

ANTHROPOLOGY'S FITNESS:
COMPETITIVE CHALLENGES AND POTENTIAL PATHS FORWARD

By

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A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

2017

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To those who helped push me

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to sincerely thank Dr. Chris McCarty for leading my committee and Dr. Russ Bernard for partnering with him. Without their coaching, pushing, and cheerleading, this day would never have come. Sometimes they believed in me more than I believed in myself and for that my gratitude is significant.

I would also like to thank Dr. Jeff Johnson and Dr. Rich Lutz for serving on my committee. These scholars offered great insight, perspective, and collaboration as well.

A large part of this work is connected with my career experience in business, advertising, media, and marketing. Dr. Russ Bernard equipped me with the technical skills, anthropological knowledge, and business savvy to help me be successful in that space. He was a consistent career advocate and I'm very thankful for that.

A special appreciation goes to my departed friend and anthropologist Dr. Brigitte Jordan. Her wisdom, strength, and spirit continue to be an inspiration to this date. I miss you.

I also extend gratitude to the University of Florida Anthropology department for supporting me during my academic pursuits in terms of curriculum exposure, scholarly support, and funding.

I am also thankful to Dr. Mark House and Dr. Anna Vick who provided either direct data help or acted as great soundboards during this process. My work is smarter for their help and perspective.

And a thank you to Dr. Rebecca Gearhart and Dr. Chuck Springwood of Illinois Wesleyan University who helped me discover and love anthropology.

And last but not least, an enormous amount of gratitude goes out to my family and friends who not only encouraged me but helped direct my energy and efforts to

achieve this dream. Thank you, Brian Dailey, Lincoln Dailey, Heather Maxwell, Don Maxwell, Linda Bailey, Helen Katz, Amy Ferranti, Matt Soble, Molly Murray, Carole Bernard, Jennifer Coopmans, Alyson Stevens, Jason Leigh, Cristy Levengood, and Judy Maxwell.

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Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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December 2017

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Major: Anthropology

This research is an effort to answer the following question: “How can anthropology be more competitive – in terms of products and marketable skills – as a discipline?” There are currently many obstacles that reduce anthropology’s competitiveness and that will continue to do so in the future. Thus, the goal of this research is to analyze those obstacles and to suggest ways in which anthropologists coming out of graduate school in the future can compete in the labor market. This work is about identifying and removing barriers to the business of anthropology so that the field can achieve its full potential.

Current research on the discipline has not fully explored and integrated the variety of factors affecting anthropology’s advancement and impact. Although anthropologists cannot agree on the fate and future of the discipline, it is clear there are factors causing disruption and discomfort, with increasing intensity.

The analysis here is largely historical, with a focus on the tension between applied anthropology and academic anthropology – on legacy issues, on the discipline’s dramatic expansion between 1957 and 1972, on the practitioner-academic divide and

the perpetuation of the academy, and on theoretical divisions, fractured purposes and values, and departmental divides. The research examines how marketplace forces make it difficult for anthropologists to compete and be successful in changing economic conditions and priorities.

The approach here is to consider the discipline in terms of brand, products, marketing, and competitors. Some specific questions include: What skills do anthropologists bring to the table? What are anthropologists' brand attributes and products? What is the role of ethnography in anthropology today? And how do the demands of interdisciplinary collaboration affect the discipline? Testing these questions includes analysis of journal articles across time, understanding diffusion of key terms, social listening, and mapping Google search trends.

Finally, this research results in suggestions concerning key discipline accelerators such as acquiring tactical skills, focusing on value/impact, enhanced teaching, bringing forward practice into the academy, and owning employment efforts. These discipline accelerators catalyze ideas to: (1) push past legacy discipline divisions, (2) enhance anthropology's product, (3) energize the brand, and (4) build anthropology's business.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Overview of the Problem

Anthropology has a strong legacy and a history of contributions and many areas of inquiry: understanding regularities and variations across human societies; unearthing the human past through archeological discoveries; understanding human adaptation to various environments; filling in gaps about the evolution of hominids, including modern humans; enhancing international development; and informing business endeavors. As a discipline, anthropology also has a remarkable history of being situated between the sciences and the humanities. Its theoretical range and distribution is as wide as its topical coverage. Anthropology is both wide and deep on almost all academic and practitioner fronts. It is, after all, the study of the human condition, past and present.

The complexities and challenges of today's world would seem to demand anthropology more than ever before. Divisive politics, local wars, disruptive technologies, threats to the environment and to human rights, pervasive poverty and all of its consequences for health, lack of access to education – all are problems burning with opportunities for anthropologists to contribute.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics projects a 13% increase in post-secondary jobs for the decade 2014-2024, including a 9% increase in jobs for anthropologists, (US Department Of Labor, 2017b). General anthropology/archaeology jobs are expected to grow at 4% (US Department Of Labor, 2017a). Analyzing the federal data, Ginsberg (2016b) shows that enrollment in anthropology courses is declining at a faster rate than some other liberal arts and sciences programs. After decades of growth, anthropology degree completion peaked in 2013 at 11,270 degrees awarded and has decreased ever

since, with just 9,135 degrees awarded in 2016 – the fewest since 2009. Adding insult to injury, Forbes and Kiplinger magazines both rated anthropology as one of the worst undergraduate majors, citing the low median income of new graduates (\$28,000) and high unemployment rate (10.5%) (Carter, 2017; Goudreau, 2012).

This struggle may be current, but it is also recurrent. As early as 1904, there were open debates and alarms sounded about anthropology's future. Words such as death, demise, end, stagnation, suspension, destabilized, and, of course, crisis are common in literature on the state of anthropology (Comaroff, 2010; Crapanzano, 2010; Firth, 1944; M. M. Fischer, 2009; Giddens, 1996; Jebens & Kohl, 2011; Moore, 2003; Peacock, 1997; Posner, 1996; Rubel & Rosman, 1994; Shenk, 2006; Sponsel, 1990; Wallman, 2003; Worsley, 1966). There is a continual air of anxiety, defensiveness, and concern for the relevancy of the discipline. Even its national organization – The American Anthropological Association (AAA) – transmits this unease. Two of the Association's annual conference themes – “The End/s of Anthropology” in 2009, and “Anthropology Matters” in 2017 – reflect this concern for the relevancy of the discipline and its practitioners.

Furthermore, anthropology long ago lost any claim to theoretical and methodological coherence. There is a lack of shared understanding and focus within the discipline. New professional competitors, such as journalists and sociologists, in addition to legions of self-identified and self-promoted “anthropologists” who have no formal training in the discipline, are gaining a share of anthropological scholarship, media, and employment. There are challenges with departmental politics, ethics, representation, brand, product, and public engagement. There is a congeries of

intersecting factors that seem to be working against the discipline's progress and leadership.

To be sure, various anthropologists have come forward to speak about the state of the discipline – and their remarks are often strongly critical and alarm-sounding. In his Presidential Address to the 94th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association in 1995, James Peacock outlined three paths forward for anthropology: (1) go extinct, (2) continue living, but as the living dead, (3) and adopt redirection. Although he was hopeful about the state of the discipline in his address, his worry was also evident. Marcus (2008), a harsh critic of anthropology's current state, contends that anthropology is "in suspension" and that it has "no new ideas, and none on the horizon, [and there is] no indication that its traditional stock of knowledge shows any signs of revitalization" (p. 2). And Whitehead and Wesch (2012) contend that all the discussion of redirection may be a moot point, stating "...some form of design 'makeover' hardly seems to meet the need to examine the deep structure and history of the discipline at a critical intellectual juncture" (p. 220).

Not all anthropologists, however, agree that there is reason to worry or raise alarms. Some of them stress that the discipline is simply in a state of dynamic, fluid change – as it has always been. Almost two decades ago, Srivastava (1999) asserted that most people do not believe anthropology is devoid of a future, but they do believe the future is in need of a compass. He was optimistic about the discipline simply because anthropologists were discussing its future at all, despite it needing more direction. "There is a future of, for, and in anthropology," Srivastava wrote, but he asked "where does it lie? In making the discipline 'frontierless,' unbounded, and imprecise in

delineation of its aims what is our vision of the future for which anthropology should be made to work?” (p. 545).

More recently, Brondo and Bennett (2012) saw positive changes in anthropology. They feel that in the coming years anthropologists will see a celebration of the value of anthropology to the public. Others note optimistically that the current state of flux may also signal the discipline’s reawakening – almost as a beginning rather than an end. For example, in her address to the 113th annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association in 2013, Mullings (2015) argued that anthropology – the science of humankind – is not in crisis. Rather it is well-poised to truly deliver on the American Anthropological Association’s statement of purpose: “the dissemination of anthropological knowledge and its use to solve human problems.”

Although anthropologists cannot agree on the fate and future of the discipline, it is clear there are many factors causing disruption, change, challenges, and discomfort with increasing intensity for many in the profession. It is also clear that anthropology will need to be stronger as a discipline to produce the kinds of scholarship, contribution, impact, and public engagement that many in the profession aspire to achieve. Sahlins (2009) points out that competition is now a priority, not only globally but in higher education as well. “Universities are ranked. Disciplines are ranked: locally, nationally, and internationally. Likewise sub disciplines. Likewise departments. Universities compete for good students, and students compete for good universities” (p. 1010).

With the consistent struggle within anthropology and the variety of factors that are in opposition to its progress, it is opportune to think about how anthropology can be more competitive, or evolutionarily fit, if you will. Such is the focus of this research.

Research Question and Analytical Areas

In this study I ask, “How can anthropology be competitive as a discipline in the future?” Competitive can be defined in a number of different ways, but here I mean enhancing the product set of anthropologists to be competitive in terms of producing the best scholarship and having the most marketable skills. Anthropologists’ products need to be tangible, tactical, and relatable for employers and scholars, and their skills need to be concrete, sellable, and driven. The question is, “How can anthropology be more successful?”

This is a purposefully broad question, but a worthy one. Current research has not fully taken and integrated all the different factors chipping away at anthropology’s advancement and impact. Although I use the term “anthropology” in this research, the focus is mainly on the obstacles facing cultural anthropology’s competitiveness, with a strong bent to the US marketplace.

A three-part inquiry was used for the analysis:

1. **OBSTACLES:** What are the current challenges preventing the discipline from maximizing its potential, and what is causing those challenges?
2. **PROGRESS:** Is the overall situation for the discipline getting worse or better? What is its potential?
3. **ROADMAP:** What are some tactical steps that anthropology students and professors, anthropology departments and professional anthropology organizations can take to remove some of the obstacles?

Because of my background in consumer research, I think of anthropology as not only a discipline, but as a business. Considering anthropology as a business provides a framework by which we can deconstruct the elements that feed into the discipline’s struggle. Suchman (2013) takes a related approach. She examined anthropology as an object of consumption with commercial research and development. I take this line of

thinking one step further and consider the consumption of anthropology within the academy and public spaces as well. That said, there are three major analytical sections to this research effort:

The first section, “The Discipline and Profession of Anthropology,” examines the historical development of anthropology, with a specific focus on the intersections between applied anthropology and more academic anthropology. In that section I analyze disciplinary obstacles including legacy issues (colonialism, the so-called crisis of representation), the discipline’s expansion, the practitioner-academic divide, perpetuation of the academy, theoretical divisions, fractured purposes and value, and departmental divides.

The next section analyzes “The Business and Brand of Anthropology”. Here I examine anthropology in terms of its brand, products, and competitors. With regard to brand, for example, I detail who anthropology’s consumers are, the attributes of the brand and the practitioners themselves, and anthropology’s marketing. With regard to product, the “Business and Brand of Anthropology” chapter evaluates product as the set of skills anthropologists bring to the table, the professional characteristics of practitioners as products themselves, the complexity of ethnography as a method and a deliverable, and the intricacies of interdisciplinary product collaboration.

The third analytical section surveys “The Higher Education Marketplace.” I look at how changing economic conditions and priorities are making it difficult for anthropology to compete and be successful in a competitive market. To bring those issues to life, I canvass the critical topics of the commercialization of higher education, the employment marketplace, and faculty/department policies and values.

In the fourth section I detail my research approach, data collection process, analytical process, and the resulting findings. I show how an analysis of journal titles, social listening data, and Google search trends yield insights on anthropologists' priorities, brand, and communications.

In the fifth and final section I make tactical, short-term and long-term recommendations on how to remove some of the impediments to a successful cultural anthropology by outlining ideas in the areas of training, collaborations, careers, and policy. The goal of that last chapter is not to define a specific future for anthropology, but rather to launch a discussion about how the practice of anthropology can continue to evolve operationally and intellectually. The discipline may not have a prescriptive path forward, but we can take deliberate and decisive steps to make incremental progress.

CHAPTER 2 THE DISCIPLINE AND PROFESSION OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Understanding History, Growth, and Divisions

The challenges facing anthropology today are not *sui generis*, but are just the latest in the history of the growth of the discipline and the profession. From its beginnings in the 1850s, anthropology and the work of its practitioners have undergone transformations that have changed the discipline's values as well as the content of the discipline's scholarship and the methods for conducting that scholarship. Many of these changes have sparked divisions and fractures in the discipline and some anthropologists hold that the discipline is stronger because of these fractures. For example, anthropologists are now more careful in how they represent themselves and others. New theories have offered new ways of explaining and understanding observed behavior and values and new forms of narrative have opened up – all producing more variation in the overall discipline. Other anthropologists find that the fragmentation of the discipline has weakened its overall position in the academy. According to the researchers, the lack of a shared definition of anthropology's purpose, a decentralized theoretical model, the separation of applied from academic anthropology, and the instability of the four-field approach has weakened anthropology in the marketplace, making it less competitive.

Whatever the merits of these debates, the fact that the discipline has changed, expanded, and divided is evident in the historical analysis below. Rather than place a value judgement on the current situation, it is more fruitful to understand the conditions under which the discipline currently finds itself. In terms of anthropology's fitness, however, the historical developments have generally worked to its disadvantage. In this

section I detail how historical developments have produced five challenges to anthropology's advancement: (1) the practitioner-academic split, (2) academic protectionism, (3) theoretical and representation breakdowns, (4) purpose and value disorientation, and (5) department/discipline separation. These challenges adversely affect anthropology's competitiveness by increasing discipline fragmentation, creating confusion about its core principles, slowing change, and minimizing the potential contribution/impact.

Anthropology's History and Growth Background

Anthropology as a discipline developed partly as a product of British colonialism of the late 19th century, where anthropologists provided colonial administrations information/intelligence about local peoples. They researched areas such as migration, land rights, land tenure, and political systems in an effort to help various colonial governments gain greater control (Nolan, 2017). Similarly, in the US, anthropologists were leveraged to gain further understating of the Native American populations by working closely with federal and state governments.

It can be argued that the origins of anthropology are primarily in applied anthropology and that the historical challenges of applied anthropology are the challenges for the discipline as a whole (Baba 2009). Many authors take readers through the history of anthropology via applied anthropology (Chambers, 1979, 2000; Eddy & Partridge, 1978; Pink, 2005; Sillitoe, 2006; Singer, 2008; Van Willigen, 2002). Here I attempt to connect and summarize the work of these authors and paint a broad understanding of the craft's development. Although there is variation in the critical milestones for the practice of applied anthropology, these authors map out five main phases: (1) early anthropology and the pioneers of applied anthropology (before the

1860s); (2) ethnology and cultural preservation (1860s to 1930s); (3) government anthropology and policy research (1930s-1945), (4) role expansion and further policy work (1946 – 1972), and (5) and applied anthropology today (1973 – 2000s) – which I will call “extension and division.” In addition to these five periods, I have added a sixth which I call “abundance, convergence, and commercialization.”

Early Anthropology and the Pioneers of Applied Anthropology (Before 1860s)

Van Willigen (2002) notes that this stage of applied anthropology’s development is marked by the creation of cultural data to inform administrative and policy context issues, especially in relation to political and economic systems. These data were used to educate the sponsors about their colonial subjects. He describes this period as “protoanthropology” and “culture contact” studies. It was a period where anthropological data were also used to support theological or philosophical positions such as supporting church marriage laws and social reform.

Ethnology and Cultural Preservation (1860s–1930s)

Following these early developments, a stage of cultural preservation existed, during which documentation, and “salvaging” also informed administrative control over native populations. The milestone for this time period in the US was the founding of the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) in 1879 under John Wesley Powell. The purpose of the BAE was mainly to document native populations, as well as to curate artifacts and cultural exhibits for the Smithsonian Museum. This period is sometimes known as applied ethnology. Early funding from The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial had significant influence on applied research projects in the US, focusing on the improvement of human welfare through scientific research (Baba, 2012).

Government Anthropology and Policy Research (1930s–1945)

Expanding on the policy, administrative, and preservation work up to that time, a more problem-centered approach took hold across several domains such as education, nutrition, land rights, and technology. This period included the founding of the Society for Applied anthropology in 1941 and the publication of its journal *Applied Anthropology*, renamed *Human Organization* in 1949. This period of applied anthropology was also marked by the contributions of anthropologists during World War II. Many anthropological projects were supported through the National Research Council (established in 1918) and organizations such as the Committee on Food Habits (that examined nutrition and U.S. culture) and the Committee for National Morale (that worked to study how to improve morale during World War II). These projects included such scholars as Margaret Mead, Gregory Bateson, Lloyd Warner, and Elliot Chapple. The War Relocation Authority (WRA) was established in 1942 to manage the relocation and internment of Japanese Americans from the West Coast states. Ruth Benedict was critical to this effort. Her cultural insights on the Japanese were anthropologically informed and impacted execution of the WRA's plan (Benedict, 1967). Anthropologists who worked with the WRA were cultural brokers between inmates and administrators. Some anthropologists' contributions during the war efforts were controversial. Samuel Lothrop, for example, an archeologist at Harvard University, spied for Naval Intelligence (Price, 2000). Lothrop was stationed in Lima, Peru, where he monitored imports, exports and political developments. To maintain his cover, he pretended to conduct archeological investigations.

Role Expansion and Policy Work (1946–1972)

Van Willigen (2002) argues that up and to this point, applied anthropology was rather narrow in scope – policy work, some expansion into wartime needs, administrative consultation, and salvage ethnology. Post-World War II, he says, was a time of role transition. At this point, anthropologists became involved with implementation of findings/strategies, not just reporting and documentation. With the defeat of Japan in 1945, the United Nations created the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI) in 1947 to administer the islands of Micronesia and other territories of the Western Pacific. The TTPI was administered by the United States until 1986 and employed a corps of Trust Territory anthropologists. Anthropologists like G.P. Murdock of Yale helped author handbooks to set the standards for military government in Micronesia. These handbooks detailed social and economic patterns and problems relevant to the native peoples to help with local administration and policy development (Drucker, 1951).

More structured applied anthropological approaches emerged during this phase as well including Action Anthropology (Lewin, 1946; Stapp, 2012), and Community Development Anthropology (Manners, 1961). Additionally, more direct-intervention applied anthropological studies were executed.

The growth of the discipline can be attributed to the expansion of applied areas and academic domains, but it can also be attributed to a surge in federal higher education investment post-World War II and to investments by private foundations such as the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations (Brondo & Bennett, 2012). Part of this growth was also driven by competition with the USSR. The first space satellite – Sputnik – was launched by the USSR in 1957 and the US government acted quickly to catch-up by

pouring money into education and research. This investment included the National Defense Education Act which offered low interest loans for higher education. The Servicemen's Readjustment Act, known as the G.I Bill, was passed into law in 1944 and, by 1950, enabled 16% of the eligible veterans to enter postsecondary education (Brondo & Bennett, 2012). Legislation like the Magnuson Act (1943) required the consideration of social and economic data in considering management policies. This resulted in the formation of new positions such as the Fisheries Anthropologist role in the National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS). Mike Orbach, an anthropologist, was the first NMFS social anthropologist.

Expansion could also be linked to greater funding of anthropological research with the creation of the National Science Foundation in 1950 and the expansion of other government funding agencies. Investment also increased from private funding. Finally, basic demographics increased the opportunities for anthropological research. The post-WWII Baby Boom lasted from 1946–1964 and when it ended, it drove up overall enrollment in universities – including in anthropology programs. Consequently, the field of anthropology exploded in growth.

Between 1947 and 1960, the number of bachelor's degrees in anthropology grew from 139 to 449 per year, and by 1973 the number rose to 6,166. By the mid 1970's, more than 400 doctoral and over 1000 masters degrees were awarded each year in anthropology (D'Andrade, Hammel, Adkins, & McDaniel, 1975).

This time period is also when the divide between academics and practitioners – or rather the divide between theoretical and applied anthropologists – started to expand.

This division will have significant consequences on the practice long-term and are explored later in this chapter.

Extension and Division (1973–2000)

With the expansion of higher education, this period during the 1960s and early '70s saw strong growth in employment for academic anthropologists and this was accompanied by growth in research methods. As Baba (1994, p. 177) notes, about 85% of the 1971-1972 cohort of new anthropology Ph.D.s gained employment as faculty members in anthropology. The expansion of anthropology departments ended in 1972, but all those departments continued to take in and train graduate students at the same rate – or even an increasing rate – as the decade before. Just 61% of the 1975-76 cohort and only 43% of the 1985-86 cohort found employment as faculty, creating what Baba (1994) called a “crisis of overproduction.” Departments continued to admit graduate students at the same rate – despite the so-called crisis of overproduction – for two reasons. The first is that students continued applying to the graduate programs. The second was that there was no impetus for departments to reduce enrollment. There were large faculties in place – all of whom wanted their own students – and a large pool of students. Even when the issue of overproduction was noticed in the late 70s and early 80s, and the academic employment opportunities plummeted, departments were not incentivized to decrease production because no department head wanted to lose faculty through attrition – which would be the natural outcome of faculty retiring and not being replaced. That said, the so-called crisis of overproduction was based on sound economics at the department level.

That surplus of Ph.D.s in the mid- to late-1970s and limited academic employment openings pushed more anthropologists back into policy work. The

enactment of the Foreign Assistance Act in 1961 created USAID and offered employment to applied anthropologists interested in development. The National Environmental Policy Act (1970) and the Housing and Community Development Act (1974) expanded those opportunities and provided multiple avenues to apply anthropological knowledge. While employment opportunities were strong for anthropologists outside of the academy, those career paths were often scorned by academics (Van Willigen, 2002).

In short, the Ph.D.s in anthropology who came out after 1972 were forced to make themselves competitive in the marketplace. They had little choice but to enter the public/private applied and practitioner sector. Their career innovativeness and entrepreneurship in developing careers as anthropologists outside of the academy was pioneering anthropology branding, selling, and integration.

