with an introductory knowledge to the basic principles of cultural anthropology.

Becoming a World Citizen: Assessment of the First Year

The Ethnic Autobiographies: Beginning with the Local

At the beginning of the first semester in fall 2002, the high school students were asked to answer the question: What does it mean to be a World Citizen? In September 2002, almost none of the students in the class thought of themselves in these terms. The identity of most was not that of citizen, but of student, friend, family member, religious, "cool," "hip," "popular." There was little evidence of a cosmopolitan world view, with the exception of some of the immigrant students who identified with both the U.S. and their country of origin.

The first step in taking the high school students from the local to the global consisted of asking them to write about their family history as a method for broaching the subject of ethnic autobiographies. Because they had no idea of what was required, they were divided into five small groups to work with the college teaching assistants who were writing ethnic autobiographies for Sanday's calss. Shanel led one of these groups, and in her final paper for Sanday's class, entitled "To be Black in America," she provided a portrait of how the high school students responded to the assignment. She commented at length on the degree to which race defined student identity.

Shanel noted that the students in her group expressed a delimited, "localized" identity focused primarily on race, family, and neighborhood. Being Black herself, she understood why.

> They are all from Black neighborhoods in Philadelphia; all belong to Black families, and attend a predominantly Black school. So much in their daily interactions is concerned with ethnicity, it is hard for them to separate any of their experiences from their Black identity, as it easily flows from school to friends, and then home. Because ethnicity forms a large part of their identity, the ideas that they have about their race affect the way they act and interact with one another and the school society. Their knowledge of and involvement within Black culture is a tool for and against academic success.

According to Shanel, family life was the center of the students' world outside of school. "The fam-

ily is where these Black students learn what it means to be black," she wrote. She quoted Rachel, who lives with her mother, father, sister, and little brother: "There are many achievements in my family's background. My great grandmother was the first Black woman to get her Avon license. I also know that she was a slave. My grandparents walked in the Walk on Washington." Rachel also commented about her family's expectations for her: "my parents push me to do the best that I can because no one pushed them to."

Another student in Shanel's group, John, described his family in completely different terms. He said,

> My family to me is funny. A lot of them live up to Black stereotypes. My mom's family is drug users, and my dad's side is drug dealers. In my family being Black is knowing a lot of people, having heart, being ready for anything, and just being wild. They are not as bad as I describe them, but they're bad alright.

Shanel wrote that while it was difficult to deal with John on an academic level, even though he was intelligent and his work—when he did it—was "excellent," it was much easier working with Rachel.

About the family contribution to student identity, Shanel concluded that " a positive Black household leads to a student who embraces a positive attitude about Black identity and self, which increases the chances that the student will apply herself to school." "The reverse is also true," she said. "In negative environments, students show more reluctance to achieve."

Another important source of identity was grounded in neighborhood and peer relationships. Almost all students in Shanel's group reported positive and negative aspects of their neighborhood. For example, one student wrote about the drug houses in the neighborhood; at the same time she described the fun of the block parties on the Fourth of July and Labor Day, where "everybody comes outside with their grills so they can cook out and invite their families and friends and we play games."

As with the role of family in student identity, Shanel concluded that students with a positive Black identity are able to recognize the negative aspects of their community, while remaining hopeful. Shanel found that the most important influence outside the family and neighborhood were friends. The influence of friends was described in uniformly positive terms by all students. Religion was also crucial because it was the social context in which the family life thrived and friendships were found. Shanel concluded that "the church is an extension of family support."

Shanel ended her ethnographic observations noting that the students in her group were in "a constant struggle to understand and maintain their identities" because the way they saw themselves, their families, and culture affected their goals and school performance. Although she subscribed to the course goal—to build the identity of world citizen—Shanel emphasized the importance of encouraging "the positive aspects of the identity that the students bring to the class." She suggested that one way to accomplish this was "to correct the misinformation students have about themselves and their culture, as these stereotypes and lies are contributing to whatever negative behavior we may see in the classroom."