Van Willigen (2002) agrees and suggests that the increase in non-academic anthropologists working in new careers changed both the applied anthropology profession and the craft. He notes that at this time, new programs focused on non-academic careers formed and guidelines were developed by the SfAA and NAPA for applied anthropologists. Publications by non-academic anthropologists increased through the journal *Practicing Anthropology* (which started in 1978) and in *Human Organization*. There was also an increase in local applied anthropology organizations. The Washington Association of Professional Anthropologists (WAPA) is an example of these local applied anthropology associations. Organizations like WAPA further supported local applied anthropology through the creation of the biennial Praxis Award in 1981.

During the 1960s and 1970s – during the time of rapid growth in the academy and then rapid growth in the applied sector – there was also extensive fragmentation of the discipline (Fuentes & Wiessner, 2016) followed by a major transformation in the theoretical underpinnings of the discipline. The 1980's was marked by the “crisis of representation” and postmodernism, challenging the discipline's methodological foundation about what it meant for anthropologists to *represent* the people they study and even challenging the ability to develop cultural knowledge and understanding itself. In other words, postmodernism and the crisis of representation decentered and destabilized the discipline (see “Theoretical and Representation Breakdowns” in this chapter).

Abundance, Convergence and Commercialization (2000-Present)

Following the period of strong growth outside the academy (including private, public, and government roles) and with academic employment remaining flat, anthropology entered a period where the overall production of Ph.D.s had a couple of spikes but then stabilized to about 500/year. From 1970 to 1990 the production of doctorates remained stable, but in 1995 that number jumped to 464 and rose to a peak of 699 in 2007. By 2009, the number had dropped to 503 (Brondo & Bennett, 2012). Masters programs, however, drove continued growth of the discipline (Cohen, 2007).

During this time, Laura Nader's call for “studying up” (Nader, 1972) became more widely accepted, along with the idea that organizational research and practicing research, while benefiting some organizations, did not benefit others, including consumers. Nader's work opened up new areas of research for anthropologists studying businesses, governments, and industries as cultural products, processes, and sites of power (Jordan, 2010). Because of these new topic areas, and the ongoing employment

of anthropologists outside of the academy, during this time the gap between academic and applied anthropology began to close, but slowly. There starts to be a larger movement and call for the practice of anthropology to help further refine the discipline.

To wrap up on the brief history of applied anthropology in the US, we can see the maturation of the practice – from anthropology’s beginnings in descriptive ethnography and the attempt to document the indigenous cultures of North America, to its movement towards more policy development and intervention projects, to its place today where a variety of engagements exist in many different sectors. As one looks at applied anthropology over time, two distinct patterns emerge: One is an increase in the types of people, cultures, and topics with which applied anthropologists are involved, and the second is an increase in methodological approaches to achieve different outcomes.

The significant growth in the number of anthropologists, the expansion of research topics, multiplying career paths, and the force of historical legacies, had long-lasting, destabilizing consequences for the discipline. The challenges started to pull anthropology in a multitude of directions which drove conflict and lack of clarity, and resulted in a weakening of the discipline. These issues, in turn, damaged the overall brand of anthropology (see Chapter 3). Below I cover the five main destabilizations. These include: (1) The practitioner-academic split, (2) perpetuation of the academy, (3) breakdown of theoretical and representational positions, (4) confusion over the purposes and goals of the discipline, and (5) the breakdown of the four-field discipline and separations of disciplines and departments.

The Practitioner-Academic Split

One of the most significant fragmentations that resulted from anthropology’s past that greatly affects its current and future competitiveness is the distinction between the

academic and the practitioner. It is worth taking a moment here to define some nomenclature, since there are several terms used to describe the ways in which anthropology can be applied. These include, for example, applied, practicing, engaged, collaborative, action, and business anthropology. For someone new to the applied anthropology space the various labels can be confusing – and with good reason, for all these labels do not form a coherent taxonomy. Business anthropology is applied anthropology, as is practicing anthropology; collaborative anthropology is action anthropology; and so on. This lack of consistent nomenclature makes discussions about how anthropological knowledge can be applied difficult, fragmented, and confusing, and this affects the discipline's competitiveness.

The two most common terms used in discussing the application of anthropological knowledge are applied anthropology and practicing anthropology. Both tend to be more problem-centered crafts vs. theoretically-centered disciplines. Historically, applied anthropologists were mostly full-time academics who occasionally applied their anthropological knowledge in efforts to solve problems of human rights and social injustice and problems involving protection of the environmental; to help in the formulation or evaluation of public policy; to help in the implementation of agricultural, educational, and public health projects; and other advocacy efforts. These applied anthropologists were, and are, full time academics who take on temporary roles as consultants or project directors for private, public, or government organizations. Young (2008) and Baba (1994) offer clear accounts of acting in these roles – full time academic and occasional applied anthropologist. In contrast, practicing anthropologists are employed as applied anthropologists, often in the corporate or commercial arenas.

Practicing anthropologists may focus on product development, advertising, management consultancy, user experience, and similar business-oriented applications.

The historical separation of the academic and the practitioner is unusual, even shocking. In many other disciplines, like economics and chemistry for example, preparation is the same for academic and non-academic jobs. This separation is doubly shocking because as anthropology's history demonstrates, anthropology as a discipline was born out of applied work. Finally, considering that more than 60% of anthropologists are *not* in the academy, one would think there would be more integration than separation (L. Bennett et al., 2006). This is not the case.

The division was cemented in 1971, with the publication of the American Anthropological Association's *Principles of Professional Responsibility*. Those principles included a clause that prohibited any research that could not be published openly – a reaction to the collaboration of anthropologists with the military during the Vietnam War (see “Ethics” discussion, this chapter). For the next two decades, the implications were that no anthropologist could be employed in the private sector conducting proprietary research and continue to maintain their standing in the professional association, thus stigmatizing applied anthropology and elevating academic anthropology. Although this may have been what the authors of the *Principles of Professional Responsibility* wanted, in actuality only one case has been brought against an anthropologist – Napoleon Chagnon and his work with the Yanomami – and this case was overturned by the Association.

Today, looking across programs in anthropology, the situation is more complex. Some programs actively embrace applied anthropology, at least in the rhetoric of their

formal descriptions, while others stigmatize it or are dismissive of applied programs (Wasson, 2002). Brondo and Bennett (2012) argue against endorsement of the simplistic distinction of “academic versus practitioner” and point out that career opportunities in anthropology are simply complex. Nonetheless the division is apparent and harms the discipline in terms of its competitive potential. So why is the separation so entrenched? There are three reasons: (1) ethical complications, (2) engagement issues, and (3) value judgements.

Ethical Complications of Applied Anthropology

Many academic anthropologists see irresolvable ethical difficulties with applied and practicing anthropology. For example, there is the potential applied anthropologists might betray the confidences of the people with whom they work. Some anthropologists may worry that intervention by anthropologists through development efforts is a kind of disruption that may have unintended consequences. Others feel that working with the government or military creates dangerous political associations or results in research that may be biased. Anthropologists may feel that profiting from anthropological work is inappropriate. Their concern is that applied anthropology and practicing anthropology do not benefit the people but rather only the organizations and corporations for whom anthropologists work (Baba, 1994).

Baba (1994) also hypothesizes that the ethical battles can be exacerbated by the perception that practitioners’ salaries are higher than those of similarly qualified academics, leading to “bitter allegations that they have ‘sold out’ to powerful employer elites” (p. 183). Baba (2009) attributes much of the split between practitioner and academic anthropology to misuses of power, authority, representation, and data during colonial and empire-building times, and during war-time-conflict research efforts. Van

Willigen (2009) builds on Baba's work and concludes "... It is clear that ethical judgments in principle should be applied to specific real behaviors rather than occupational settings" (p. 393).

Lack of Reciprocal Engagement between Academic and Practitioner

The rewards for academic and practitioner work are so different that they make it difficult for the people in the two camps to engage one another. Academics in research universities are evaluated on their publications and on citations to those publications, while practitioners rarely have incentives to publish. From my own experience, practitioners do not often engage with their counterparts in the academy or in academic organizations because the value of doing so is not clear and it becomes a time and cost tradeoff. In contrast, some academics feel that practitioners are too bounded by their day-to-day realities to consider theoretical, epistemological, or aspirational pursuits of academic anthropology (Arnould et al., 2012, p. 246).

Baba (1994) explained that the academy often expects the flow of information to extend from theory to application. By contrast, she describes a stronger possibility for the flow to be from application to theory to complete the discipline development-and-training loop – similar to medicine. So, where there could be reciprocity, and greater collaboration, right now the reward systems are not aligned and the boundary continues. See Chapter 4 and the "Commercialization of Higher Education" for more on economic and structural factors that create lack of engagement between practitioners and academics.

Value-Judgments on Applied and Practicing Anthropology

In addition to ethical and engagement challenges, value judgements also create separation between academics and practitioners that limit the fitness of anthropologists.

Some academics view applied or practicing anthropology as dirty or impure—especially anthropological research in corporations or government. Based on the 2007 Committee on the Status of Women in Anthropology’s study on “Work Climate, Gender, and the Status of Practicing Anthropologists,” Brondo and Bennett (2012) found that, “Students are frequently told by their professors that an academic career is the model of success. Students are then advised into academic lines, with non-academic placements either treated as a second class or not even acknowledged as a possibility” (p. 603). Conversely, practitioners may view academic anthropology as slow and out-of-touch. Baba (2005) traces these hierarchies to a colonial two-tier model of anthropological knowledge production and application – tier-one scholarship and theory was seen as “pure” and tier-two was the leftover applied work given to junior anthropologists who were assigned an applied study.

The negative view of applied work is pervasive in anthropology. Brondo and Bennett (2012) found that the American Anthropological Association does not treat practitioners and academics equally and that the work of practitioners is not taken as seriously as that of academics. Similarly Baba (1994) reported that negative experiences with mentoring relationships drove a strong division between the practitioner and the academics in graduate school. Baba’s informants reported that their professors had told them they sold out the discipline and that their work was not real anthropology. Brondo and Bennett (2012) take the division between academics and practitioners further. Those who “oppose the dominant ideology, rebelling against the status quo academic position,” they say, “face public ridicule at professional conferences and receive insufficient training to succeed in alternative careers” (p. 604).

Overall, the perception is that careers in anthropology outside of the academy do not allow for good anthropology (Dornadic, 2014).

The historical and current issues separating anthropology practitioners and academics does a disservice to the discipline. The division reduces what academics *and* practitioners can bring to one another and the discipline; the division creates hierarchies that hinder better knowledge-building and collaboration. Brondo and Bennett (2012), say, however, that “the very negative experiences of practicing anthropologists with regard to education, inclusion, and presence within the discipline may be changing as relationships between academic institutions, disciplinary associations, and alumni from graduate programs shift” (p. 599). It is too early to tell, but if Brondo and Bennett are right, this shift may start to close the division and help anthropology’s fitness.

Perpetuating and Protecting the Academy

In addition to purity and integrity of the discipline, there may be two other reasons why academic anthropology remained resolute: (1) academic reproduction and replication, and (2) unpreparedness.

Academic Reproduction and Replication

As more and more Ph.D. graduates in anthropology found nonacademic employment, some academics were threatened by the expansion of applied anthropology and how it changed the discipline. Peacock (1997, p. 12) stated the problem clearly: “The inside process has a limited set of producers and consumers of the sacred texts it generates, forming a canon reproduced in graduate programs through required reading.”

For some professors the academy’s aim is to build knowledge and to reproduce themselves. Sahlins (2009) says that the careerism that started in the 1960s made the

self as the principle object of faculty loyalty. He notes that self-preservation and self-protection also comes to life through “staking out an uncontested niche...such is the progressive tendency [of the discipline] toward segmentation – or perhaps better said, fragmentation” (Sahlins, 2009, p. 1013). Crapanzano (2010) asserts that academics are sometimes more concerned with how their direct institutional and discipline colleagues will respond to their research – an inward and academic self-perpetuation focus – rather than with the way it will be received by the academic community at large. In short, academics may be concerned with themselves and defending an intellectual space, but not as concerned with the careers of their students – unless their students’ careers help further their academic standing.

It is not surprising that academic anthropologists aim to produce other academic anthropologists even though the academic anthropologists’ job market is weak. Per the discussion above, departments were not incentivized to change their approach to graduate student production. Also not surprising is that the majority of students entering graduate programs continue to consider the academy as their number one path career (National Academy of Sciences, 2014). The 2016 American Anthropological Association’s membership survey found that 90% of Ph.D. students surveyed were considering a tenure-track job as their next career step (Ginsberg, 2016a). Brondo and Bennett’s (2012) examination of the 2008 American Anthropological Association’s Center for Innovation and Research in Graduate Education (CIRGE) survey data found that 64% of anthropology Ph.D.s reported a faculty position as their priority career goal. That same CIRGE survey found that two thirds of the respondents felt their programs

did not adequately prepare them for a career in anthropology. The disconnects between faculty, students, the job market, and curriculum are numerous.

Anthropology departments' hiring patterns also show similar academic reproduction and replication. Hurlbert's (1976) work on status exchange in the profession of anthropology found that academics tend to hire other academics (not applied practitioners) and mainly from more prestigious/elite schools such as Yale, Columbia, Harvard, Chicago, Michigan and Berkeley. This drives academic replication and a larger divide between the practitioner and the academic community.

Unpreparedness and/or Disinterest in Grooming Applied Anthropologists

The other reason why academics may avoid teaching applied anthropologists is their unpreparedness to train them. Educating students on pursuit of a career in applied anthropology is different than teaching anthropology scholarship in pursuit of a career in higher education. As Baba (2005) explains:

For example, there arose the notion that “real” anthropologists could only do research outside their home culture and language, and that one must spend at least one year at a field site abroad, if not more. Methodological training was not necessary, as fieldwork was essentially a rite of passage, with the criteria of competency being the production of an “ethnography,” whose quality was judged by others who had produced one. Such epistemological assumptions and standards guarded the gates of professional membership and guaranteed an academic monopoly in anthropology for decades. They also served to de-legitimize and de-value anthropology that focused on contemporary problems within the United States. (p. 210)

Nolan (2017) found that “most departments prepared – and still prepare – their students less well than what they might for the opportunities which await them, whether in the academy itself or beyond” (p. 198). Likewise Baba (2009) says that universities have not always been able to support professional training and that even the most basic training of technical writing, presentation, publishing, and grant writing are rated poorly.

Goldmacher (2010) found similar results for undergraduate students. In sum, there may be a gap between anthropologists' skill development and marketplace skill requirements.

The protecting, reproducing, and replication of the academy led Knauff (2006) to conclude that, "By training and intellectual inclination, most anthropologists are more successful as critical researchers, analysts, and teachers than as practical interveners – and they tend to be skeptical of unintended impacts from large-scale interventions, however well-intentioned" (p. 416). The academic reproduction and focus on the single career track of professorship limits anthropology's fitness as a discipline, opportunities for students, careers for professionals, and ways of serving the public.

Theoretical and Representation Breakdowns

Anthropology has always been a field of "-isms" such as structuralism, functionalism, Marxism, interpretivism, materialism, essentialism, modernism, and other theories (Knauff, 2006). And anthropology has also always been a field of contrasts such as science versus humanities, subjective versus objective, and quantitative versus qualitative. Theoretical orientations can build upon one another, challenge one another, and evolve a discipline towards a stronger understanding of its common purpose. In anthropology, however, theory has been more divisive than unifying when it comes to building explanations for human behavior and advancing the discipline.

In reviewing the history of anthropology, I mentioned that during the 1980s anthropologists struggled with the "crisis of representation" which challenged how anthropologists study and represent people and cultures. Postmodernism complicated this crisis by challenging what was knowable and not knowable about the human condition, and what the anthropologist's subjective roles were in that understanding.

Both postmodernism and the crisis of representation decreased the discipline's authority and challenged ethnography as a method of human understanding, representation, and essentialism. Postmodernists felt each individual had a unique take on history and that therefore there was no real history. Everything was relative (Rubel & Rosman, 1994).

The Postmodernism movement had lasting impact on the field in terms of destabilizing who anthropologists are, what they study, and how they do it as a discipline. It fragmented cultural anthropology in such a way that the discipline was left without an epistemological foundation. Cultural anthropology's output became closer to the humanities, literature, and area studies, than that of the social sciences. Srivastava (1999) notes:

Some physical anthropologists think that their accomplishments are true to the scientific tradition...their counterparts in social anthropology are simply not more than storytellers. The social anthropologist may regard their work as more important, by claiming that their work begins where science ends. (p. 550)

And, at the end of the day when "...offered a choice between biological reductionism and literary criticism, most anthropologists have preferred to go about their work unencumbered by theoretical consistency" (E. Wolf, 1980, p. E9). Thus, cultural anthropology pulled away from more scientific pursuits.

Some researchers like Knauff (2006) tried to resolve the theory breakdowns by bridging differences and not battling between positions – Knauff called this post-paradigmatic, and "Anthropology in the Middle." He argued that some of the best research projects were in the post-paradigmatic space; they "engage new topics through mosaics of part-theoretical assertion, part-subjective evocation, part ethnographic and historical exposition, and part-activist voicing" (p. 411). In other words, Knauff feels the best anthropology is a little bit of everything and that the discipline's

polarizations get in the way of good scholarship. Unlike Marcus (2008) he does not believe anthropology is in suspension, but rather anthropology is “in the middle” and that is its path forward.

The theoretical and representation breakdowns of the 1980s drove other discussion in the discipline – about ethics, about subjectivity, and about collaborative research – but these discussions did not set a new course for it. Grimshaw and Hart (1994) called this time period the “crisis of intellectuals,” where anthropologists lost all sense of direction and grounding in their craft. Whitehead and Wesch (2012) felt that postmodernism removed the naive possibility of achieving total knowledge of others, but the shift did not lead to new post-colonial knowledge goals. These changes weakened anthropology’s overall fitness. They damaged “culture” as a concept and ethnography as a method. The crisis of representation and postmodernism fragmented anthropological scholarship, separated anthropology’s four-fields, and created confusion about the discipline’s future. As a result, some scholars abandoned efforts to create theory. Bennett (1996) felt anthropology’s value cannot be in theory because it engaged in such a variety of topics and issues that each demanded a different set of concepts. Bennett decided there was just no clear agreed-upon way that seemed appropriate for the anthropologist to describe social reality.

Anthropology’s Purpose and Value Fragmentation

Anthropology’s historical development and growth confused its value proposition and, therefore, also reduced its competitiveness. When I say value proposition, I mean anthropology’s primary purpose and mission for being. What are anthropologists solving? What binds anthropologists together as a distinctive and connected practice?

What is the anthropology value-add to the world; in other words, their value proposition, purpose, and mission.

Anthropology's purpose is dynamic and sometimes confusing. Its definitions are wide-ranging, but some descriptions share similar attributes such as holism, human understanding, variation, and diversity. For example, Rubel and Rosman (1994) say:

The disciplinary goal is seen as the understanding of the meanings of unique cultural phenomena. We are enjoined to focus on the construction of reality by our informants and on the ways we as analysts construct cultural statements in collaboration with those informants. (p. 337)

Fuentes and Wiessner (2016) put it more simply by saying, "Anthropology is the study of biological and cultural variation in human societies over time" (p. 54). Ingold (2017) marks anthropology as "a generous, open-ended, comparative, and yet critical inquiry into the conditions and possibilities of human life in the one world we all inhabit" (p. 22). He goes on to point out that anthropology is "idiographic, dedicated to the documentation of empirical particulars, and that anthropology is nomothetic, dedicated to comparative generalizations and the search for law-like regularities in the conduct of human affairs" (p. 22). Another example comes from Peacock (1997), "Our primary contribution is the holistic and comparative insight into human diversity and commonality, which together with such practices as participant-observation, gives us distinctive critical perspective" (p. 10). And Nolan (2017) states:

Anthropology helps us understand human variation, while also uncovering the commonalities in universals which bind us. It helps us understand why we are also different, and why, at the same time, we are also similar. Most importantly, perhaps, it gives us insight into how and why we changed. (p. 6)

There are countless definitions about what anthropology studies and what its purpose is. The lack of shared purpose can be confusing to professionals, students, academics,

and the public. This confusion has led some to declare anthropology is in a lost state concerning its true value proposition. Comaroff (2010) put it briefly when he called anthropology an undisciplined discipline, or an indiscipline. E. Wolf (1980) noted that anthropology's increased specialization brought fragmentation, which in turn raised a troublesome question: "What, these days, constitutes the discipline of anthropology?" (p. E9).

Anthropology's unclear value proposition reduced its distinctiveness and competitiveness as a field. The field's continual fragmentation in terms of topics, professions, theories, and techniques had a thinning and weakening effect on the discipline (Hart, 1990; Knauft, 2006). Sahlins (2009) notes that "such disciplinary mitosis, however, is often self-limiting. Dividing and subdividing over time, specialists risk becoming so arcane and inconsequential that they command no general interest in the discipline" (p. 1014). The scholarly ties that connect anthropologists have stretched too widely. Srivastava (1999) believes anthropology is more of a group of subjects than a discipline. He states, "We may beam with satisfaction on seeing a huge list of anthropologies, but in this process we have eroded the concerns of the discipline" (p. 547). At the same time Sillitoe (2007) argues something of the opposite view:

The current efforts to apply anthropology reflect the wide spread of the discipline, with persons seeking applications in an array of areas, including retailing, banking, government, business, and leisure. These endeavours suggest that anthropology has relevance to almost everything, which ultimately begs the discipline's existence. (p. 148)

While some feel anthropology's subject matter is stretched too thin or is too fragmented, other researchers feel that it has nothing left as a common core value proposition, period. "Anthropology has no absolute place, now or ever, in the academy or society. It is everywhere yet no-where" (Peacock, 1997, p. 10). Comaroff (2010)

argues that anthropologists have no real subject matter of their own anymore; and a well-defined empirical terrain is required for a cohesive discipline. Without that well-defined empirical terrain, anthropology has diffused itself in anything and everything. E.

Wolf (1980) wrote that:

This multifarious activity is accompanied by a sense of unease, which feeds on that very proliferation of purposes in task. What was once a secular Church of believers in the primacy of culture has now become a holding company of diverse interests, defined by what the members do rather than what they do for it" (p. E9).

Sillitoe (2007) is concerned about the discipline's fragmentation and the enormity of the endeavor. He states that:

Anthropology is apparently such a broad church that there is a danger the walls are now too far apart and the roof is falling in. Is it possible to encompass such diverse subject matter, that is, literally to be the study of humankind, or is this too ambitious? (p. 149)

Anthropology is indeed fragmented. Its value promise is wide and diverse. Anthropologists' ability to deliver on that value proposition variation also has wide deviation. Some authors try to resolve value proposition breadth by finding middle ground. Chambers (2009) argues that anthropology is not only different and dynamic because anthropologists have constructed it differently, but also because anthropology is experienced in a world that has changed as well. Rubel and Rosman (1994) say that the value proposition of the discipline depends upon how much of the discipline's fragments still share a common epistemological base. They detail that in the 1950's, for example, no one questioned the coherence of the field because at that time there was broad agreement on anthropological concepts and their meanings.

Anthropologists cannot agree on exactly what they do or how they do it – though a large amount of reflexive writing is done on this very topic. Stocking Jr (2001) argues

that the fragmented value proposition is at a tipping point. “The boundaries of anthropology have always been problematic – more so, one suspects, than those of other social science disciplines or discourses – but never, however so problematic as they are today” (p. 305).

The discipline would benefit greatly from having a more unified vision and purpose and making it distinct from other disciplines/professions. The American Anthropological Association tried to accomplish this with their two mission statements which read:

1. to advance anthropology as the science that studies humankind in all its aspects, through archeological, biological, ethnological, and linguistic research;
2. and to further the professional interests of American anthropologists, including the dissemination of anthropological knowledge and its use to solve human problems.

Surely, however, not all anthropologists agree with that purpose. It might be worth reversing the question and asking not what anthropology’s value proposition is, but what is anthropological in what an individual anthropologist does (Srivastava, 1999)?

Discipline and Department Separations

Anthropology’s fragmentation caused by theoretical breakdowns, differences in the value proposition, and epistemological divisions, all had consequences for departmental structures. The idea of four-field anthropology where linguistic, cultural, biological, and archeological anthropology are combined as a total discipline is a founding principle of the field. The debate on whether the four-field approach is the right approach, however, is just as old – especially as the content under the “big tent” of anthropology is ever-expanding (Fuentes & Wiessner, 2016).

Anthropologists' position on science as an approach to human understanding fuels the debate as to whether anthropology departments should be four-field departments or separated into more specialized areas. Biological/physical anthropologists, and some archaeologists and linguistic anthropologists, take a scientific approach to their research, while the majority – but not all – cultural anthropologists gain inspiration from literary theorists and philosophers (Kuper & Marks, 2011). Johnson (1998) demonstrated how even the definition of “research method” has significant variation among anthropologists. He described how, for scientifically-oriented anthropologists, method meant approaches for collecting data, while for more critically-oriented anthropologists, method meant approaches to ethnographic writing. Both camps use the term “method,” but even that seemingly innocuous word has a divisive quality within and across subfields. Although the subfields were often combined in American anthropology programs, the relationships among them were distant but functioning.

This relationship among the subfields deteriorated, however, in the 1980s and early 1990s with the rise of sociobiology and primate ethology among anthropologists trained in biological science, and interpretivism and postmodernism among cultural anthropologists. Sociobiologists, inspired by the work of E.O. Wilson (1978), focused on evolutionary forces to explain some components of human behavior, while primate ethologists examined behavioral similarities between humans and other primates. Both of these lines of research challenged cultural anthropologists' interpretivist paradigm, inspired by the work of Clifford Geertz. The interpretivist, postmodern, and critical anthropology movements aligned many cultural anthropologists with the humanities,

making comparisons between peoples problematic and relative rather than measurable and scientific (Kuper & Marks, 2011). The result was that biological and cultural anthropologists went their separate ways, sometime even separating into different departments (as was the case in Harvard, Duke, and Stanford, for example).

Other conflicts concerning science drove further divisions in anthropology. In 2004 the Society for Anthropological Sciences (SaSci) was formed as a separate organization, in response to rejection of panels that had been proposed by members of the American Anthropological Association for inclusion in the Association's annual meeting. SaSci later became a section of the AAA, to continue the focus on anthropology's scientific traditions and to protect the anthropological sciences, since at that time they had no organized voice within the AAA ("History of the Society for Anthropological Sciences," 2017).

In 2010, the American Anthropological Association was again involved in more controversy around the word "science." The association eliminated the word science from its long-range plan – all three mentions of it throughout the plan – and replaced it with the phrase "the public understanding of humankind" instead of "to advance anthropology as the science that studies humankind in all its aspects" (Wade, 2010a, 2010b). Given this change, The New York Times reported that Frank Marlowe, then president-elect of the Evolutionary Anthropology Society, stated, "I really don't see how or why anthropology should entail humanities...we evolutionary anthropologists are outnumbered by the new cultural or social anthropologists, many but not all of whom are postmodern, which seems to translate into antiscience" (Wade, 2010b, p. A25). After much debate, including a public session at the Association's next annual meeting, the

statement of purpose remained unchanged, continuing to reflect anthropology as a science.

The conflicts above shaped how some departments became divided. Biological anthropology may move into evolutionary sciences, physiology, or anatomy. Linguistic anthropology may move into linguistics. Cultural anthropology may be a stand-alone department (often the case) or move into literary studies, cultural studies, or sociology. In some cases, archaeology joins cultural anthropology and other times it joins the anthropological sciences when departments divide.

As with other tensions that affect the discipline's competitiveness, there are two sides to the choice between having a four-field anthropology department or splitting a department. I examine both arguments below: (1) the promise of the four-field department and (2) the realities of the four-field department.

The Promise of Four-Field Anthropology

The promise of four-field anthropology has been a main tenet of the field of anthropology since its inception. Srivastava (1999) shows that it was never clear in the beginning how biological and cultural facts could meaningfully combine in a study. Nevertheless, he argues, American anthropology pushed its conception that anthropology is the "study of man in all his aspects in time and space" (p. 547). How do anthropologists accomplish such a broad remit? More importantly what are the additional intellectual or applied value provided by a four-field approach? The four-field value is seen in some research, but is rarer in today's anthropology. Most anthropology publications do not reference any scholarship from the other subdisciplines. An example of a four-field approach comes from O'brien (2016). He believes that evolutionary theory is an example of bringing cultural and biological evolution together.

The interactions between nature and culture help drive the application and explanatory strength of a four-field anthropology. He argues that anthropologists can no longer train using the splintered tradition of separate subfields because this does a disservice to the delivery of detailed knowledge of the human condition. This position makes the more scientific approach anthropology's unifying approach.

Kuper and Marks (2011) described the plight of the separate anthropology departments and made a call for "Anthropologists to Unite." They feel anthropology is not in as much of a splintering crisis as the media would have the public believe, but they do argue that anthropology must do better. As described above, their call for unification came from the bitterly contested word "science" being dropped from the long-range plan for the American Anthropological Association in 2010.

Kuper and Marks feel the science uproar was just a symptom of a larger issue. The real issue was that the American Anthropological Association committee struggled to come up with an all-encompassing plan for the discipline to deliver on the four-field anthropology promise. They mentioned that, "The real shocker is that anthropologists cannot agree on what the discipline is about. Many, probably most, anthropologists have walked away from their traditional mission, which is to build a truly comparative science of human variation" (p. 166).

The Reality of Four-Field Anthropology

The reality of the four-field approach is different than what anthropology's founders articulated for three reasons: (1) Some anthropologists feel that a true four-field anthropology discipline would cover too much information for a single scholar to command. Stocking Jr (1995) reported that, as early as 1904, even Franz Boas had doubts about the preservation of four-field anthropology. Boas predicted that biological

and linguistic anthropology would split off and cultural anthropology would focus on the customs and beliefs of people. Boas thought that anthropology represented too much information and no individual anthropologist could be equally proficient in all of them. Raymond Firth (1944) believed “there could be no real borderlines between the branches of anthropology; the enormous body of accumulated anthropological knowledge rendered essential some degree of specialization and probably no man could hope to master the whole field...” (p. 22). Firth further stated “...that the four branches call for entirely separate disciplines, and that the ties of social anthropology were with sociology, rather than with physical anthropology” (p. 22). Firth’s position is not surprising, however, considering he was Bronisław Malinowski’s student and a founder of modern British anthropology – which has no tradition of unified, four-field anthropology. These early positions give a sense of how divisive and how long the debate has been.

Universities and colleges that have four-field programs may house all four fields in one department but the interaction between the different subfields is typically limited – mainly in the form of a course requirement. Rubel and Rosman (1994) note that, “In most graduate anthropology programs today, the four-field approach either is paid lip service or has disappeared because it is seen as an anachronism, despite the development of new fields such as medical anthropology which clearly cross subdisciplinary boundaries” (p. 336). Stocking Jr (1995) finds that “at the graduate level the once traditional requirement of significant training in each of the ‘four fields’ is at best a vestigial character if it has not entirely withered away” (p. 962). He feels people

are more likely to find limited communication and occasional competition between the subfields. And Chambers (2009) takes the position one step further noting that:

...subfields end up spending more time insisting upon their distinction and unique value, and considerably less time exploring their commonalities or the possible interchangeability of their talents. Add a fifth possible subfield, which is applied anthropology, and all hell breaks loose (p. 375).

Rather than debating unification or splitting anthropology departments into various units, some scholars suggest interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary programs represent a more effective path to take. Kuper and Marks (2011) relate to debates about anthropology's unification or division, stating that the unstable ideas of "nature and culture" makes it difficult to form larger generalizations about human nature. They conclude by calling on anthropologists to participate in cross-subfield research, returning to a truly comparative science of human beings all over the world, and to debating concrete cases and specific hypotheses.

The American Anthropological Association had similar struggles in determining how to unify itself as a discipline-focused organization. Batteau and Morais (2015) wrote that the professional culture of anthropology is evolving, facing a choice between maintaining its deep roots in academic institutions and growing in selected industries and institutions and the larger society. This again creates a division in the professional association, the academies, and the organizations (both public and private).

As a result of the "anti-science" era of the 1980s and the 2010 debate over the use of the term science in the AAA's long-range plan, physical/biological anthropologists and archaeologists left the organization and drifted towards more focused conferences such as those offered by the Society for American Archaeology and The American Association of Physical Anthropologists. Applied anthropologists exited as well. Many

of the applied practitioners drifted to the Society for Applied Anthropology (established in 1941) and its career-oriented journal *Practicing Anthropology* (after 1978), or to EPIC (Ethnographic Praxis in Industry Conference (established in 2005), or the National Association for Practicing Anthropology (NAPA, established in 1983).

This drifting away of physical/biological anthropologists, archaeologists, and applied anthropologists further fragments the discipline and erodes its fitness – its ability to gain public support for research and to place students into jobs. The American Anthropological Association has made progress towards anthropology's ongoing unification by creating new inclusive committees such as the Practicing Anthropology Working Group (PAWG) and the Committee on Practicing, Applied, and Public Interest Anthropology (CoPAPIA). And on another note of unification, according to the *Changing Face of Anthropology*, two thirds of MA graduates still participate in at least one national anthropological organization, the American Anthropological Association being the most common (Fiske, Bennett, Ensworth, Redding, & Brondo, 2009). Networking is seen as the largest value-add of that organization. Practicing Anthropology's Working Group's research, however, found that AAA is not retaining the membership of non-academic anthropologists, therefore failing to realize revenue, and failing to meet the discipline's full potential (L. Bennett et al., 2006). There's little value add for non-academic anthropologists.

Resolving Four-Field Anthropology

In terms of the current status of departments' splits and unification, Shenk (2006) reported that the split departments of Harvard, Duke, and Stanford have been successful. Since Shenk's report, however, Stanford has recombined. In 2010 the National Research Council published their book, *Data-Based Assessment of Research-*

Doctorate Programs in the United States. In it they measure the strength of 80 doctoral degree-granting anthropology programs (see a summary here <http://www.chronicle.com/article/NRC-Rankings-Overview-/124703>). Upon examining the departments' websites, it appears that 8 of those 80, or 10%, are likely split programs. Note that a department's website content may not reveal whether the program is split at the graduate level, undergraduate level, or both. These split departments include the University of California at Davis, University of California at Los Angeles, University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, Princeton University, Duke University, Harvard University, Rice University, and Columbia University (*A Data-Based Assessment of Research-Doctorate Programs in the United States (with CD)*, 2011).

Shenk (2006) reports that the splits of Harvard, Stanford, and Duke resulted in better funding, hiring, and focus for the different subfields. This may be a result of the sizable endowments for these universities as private institutions, however. She also notes that the unified programs of Emory, University of Florida, and Arizona State University are likewise successful in terms of creating a cross-field knowledge-building discipline. She concludes that each department should go the way that makes the most sense for their needs and current state. This seems like a safe exit from the conflict, but neither removes the friction in the discipline nor provides an evidence-based recommendation for anthropology departments.

The debate concerning four-field anthropology reflects one of the field's most unique and lasting characteristics – the balance between humanism and science. Alfred Kroeber's son, Karl Kroeber, remembers his father describing anthropology as the most "humanistic of the sciences and the most scientific of the humanities"

(Kroeber, 2003, p. 144), a description that E. R. Wolf (1964) reiterated in his overview of the discipline (p. 88). E. Wolf (1980) sees four-field as an area to find and explore new areas of discovery and inquiry for anthropology. The four-field approach could be a brand/discipline differentiator but anthropologists need to consider how to better deliver on that differentiation and to see if it is even worth delivering on. Srivastava (1999) sees a similar opportunity in the four-field approach distinguishing the practice. He comments that:

Anthropologists should devote themselves to the task of integrating their discipline. Each stream of differentiation must relate to the central themes of anthropology. If you proceed in this manner, a higher differentiation of the discipline will inevitably imply a higher degree of integration (p. 546).

And Peacock (1997) offers another way to put an end to the debate and move forward. He suggests anthropologists pivot the conversation entirely and ask the discipline not to be concerned about four-fields as much as being *force* fields for application and intellectual life.

Summary and Discussion: The Discipline and Profession of Anthropology

In this chapter, I covered anthropology's history and development with a focus on the origins and effects of applied anthropology. I also detailed the impact of the discipline's growth of Ph.D.s, topics, and career paths. This historical account set the foundation for discussions on the discipline's divisions and fragmentation. As the practice grew, so too did its divisions. The growth of the discipline, and applied anthropology in particular, and the fallout that ensued, contributed to the decline of the anthropology's competitiveness and fitness.

I described the disciplinary divisions in detail by examining the practitioner-academic divide. I showed how the divide increased over time as a product of ethical

disagreements, American Anthropological Association's codes excluding applied anthropology, value-judgements separating "pure" academic anthropology from "tainted" applied anthropology, and lack of engagement between applied and academic anthropology. I demonstrated how the academic-practitioner divide progressed into academics, thereby protecting the academy as a sacred anthropology space.

Academic territorialism happened out of habit, careerism, and a lack of preparedness or desire to train applied anthropology students. This led to breakdowns in theoretical and representational approaches. Postmodernism and the crisis of representation upended anthropology's theoretical and methodological base--anthropology was left with minimal ways to uncover and describe social realities. The resulting confusion magnified challenges with anthropology's value proposition. I then showed how the many definitions of what anthropologists do, the variations in how they do it, and disagreement on what great anthropology is, weakens the discipline. Finally, I examined how these fractures have caused departments and organizations to disaggregate, taking them further away from anthropology's original mission.

The implications are clear and there is no doubt that the historical context and fragmentation described above presented and continue to present challenges for the field. Some of these debates bettered the discipline. For example, some divided programs reported more focus, better faculty, and more funding. A unified perspective and overall solution would strengthen the discipline and accelerate its movement forward. In Chapter 6 strategies will be detailed for moving from the disciplinary and professional fragments of today to a more forward-moving whole.

CHAPTER 3 THE BUSINESS AND BRAND OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Understanding the Brand, Product, and Competition

In the last chapter, I traced anthropology's historical development and showed its increasing fragmentation. There were patterns of disarray, disagreement, and discord during anthropology's last 150 years. Those divisions and struggles likely had some impact on anthropology's brand and business as well – from marketing executives, to trainers in cross-cultural communications, from management consultants, and human rights professionals, to environmental consultants. Often the kind of market-value work that anthropologists do concerns: (1) generating knowledge and research to inform others, (2) assessing programs, projects, and interventions as a monitor, including the assessment of marginalized groups or government programs, (3) helping marginalized communities and individuals achieve self-determination and empowerment, (4) working in product design and development, marketing, and consumer intelligence, and (5) working in management or other consultancies. Brondo (2010) describes some of the applied anthropology work in advocacy-oriented terms showing contributions to improving race relations, helping people cope with displacement, advancing global health, and developing and carrying out fiscal policy. The areas of anthropology's contributions, both inside and outside the academy, are far-reaching and varied.

This chapter is about four elements of the business of anthropology: Anthropology's (1) brand, (2) products, (3) ROI, and (4) competition. In the brand section, I will define brand personality and relationships. I will describe anthropology's brand attributes by examining its former brand and its current brand. I will also analyze anthropology's marketing communications and how they affect the brand. I move on to

define anthropology's products. I analyze a general set of products, look at anthropologists themselves and their skills as products, and then analyze one of anthropologists' most known products – ethnography. More specifically, I examine ethnography's definition, its relation to anthropology at large, its quality controls, and its encroaching competitors. This chapter concludes by assessing return on investment (ROI) of anthropology's brand and products, and describing the competitors who are moving into anthropology's domain.

Anthropology's Brand: Examining Definitions, Status, and Marketing Defining Brand Personality and Brand Relationships.

The concepts of brand personality and brand relationship will help shape the thinking and analysis that follows. A brand personality is a set of human characteristics that are attributed to a brand name – anthropology – which are relatable to an end consumer – students, faculty, administrators, the public, employers, and any other audience that might consume anthropology and its products. An effective brand increases its brand equity by having a consistent set of communicated traits that consumers value.

Blackston (2000) and Zayer (2012) established the concept of brand relationship. Brand relationships comprise a dialogue between the brand's persona and the consumer. A brand relationship is the extension of a brand personality. It is emotive and personified. The brand is a partner to the consumer, and the consumer a partner to the brand. There are two elements in brand relationships: (1) trust in the brand, and (2) customer satisfaction with the brand. Fournier and Lee (2009) took Blackston's concept a step further by framing six components of a brand relationship:

1. **Love and Passion:** This is a component of all brand relationships. Consumers can exhibit “missing the brand” – separation anxiety.
2. **Self-Connection:** This concerns how a brand delivers on the consumer’s needs and personhood, and more importantly, how the brand delivers on them through uniqueness, and even dependence on the consumer’s affections.
3. **Interdependence:** This component is about maintaining frequent and diverse brand interactions. Consumption rituals often help drive the interdependence.
4. **Commitment:** Commitment covers the loyalty and duration dimension of brand relationships.
5. **Intimacy:** This is the depth of knowledge the consumer has with the brand and vice versa.
6. **Brand Partner:** The consumer’s perception of the quality, performance, and health of the relationship.

These six attributes form a rubric to analyze anthropology’s brand. Throughout the analysis I reference how anthropology is delivering, or not delivering, on these attributes.

The State of Anthropology’s Brand

Brand is a powerful tool. The largest brands on the planet, such as Samsung, The United Nations, Airbnb, and Google, carry great influence, have clear brand attributes, communicate their brand attributes consistently and frequently, and build customer satisfaction. Brand is critical for anthropology as it can help attract students, funding, public engagement, employers, and, by consequence, great scholarship and applications of anthropology’s products.

Hannerz (2010) argues that anthropologists need to become more comfortable thinking about brand as public image or identity. Hannerz advocates for the critical role

of a brand in a time of market-oriented education. She argues that anthropology's brand should be simple, quickly-grasped, clearly understood, and consistent.

Anthropology's current brand meets none of these requirements. Downey (2011) sees disciplinary branding as a serious issue for anthropology. As an administrator, Downey sees the impact the broken brand has on attracting undergraduates, graduate students, and employers. Downey has also seen the brand's negative impact on departmental budgets and hiring. The fact that anthropology's brand is struggling decreases anthropologists' competitiveness in the marketplace. Hannerz (2010) summed up the brand situation succinctly by describing anthropology's brand challenges as "anthropology-bashing." She mapped out four flavors of anthro-bashing: (1) the cold and distant observers, (2) the less-capable-than-the-locals dope, (3) exotic faraway travels that waste time and money, and (4) an out-of-date discipline. To illustrate, Florida Governor Rick Scott publicly bashed anthropology in 2011 saying that he wanted to focus funding on science and technology fields that produced jobs:

We don't need a lot more anthropologists in the state. It's a great degree if people want to get it, but we don't need them here. I want to spend our dollars giving people science, technology, engineering, and math degrees. That's what our kids need to focus all their time and attention on, those types of degrees, so when they get out of school, they can get a job.
(Lende, 2011)

Scott made a value judgment on anthropology about its employment marketplace competitiveness, and bashed its brand by implying that anthropology is not a science and that Florida's budget dollars could be better spent on other disciplines.

A large part of anthropology's brand challenge can be attributed to the confusing array of topics it covers and its fractured value proposition. These two factors make it difficult to identify exactly what anthropology stands for and what it means to others – in

other words, why should people care? Differing approaches and topics have always been a part of anthropology's brand, but that array now inhibits the brand's strength. Kroeber and Boas debated the integration of science and history, and the combination of reductionist and constructivist approaches in anthropology. According to Fuentes and Wiessner (2016), they agreed on the complexity and diversity of human societies but never came to a shared view of anthropological methods, explanations, and interpretation.

Although they debated the "how" of anthropological methods, explanations, and interpretations, most of Boas's students – including Robert Lowie, Alfred Kroeber, Clark Wissler, Edward Sapir, Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, and Elsie Clews Parsons – considered themselves scientists (Bernard & Gravlee, 2014).

One of Boas's students, Paul Radin, famously rejected his mentor's scientific bent. He accused Boas of being *naturwissenschaftlich eingestellt*, or science minded, of treating ethnology as a branch of natural science and named his confrères – Sapir, Kroeber, Mead – as examples of the bad things that happen to cultural anthropologists who follow the path of quantification. (Bernard & Gravlee, 2014, p. 6)

Peacock (1997) uses marketing language to describe anthropology's brand, commenting that "anthropology is virtually absent in the minds and hearts of students, student leaders, parents, administrators, alumni, trustees, legislators, and donors" (p. 10). In other words, anthropology has poor brand awareness. Part of the solution is simply better communication and advertising (more on that below and in Chapter 6). For example, Hannerz (2010) proposes a new brand, or tagline for anthropology: "diversity is our business." This phrase is appealing and inclusive. With consistent messaging in the right places, to the right people, this kind of rebranding could help anthropology's brand momentum and equity.