Moving to the Global

The major writing project for the second semester was to write about multicultural sites in Philadelphia based on class and individual tours. The project was labeled "A Multicultural Tour of Philadelphia." Its goal was to increase student awareness of the multicultural roots that exist in Philadelphia, and inspire them to think of the city as a microcosm of the global community. The tours included a trip to a local Indian restaurant; a trip to the multicultural center at the University of Pennsylvania; a visit to the Arthur Ross Gallery, a trip to the Reading Terminal, an international market in Center City; and a tour of China Town, which included looking at shops and eating lunch at the Imperial Inn.

Student reactions on various trips illustrated a fear of the unfamiliar and foreign. For example, Cheryl, who went along on many of the trips, described the trepidation some of the students expressed about eating foreign food at the Indian restaurant. Cheryl observed that some of the American students did not eat much, saying they had already eaten. Jannowitz agreed, saying that that the students reacted to the restaurant as a "strange environment." The foreign students, on the other hand, were very comfortable with the food and went back for seconds.

The sense of being foreigners in a strange land lessened over the year as students visited other sites. According to Cheryl, two visits marked a turning point. The first was to the Arch, a multicultural center designed for Penn students. The high school class was welcomed at the Arch by representatives from three cultural groups: the Black Student Cultural Center, Center for Hispanic Excellence, and Pan-Asian American Community House. During the question and answer period, the students were not shy about asking questions or acting out for their fellow students as they often did

in class. It was clear that they appreciated what they learned about how Penn reaches out both to its neighborhood communities and students of different backgrounds.

The most significant visit, from Cheryl's point of view, was the trip to a photographic exhibition at Penn's Arthur Ross Gallery. The exhibition was of Steve McCurry's photographs of Southeast Asia. According to Cheryl:

> At first, it appeared that the student dynamics on this trip would be similar to other trips, but it soon became clear that there were some differences in student behavior. ...On entering the gallery, the students spread out to look at the photographs. Sonya took notes on the photographs. Louis extracted himself from Khalil, who sat at the rear of the gallery immobile with his headphones on, and started looking at the pictures. At first he didn't talk to me as I joined him to see what he was thinking. Finally, he stopped in front of a photograph of a temple that looked as if it were built into the side of a very large tree [a photograph taken at Angkor Wat.] "I like this picture," he said softly. "Yes, it is nice," I answered. Later, back in the classroom, Doc's assessment of the trip reflected my own conclusion. "Today seemed to be a turning point for the kids," he said. "I've never seen them so engaged."

The cultural sites that students visited on their own reflected the backgrounds that formed their identities. One of the Ethiopian students visited La Abyssinia, an Ethiopian restaurant where he often eats. An African American student reported on Mount Zion Baptist Church, her place of worship. This student wrote about the origins of gospel music in the spirituals of slavery times.

Shanel felt that student accounts of places connected with their family heritage were critical to their journey on the road to world citizenship. Like the ethnic autobiographies, these places helped students to think about how they came to be the way they are. Through the visits, Shanel wrote, "students found pride in promoting their own culture and this pride became a 'launch pad' encouraging them to explore their family background." She concluded that this part of the course was successful in bringing about a shift from the local identities she observed in the early ethnic autobiographies to a more engaged, global identity.

Assessment: Becoming More Tolerant of Difference and Resistance to Learning

Based on the first two years of the high school class, the major issue proved to be resistance to the course's academic expectations. Interestingly, dur-

ing both years teaching assistants felt that the world citizenship goal was accomplished at least to some degree. In both years, the high school students exhibited more tolerance of cultural differences by the end of the year. They were more knowledgeable about world issues and more tolerant of one another than at the start of the course. They understood the concept of culture and exhibited a more relativistic stance in adopting an attitude of "live and let live." This attitude was amply displayed during Monday discussions of the *Newsweek* articles. During this time, the two sets of students talked at length. Out of these discussions and because of the trips they took together, a sense of community developed in the classroom. The discussions were wide ranging, with students heatedly expressing opinions about the current news issues, such as gay marriage, a subject on which they expressed more tolerance as time went on. A great deal of time was spent on the issues of race and social class as blocks to progress, as opposed to the concept of getting ahead through hard work.

The rapport between the high school and college students did not happen overnight. Cheryl's comment about the change in the dynamics of the class and student behavior due to the outside trips was noted by others as well. In both years, barriers to communication broke down as the students on both sides began to share feelings and opinions. These were moments when intercultural communication flowed and from which friendships began to flower.