Another challenge for anthropology's brand is that we, as anthropologists, tend to complicate points and contradict one another. For example, our branding and language around non-academic anthropology is complicated and hard for even the most devout, accredited anthropologist to understand. Should one call it practicing, applied, advocacy, community-based, practitioner, professional, public, action, engaged, corporate, or business anthropology? One of the keys to building a strong brand is simple, consistent, and frequent messaging. As a practice, simple and consistent is not one of anthropology's brand strengths.

A longstanding challenge with anthropology's brand continues to be the glorification of the exotic. A widely repeated aphorism is that "the purpose of anthropology is to make the exotic familiar and the familiar exotic." This adage reflects anthropology's tradition of cultural relativism. In my experience, most anthropologists avoid making their work seem overly exotic, even though the media still authenticates this archetype. Anthropologists themselves – as well as what (or who) they study – sometimes take on a practically otherworldly brand. Whether explicitly or implicitly, anthropology sometimes lives in the shadow of the exotic, which can harm today's anthropologists.

To illustrate, in applied or practicing anthropology:

...what employers and clients in the corporate world often expect is "the surprise effect." Bringing ethnography into the field of business studies should create new and different kinds of knowledge, making the mundane exotic or challenging. When they consider hiring an ethnographer, they want something different than the traditional role of surveys and focus groups (Arnould et al., 2012, p. 264).

Here, Arnould is describing ethnography, but in the corporate world the terms ethnography and anthropology are often used interchangeably. Suchman (2007)

describes a similar position on the legacy of exoticism:

While the promise of her unique expertise may provide the rationale for the anthropologists' employ, however, the fascination of that employment for the media lies in the unlikely juxtaposition of anthropologist as *investigator* of exotic other, with anthropologist as exotic other in the mundane, familiar halls of the corporate workplace. In this regard anthropology becomes a badge one wears – almost as if the employer is advertising that “we have one too.” (p. 6)

Guerrón-Montero (2008) also sees the danger of this exoticism brand artifact. She cautions anthropologists that it's not a big leap to move from interesting to irrelevance. The social listening analysis in Chapter 5 shows evidence, however, that the assumed connection between exoticism and anthropology is absent.

There are several forces behind anthropology's decentralized brand. First, anthropologists often work on their own and have their own, personal brand of anthropology – they are a brand of one. Anthropologists are more defined by what they study and how they study than by anthropology itself (Comaroff, 2010). Anthropologists may identify as a Latin Americanists, archaeologists, design strategists, etc., rather than as anthropologists. Medical anthropology, political anthropology, economic anthropology, environmental anthropology, marine anthropology – the number of “anthropologies” that exist today is staggering and this perpetuates the problem that the practitioners and their niches are all brands-of-one. In fact:

The failure to address [anthropologists'] problems has led others to question anthropology's purpose and to identify a tendency for anthropology to devolve into a species of area studies as comparative religion, literary studies, political science, geography, sociology all discover “field work” and an untroubled program of synthesizing ethnography to undergird it” (Whitehead & Wesch, 2012, p. 220).

Srivastava (1999) may have said it best: “For many, anthropology *will* be what they *do*: the practice will define the subject and not the other way round” (p. 548). In other words, anthropology’s brand is as vast as what anthropologists do.

Another reason for the weakening of anthropology’s brand – and the concomitant lack of fitness – is the field’s porous and interdisciplinary nature. Anthropology has become a discipline without boundaries and with limited connective tissue to keep it together (Sillitoe, 1998). Likewise, Srivastava (1999) comments that one of the consequences of the American approach to anthropology is that it has become more porous and spongy. “Anthropology offers a respectable place to people from various disciplines”, he argues, “but is losing its identity in the process” (p. 547). Nolan (2017) called this problem the erosion of distinctiveness.

Comaroff (2010) summarizes anthropology’s brand loss succinctly. He declares that anthropology has lost “its signature method, ethnography; root concepts, especially culture; its research terrain, namely, comparative societies and in particular, non-Western societies; and its paradigmatic theoretical landscape.” And Chambers (2009) argues that “if we ever really had such control [over the way in which anthropology works in the world] we lost it some time ago, on any number of fronts both applied and theoretical” (p. 376). I would say the same for anthropology’s brand.

Anthropology’s Brand Marketing and Communications

A significant contributor to a brand’s personality formation and equity development is related to a brand’s marketing, advertising, and communication strategies. What anthropology’s consumers (in its broadest sense of students, the public, employers, administrators, and the like) hear, how often, and from whom can drive brand understanding and saliency. Earlier in this chapter, I described the

glorification of anthropology's exoticism as part of the brand's weakness. A more assertive public voice will help refine anthropology's identity, which will encourage its practitioners' competitive differentiation.

Anthropology is missing a brand marketing and communications strategy that is more reflective of its broad value and impact than being simply the study of the exotic. Sabloff (2011) wagers that much of the public does not know what anthropology is and would guess that anthropologists study dinosaurs; or someone might mention individuals such as Indiana Jones, Margaret Mead, or Jane Goodall; or they may bring up shows like *Bones* or *Timeless* where the primary characters are anthropologists. Indeed, these are brand attributes, so anthropology is not really brandless, but these attributes are a limited representation of anthropology's strength and value. Public engagement with the discipline is limited and also lopsided by favoring archaeology and biological anthropology. This is because the public sectors gravitate toward more science-based communications as a common framework. L. Bennett and Whiteford (2013) suggest that the best way to enhance the public visibility of anthropology is to publish research outside the traditional discipline. "Publish with our Partners' is one way to achieve increased exposure; moving anthropological research into public affairs journals, sociology journals, as well as political science and public health publications draws attention to the contributions anthropologists and their partners make" (p. 5). That is, of course, if the authors identify as anthropologists and their writings as anthropological. Some anthropologists publish with partners, however, because anthropology journals do not always accept their work as anthropological. This was one of the reasons why Jeffrey C. Johnson founded the *Journal of Quantitative*

Anthropology in 1989. In either case, publishing with partners is a way to enhance brand visibility.

The missing brand communication also extends from limited public central figures for anthropology. Perhaps the closest central figure for anthropology is the American Anthropological Association (AAA). The AAA creates unifying values, policies, and rules for its members. This approach has the *potential* to inform a unified public message, but that unified message and the influence of the 11k+ membership is not far-reaching enough – the communications lack consistency and frequency. The AAA is excellent at position papers, press releases, and publications, but the reach, simplicity, and visibility of those efforts are weak despite its attempts, even with social media. Recent organizational pushes helped on the publication front – especially by engaging the applied anthropologists in its ranks to get their work into public spaces. AAA, CoPAPIA (Committee on Practicing, Applied, and Public Interest Anthropology), SfAA (Society for Applied Anthropology), and EPIC (Ethnographic Praxis in Industry Conference and their website *Ethnography Matters*) have all issued publication pushes based on their work sessions (L. Bennett & Whiteford, 2013).

Part of anthropology's brand personality means having central people (not just associations) that the public can associate with the brand. Public figures help personify the brand and make it more relatable to non-anthropologists. For example, consumers associate Elon Musk with Tesla, Bill Gates with Microsoft, Steve Jobs with Apple, and Steven Hawking with physics. Anthropology has had central figures and public intellectuals over time, such as Desmond Morris, Thor Heyerdahl, Richard Dawkins, Colin Turnball, Napoleon Chagnon, Claude Levi-Strauss, Brian Fagan, Carlos

Castaneda, Don Johanson, Margaret Mead, and Jane Goodall. Some anthropologists take issue with popularizing anthropology, but so long as it is not glorifying the exotic or touting bad science, popularizing can help the brand. Popular figures shape public perception and engagement in ways that benefit anthropologists' competitiveness.

A limited marketing narrative for anthropology is dangerous because defining the brand message is left to others. Anthropology finds itself partially in this position. Wilner (2014) documents the absence of anthropology's message and its "crisis" of representation in the popular business media. She traces how media continues to exoticize anthropologists and anthropologists miss the opportunity to control their own narratives. She suggests that media communication must focus on the *value* that anthropological work provides to support the long-term health of the field.

Anthropologists need to communicate the real-world value of anthropology – its impact, results, and contribution to society – to parents, potential students, and university administrators, and de-emphasize its value as critique.

Sabloff (2011) argues that anthropology has an obligation to public outreach and communication, but points out that there are four factors working against that goal: (1) academic anthropology, through its promotion and tenure process, impedes the growth of public anthropology communication by incentivizing publication over communication; (2) anthropology's disdain for popularizers, (3) ethical issues, and (4) anthropologists inability to make anthropological knowledge simple. Sabloff suggests that the public wants short sound bites and clear assertions. Despite these challenges, anthropologists must continue to engage the public, and engage them more where possible. The public needs to see anthropologists' work in order to understand its distinctive value. In fact,

some anthropologists argue public engagement is part of anthropologists' moral obligation and that public engagement should meet the service requirement found within academic anthropology departments for tenure. The AAA has an opportunity here to support anthropologists who are already engaging the public by helping to refine those anthropologists' communications strategies, to amplify their messages through the overall AAA web and publications platforms, and to connect anthropologists' work/discoveries to the proper communications outlets. The AAA can accelerate public engagement. This would be in line with one of its core purposes, "To further the professional interests of American anthropologists, including the dissemination of anthropological knowledge and its use to solve human problems" ("AAA Statement of Purpose," 2017). Strong public engagement and brand marketing means a brand with more equity, competitiveness, and fitness.

Products of Anthropology

The business of anthropology has products and services as well as brand. What do anthropologists create, sell, and contribute? Part of the answer relates back to my discussion of anthropology's value proposition in Chapter 1, and part of the answer connects to the discussion above, regarding where anthropologists work and what they do. This section adds to those two discussions. When I discuss anthropology's product, I mean specifically what do anthropologists sell and what are people (students, employers, clients, etc.) consuming/buying – knowledge, for example – and how do anthropologists deliver? The field operates like a portfolio brand suite where anthropology is the master brand with several different brand/units. Those portfolio brands/products may be the four subfields, area studies, or methods.

This section examines anthropology's products, the challenges they face, and how those challenges affect anthropology's competitive fitness. Peacock (1997) outlines the reasons that Jack Cornman, a former executive director of the American Anthropological Association, felt worked against anthropologists in the marketplace and made the field less competitive. These issues included: (1) anthropologists' tendency to treat anthropology as a religion (which prevents good collaboration and drives preaching), (2) failure to lead and organize, (3) lack of discipline advocacy and unity, (4) disregard for rigor and quality, and (5) incivility. There are 3 distinct areas I cover with regard to product in this research: (1) people, (2) skills, and (3) ROI.

General Anthropological Products

I define anthropology's product – and particularly that of cultural anthropology – as human understanding. Human understanding may revolve around any number of topics (locations, peoples, issues/problem, themes). The understanding may be delivered in any number of ways (publications, press, videos, reports, white papers, etc.). Anthropology's products provide description and perspective, analyze process, context, formation, and structure, and/or attempt to explain human happenings. The basic principle is that anthropologists create insights concerning the human condition.

Two examples to bring this definition to life include “sense-making” and creativity. Some anthropologists feel that one of the most important ways that anthropologists are adding value is around “human-sciences-based-analysis” (Madsbjerg & Rasmussen, 2014). Although it sounds simple, there is a business need for help navigating the complexities surrounding people, systems, data, and ideas to create a meaningful path to move forward for a business strategy, product, or brand. Anthropologists are well-suited to find connections and opportunities in complicated data. In fact, Madsbjerg and

Rasmussen believe in sensemaking so much they built a business focused on it – ReD Associates – and branded the approach “sensemaking” (2014). Another thriving anthropological product is anthropology-driven creativity. The idea of selling creativity and idea generation via the discipline was first brought forward by Ott (1979). The idea is that fieldwork serves as a process to discover things and to encourage creative thinking rather than to find “the answer.”

This range of product has allowed for “multiple anthropologies” to form. This is why there is an anthropology of everything – anthropology of friendships, anthropology of war, anthropology of food, and the list goes on and on. Johnsrud (2001) mentions that anthropologists need a strong market niche outside of the academy if anthropology is to be recognized for its potential to have a positive and sustained impact on local, national, and global problems. Similar to challenges with anthropology’s brand and value proposition challenges, anthropology’s product inflation creates niche anthropologies but not the scale and cohesiveness of an anthropological product.

J. Bennett (1996) directly critiques the general product of applied anthropology by citing five key issues: (1) applied anthropology has no theory of its own, (2) it lacks power to affect change or influence policy, (3) it has a high failure rate of conceived programs and projects, (4) it has poorly developed methods and training (more on that later), and (5) the ethics of intervention are questionable.

Anthropology’s product is further weakened because the end-consumer cannot tell what a *good* anthropological product is or is not – especially when anthropologists themselves cannot agree about what anthropologists are doing or how they are doing it. Anthropologists know the components of good work, and can critique elements that are

not anthropologically sound. Dornadic (2014) states that good anthropology is “using theory and methodology to look at the world in different ways, to compare perspectives, and to challenge assumptions” (p. 201). He builds on that position by asserting that good anthropology “means looking at systems holistically, understanding emics and etics, and knowing history in order to understand the present and imagine the future. It includes making meaningful differences based on this knowledge” (p. 47). Is this enough? Does this definition provide proper criteria for assessing the quality and worth of the anthropological product? Due to the variation in the overall product, one person’s treasure might be another person’s trash, and this inconsistency lowers anthropology’s fitness.

In other disciplines, great scholarship and product are clearer in terms of strong research design, methods, impact, and conclusions. The resulting data in these disciplines can be more longitudinal and comparative. With anthropology’s postmodern and literary turn, however, it is difficult to assess the quality and worth of the product – therefore the consumer also does not know how to engage, buy, or value it. This is even truer with the quality of ethnography as a specific product. I look at that in the section devoted to ethnography – which is perhaps the most controversial anthropological product.

Anthropology Practitioners as Product

Anthropologists are largely the instrument of their craft. As interviewers, researchers, analysts, ethnographers, presenters, and writers, anthropologists are not only ambassadors of anthropology’s brand, but they are also part of anthropology’s product. Professors are mentors and coaches to their students, and students are products of a professor’s training/teaching. Employers may buy technology and

physical items to help them achieve their business goals, but they also seek to buy anthropologists/ethnographers to provide a service that originates with the person. The anthropologists and their thinking are part of the delivery/output and therefore represent a product in and of themselves. That said, anthropologists as products have their own effects on anthropology's fitness.

In thinking about anthropologists as products, I recognize that there is again wide variation regarding how academics and practitioners participate in their respective markets. Engagement style, delivery, and performance all have variation. There are some generalizations, however, that can be made about anthropologists that are worth considering as I detail anthropology's competitiveness.

Practitioners as products carry a variety of characteristics. They can be imaginative, good connectors, detail-oriented and comprehensive, but at the same time have some product challenges to overcome. From a personality standpoint, the idea of the Professional Stranger (Agar, 2008) persists and anthropologists can be seen as cold, detached, and sterile (Hannerz, 2010). In terms of teamwork, M. Wolf (2002) notes that anthropologists historically have worked alone, but with the rise of large and changing research teams and with a focus on problem-oriented anthropology, collaboration is required, meaning that anthropologists cannot operate wherever or whenever they wish, particularly without local input.

The solo product is not sustainable but Srivastava (1999) found that anthropology's encounters with other disciplines can be awkward: "It is prone to generate 'nervous inferiority' in [the anthropologist] unless he stands on the steady feet

of his discipline, is committed to intellectual osmosis, and constantly reminds himself of his goals and purposes” (p. 548).

A unique issue with anthropologists as products, and practitioners as an extension of anthropology’s brand, is the fluidity of self-identification with the discipline. For example, in the “Changing Face of Anthropology Study” of masters level students, sponsored by the American Anthropological Association’s Committee on Practicing, Applied, and Public Interest Anthropology (CoPAPIA), only 42% of respondents strongly identified as anthropologists (Fiske et al., 2009). That study also found that “lacking professional recognition and support from within their parent discipline and isolated in many cases from their colleagues, these [applied] practitioners no longer self-identify as anthropologists” (Nolan, 2017, p. 196). Depending on the context, anthropologists may identify first with their role rather than with their profession. For example, they may identify as a consultant, strategist, designer, ethnographer, or client (Dornadic, 2014).

Anthropologists’ identification as something other than anthropologist may come, from four potential places: (1) wanting to avoid an exotic past, (2) not wanting to explain what anthropology is, (3) some kind of shame, or (4) the idea that it is more advantageous and clear to identify as what you do versus your profession/training. Nolan (2017) notes that practitioners are especially less likely to identify with the parent brand of anthropology and they struggle to remain engaged (whether it be because of time, interest, benefit, or costs). More so, however, Nolan (2017) says, “It is because of the persistent tendency of the academy to favor contributions from its own members, to listen primarily to its own voices, and to focus mainly on its own concerns” (p. 194). Nolan adds that:

there is still a certain privileging of knowledge production through research rather through knowledge application through practice. The words *applied* and *practice* still appear, all too often, in scare quotes, as part of the overall process of othering and marginalization (p. 194).

In other words, why identify as an anthropologist if your parents disown you? Just change your name instead.

The inconsistent self-identification as anthropologist, and the inconsistency in “ways of working” as an anthropological practitioner adversely affects the discipline’s competitiveness and visibility. Ideally anthropologists would wear anthropology as a badge of honor, rather than leverage it when needed. This is not to advocate for self-promotion, but rather pride in the discipline. Identification as an anthropologist might help break down the perception of the practitioner as a lone-wolf who is cold and out-of-touch.

Skills as Products

The anthropologist’s technical and methodological skills are also products. What are the skills anthropologists sell? What are consumers buying? It is safe to say that some of an anthropologists’ strongest skills are critical thinking, analysis, and writing, though some survey data from Brondo and Bennett (2012) show that departments are not doing a good job in terms of even those most basic skills. Ethnography is an anthropologist’s skill and I devote an entire section to that topic. Beyond those thinking, writing, and presenting skills, however, anthropology seems to lack technical skills as products.

Without clear, shared, and valued technical and methodological skills, cultural anthropologists especially are at a disadvantage in the marketplace. Baba (2014) notes that anthropology has a sink or swim approach – you go to the field and you figure it all

out as you go – that does not nurture proper technical skills. Marcus (2008) agrees and says that the training of anthropologists is oddly open and nurturing, allowing students to do almost anything they want while being rigid in some aspects – such as the fieldwork requirement. This approach does not lead to a standard technical product. It leads to individual brands of anthropologists and anthropological products. Nolan (2017) begins his book, “Using Anthropology in the World,” with the premise that graduates are poorly equipped to engage in practicing anthropology or applied anthropology and succeed. He points out that the technical skills anthropologists do have, are:

...not unique to our discipline. Anthropologists claim to be interested in the totality of human experience, past and present, making it difficult to carve out a proprietary niche of our own. And although clients are certainly willing to pay for the work of anthropologists, that same work...can often be done by non-anthropologists. (p. 197).

The training of technical skills for anthropologists is not just poor. In many cases it is missing completely.

Lack of consensus on what skills a cultural anthropologist needs increases the difficulty of developing proper technical skill training. That consensus may not come at a discipline level, but may have to be established at the department level based on a program’s focus. Baba (1994) agrees and asks:

What is it within our discipline that future practitioners must know in order to represent our discipline responsibly and ethically, and contribute to its future growth and development? Further, what must future generations of anthropology faculty know in order to prepare future generations of practitioners? Should courses and ethics be required? What about requirements and methodology, or the application of anthropological knowledge. (p. 180)

The lack of consensus should not, however, prevent us from making incremental steps towards gaining skill-products. As early as 1944, Raymond Firth called for greater

training and depth in methods (Firth, 1944). “Greater precision in methods will also be needed; more planned research, more cooperative research, and more quantitative research. By planned research I mean here especially the study from the outset of problems rather than of peoples as such.” (p. 21). Firth also pushed for more quantitative research so that the broad generalizations made by anthropologists might be more systematically tested. Suchman (2013) points out that anthropologists need to have the skills to translate their findings into commercially or academically impactful relevant terms. Professional soft skills, she said, such as networking, collaboration, design, problem-solving, client engagement, and the ability to communicate with many audiences are all needed and not taught.

The training of technical skill-products is improving, but the discipline needs to push harder to stay competitive in the marketplace. For example, the University of Florida’s Online Anthropology Methods Mall (supported by the National Science Foundation) helps provide training for a variety of skill-products. Anthropology programs need dedicated skills/methods courses that are relevant to today’s problems, data, and tools. Otherwise anthropology runs the risk of anthropologists (or potential anthropologists) turning to other programs to gain fundamental anthropological skills – such as interviewing, participant-observation, and text analysis – needed to be competitive in today’s marketplace (see (Bernard, 2011)). Students should gain those critical skills and methods in their anthropology department, where the expertise can be specifically groomed and applied for anthropology.

Enhanced technical skills do not just aid the careers of applied/practicing anthropologists, but the craft and scholarship of the academic anthropologist also

improves. Peluso (2017) argues that even in today's academic climate the discussion of outputs, skills, and deliverables is no longer just a topic for practicing anthropologists, but an opportunity for the whole discipline to consider. Institutions and funding councils/foundations require stronger research plans with clearer metrics for successful implementation and completion of a project/inquiry. Everyone wins with more technical skills and products. If not, Baba suggests:

we should consider the possibility that business clients may be willing to forgo anthropological analysis and link directly to the consumer for understanding because anthropologists have not yet done all that we could to enhance and explain our discipline-based and interdisciplinary expertise as means to analyze and interpret the world (Baba, 2014, p. 6).

Ethnography as Anthropological Product

One of the most prominent and also most controversial products of anthropology is ethnography. The ethnography brand is strong – it had brand resurgence starting in the 1990's with design, user, and consumer research. Ethnography's brand is so strong that it can overshadow anthropology's brand or is confused with anthropology itself. Ethnography has a strong historical relationship with anthropology – from some of the original salvage ethnographies to corporate ethnographies. Anthropology is tied to ethnography or, as some would say, obsessed with it. Jebens and Kohl (2011) go so far as to say anthropologists “worship” ethnography and it is a “rite of passage” within the discipline.

Ethnography serves as a product rallying point because it is a *thing*, a tangible output or process. Ethnography is something anthropologists can point to and say, “we do that.” Consumers can see, engage, and feel it – ethnography can make sense to them. In a discipline with such a range of topics and approaches, ethnography tends to serve as one of anthropology's shared languages. In 2005 EPIC (Ethnographic Praxis in

Industry Conference) formed on the basis of ethnography's popularity, effectiveness, and brand cachet. EPIC created a space for the ethnographic product to flourish, and a space where social scientists, designers, and technologists could engage it. As Mack and Squires (2011) put it, EPIC was formed to "capture the interest generated by the term ethnography, and to create convergence around, as one interviewee put it, "the boundary object we all share" (p. 11). EPIC was not the first group to rally around the strength of ethnography and participant observation as a product, however.

Anthropologists such as Harry Wolcott, John Ogbu, and George and Louise Spindler did pioneering ethnographic research in the classroom. Ethnography in the classroom was taken up by scholars in education around the same time the Ph.D. program in anthropology at Columbia University's Teachers College was established in 1968.

Ethnography, and participant observation, was never owned by anthropologists, but the methods have always been strongly connected with the discipline of anthropology. Bernard and Gravlee (2014) note that "Just as it was never true that only sociologists did surveys, it was never true that only anthropologists did participant observation fieldwork" (p. 4). Ethnography and participant-observation diffused into other disciplines over time – see the title analysis in Chapter 5 – and "participant observation today is absolutely ubiquitous in the social sciences" (Bernard & Gravlee, 2014, p. 4). Despite the diffusion into other disciplines, anthropology retains a strong relationship with ethnography. Ethnography and fieldwork serve as perhaps anthropology's most recognizable and sellable product entry points. How do anthropologists define ethnography? Is the view and delivery of it similar enough to serve as a standard anthropological product?

There is little agreement between anthropologists as to what ethnography is, and less agreement (or instruction) on how to do it. Many anthropologists discuss the problems in defining ethnography or participant-observation (Agar, 2008; Arnould & Wallendorf, 1994; Fetterman, 2010; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Moeran, 2005; Musante, 2014; Salvador, Bell, & Anderson, 1999; Van Maanen, 2011; Wolcott, 1999, 2005). Some argue ethnography is an output, while others argue ethnography is a method, a way of knowing, or a way of simply working. There's confusion all around. There is even confusion in the language anthropologists use to describe ethnography – or brand it differently to try to draw attention to subtle differences. For example, fieldwork, participant-observation, and even qualitative research are used as synonyms for ethnographic work. There are some scholars who distinguish these terms. For example, Ingold (2017) feels that participant-observation is more educational, not ethnographic. To the end consumers, however, these slight variations likely confuse them and the product thereby weakens the brand.

Baba (2014) describes ethnography as both a product and a process. Wolcott (1999) considers ethnography a “way of seeing” – ethnography is a lens by which to translate the world, not just collect information. Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (2011) assert ethnography as a way “to get close to those studied as way of understanding what their activities and experiences *mean to them*” (p. 12). Bernard (2011) defines participant-observation as a strategic method “like experiments, surveys, or archival research. It puts you where the action is and lets you collect data...any kind of data you want, narratives or numbers. It has been used for generations by positivist and interpretivists

alike” (p. 257). Anthropologists are the instrument of ethnography. Bernard (2011) describes this role well:

Participant observation involves immersing yourself in a culture and learning to remove yourself every day from that immersion so you can intellectualize what you’ve seen and heard, put in perspective, and write about it convincingly. When it’s done right, participant observation turns fieldworkers into instruments of data collection and data analysis. (p. 259)

Some anthropologists take an approach of “just hanging out” and storytelling while others take an approach of doing open-ended, semi-structured interviews, with full transcription and coding and checking for intercoder reliability to develop grounded, reliable insights. In either case, Bernard (2011) emphasizes an important point:

The implication is that *better* fieldworkers are *better* data collectors and *better* data analyzers. And the implication of *that* is that participant observation is not an attitude or an epistemological commitment or a way of life. It’s a craft. As with all crafts, becoming a skilled artisan at participant observation takes practice. (p. 258)

Variation in ethnographic approaches means ethnographic outputs have variation and consumers do not always know what to expect from the product. Neither the anthropologist nor the product are interchangeable. It is difficult for consumers to know what good ethnography is or is not – there is little consensus on quality ethnography. Hammersley (2017) believes that ethnography lacks rigor. He points to the approach’s supposed unclear terms such as “long-term” and “naturally-occurring” as problematic. Ingold (2014) says that: “The growing inability to explain what we really mean by ethnography is an increasing source of embarrassment for anthropology” (p. 384). Thus, scholars hold several definitions and approaches to ethnography, fieldwork, and participant observation, all of which create variations in the marketplace.

Another challenge with the ethnographic product is that it has lost some of its marketplace reputation. From the late 1980s to early 2000s, ethnography was a popular

"new" method in business for gaining competitive advantage for physical goods. The approach became more integrated over time and did not lose strength, but lost luster. With the advent of the Internet, user research and design anthropology helped reinvigorate ethnography and put it in the spotlight again. The Yahoo! Group Anthrodesign illustrates ethnography's reinvigoration well (more here: <https://groups.yahoo.com/neo/groups/anthrodesign/info> and here <https://anthrodesign.com/>). Formed in 2002, the group's goal was to bring together people interested in anthropology and design. Anthrodesigners practice applied anthropology or ethnographic techniques in the corporate and public sectors to solve industrial, software, and other types of product design challenges. In November of 2017, this group had 2,943 members.

In my experience, however, ethnography and anthropology are less in vogue again – even in the HCI (Human Computer Interface) space – and practitioners express concern over the future of ethnography in market research (EPIC 2009).

Marcus (2008) sums up the challenge of ethnography. He says that ethnography itself is not the problem product; the problem is anthropologists and anthropology:

Ethnography is a valuable contribution, but does it justify a discipline? I would say only if anthropologists distinctively and collectively process these materials and reports that they accumulate. And this is precisely what they do not do, because the strength of anthropology, as I argued before, is centrifugally in its interdisciplinary involvements rather than in any distinctive discourse among anthropologists themselves about what they are doing. The center is fragmented and, while not empty literally, is indeed empty of coherent ideas about what anthropological research is, does, and means in the contemporary world (p. 4).

Although this point may be distressing, it does point to the fact that anthropology's fitness is not determined by its products (or by ethnography) alone, but by the combination of its skills, products, brands, and practitioners.

Ethnography and anthropology are not synonyms

There is a long-lasting debate concerning the role of ethnography in anthropology and vice-versa. In marketing, the confusion between ethnographic methods and the larger field of anthropology is legion (Baba, 2014; Ingold, 2008). Indeed, even within this study I caught myself using the words ethnography and anthropology interchangeably as a result of my readings and experience. Ethnography, I thought, was something tangible that anthropologists could own and sell; it had product traction and cachet, and gained momentum in the academic and commercial marketplace – anthropology and ethnography became interchangeable. Regardless of the perception, however, anthropology is not ethnography, and ethnography is not anthropology. The confounding of the words does a disservice to the business of anthropology and its competitiveness. Ingold (2014) positions this sharply, “A discipline confined to the theatre of its own operations has nowhere to go” (p. 383).

Anthropology being anchored to ethnography limits the breadth of *potential* anthropological product impact. Anthropologists have been pigeonholed in the marketplace as ethnographers, which is why job-seekers see ads for ethnographers more than for anthropologists. Ethnography is a tangible, known contribution whereas anthropology is not. Ingold (2008, 2014, 2017) makes clear that ethnography is not the end-all-be-all of anthropology and that the confounding of the two prevents the discipline from having the kind of impact the world needs. Baba (2014) comments that “... anthropologists should worry about whether the anthropological brand is becoming obsolete, and all anthropologists should take more seriously the elision of anthropology from ethnographically branded consumer research firms” (p. 56).

Ingold (2017) further points out that the over-focus on ethnography is holding anthropology hostage while other fields accelerate forward. As the researcher explains:

This collapse of anthropology into ethnography has deflected the discipline from its proper purpose, it has hamstrung anthropological efforts to continue to debate on the great questions of our time, and compromised its role with the academy (p. 21).

I agree with Ingold and have seen this same issue in the practicing space.

Ethnography has taken market share away from a larger anthropological product and from potential career paths. Anthropologists need to market themselves and contribute to the academic and applied marketplace more broadly – to shed the ethnographic handcuffs. In fact, "...we will only succeed in securing a future for anthropology within the coming university if we make a clean break, once and for all, with the reduction of anthropology to an accumulation of ethnographic case studies" (Ingold, 2017, p. 25).

Quality control and ethnography

Further affecting ethnography as a product is the lack of quality control around it as a product and skill. In my direct experience, I have contracted many research firms and contractors for ethnographic, or ethnographic-like, research. I have observed that the variation in research delivery and market demands for faster and cheaper ethnography have in some cases compromised the quality. Ethnographic quality can be difficult to determine since there are few shared best practices, but there have been significant changes in terms of what ethnography is and how it is done – it remains to be tested, but a compromised ethnography product could adversely affect the business of anthropology.

The quality of ethnography has been compromised in four ways. (1) First, in an effort to save time and money to increase margin and revenue, research firms,

agencies, and consultancies have tried to standardize ethnography in such a way that it limits the open nature of the approach, but accelerates the timeline. (2) Second, ethnography suppliers have taken to “rebranding” ethnography to differentiate it as a product. This rebranding increases brand confusion for both ethnography and anthropology in the marketplace. Terms such as cellnography, photo-ethnography, digilife, and ethnotracing are examples of this brand diffusion and confusion. (3) Third, businesses began to challenge ethnography more frequently. To them, “ethnography can come across as ‘flaky and lacking rigor’ as they are often unable to discern any data of the sort they expect” (Sillitoe, 2007, p. 155). This is why practitioners continue to spend so much time educating clients and consumers on what to expect from ethnography. “Furthermore consumers of ethnography can see the subjective nature of it and how the researcher’s experiences and understanding influence his or her findings” (Sillitoe, 2007, p. 155). This view regarding its subjectivity puts ethnography into a place of building inspiration, empathy, ideas, and creativity vs. understanding or insight about the causes or consequences of observed behaviors. This problem is exacerbated by the fact that “vendors don’t necessarily worry as much about the play of truth and falsity as about whether their brand of ethnography sells” (Baba, 2014, p. 56).

(4) Fourth, ethnography is diluted through its commodification and democratization (Lombardi, 2009). Some ethnographic suppliers have taken to collecting “ethnographic data” through technologies that save the researcher time, but may compromise data quality. Malefyt (2009) calls these *technomethodologies*. Technomethodologies and other techno-pseudo-ethnographic methods (such as sensors, life-trackers, the quantified self, etc.), Malefyt says, have increased competitive

pressures to produce faster and cheaper methods for creating and mining big data. Technomethodologies easily gather data and provide another input into ethnographic inquiry, but little work has been done in terms of how they affect the end result of the ethnography. The real issue with ethnographic technomethodologies is that they place the value (read: cost savings) on data collection while neglecting anthropologically interesting questions, comparative analysis, contextual-grounding, and longitudinal framing of the answer (Lombardi, 2009).

Commodification, democratization and dilution of ethnography is rampant. These days, it seems that anyone can be an ethnographer. Lack of certification, quality standards, and approach differentiation in market research ethnographic approaches weakened the craft and, I argue, anthropology. The decoupling of anthropology from ethnography has quickened ethnography's dilution and decreased quality (Baba, 1994, 2005, 2014). Baba (2009) charts the manner in which ethnography became "de-anthropologized." She argues that ethnography has become a service, devoid of any craft knowledge, and commoditized within the broader spaces of market research, consulting, and technical professionals. Wasson (2002) argues that business clients rarely appreciate the value of anthropology or ethnography and see it as a complementary way that could be added to efforts already underway by clients. In this regard, and from the overall deskilling of the ethnographic method, she suggests ethnography has become a shell of what it once was.

Certification and the ethnographic product

The focus on ethnography as a core product, its variation in execution, delivery, and quality, have driven some researchers (both anthropologists and non-anthropologist ethnographers) to call for a certification / professional license to be an ethnographer.

Batteau and Morais (2015) argue that lack of licensing standards for anthropology or ethnographers means that the proliferation of pseudo-ethnographers and pseudo-anthropologists will continue. When Batteau and Morais undertook the exercise of trying to develop standards, however, they were humbled by the complexity of a potential licensure program (Ensworth, 2012). They came to understand that standard licensing takes years of discussion and negotiation. Similarly, L. Bennett et al. (2006) argued that certification or the creation of standards of performance would be worthwhile, but again, felt that the topical coverage of anthropology was simply too broad to accomplish that goal. With certification, the hope is to increase the typical requirements to be an ethnographer and to move the standard beyond, "I'm an ethnographer because I say I am."

Ensworth (2012) made a calling for an "Ethnographic Praxis Professional Certification." She argued that a professional certification was an important demarcation of quality and standardization of a core product for applied ethnographers. Her certification program outlined four components: (1) shared ethnographic standards and procedures, (2) an actual certification, (3) an ethnographic knowledge-building program, and (4) a financing plan for the certification and a membership program. She sees Ethnographic Praxis Professional Certification as a way to recruit more people into an ethnographic approach and training ethnographers in a standard approach and skills. Ensworth acknowledges that the academy often leaves students without the proper training, leaving them at a disadvantage compared to students in design and engineering schools who may receive training that is more competitive for jobs in practicing anthropology. But she also argues that certifications do not simply look better

on a résumé; they will create stronger connections to the local communities/universities, and strengthen the overall, popular, brand of ethnography.

Ensworth (2012) as with others, also acknowledges there are several challenges to driving this kind of certification program, including developing a business model for it, the boundaries of the ethnographic craft, the actual certification exam tool, and the acceptance of certification criteria. Nonetheless, the idea of certification or requirements is gaining currency. If anthropologists cannot achieve it at a discipline level, then I think it is worth considering whether departments can add certification at the institutional level.

The ROI on Anthropological Product and Brand

The return on investment (ROI) on anthropological products and brand for its consumers is critical to maintain competitiveness in both the commercial marketplace and the academy. One of anthropology's consumer sets is higher education which includes faculty, students, and administrators, while another set of consumers is the public (I cover both of these groups in Chapter 4, "The Commercialization of Higher Education"). With regard to applied and practicing anthropology specifically, the consumers I am speaking about are employers who contract with anthropologists for social science work (whatever shape that may take). These employers ask questions such as, "Did I get what I paid for?" "What's the ROI on ethnography?" and "An anthropologist is three times as expensive as [insert person, company, practice, method]. What's the additional value I gain from an anthropologist?" Showing anthropology's value is critical to long-lasting employment and marketplace competitiveness for anthropology.

Many people argue that anthropologists add and drive value, but the value is not always clear or visible. Often, the value anthropology provides is *indirect*, meaning the knowledge and insight an anthropologist provides is an input to someone else's output. Then that final output gets the value/credit. For example, a UX (user experience) researcher with credentials in and identify as an anthropologist may be critical to the formation of an idea for a new e-commerce platform and for the refinement and execution of that platform. If the platform becomes popular and produces significant revenue, the designer who delivers the final product is likely to get credit for the revenue growth, while the anthropologist's indirect value would be both hard to measure and hard to make tangible in terms of ROI.

Sometimes anthropology's additional value is simply unclear, further making the ROI argument difficult. For example, how can a trained anthropologist argue that anthropology-based ethnography is better than that done by a non-anthropology-trained ethnographer? Can the anthropology-trained ethnographer say something to the effect of "on average my clients yield 22% more revenue because of my insights?" The answer is no, and this is unfortunate because these are the kinds of arguments that win in the marketplace. This is why selling technomethodologies is so compelling – it saves concrete dollars on the data collection part of the process but skimps on the analysis and delivery of insights. In my experience, many clients will argue for good-enough over perfection, and so technomethodologies win over robust ethnography.

The ROI question is vexing. In commerce, anthropologists need to quantify their work to employers. Quantification – whether in terms of time, money, interviews, insights, ideas, or another metric – makes the work tangible and the market demands

that. “In addition, anthropologists increasingly need to forecast and demonstrate impact in concrete and foreseeable terms” (Peluso, 2017, p. 18). Baba (2014) notes that public support for a discipline is based on the perceived benefit (or engagement) the discipline brings to society – the greater the benefit the greater the support. That said, for the public and for anthropologists’ employers, the ROI argument must be about anthropology’s impact, value, and contribution, *never* about its process or critiques. That’s how anthropology wins the ROI game.

Anthropology’s Competitors and Competitive Landscape

New and old competitors have entered into spaces that were once traditionally occupied mainly by anthropologists. The confusion concerning anthropology’s market contribution, the fragmentation of its value proposition, the decentralization and inconsistency of anthropology’s brand, and inconsistent anthropological product skills create space for others to take market share from the discipline. The delay by anthropologists to engage in certain topics and with participatory methods has created space for competitors to take over domains of expertise that were historically anthropologists’ core (Sillitoe, 2007). Kuper and Marks (2011) lament the introduction of new competitors into anthropology’s subject areas in their piece *Anthropologists Unite!*:

Only a handful still try to understand the origins and possible connections between biological, social and cultural forms, or to debate the relative significance of history and microevolution in specific, well-documented instances. This is a great pity, and not only because the silence of the anthropologists has left the field to blockbusting books by amateurs that are long on speculation and short on reliable information. Anthropologists hardly bother any longer to take issue with even the most outlandish generalizations about human nature. Not their business. (p. 167)

I used the term *market share* intentionally. In Chapter 4 I explore the market forces driving higher education. One of the most critical market forces is employability

of a profession, training, and/or degree. Losing market share for anthropology means losing its potential employability – which is tantamount to losing competitiveness. Kedia (2008) notes:

In the contemporary, information-driven government and corporate world, job classification requirements are being broadened beyond a specific skills set. This means that the interdisciplinary nature of anthropologists' non-academic work will entail not only collaboration, but also competition for jobs from other anthropologists and those with whom they often work, such as sociologists, psychologists, statisticians, market researchers, and even computer professionals ... The boundaries between the type of knowledge produced by anthropologists and those in other areas are becoming blurred, as ideas from various disciplines influence the concepts and methodologies in others. (p. 17)

Other competitors are creeping in as well – professionals who claim to have a “cultural bent” to their work or the skills to make technology a collaborator. These relationships can be complicated because they are collaborator and competitor, or friend and enemy at the same time. These new and renewed forms of competition – other professionals and the “interdisciplinaries” – lower even further anthropology's competitiveness in the nonacademic marketplace. I examine each of these in turn.

Other Professionals as Competitors of Anthropology

The entrance of pseudo-anthropologists and pseudo-ethnographers is part of the new competition. These are professionals who claim identity as anthropologists or who do anthropology-like work without anthropological training. The question becomes: What constitutes anthropology qualifications outside of a degree? Some would argue the work of a good journalist is just as good if not better than that of anthropologists. Sociologists have been doing ethnography since the 1880s and much of the methodological writing about ethnography is by sociologists (Bernard & Gravlee, 2014). Sherry Turkle, a well-known author, has done exemplary work regarding

communications, digital media, and culture but does not have a background in anthropology but rather sociology. Even Bill Gates is reported to be an anthropologist now (Brown, 2005).

There are entire industries being formed that compete with anthropologists as well. Suchman (2013) identified three new entrants into the historically anthropological space: (1) the rise of what have come to be called “culture industries,” (2) most basic goods and services can be conceived of as cultural connected with “lifestyles” and “experiences” and therefore anthropological, and (3) the turn towards “organizational culture.” This broadening opens up the competitive space to anyone who may produce goods, services, or knowledge in these areas.

Another form of competition comes from within the discipline. Aside from competition across the subfields of anthropology for students, consultancies, grants and other resources, and besides the practitioner-academic divide, Wasson (2014) points to an increasing practitioner-practitioner divide, as anthropologists who are developing or publishing on business anthropology are not engaging with the existing community of business anthropologists. In conceptualizing a new form of anthropology, they ignored the existence of applied anthropology, whose practitioners had been engaging with matters of public concern for years.

Srivastava (1999) argues that a discipline should not become so myopic that it becomes incestuous, sterile, and uncreative. At the same time, he says, “Let [anthropology] not become so porous that, as in [anthropology’s] case, almost every biological, sociological, or cultural study of humans could claim a place in anthropology” (p. 546). He goes on to say:

We already know of health scientists, historians, experts in foreign affairs, journalists, filmmakers and many others, who not only call themselves anthropologists, but compete with hard-core anthropologists for scarce funds for research, to tenorial positions, chairs of committees, awards, etc. (p. 546)

That said, as anthropologists, we need to show our additional anthropological value-add within this new competitive set to out-compete the pseudo-anthropologists.

Interdisciplinary, Transdisciplinary, and Multidisciplinary as Competitors and Collaborators

Many anthropologists engage in interdisciplinary, transdisciplinary, and multidisciplinary efforts. Often, these area studies are centered on specific fields such as “Latin America Studies,” or topic studies, such as “Marine Ecology Preservation.” Sahlins (2009) says that “hollowing out the disciplines themselves while filling the institutional spaces between them with a clutter of centers, institutes, committees, and programs poses a greater risk to anthropology because it essentially creates competing pseudo-disciplines” (p. 1015). In some ways, anthropologists are scholastically promiscuous which helps their effort to be a brand-of-one but again decenters the overall discipline. J. Bennett (1996) felt that the multidisciplinary approach causes some intellectual drifting and therefore increases potential attrition from anthropology. In addition to potentially converting anthropologists into other professionals, other fields run with anthropological concepts more effectively – sometimes outcompeting us with our own content. Peacock (1997) says that:

Within the academy we are fighting against fields such as law, policy studies, and education, which contest our claim on internationalism, diversity, and cultural analysis, often beating us in the game of applicability with the repackaging of our ideas into user-friendly parcels (p. 10).

Anthropologists are sometime hired to work in service of another discipline or as contextualizers or to offer some other added value – as when, for example, they are paired with professionals from a more dominant (or pragmatic) discipline to provide cross-cultural understanding or a global lens. This shows up today as students choose to major in business and minor in anthropology in order to create an *international business* story.

This form of competition is stealthy. It elevates the number of minors and creates enrollment in anthropology programs, but it does not translate into departmental performance metrics as much as an increase in majors does. Arnould et al. (2012) offers a specific example of this concept with regards to business anthropology. He notes, “the last thing we want is for business anthropology to be the poor stepchild of management, marketing, finance or accountancy, or simply reduced to a method of rendering such practices more efficient and affective” (p. 295). Sillitoe (2007) argues, however, that this kind of academic partnering is one of the best ways anthropology can survive – through coupling anthropological knowledge with some other field such as agriculture, engineering, or economics.