The area where significant problems arose, and which erected stumbling blocks to learning, came from the high school student resistance to the course's academic requirements. During the first year, all of the teaching assistants commented on the resistance displayed in the classroom. The sometimes obstreperous classroom climate instilled a sense of hopelessness in some of the college students, leading them to question the impact of the class.

By and large, the White students interpreted all acts of resistance in negative terms. With the exception of one of them, who had attended an integrated, working-class school, they tended to blame the teacher. It did not occur to them to look at the behavior and try to understand its roots. Rather, they either accepted the student complaints as being true—the course was boring, the students were not learning—or they jumped to the conclusion that the high school students were not taking advantage of the opportunity offered them. The tendency to place blame, rather than remaining patient while the various interests playing out in the classroom were clarified and addressed, interfered with the development of a common mind.

The African-American college students, Shanel especially, interpreted the resistance in quite different terms. She saw it as a healthy form of adaptation to racism in American society. She suggested that resistance gave students a sense of agency and control in their lives. As she put it:

> Throughout my work within the breakdown group, and observing the class as a whole, I often saw resistance. The students objected to assignments, refused to do work, or tried to bargain with Dr. Janowitz regarding the extent and depth of the work they had to. This kind of behavior was very familiar to me from my own background. I have seen it in the way some of my family members approach school or work. I think the resistance displayed in our class was not a reaction to the class work, but more indicative of an adaptation to life in general. In theory, it wouldn't matter what subject we were teaching them, they would react with defiance. The question then becomes, what factors cause these students to resist? Or, better yet, we should ask how these factors are different for the students that achieve.

Shanel labeled the resistance "*attitude*," which she defined as defiance of authority. She noted that the defiance can be transformed into positive action, and suggested that whether such a transformation took place depended in large part "on the interaction of the experiences within family, school, and community life with the expectations of learning."

Janel noted some of the same trends, as did Cheryl. Janel observed that despite their "belly aching," the students were not only learning anthropology, they were learning it through hashing it out with one another. Janel described class discussions in which students argued over difficult anthropological concepts. She took this kind of participation and argumentation as a sign that the students were doing their reading, retaining the information, and engaging with the materials. She was struck by how often the students claimed that they wanted more from the class. She noted that the charge that the class was "boring" was frequently accompanied by requests for more information, for example, on specific societies. According to Janel, this was evidence that the students wanted to be more engaged in the class and in the world around them.

Impact of WCI on the College Students

It is fair to say that all of the college students were changed by the experience. Their eyes were opened to the realities and limitations of an underfunded inner-city school, at the same time they came to respect the students with whom they worked. If life at UCHS often appeared posed on the edge of chaos, the college students also became acquainted with the relative normalcy of the student backgrounds and the importance of family and community in their daily lives.

Several of the college students became deeply engaged in the project, coming back a second, and in one case, a third semester. After finishing her first semester, Janel volunteered to teach the course the following year and write her senior thesis on the experience. Janel's enthusiasm was characteristic of the more dedicated students. For her the course was the highpoint of her years at Penn. The same was true of Stefanie, who stumbled onto the course by searching the Web. Both students were generally disillusioned with college and wanted to become more involved with social action, but did not know how to do so.

As Janel wrote in an email message to Sanday:

> [When I came to your class] I had an issue with the lack of opportunity for grassroots social action research while I was a student at Penn. I felt there was a big disconnect between academics purporting to be champions of causes by publishing a book. I wanted to have a deeper impact on the local community than just graduate as another over privileged Penn student. I wanted to see tangible (if small) change.

Janel was particularly disappointed because she felt that she was actively discouraged by several professors from seeking a context for social action. The World Culture Initiative at UCHS gave her what she was looking for—an academic context in which to theorize as well as act. As she put it:

> What UCHS did for me was give me the agency I felt I had coming into Penn as a freshman. Now, I can get up everyday and know that my time here at Penn is productive. This project is helping me to understand my position in the struggle for understanding and social justice.

After serving as Jannowitz's main teaching assistant in the academic year 2003-2004, Janel elected to become a teacher in the New York Public School System. Stefanie applied to graduate anthropology and education programs and elected to get a Master's degree after spending two semesters attending the UCHS class daily.