Rather than being “in service of” another field, sometimes the competition becomes more of a game of one-upmanship. In this scenario, anthropology is the primary focus, but then the anthropologist minors or double majors in a separate field to close training and technical gaps – I call this anthropology plus. The challenge with anthropology plus is that it becomes more work for the student (and possibly adds costs) and still pulls the students away from the discipline.

If our graduates increasingly must seek training that points them in other directions, and if they are assuming professional positions in

which disciplinary boundaries are blurred, then we are at risk of having future practitioners – who may not have been sufficiently enculturated – lose their identity as anthropologists and drift away from our discipline. (Baba, 1994, p. 180)

This, again, makes the discipline less competitive and visible in the marketplace.

This situation of “anthropology in service of” or “anthropology plus” begs a serious question about our competitive positioning and anthropology’s fitness: Is anthropology not enough in-and-of-itself?” The answer to that question is, no, not without marketable skills and direct career paths. This means anthropology needs to create a curriculum and training programs that create competitive scholarship and careers.

Summary and Discussion: The Business and Brand of Anthropology

In this chapter, I built upon the historical factors impacting anthropology’s future competitiveness by examining anthropology as a business. The anthropology of business has three components: brand, products, and competition. The early historical divisions of academic vs. practitioner, along with theoretical splits and divisions within the discipline have made anthropology’s brand and products problematic and opened up space for competitors to enter.

In sum, the most observable brand for anthropology is the brand-of-one, where each practitioner carries his or her own brand and marketing niche. This makes it challenging to have a central message. In terms of marketing communications, anthropologists need to better amplify their central voices and their strong tenets such as the aphorism that “anthropology is about making the exotic familiar, and the familiar exotic” and Wolf’s message that “anthropology is the most humanistic of the sciences and the most scientific of the humanities” (E. R. Wolf, 1964, p. 88). Anthropology’s

brand narrative is sometimes controlled by others rather than by anthropologists themselves – and the dominant narrative about anthropology rarely focuses on the value that anthropology brings to the world.

I also analyzed anthropology's products and explained how those products typically add value in terms of sense making and creativity, but also noted the difficulty in telling good anthropology product from a bad one. Nonacademic anthropology practitioners may work independently or in teams, but are more likely to self-identify as their practitioner role than as an anthropologist. Finally, while anthropologists need more robust training in research methods in order to be more competitive in the workplace, there is no consensus about what that training needs to be.

In this chapter, I also noted the definitions of ethnography as a product and a process, how ethnography and anthropology are not synonyms, and that the confusion of the two and lack of quality control has hurt the discipline in the marketplace. Finally, I ended the chapter by raising concerns about anthropology's return on investment and about the increasing number of competitors within anthropology's scholastic and applied spaces.

To be competitive, anthropology will need to further define its brand and its products and frequently communicate the discipline's overall message and value proposition. Brand is powerful. Communication is critical. Tangible products are sellable. Anthropology is going to need all three to be competitive in the higher education marketplace and in the knowledge economy. Chapter 4 will explore this topic in more detail.

CHAPTER 4 THE HIGHER EDUCATION MARKETPLACE

Understanding Structural and Economic Forces and Anthropology

This chapter is about the macro political and economic factors that affect anthropology's fitness. One important factor is the current market pressure on institutions of higher education in the United States. The perceived failure of liberal arts programs in the U.S. to produce students who have marketable skills have led many Americans to lose faith in the four-year degree (Mitchell & Belkin, 2017). The economic crash of 2008 and the subsequent lengthy period of high unemployment changed people's perceptions of the value of higher education. Public investment in higher education in the U.S. is at its lowest point in more than a century, adjusted for inflation.

With student debt mounting and with the emergence of MOOC (Massive Open Online Courses, which are free), parents, administrators, governments, and students all demand more results from institutions of higher education (Mullings, 2015). The key to this last sentence is the word "results."

The notion of higher education results means different things to different constituents. To parents it may mean an affordable education that prepares students for employment (Carlson, 2017); to students it may mean interesting courses, a great campus experience, and a job; to professors it may mean completed Ph.D.s, publications, a competitive curriculum, or class attendance (Najmabadi, 2017); and to administrators it may mean high university rankings, increased enrollment (including international students), and budget management (Almanac, 2017; K. Fischer, 2017). In every case, the results of higher education are under increasing scrutiny and higher education is increasingly treated as a business as well as a place of scholarship and

learning (Corbett Broad, 2017) . This translates to increased focus on profit, margin, marketing, graduation rates, resource management, patents, comparable performance metrics, and other business metrics.

Sahlins (2009) points to the Patent and Trademark Law Amendments Act (Pub. L. 96-517, December 12, 1980) – known as the Bayh-Dole Act of 1980 – as cementing the commodification of knowledge. The Act allowed universities to patent and license sellable products of publicly-funded research. Before 1981, universities took out fewer than 250 patents a year, while in 1999 about 5500 patents were filed by colleges and universities (Sahlins, 2009). More recently, according to a report by the Association of University Technology Managers, 6,363 patents were issued in 2014, which was an 11% increase from 2013 (Gordon, 2017).

The commercialization of higher education means viewing knowledge as a product, not a service; it considers students as consumers of that knowledge commodity; it assesses professors, scholarship, and curriculum as inventory and assets, and it focuses on degrees as production. The goal is to make the institution both more efficient and more effective.

The commercialization of post-secondary education means that anthropologists need more than ever to identify new ways to attract students, faculty, and funding, and to promote career placement after graduation. My position is that the ambiguity of anthropology's brand and product makes the field more susceptible to these new marketplace forces. Anthropologists will quickly need to change how they position the field in the higher education market.

Below I detail three areas of investigation: (1) the commercialization of higher education and anthropology, (2) challenges in career perceptions, and (3) faculty and department implications.

Anthropology and Higher Education Commercialism

One of the largest impacts on anthropology with regard to higher education commercialization is that “higher education stakeholders, including parents and students, increasingly view college less about supplying a general education and more in terms of specific skills to enter a chosen profession” (Copeland & Dengah II, 2016). Anthropology is seen as one of the top 10 worst college degrees, has one of the highest unemployment rates, and lowest starting salaries (Carter, 2017; Goudreau, 2012). In Chapter 3, I noted that anthropology does not provide the types of technical skills and products that secure jobs outside the academy. There may be a disconnect between anthropology’s job market, the public perception of what anthropology does or can do, and what a higher education stakeholder *values* in terms of what an anthropology education provides.

The pressure to conform to labor market forces is higher for anthropology than for academic programs that prepare students for available jobs. The United States Department of Labor (2015) states that a master’s degree is required for entry level positions in anthropology – which means more schooling and more potential debt, which puts increased pressure on a student’s ROI for an anthropology degree. The pressure is also higher for anthropology students since the path to employment is a more indirect path than it is in other disciplines:

Other disciplines, such as STEM and business fields, accomplish better preparation and awareness of opportunities for their students through similar techniques, in part, because they receive broad support from

fundamentals and have not experienced the same perceived separation between academic and practicing endeavors. (Copeland & Dengah II, 2016, p. 124)

STEM students benefit from stronger development of technical and research skills and stronger public support. In general, STEM fields have been expanding quicker than social sciences and liberal arts. According to the U.S. Department of Education (2016), between 2008 and 2014 the number of degrees conferred in STEM fields such as computer science and information sciences increased by 46%; the combined fields of engineering and engineering technologies by 29%; health professions and related programs by 65%; agriculture and natural resources by 41%; physical sciences and science technologies by 29%; and mathematics and statistics by 35%. During that same period, however, the number of degrees conferred in social science and liberal arts decreased. Area, ethnic, cultural, gender, and group studies decreased by 6%; English language and literature/letters decreased by 9%; foreign languages, literatures, and linguistics decreased by 4%; and Liberal arts and sciences, general studies, and humanities decreased by 4%. There were some exceptions to this trend. For example, the number of degrees conferred in psychology increased by 24%, while social sciences and history increased 3%. Thus, for potential anthropology students, especially non-academy-career-oriented anthropologists, the field is interesting, but what they do with it, how they do it, and their professional path post-graduation may be murky.

Some anthropologists argue against the commercialization of higher-education and instead focus on scholarship as a worthy end goal in and of itself. Caanan and Shumar (2008) say that market-oriented degrees are the “ghettoization” of humanities and social science disciplines. Ingold (2017) has cautionary words for the discipline as it relates to the commercialization of knowledge:

Anthropology is a university discipline and would not survive without the harbors that universities provide it in which to berth. What is currently happening in universities thus stands to make or break the discipline. Currently, universities are succumbing to corporate neoliberalism and anthropology is on the rack. We are at risk of going down with the whole ship. I think we need to fight for the future of universities as places of tolerance, wisdom, and humanity, where ideas matter, and where people of all nations can come together peacefully to debate these ideas. (p. 25)

Ingold's concern is heard, but overstated. Academic and applied anthropology have had an uneasy co-existence, but anthropology has long been vibrant outside the academy. From my perspective, academic and applied anthropology are not mutually exclusive. This theory remains to be tested, but market pressures seem likely to improve professionalism and career opportunities for anthropologists. As professionalism increases, there will be a more direct route to many different jobs, while maintaining university-bred tolerance, wisdom, and an environment for the creation of ideas.

While this position is shared by some anthropologists, progress along these lines has been slow, for reasons detailed in Chapter 1, until now. Here is Arnould et al. (2012) on why anthropology's return to business – creating business anthropology – is working now:

There seems to have been both push and pull factors involved in anthropology's return to business. On the one hand, the 1980s marked the first phase of the widespread authorization of neoliberal dicta of society-as-market and individual-as-entrepreneur/consumer in various domains of expertise. It would be inaccurate to say that, on this basis, research in business settings...suddenly gained a positive valuation in anthropology. More fairly, one might say that the mainstreaming of neoliberal attitudes and domains of expert and popular knowledge helped neutralize the negative valuation of business enough to allow for a more lively and legitimate sub disciplinary margin to emerge. (Arnould et al., 2012, p. 252)

Likewise, mainstreaming neoliberal attitudes and society-as-market might now provide the right kind of conditions for anthropology to adjust its marketplace strategy

and become more competitive. Although the current conditions may be painful, the discipline is positioned to change.

Misconceptions on Careers and Employment in Anthropology

Career prospects are an important factor in deciding undergraduate and graduate training in an economy focused on producing workers, gaining stable employment, and applying one's skills. Goldmacher (2010) studied why students choose to major in anthropology – a discipline without a linear career trajectory – since higher education's goal is now to train students for the global work force. Her work demonstrated that much of the decision came down to the passion for anthropology. The undergraduate students, however, felt conflicted between the values of the discipline and the pulls for a career. There are plenty of jobs for anthropologists and there will be plenty more in the future – especially for anthropologists who gain technical training in methods, develop proper professional and soft skills, and gain practical experience during the training years.

The marketplace is pressuring anthropology's action in three ways: (1) marketable skills, (2) indirect career paths, and (3) disincentivized career centers. Indeed, without clear, tactical, tangible, identifiable, relatable marketable skills, the professional path of anthropologists will be difficult. Copeland and Dengah II (2016) in their work "*Involve Me and I Learn*" say that:

Indeed, we think it is somewhat unfortunate that anthropology students are expected to do something with their degree, often never actually witnessing how more experienced anthropologists do anthropology. All students need to have hands on training as anthropologists, not only to turn theory into practice, but provide concrete experience and examples of doing anthropology in a variety of applied settings and professions. Ignoring the training of future practicing anthropologists is no longer tenable as we are doing a disservice to our students by not making their degree irrelevant in the job market and to our discipline, and as our

influence in the public sector wanes. If we are going to communicate the relevance of the discipline to our own students, funding agencies, and the public, we need to discuss better preparing our students for applied and practicing anthropology by instilling in them skills for success. (p. 129)

And recall the findings of the AAA/CoPAPIA survey, that less than two-thirds of anthropology MA graduates hold a job in an occupation related to anthropology, and only a third have permanent employment (Fiske et al., 2009). If anthropology departments cannot provide viable employment routes via skills for their students, their departments will continue to shrink in terms of majors, graduate students, funding, faculty, and scholarship. The ways in which students are prepared for careers has great impact – not just on the students, but on the longevity of departments, and the overall discipline (DiConti, 2004). Students want direct applicability of their skills, and these specific skills are largely shaped by the political economy (Goldmacher, 2010; Van Willigen, 2009).

The invisibility and indirectness of career paths also challenge anthropology's competitiveness in commercialized higher education. Earlier I mentioned that there are plenty of jobs for anthropologists – the trouble is finding them. Most jobs for anthropologists do not have the word “anthropology” in the job description – the role description may have listed “social sciences.” Shockingly, “Despite increasing employment opportunities, many practitioners still do not apply for jobs advertised as “Anthropologist Wanted.” Instead, they occupy niches that could be filled by individuals with other types of liberal arts or professional backgrounds” (Baba, 1994, p. 180). This indicates an eagerness to land just *any* job versus a targeted job hunt.

Inconsistent and incomplete job descriptions does not mean there are few jobs for anthropologists, but it suggests anthropology students have to search harder to find

them and work harder to “sell themselves” into the roles. Not all students have the entrepreneurial and salesmanship skills to sell themselves into a role – sometimes students need more direct paths (Johnsrud, 2001). This type of grassroots approach to finding anthropological roles was common in the early 1990’s. During a time when ethnography became popular, new hires actually had to create their roles, methods, and teams for doing the work (Mack & Squires, 2011). Again, however, not everyone has the skill to locate or build a role that is not directly articulated as anthropology.

Furthermore, in a more competitive and automated employment industry, artificial intelligence simply scans résumés for requirements versus a recruiter reading résumés and screening candidates. A job seeker’s hunger or entrepreneurial spirit may not be enough since a recruiter may never hear about it. Anthropology departments and career centers need to create those direct paths to employment. Making the paths to direct employment clearer will change the job descriptions and employers will have reason to directly list anthropology.

Job placement is a key metric in commercialized higher education. University career centers are measured by their ability to place students into jobs effectively. Anthropology students receive little information about employment opportunities post-graduation, especially for non-academic careers (Copeland & Dengah II, 2016). Confusion about the practice of anthropology by academic career centers, students, and faculty members about the variety of anthropology career options post-graduation limits the breadth of opportunities. Copeland and Dengah II (2016) note that lack of professional preparation means students are unable to translate anthropological skills to potential employers. Additionally, the authors found professors felt unprepared to

mentor students through the post-graduation, non-academic job market. If academic career centers are confused about career options for anthropologists, and they are evaluated based on student job placement, then career center personnel will spend more time with other disciplines, programs, and with students who have a higher chance of landing a job and thereby increasing the centers' overall performance metrics (Goldmacher, 2010; Goldmacher & Santee, 2014)

Creating Competitive Faculty and Department Policy

Departments will need to change some of their policies concerning tenure and publication if they want to be competitive in current economic conditions, and if they want to be successful in the commercialized higher education environment. L. A. Bennett and Khanna (2010) argue that with the increasing focus on community-based, practicing, and public anthropology as career options, anthropology departments will have to review their guidelines for tenure. Failure to do so, they argue, will result in failure to retain faculty members who are engaged in applied and practicing endeavors. Of equal importance are the letters of recommendation for tenure that bring forth strong detail on the value of applied/practicing work the faculty member generates. This means that the scholarship of an applied or practicing anthropologist needs to be reviewed by someone who is credible in that space. CoPAPIA developed a Resource Panel for External Review of Tenure and Promotion and External Program review to deliver on this third-party evaluation.

Traditionally, anthropology departments did not reward professors for developing practical skills for students. They did not reward scholars who participated in applied or practicing work and did not count the scholarly output of applied work (for example, reports to agencies, and non-peer reviewed publications). Mullings (2015) shows that

since the 1980's the academy has radically changed how it teaches and produces knowledge and values, as well as the criteria for assessing departments, faculties, and the overall university system. She lists the following as factors that drove this transformation: the rise of for-profit institutions; an expanding anti-intellectual and vocal right-wing; decreased public funding; the growth of a flexible labor force; decreased academic freedom; changes in information technology, publishing, and knowledge dissemination; and the growth of joint ventures with private corporations (Mullings, 2015). Anthropology departments will need to adapt, or in some cases continue to adapt, to these new conditions to retain and improve their competitiveness.

The requirements for tenure are an immediate area that departments can review in order to increase competitiveness. The tenure evaluation focuses on research, service, and teaching. Faculty eligible for tenure are assessed for their contribution in each of these areas. Research is assessed by looking at the intellectual contributions a professor has made to his or her field, as measured by the number and placement of publications and by citations to those works. Service is evaluated by measuring the contributions to the department and school in developing different programs and serving on different committees, and also on service to the community and to the profession. The evaluation of teaching is focused on a professor's contributions in developing students – both undergraduate and graduate. Finer weightings around what is most valued in each of these three evaluation areas of and what is not valued varies by university or college. In general, especially at larger universities, research is the most heavily weighted.

Copeland and Dengah II (2016) argue that the distinct demands of research, teaching, and service make it difficult for academic anthropologists – those who are responsible for training anthropologists – to provide tangible, technical skills for budding anthropologists. Prioritization of publications and doing research means that students may not get the level of skill development they need and deserve. For example, it may be worthwhile for departments to reexamine and give greater credence to how they weigh “service” as part of their tenure and promotion process. They may choose to increase the value of community engagement and action anthropology research/work.

Professors are accountable for teaching both undergraduate anthropology’s fundamentals and, in schools that award advanced degrees, the professional skills of scholarship or applied anthropology. Balancing the importance of teaching with that of service and research can be challenging. Teaching, however, is critical to attracting students to anthropology and fostering passion for its attractive topics. Anthropology departments often fulfill some general education requirements, particularly with introductory classes. These classes provide students with their first impression of anthropology and therefore present an opportunity for attracting students to major in anthropology. Improving this alone would build anthropology’s brand. Teaching also provides the best opportunity to make anthropology students competitive in the marketplace by teaching them marketable skills, exposing them to problems they can help solve, and offering them direct experiences in which to apply those skills.

General education teaching requirements may mean less time for research and a greater focus on teaching, which is less rewarded in larger universities (Peacock, 1997). As with service, teaching (especially undergraduates) may need to be reweighted in

tenure evaluations to protect the quality of instruction and anthropologists' brand.

Furthermore, the ways in which teaching counts towards tenure will affect the type of faculty a department attracts. Anthropology departments that want to be competitive by attracting great students and faculty will need to rethink how they value teaching – in other words they will want to reward training in methods, skills, and scholarship that supports student employability, as well as interest, for both undergraduate and graduate students.

Some anthropologists may not be opposed to the idea of enhancing teaching but they are opposed to popularizing anthropology. Sabloff (2011) comments on this issue:

The academic world is becoming increasingly market oriented with various institutions vying for perceived “stars” in their fields. These people receive escalating offers of high salaries, less teaching, better labs, more research funds, and so on, and many academics not only are caught up in the system but have also bought into it. At the same time, those scholars who are most successful in the larger marketplace of popular ideas and popular media and who make dollars by selling the popular audiences are frequently discounted and denigrated by the self-perceived “true scholars” who often are busy playing the academic market game. (p. 411)

Sabloff is in favor of better teaching and is not opposed to popularizing anthropology. Instead he challenges the readers to reflect on the reasons why departments may resist such changes. The social listening analysis in Chapter 5 provides some evidence that indicates teaching continues to be an area of opportunity for the field.

Research, scholarship, and publication is tenure's third component. Carrier (2016) says that marketplace pressures have forced anthropology and other disciplines to be evaluated by uniform measures of impact, especially by the number of publications and citations. Digitization of publishing made tracking these metrics easier so that departments, publishers, and authors have instant line-of-sight into performance.

Carrier (2016) also hints at the idea of academics “gaming” the citation system. The researcher notes that when academics cite a work, “they freely make judgements about the worth of that work, expressed in their decision to cite one publication rather than another” (p. 28). Academics engaged in reciprocal citing can create an artificial inflation of publication impact, possibly rewarding the wrong behavior, although it might also mean they align on the value of the research. Sahlin (2009) referred to this kind of overall intellectual performance assessment and higher education competition as academic capitalism.

If non-peer-reviewed publications are not counted as scholarship, the grey literature (project reports, program evaluations, and white papers) produced by applied and practicing anthropologists are not valued and counted towards tenure, and students will have no examples of applying their craft outside of academe. This, in turn, lowers students’ opportunities for post-graduation nonacademic employment.

In order to adequately integrate practicing and applied anthropology work into academic anthropology programs, departments will have to have practitioners on the faculty and will also have to reward the work of those professors. This means putting students at the center of the academy to reward teaching and ensure students’ skill development – without sacrificing overall scholarship. Rewarding teaching and a focus on skill development will increase anthropology’s brand and its products and will open many new career paths – and anthropology’s overall fitness.

Summary and Discussion: Understanding Structural and Economic Forces and Anthropology

In this chapter I built on the forces that lowered the competitiveness of anthropology for attracting undergraduate students and for placing advanced-degree

graduates in jobs related to their training. The commercialization of higher education and the commodification of knowledge has tracked increasing emphasis on the development of students as workers and the focus the development of skills for technical jobs. Consumers of higher education now expect higher education ROI and more secured employment from their experiences. I detailed how higher education commercialization negatively affected anthropology since most anthropology require a master's degree. The historical focus on critical thinking versus technical skills and the ambiguity of the field's focus has contributed to lowered fitness.

With employability a critical success metric for post-secondary education, anthropology is at a disadvantage. Job descriptions rarely directly call for an anthropologist. Career centers, and sometimes departments, are ill-informed concerning *total* anthropology career options. That lack of information, as well as the competition for career center resources, deprioritizes anthropology students' employment hunt. Students who are not career entrepreneurial, who do not know how to directly market their skills, and who do not have practical experience, will have difficulty in non-linear career paths. Academic career centers and departments can help make the indirect career paths more direct and can help students consider how to market their skills and knowledge (in addition to growing them both).

Finally in this chapter I examined faculty teaching and tenure. Departments reward scholarship and publications as a primary currency of tenure evaluation. I demonstrated how general education requirements can deprioritize teaching budding anthropologists tangible skills and can distract from coaching anthropology majors on future career tracks. I explained how the lack of comprehensive assessment of

scholarship and publications (including grey literature) negatively impacts a department's ability to reward and attract applied/practicing anthropologists. In turn, this results in both undergraduate and graduate students who do not gain the skills and tactical experience they need to be successful in non-academic spaces, thereby decreasing anthropology's competitiveness and fitness.