Initiatives such as WCI respond to the thirst many students have for merging their classroom experience with social action. Todd, an anthropology graduate student in the initiative, commented in his final paper on anthropology's "disengagement" from social action. He expressed concern that anthropology had lost sight of the role of the intellectual in social change. He pointed out that for

centuries scholars from across the intellectual map have argued about the responsibility of intellectuals to help forge a better, more just, social organism.

According to Todd, the disconnect between applied and basic research in anthropology during the latter half of the 20th century reflected anthropology's contribution to academic disengagement. Todd was hopeful that PIA signaled a return to anthropology's democratic, engaged roots reflected in the early work of Boas, Benedict, and Mead.

Conclusion

Despite the evidence of resistance in the high school classroom during the pilot year, Janowitz and Sanday concluded that the year was not all negative. Both watched Khalil, the source for the most visible acting out, change significantly during the course of the year.

Commenting on trends within the class, Janowitz was struck by the degree to which the African-American and foreign students began to interact with one another in the context of the class. Khalil, for example, became very good friends with two of the foreign students. These students were not only listened to, their views were sought after.

The teenage-centric perspective that dominated the classroom culture at the beginning of the year evolved into a more cosmopolitan, global point-of-view by the end of the year. Increasingly, the foreign students felt free to talk about their family rituals and ceremonies. Many students expressed the desire to return to some of the places the class had visited on their own. Janowitz noted that long after the exercise with the maps had been completed, students continued to use the maps to point out the location of hotspots around the world.

The resistance reflects a common problem at UCHS. For many reasons, not entirely under the control of its administration, the school culture conveys a sense that it is acceptable to coast on one's intelligence and forget hard work. This can be devastating to the academic possibilities for the college bound students who are not prepared for the study regimen of college. How to reverse this tendency in the WCI classroom is an issue Jannowitz plans to work on with the teaching assistants in the upcoming year.

The impact of WCI on the college students suggests they gained multicultural sensitivity, but that it did not come easily. Self-reflection can be troubling in that it undermines defenses erected to shore up insecurity. At the least, the college students became more relativistic and less judgmental of the causes of under achievement. They were able to put aside race and class biases and see the students as human beings coming from a variety of backgrounds.

In the spring 2004, the college students focused their final papers largely on its impact on themselves. In doing so, they unexpectedly picked up on a phrase Sanday used in passing to indicate that people get locked not just into urban/suburban cultural ghettoes, but in "ghettoes of the mind" as well. Demonstrating the value that ethnography holds for reflexive learning, the students wrote about their own "ghettos of the mind." Their candor demonstrated that the initiative was succeeding in its goal of opening gates and expanding consciousness. After several months at UCHS they agreed with Sanday's idea that civic engagement without multicultural awareness renders the former null and void.

To conclude, the synergy between PIA and WCI during the three years of its operation has strengthened and expanded both. What worked in one class to help students reach a common mind was tried in the other. The successful bridging of differences through sharing ethnic autobiographies in the high school classroom resulted in relying more on ethnic autobiographies in the college class to ease racial and ethnic tensions. The notion of turning the classroom into a public sphere of discussion and debate worked well in both classes.

With respect to the high school class, the students asked for more ethnographic descriptions of the kinds of societies studied by anthropologists. Consequently, ethnographic case studies will be added to the assigned reading to reflect the range of cultural diversity studied by anthropologists. Training in the ethnographic method will also be introduced to encourage students to study their neighborhoods and perhaps even their school. Because students felt that Newsweek was too oriented to White middle-class issues, a more international weekly news publication will be used.

Todd's call for the reengagement of academic anthropology is an issue on the minds of many anthropologists. Sanday's experience with the success of service-learning to impart multicultural sensitivity makes anthropology vital to the community service learning movement. For anthropology departments to join the movement in larger numbers would be a step toward reengaging. In all likelihood, many departments have their own form of service-learning through teaching urban anthropology and urban problems. Codifying an ongoing relationship between anthropology and service-learning, so that each strengthens the other, would expand the influence of both in educating democratically-informed citizens of the world.

Notes

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