CHAPTER 5 DATA METHODS AND ANALYSIS

The question covered in this research is “how can anthropology be competitive as a discipline in the future?” Throughout the analysis thus far, I have provided expert points-of-views on the field’s competitiveness and the future of the field from anthropology scholars. The previous three chapters of this research examined some of the issues affecting the field of anthropology and affecting anthropologists’ competitiveness. For example, Chapter 2 detailed the profession’s history and growth. It also assessed the split between academic anthropology and applied anthropology by looking at ethical matters, engagement challenges, and value judgement issues. Chapter 2 also outlined variables concerning the perpetuation of the academy by detailing anthropology’s value/purpose fragmentation, theoretical/representation breakdowns, department splits, and challenges with training technical skills. In Chapter 3, this study evaluated anthropology’s brand by probing its products, brand attributes, public engagement, and competitors. Finally, in Chapter 4, I outlined the higher education variables also affecting anthropologists, such as higher education commercialization, marketability of anthropology, department policy, and career centers.

In this chapter, I test some of these variables and build on the evidence that already exists. More specifically, I test:

1. anthropologists’ fragmentation/unity by analyzing the titles from the *American Anthropologist* (the American Anthropology Association’s primary journal),
2. the relationship of anthropology and other disciplines to the concept of culture, and the ethnographic method, using a Web of Science title analysis,
3. anthropology’s brand by analyzing public perception and engagement using social listening,
4. public engagement and interest in anthropology using Google search trends.

The tests below do not cover all the variables covered in this research because anthropology's competitiveness is a broad, dynamic, and multidimensional topic. However, it provides incremental insights to help shape anthropology's future. Additionally, there are data limitations. Nonetheless, the tests below do provide evidence, value, and patterns that help inform our understanding of the field and its brand.

***American Anthropologist* Title Analysis**

The purpose of the *American Anthropologist* title analysis is to see how the focus of anthropologists has or has not changed over time – to use article titles from the journal as a proxy for anthropologists' interests and priorities. Thus, this analysis tests the variation in topics and themes over time.

Data Collection and Cleaning

To collect the data, I imported every title and publication date from the *American Anthropologist* from the years 1888 to 2017 (through the month of August); the years 1888 – 1955 were exported from JSTOR; and the years 1956 through August 2017 were exported from the Web of Science. Only published research articles were downloaded; this analysis does not include memoranda, proceedings, book or film reviews, front matter, back matter, volume information, anthropologic miscellanea, notes, notices, obituaries, or any biographical sections.

In preparation for analysis, I cleaned the data using the program KH Coder 2.0 developed by Koichi Higuchi (<http://khc.sourceforge.net/en>). KH Coder is a text analysis program that codes and cleans qualitative data to process it quantitatively. To clean the data, the titles were changed to lowercase, hyphens were replaced with spaces, and punctuation was removed. Stop words were also removed. Stop words

are typically prepositions, adverbs, and other words that add minimal meaning significance – for example, “a,” “about,” “the,” “an,” “interesting,” and “then.” The list of 337 stop words was adopted from <https://www.ranks.nl/stopwords>. The complete list can also be found in appendix A.

Finally, I standardized all variations of archeology – including archeologists, archeologist, archeology, and archeological – to the “ae” versions – archaeologists, archaeologist, archaeology, and archaeological. This way, KH coder will stem and count those terms together since they are different spellings of the same words, but not different meanings.

After the data were cleaned, they were pre-processed by decades in two ways: (1) The dataset was first run through a stemming routine (Snowball Stemmer) to combine similar words that have different endings. For example, “says” and “saying” would be stemmed to the same word “say.” (2) The second method of processing is called lemmatization and uses the Stanford Parts of Speech (POS) Tagger. In this process the file is compared to a dictionary of words so that “saying,” “say,” and “said” would all be recognized as the same word. The words are also classified by their parts of speech in the paragraph. I then exported the data to Microsoft Excel which resulted in tables showing stemmed words by frequency by decade. Once the data were in Microsoft Excel, I used univariate statistics to examine the most frequent word usage and changes across decades, and to analyze the usage of specific words.

It is important to note that the *American Anthropologist* is only one journal where anthropologists publish and is not a comprehensive representation of all the anthropological work being published across scholarly journals. The *American*

Anthropologist was chosen for the title analysis component of this study because it is the longest running anthropology journal and it is the primary publication of The American Anthropological Association, the most important professional organization for American anthropologists.

Data Analysis and Findings

The title data analysis has five parts: (1) description of the overall data set, (2) core terms that have left the journal over time and have not returned, (3) core terms that recently entered the journal, (4) top 50 terms that have been stable over time, and (5) fragmentation testing.

The overall data set contained 4,370 journal titles with a total of 38,236 words, of which 6,708 were unique. In terms of word *stems*, there was a total of 23,856, of which 5,469 were unique. Figure 5-1 shows the number of titles, total word count, and stemmed word count by decade. The decade of the 1960s had the most journal titles with 502. The 1880s had the least with 41, but this decade started in 1888. The decade of the 2010s was not complete in 2017 when this study was done, but had already accumulated 304 titles. The average number of words per title has over the years, almost doubled, from about 6 in the early 1900s to around 11 in the 2010s.

| | 1880s | 1890s | 1900s | 1910s | 1920s | 1930s | 1940s | 1950s | 1960s | 1970s | 1980s | 1990s | 2000s | 2010s | TOTAL |
|-------------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------------|
| Number of titles | 41 | 274 | 354 | 286 | 279 | 346 | 294 | 452 | 502 | 324 | 226 | 307 | 381 | 304 | 4370 |
| Word count by decade | 245 | 1752 | 2526 | 2257 | 2014 | 2538 | 2249 | 3419 | 4156 | 2610 | 2270 | 3293 | 5012 | 3895 | 38236 |
| Stemmed word count by decade | 151 | 1071 | 1573 | 1359 | 1261 | 1617 | 1387 | 2178 | 2757 | 1822 | 1472 | 2014 | 2928 | 2266 | 23856 |

Figure 5-1. Description of data set – number of titles, word count, and stemmed word count by decade

I calculated the type-token ratio (TTR) to test lexical variation across decades. In this test, a word is referred to as a token. A TTR is calculated by dividing the different *types* of tokens (the total number of *unique* words in a decade) by the total number of

tokens (the total number of words in a decade) and turned into a percentage. A high TTR means high lexical variation, whereas a low TTR means less token variation.

Figure 5-2 and Figure 5-3 show the TTR by decade for the *American Anthropologist* title analysis.

| | 1880s | 1890s | 1900s | 1910s | 1920s | 1930s | 1940s | 1950s | 1960s | 1970s | 1980s | 1990s | 2000s | 2010s | TOTAL |
|--|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Tokens (Total Number of Words) | 148 | 1055 | 1547 | 1339 | 1235 | 1590 | 1361 | 2133 | 2716 | 1794 | 1454 | 1972 | 2864 | 2230 | 23429 |
| Types in Use (Total Unique Number of Words) | 130 | 650 | 837 | 728 | 737 | 898 | 748 | 993 | 1370 | 1069 | 897 | 1209 | 1558 | 1374 | 6442 |
| TTR (Type-Token-Ratio) | 88% | 62% | 54% | 54% | 60% | 56% | 55% | 47% | 50% | 60% | 62% | 61% | 54% | 62% | |

Figure 5-2. Type-Token-Ratio by Decade

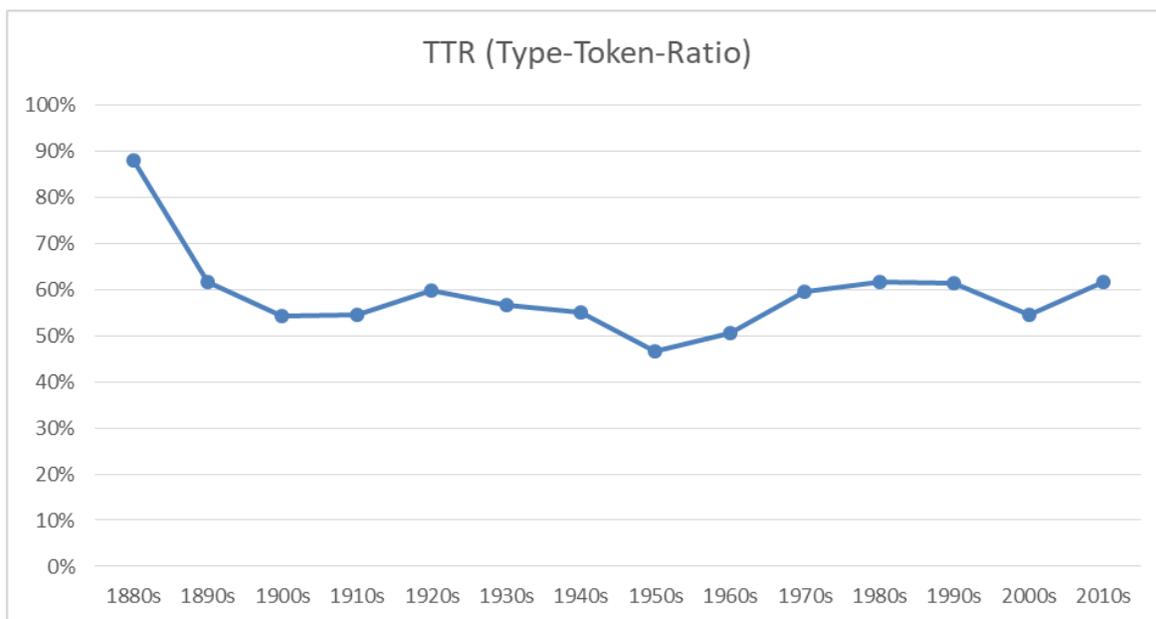


Figure 5-3. Type-Token-Ratio by Decade Trend Line

The TTR showed an average percent of lexical variation of 59%. The highest TTR was the 1880s at 88%. The 2010s, 1980s, and 1890s were the next highest at 62%. The lowest TTR was in the 1950s at 47%. Higher lexical variation may mean a wider variety of topics covered in a particular period, or it could mean that anthropologists were more creative in some periods in titling their papers. Further research comparing

anthropology to other disciplines will show if this is high lexical variation for a discipline. We can say, however, that anthropology's lexical variation in *American Anthropologist* has hovered close to the average of 59% over time.

Since the data set has thousands of stemmed terms, I reduced the total data set to a *core* data set. The core data set is defined as those stemmed terms that have greater than or equal to 4 mentions in any one decade. There are a total of 488 stemmed core words. The total list of core words can be found in Appendix B.

With the total number of stemmed words and frequency of the core words per decade known, I calculated the percentage of each core word by decade. The percentage composition of core terms by decade can be found in Appendix C. I addressed the percentages in Appendix C later when I discussed the top 50 terms' variation over time. The focus on the table in Appendix C is on the presence or absence of a core term by decade. Blank squares that are grey indicate a term was not present that decade. This data visualization offers two insights regarding anthropology's focus over time: (1) exits and (2) entrants.

Table 5-1 below shows the entrants and exits over time. Looking at the exiting terms (those terms that left in the 1960's or earlier) the majority of the terms were names of tribes or peoples, especially Native American peoples. This finding is in line with the *crisis or representation* that happened at about the time when anthropologists became concerned about how they represented various peoples and their legitimacy to do so. Entrants, those terms entering the titles of articles in the *American Anthropologist* since the 1960s, are about current events (such as Hurricane Katrina) and topics that anthropologists have more recently come to study, such as

neoliberalism, refugees, transnationalism, and terror. Some fads appear across time. For example, there was a surge in “gender,” “mead,” “networks,” and “risk” in the 1980s. In the 1960’s, the stem terms “communic,” “divers,” “evolutionary,” “mobil,” “respons,” “sociocultur,” and “transform” make their debut. Several terms are scattered across time, but without clear consistency. For example, “childhood,” “ethic,” and “order.”

Table 5-1. Stemmed term exits and entrants over time

| Stemmed terms | |
|--|---|
| Stemmed term exits (not used post the 1960s) | algonkian, certain, chamorro, cheyenn, componenti, congress, copper, factori, filipino, gren, guam, hawaiian, head, mound, pawne, porto, ruin, sampl, sketch, snake, specimen, stock, supper, symposium, tewa, wanner, zuni |
| Stemmed term entrants (used in the 1990s or later) | afterword, boasian, classic, coetze, conserv, dove, engag, hawk, heritag, imagin, isra, katrina, keith, landscap, negoti, neoliberal, otterbein, refuge, terror, transnat, us, video, vietnam, whi |

Considering Margaret Mead’s work was published significantly earlier than the 1980s, it is interesting that “mead” enters the 1980s as a top title term. The frequency of “mead” as a top term in the 1980’s was the result of Derek Freeman’s publication of the book “Margaret Mead and Samoa: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth” (Freeman, 1983). Freeman’s book challenged Mead’s work in Samoa by saying she was speculative and wrong about Samoan adolescence and culture in general (Caton, 2000; Côté, 2000). Freeman’s book sparked a great controversy in the field, resulting in a significant number of Mead-related publications during the 1980s.

What do the entrances and exits over time mean? They reflect the changing social conditions that influenced anthropologists’ topical interest and opportunity areas. They also reflected changes in how anthropologists view their role in understanding people and culture. It can be argued, however, that the topical changes indicate some agenda hopping. A change over time analysis can test that.

To address change over time, I reduced the core term list of 488 to the top 50 most mentioned stemmed terms across all decades. The top 50 were determined using a scree plot (shown in Figure 5-4) that mapped words by frequency. There is a clear bend in the chart at 50 words.

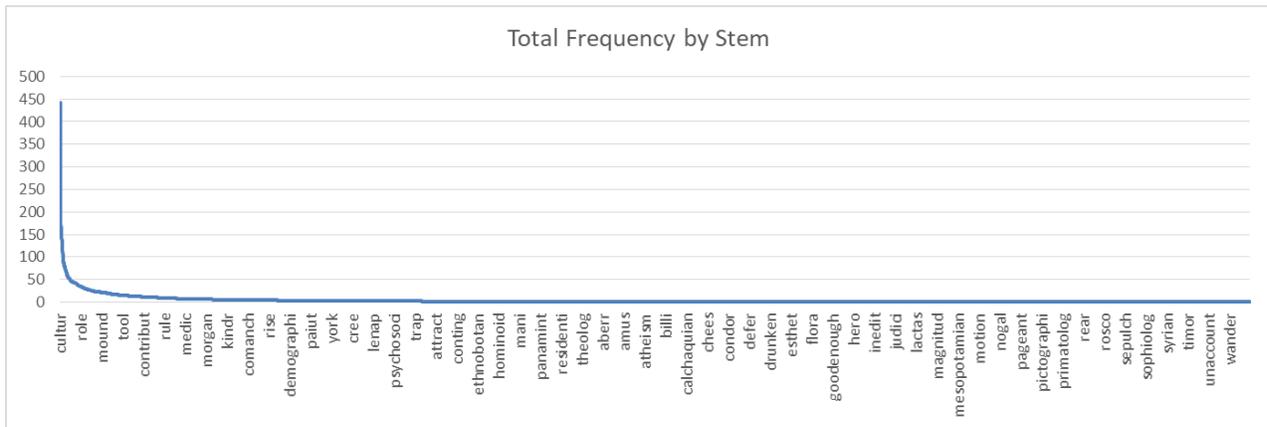


Figure 5-4. Total frequency of all stemmed words

These top 50 terms account for 21% of the total stemmed words across all decades (4,987 of the 23,856 total stemmed words). Figure 5-5 below shows the list of the top 50 stems, the percentage composition of each stemmed term of the total stemmed words per decade, and the cumulative stemmed work frequency count across all decades. The red, yellow, and green highlighting shows the highest (green), and the lowest (red) percentages across decades by term. The table is organized by the highest frequency of each stemmed term across all decades.

Similar to the core list of 489, the top 50 list shows an individual stemmed term's percentage strength by decade, as well as each stem's total raw frequency count across decades. Although many of the percentages are small, each decade has thousands of stemmed words (see Figure 5-1). Even a small shift in percentage is large in the total volume of terms.

| | 1880s | 1890s | 1900s | 1910s | 1920s | 1930s | 1940s | 1950s | 1960s | 1970s | 1980s | 1990s | 2000s | 2010s | Total Frequency across all decades |
|-------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------------------------------------|
| cultur | | 0.28% | 0.45% | 1.10% | 1.98% | 2.10% | 3.75% | 2.53% | 2.47% | 1.92% | 1.90% | 1.94% | 2.19% | 0.75% | 442 |
| anthropolog | 0.66% | 0.93% | 0.51% | 0.74% | 0.48% | 0.43% | 1.44% | 2.02% | 1.05% | 1.37% | 1.36% | 1.64% | 1.81% | 3.35% | 341 |
| social | 0.66% | 0.19% | 0.19% | 0.44% | 0.56% | 0.87% | 1.66% | 2.16% | 1.74% | 1.32% | 0.48% | 0.50% | 0.99% | 0.71% | 237 |
| indian | 3.31% | 2.52% | 2.35% | 1.77% | 2.06% | 1.42% | 1.08% | 0.64% | 0.58% | 0.22% | 0.48% | 0.20% | 0.14% | 0.09% | 208 |
| studi | | 0.93% | 0.45% | 0.66% | 0.48% | 0.37% | 1.23% | 0.96% | 1.60% | 0.44% | 0.95% | 0.55% | 0.51% | 0.22% | 173 |
| american | 0.66% | 0.75% | 0.83% | 1.32% | 1.03% | 0.68% | 0.50% | 1.47% | 0.58% | 0.49% | 0.41% | 0.84% | 0.27% | 0.31% | 165 |
| among | 0.66% | 0.56% | 0.51% | 0.52% | 0.56% | 0.99% | 0.94% | 0.83% | 1.05% | 0.60% | 0.48% | 0.79% | 0.41% | 0.53% | 163 |
| archaeolog | | 0.47% | 1.21% | 0.96% | 0.48% | 1.05% | 0.14% | 0.78% | 0.40% | 0.49% | 0.41% | 1.09% | 0.34% | 0.53% | 149 |
| new | 0.66% | 0.65% | 1.02% | 1.62% | 0.87% | 0.56% | 0.36% | 0.55% | 0.11% | 0.60% | 0.34% | 0.70% | 0.65% | 0.35% | 143 |
| languag | 0.66% | 0.93% | 1.72% | 1.18% | 0.40% | 0.19% | 0.58% | 0.32% | 0.33% | 0.27% | 0.48% | 0.30% | 0.75% | 0.49% | 137 |
| note | 3.31% | 1.12% | 1.40% | 1.69% | 1.74% | 0.68% | 0.87% | 0.14% | 0.25% | 0.16% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.03% | 0.09% | 125 |
| kinship | | 0.19% | | 0.37% | 0.32% | 1.30% | 0.94% | 0.92% | 0.98% | 0.55% | 0.34% | 0.10% | 0.10% | 0.22% | 117 |
| polit | | 0.09% | | | 0.24% | 0.19% | 0.07% | 0.18% | 0.51% | 0.60% | 0.54% | 0.94% | 0.85% | 1.06% | 113 |
| structur | | 0.09% | | | | 0.19% | 0.36% | 0.92% | 1.09% | 1.26% | 0.82% | 0.25% | 0.14% | 0.04% | 104 |
| chang | | | 0.06% | 0.15% | | 0.19% | 0.65% | 0.87% | 0.80% | 0.55% | 0.68% | 0.20% | 0.51% | 0.35% | 103 |
| human | 1.32% | 0.47% | 0.19% | 0.22% | 0.08% | 0.12% | 0.22% | 0.46% | 0.18% | 0.60% | 0.68% | 0.55% | 0.65% | 0.35% | 93 |
| organ | | 0.09% | 0.19% | 0.37% | 0.71% | 0.74% | 0.94% | 0.55% | 0.40% | 0.38% | 0.34% | 0.10% | 0.17% | 0.09% | 87 |
| societi | | | 0.13% | | 0.32% | 0.43% | 0.79% | 0.87% | 0.51% | 0.38% | 0.54% | 0.40% | 0.10% | 0.18% | 87 |
| analysi | | 0.09% | 0.06% | | 0.16% | 0.31% | 0.14% | 0.69% | 0.91% | 0.66% | 0.68% | 0.25% | 0.17% | 0.04% | 84 |
| problem | | 0.09% | 0.19% | 0.37% | 0.24% | 0.80% | 0.94% | 0.69% | 0.44% | 0.49% | 0.07% | 0.10% | 0.14% | 0.09% | 83 |
| north | | 0.28% | 0.32% | 1.03% | 0.63% | 0.87% | 0.36% | 0.18% | 0.25% | 0.22% | 0.27% | 0.15% | 0.17% | 0.18% | 80 |
| communiti | | 0.09% | | | | 0.12% | 0.36% | 0.46% | 0.87% | 0.49% | 0.14% | 0.30% | 0.41% | 0.35% | 79 |
| mexico | 0.66% | 0.75% | 1.08% | 0.74% | 0.56% | 0.37% | 0.14% | 0.09% | 0.11% | 0.22% | 0.14% | 0.20% | 0.24% | 0.22% | 78 |
| america | | 0.56% | 0.45% | 0.88% | 0.48% | 0.37% | 0.36% | 0.69% | 0.11% | 0.11% | 0.20% | 0.20% | 0.17% | 0.04% | 75 |
| state | 0.66% | 0.19% | 0.13% | 0.22% | 0.16% | 0.12% | 0.29% | 0.18% | 0.18% | 0.38% | 0.34% | 0.50% | 0.58% | 0.44% | 74 |
| origin | 0.66% | 0.84% | 0.25% | 0.59% | 0.56% | 0.37% | 0.50% | 0.09% | 0.29% | 0.22% | 0.48% | 0.25% | 0.10% | 0.04% | 72 |
| relat | | 0.37% | 0.32% | 0.29% | 0.32% | 0.31% | 0.43% | 0.55% | 0.47% | 0.49% | 0.14% | | 0.17% | 0.09% | 71 |
| theori | | | 0.19% | 0.07% | 0.16% | 0.25% | 0.50% | 0.64% | 0.54% | 0.22% | 0.54% | 0.20% | 0.17% | 0.18% | 71 |
| system | | 0.37% | 0.32% | 0.07% | | 0.56% | 0.36% | 0.55% | 0.36% | 0.38% | 0.20% | 0.30% | 0.14% | 0.18% | 70 |
| histori | 0.66% | 0.28% | 0.06% | 0.15% | 0.32% | 0.43% | 0.36% | 0.46% | 0.22% | 0.16% | 0.20% | 0.50% | 0.27% | 0.22% | 68 |
| linguist | | 0.09% | 0.32% | 0.74% | 0.16% | 0.25% | 0.50% | 0.23% | 0.36% | 0.33% | 0.07% | 0.15% | 0.20% | 0.26% | 66 |
| maya | | 0.37% | 0.32% | 0.29% | 1.27% | 0.87% | 0.07% | 0.09% | 0.15% | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.25% | 0.14% | 0.22% | 66 |
| aborigin | | 1.03% | 1.14% | 0.52% | 0.63% | 0.19% | 0.14% | 0.14% | 0.04% | 0.05% | 0.14% | 0.15% | 0.14% | 0.04% | 64 |
| concept | | 0.09% | | 0.07% | 0.32% | 0.31% | 0.43% | 0.46% | 0.40% | 0.44% | 0.14% | 0.35% | 0.10% | 0.04% | 59 |
| villag | | 0.19% | | 0.22% | 0.16% | 0.12% | 0.22% | 0.64% | 0.87% | 0.16% | | 0.05% | 0.10% | 0.09% | 59 |
| prehistor | | 0.37% | 0.45% | 0.66% | 0.71% | 0.62% | 0.22% | 0.14% | 0.15% | 0.11% | 0.20% | 0.05% | 0.03% | | 56 |
| evolut | 0.66% | 0.28% | 0.13% | | 0.16% | 0.06% | 0.29% | 0.55% | 0.29% | 0.38% | 0.41% | 0.15% | 0.14% | 0.09% | 55 |
| famili | | 0.19% | 0.32% | 0.37% | 0.24% | 0.12% | 0.22% | 0.37% | 0.47% | 0.38% | 0.20% | 0.05% | 0.03% | 0.09% | 55 |
| ancient | 0.66% | 0.75% | 0.64% | 0.44% | 0.32% | 0.19% | 0.22% | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.11% | 0.14% | 0.10% | 0.10% | 0.26% | 53 |
| ceremoni | | 1.03% | 0.89% | 0.29% | 0.56% | 0.37% | 0.29% | 0.05% | 0.15% | | 0.07% | 0.05% | | | 53 |
| group | | | 0.13% | 0.07% | 0.32% | 0.49% | 0.07% | 0.83% | 0.40% | 0.33% | 0.07% | | | 0.04% | 53 |
| man | | 0.47% | 0.57% | 0.37% | 0.08% | 0.19% | 0.43% | 0.41% | 0.25% | 0.33% | | 0.05% | | 0.04% | 53 |
| south | | 0.28% | 0.38% | 0.59% | 0.08% | 0.19% | 0.29% | 0.05% | 0.11% | 0.11% | 0.41% | 0.15% | 0.17% | 0.35% | 53 |
| ritual | | | | 0.15% | 0.16% | 0.12% | 0.07% | 0.23% | 0.18% | 0.16% | 0.48% | 0.35% | 0.34% | 0.35% | 52 |
| use | | 0.56% | 0.32% | 0.29% | 0.32% | 0.12% | 0.22% | 0.32% | 0.07% | 0.33% | 0.14% | 0.20% | 0.10% | 0.18% | 52 |
| ecolog | | | | | | | 0.07% | 0.28% | 0.25% | 0.60% | 0.41% | 0.45% | 0.27% | 0.13% | 51 |
| develop | 0.66% | 0.19% | 0.25% | 0.07% | | 0.12% | 0.22% | 0.37% | 0.22% | 0.38% | 0.14% | 0.25% | 0.07% | 0.26% | 49 |
| model | | | | | | | | 0.05% | 0.40% | 0.60% | 0.54% | 0.25% | 0.34% | 0.13% | 49 |
| term | | 0.09% | 0.06% | 0.66% | 0.40% | 0.31% | 0.58% | 0.09% | 0.25% | 0.27% | 0.07% | 0.20% | | 0.04% | 49 |
| method | 0.66% | | 0.06% | 0.44% | 0.32% | 0.19% | 0.36% | 0.46% | 0.33% | 0.16% | | 0.05% | 0.10% | 0.09% | 48 |

Figure 5-5. Top 50 stemmed terms, their percentage representation per decade, and the cumulative stemmed word frequency count

In Chapter 2, I discussed split-departments as a factor causing some of the challenges with anthropology's competitiveness. In the top 50 terms, the stems "linguist," "cultur," "social," and "archaeolog" are all present but a stem related to *biological* is missing. The stem "biolog" has a frequency of 35 across all decades. The lowest frequency of a stem term across the decades in the top 50 is a count of 48 for the stem "method," so at first examination it would seem biological anthropology is not in the top 50. The stem "evolut" is represented in the top 50, however, with a frequency of 55, and the term "physical" has a frequency of 24 across decades – adding "evolut," "physical," and "biology" biological anthropology has a total of 104. This shows that the four fields are present across all decades, with a larger fraction of the journal titles in cultural and physical anthropology, but not at the neglect of linguistic and biological anthropology.

Applied anthropology is sometimes referred to as the 5th subfield, but note that the term "appli" (how "applied" would be truncated in KH-coder) is missing from the top 50 stemmed words across all decades. Looking at the *words* rather than stems reveals "applied" at a frequency of 5, "application" at a frequency of 11, and "practice" at a frequency of 30. This totals 46 for applied/ practicing anthropology – still not in the top 50.

Many applied anthropology *topics* – such as development, policy, design, and human rights – may not have the word "applied" in their *titles*. For example, the stem "develop" is present at a frequency of 49 and "design" has a frequency of 7 across all decades. These terms *may* pertain to applied-like topic areas, but the title analysis is

limited in that regard. A topic-based analysis with a more content-centered approach is required for that interpretation. This is a topic for future research.

Also missing from the top 50 is any stem related to ethnography or ethnographic subjects. In Chapter 3, I discussed ethnography as one of anthropology's products because of its tangibility and *historical* relationship with anthropologists. My expectation was that some stem of ethnography would have ranked in the top 50 stemmed terms across decades. Upon further analysis, KH Coder drives several stems from words related to ethnography. These include "ethnolog" (frequency 41), "ethnograph" (frequency 37), and "ethnographic" (frequency 27). KH coder separates these because they are different parts of speech – some are nouns and others are adjectives – this is a limitation of the tool. Adding those three ethnographic-related stems together totals a frequency of 95, which would put ethnography-related terms in position 14 of the top 50, right between the stems "human" and "chang." This high-ranking position supports the claim that anthropology still has a strong focus on ethnography as a product.

Also discussed in Chapter 3 and 4 was the idea that marketable skills and training are missing from anthropological teaching and scholarship. Titles that include the stem "method" lands in position 50 with a frequency of 48. Adding the stem "methodolog" (which has a frequency of 6 across all decades) to the frequency count of "method" gives a total frequency of 54 for methods-related terms. This is a high enough frequency to put methods-related terms in position 39, right between the stems "ancient" and "famili," In looking at the concentration "method" and "methodolog" – total number of mentions of "method" or "methodol" divided by total number of stems in that decade – those stems peak in the 1940s and 1950s, with the exception of the stem "method"

which hit its highest percentage of .68% of total stem words in the 1880s. Since the 1960s representation of “method” and “methodol” in *American Anthropologist* titles has been half or less of what it was in the 1960’s. See Figure 5-6.

| | 1880s | 1890s | 1900s | 1910s | 1920s | 1930s | 1940s | 1950s | 1960s | 1970s | 1980s | 1990s | 2000s | 2010s |
|----------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| method | 0.68% | | 0.06% | 0.45% | 0.32% | 0.19% | 0.37% | 0.47% | 0.33% | 0.17% | | 0.05% | 0.16% | 0.09% |
| methodol | | | | | | | 0.22% | | 0.04% | | | 0.10% | | |

Figure 5-6. The change in methods-related stems over time

The stem “cultur” is the most prominent across the top 50 stemmed terms, across all decades. Its peak was in the 1940s when it comprised 3.75% of the stemmed words in that decade. The 1940s was a strong period of culture and personality studies by anthropologists such as Abram Kardiner, Cora Dubois, Ralph Linton, Francis Hsu, Antony Wallace, Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Clyde Kluckhohn, and many others that decreased in prevalence over time (Kelly, Chao, Scruggs, Lawrence, & Mcghee-Snow).

The second highest stem percentage at 3.35% is “anthropolog.” This occurred in the 2010s. In Chapter 2, I discussed the fragmentation of anthropology’s value proposition and focus. Additionally, I explained the perpetuation of the academy in terms of carving out small, individual, and ownable niches. The title analysis shows this trend of almost individual-level topic branding – “anthropology of [insert word here].” For example, some of the titles from the 2010s decade so far include: Anthropology in and of MOOCs, Anthropological Archaeology in 2012: Mobility, Economy, and Transformation, and The Soul of the Biblical Sandal: On Anthropology and Style. There is movement towards the “anthropology of anything,” which either opens space for more scholars to participate in the discipline or creates a boundless discipline with an emphasis on anthropology as a brand-of-one – or both.

Correspondence analysis is another way to examine the Top 50 stemmed terms over time. This analysis visualizes the results in Figure 5-5. Correspondence analysis works by calculating the relative strength of the relationships between the rows (the stemmed terms) to other rows, and the relative strength of the relationships between the columns (the decades) to other columns using normalized stemmed-term frequency data. The strength of the relationship is then mapped to a cartesian plan using x and y coordinates. The x and y axes are relevant only in measuring relative distance between points—they are not direct measures of association. See Figure 5-7 below. Bock (2017) provides approaches for interpreting the correspondence analysis.

To interpret the visualization, we look at the distance each stem term or decade is from the origin. The farther the stem or decade is from the origin, the more discriminating/differentiated it is from the other stems and decades. The opposite is also true. The closer the decades or stems are to the origin of the chart, the less distinct they are. Another interpretation method looks at the proximity of stems to other stems, and the proximity of decades to other decades. The closer a stem is to another stem, and the closer a column is to another column the more similar their profiles are.

To examine the relationship between stems and decades, we look at the angle formed between the stem term to origin, and the decade to the origin. The smaller the angle formed between a stem, the origin, and a decade, the more the stem and the decade are associated. Stems and decades are likely not associated if the angle is 90 degrees; stems and decades are likely negatively associated if they are on opposite sides of the origin.

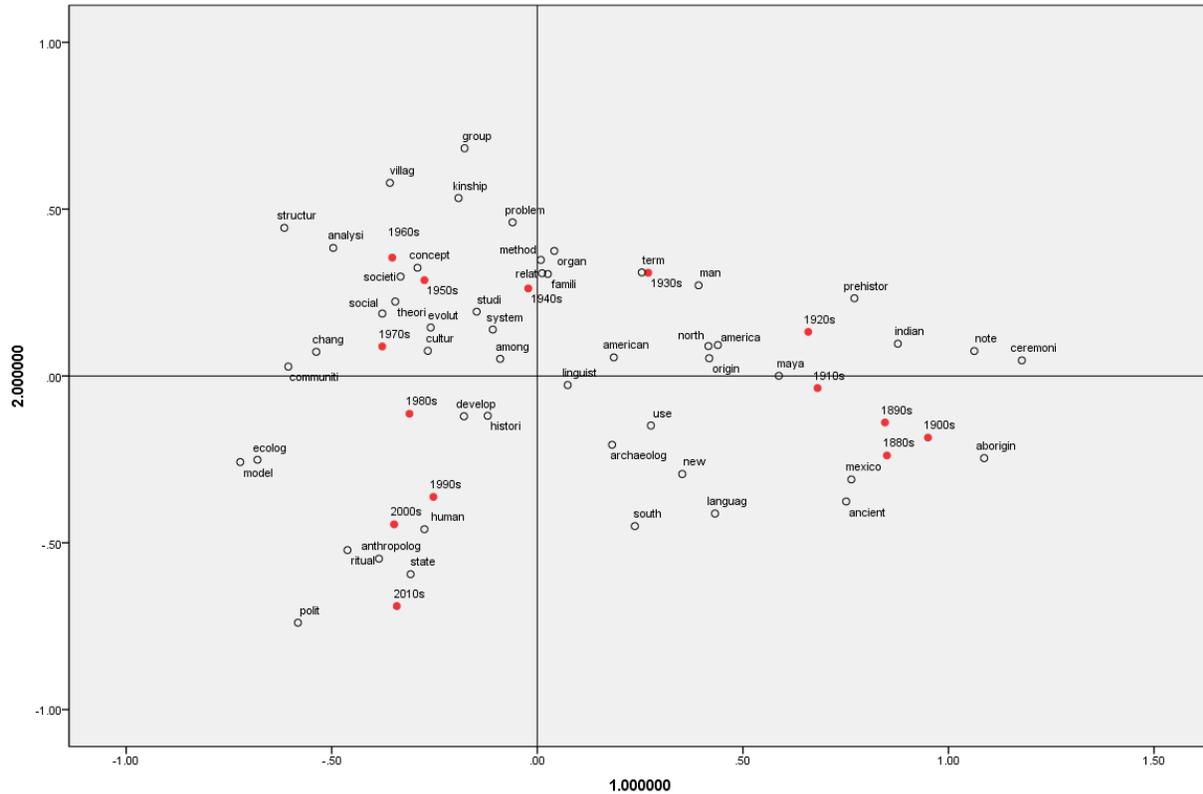


Figure 5-7. Correspondence analysis of the top stemmed terms and decades based on frequency count

The correspondence analysis accounts for a total of 33% of the variation in the table, meaning analysis and interpretation should be taken conservatively. The visualization (Figure 5-7) reinforces the observations from the results in Figure 5-5. Some of the farthest stems from the origin include “aborigin,” “note,” “indian,” “mexico,” “ceremony,” “prehisto,” and “ancient.” These are stems that are most distinct from the other stems—meaning their profiles are most unlike the other stems. As demonstrated in the data in Figure 5-5, this makes sense, as their usage was heavy early on, but diminished quickly over time. The stems “structur,” “villag,” “group,” “model,” “ecology,” and “polit” are also on the periphery again, indicating their distinctiveness from other stem terms. In their case, they too indicate a heavier usage at a point in time, but not

across all decades. Additionally, the correspondence analysis shows the clumping of the decades 1880s, 1890s, and 1900s together and farthest away from the origin. This indicates that these decades have high association to one another—in other words their profiles are similar to one another—but they are very distinct from other decades.

Near the origin the stems “linguist,” “american,” “among,” “develop,” “culture,” “system,” “archaeolog,” and “use” are present. This indicates that these stems are less distinct from other stems, and are therefore steadier across decades. This make sense as these are key stems that are indicative of some of the core themes of anthropology over time. The decade 1940s is the closest decade to the center again indicating that this decade is the least distinct decade.

The quadrant in the upper left-hand corner of the chart is important. This is one of the tightest bundles of stems in the correspondence analysis. This bundle seems to center on more scientific and measurement-focused stems of anthropology. In this bundle we see the terms “theory,” “evolut,” “analysi,” “concept,” “social,” and “studi,” which may indicate a more scientific approach. This observation is reinforced by the proximity of the decades 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s to one another. These decades were before postmodernism and were more positivist-focused. Below the x axis on the left side of the chart we see a bundling of the decades 1990s, 2000s, and 2010s—or more of the post postmodernism and “crisis of representation” period. In this quadrant, stems such as “anthropology,” “ritual,” “state,” and “human” are in close proximity to one another, indicating that they are likely highly associated in terms of their profiles. This too makes sense as these are topics more associated with the interpretivist /

phenomenologist movement. It is worth noting that the 1980s fall close to the x axis, indicating it was one of the transition decades as noted in Chapter 2.

Refuting the idea of over-fragmentation, the top 50 terms also show low average variation across decades. Figure 5-8 below shows the average percent change over all decades of each of the top 50 stemmed terms. In addition to the stem “anthropolog” having the highest word count, it had the highest average increasing percent change at .2% across all decades, followed by “polit” at .08% and “cultur” at .06%. To be clear, even “anthropolog” at the highest level of average increasing percent change is at only 2 tenths of a percent. In terms of average *decreasing* percent change over the decades, “indian” and “note” are highest at -.25%, followed by “human” at -.08%.

Expanding the analysis of average percent change over time to the top 100 stems, we see very similar results: The highest level of increasing average percentage change over time for the top 100 are identical to the Top 50 – “anthropolog” continues to be the highest at .2%, followed by “polit” at .08% and “cultur” at .05%. The highest in terms of average *decreasing* percent change are also the same as the top 50: “indian” and “note” at -.25%. The stem “tribe” is different than the top 50 since it has an average decreasing percent change of -.1%. That said, the top 100 and top 50 are similar in terms of both stems and amount of change over time.

The tightness of the top 50 and the top 100 stemmed terms over all time – especially since they represent 21% and 29% of all stemmed word frequency respectively – suggests a steady level of cohesiveness and thematic focus of the discipline – at least how it is represented in the *American Anthropologist* .

Analysis of all the single terms over time tells a complementary tale. When looking at the number of single stemmed terms per decade, meaning stemmed terms that were only mentioned once in a whole decade, we see a long tail of one-offs in every decade. Figure 5-9 shows the percentage of singletons by each decade.

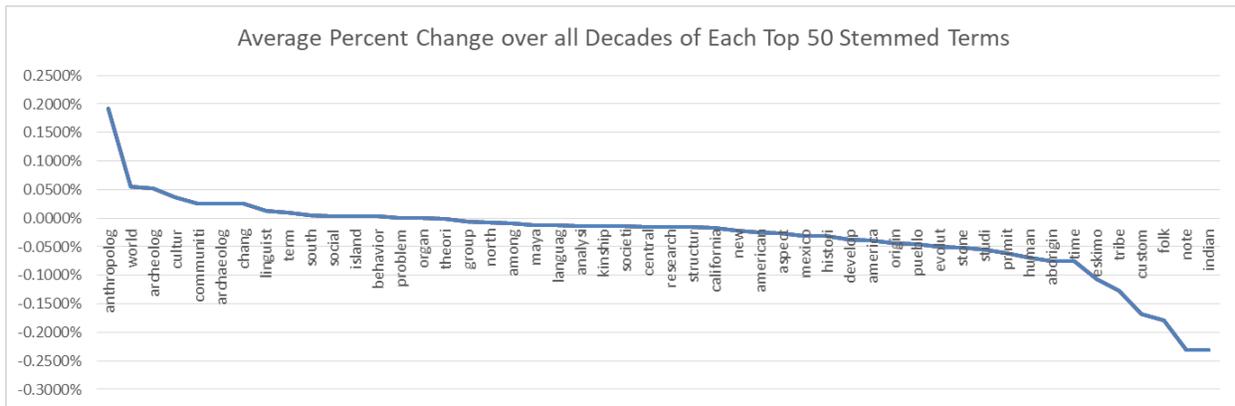


Figure 5-8. Average percent change overall decades of each top 50 stemmed terms

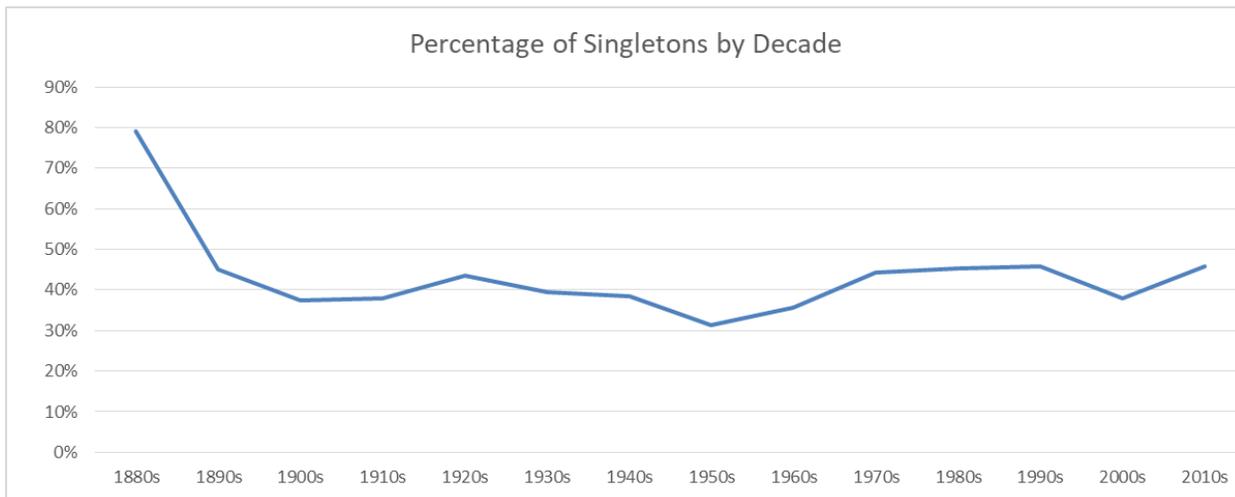


Figure 5-9. Percentage of single-stemmed terms by decade

With expansion of the journal, the total number of singletons has mainly increased in each decade. However, when the data are normalized by the total number of stemmed words in any given decade, the total percentage of singletons per decade hovers at about 40%, except for the 1880s, which had only two years' worth of data.

The 40% singleton figure is striking. It suggests the field may be fragmented, but that it has *always* been fragmented. Anthropology has always had a long tail of topics and scholarly inquiries that complement its core concepts as illustrated by the top 50 analysis above.

In summary, the title analysis has shown change over time, with some concepts entering and exiting the discipline. The analysis demonstrated the field is both unified and fragmented at the same time. There is a core set of terms that remains steady over time and anthropology has always had a topical long tail as well – as shown in the singletons chart and the word frequency chart. “Ethnography” is present in the top 50, as is “method.” Finally, all four fields of anthropology are present in the title analysis at a rate that puts them in the top 50 stemmed terms, showing that anthropologists and the *American Anthropologist* continues to publish in a way that is inclusive of all four fields. Applied Anthropology terms are present as well, but it does not make the top 50 terms like the four fields do.

Web of Science Title Analysis of Ethnography and Culture Titles

In my research of anthropology’s value proposition and anthropology’s products in Chapters 2 and 3, two terms were central to the discussion – culture as a concept and ethnography as a method/product. I described how the importance of the concept of culture has changed over time. The term “culture” peaked in the titles of articles in the *American Anthropologist* in the 1940s and has decreased in its title presence since then. With regard to ethnography, I discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 how the method diffused across the academy and industry over time. Because of the so-called “crisis of representation” described in Chapter 2, where anthropologists became increasingly critical of culture as a thing to study and ethnography as a legitimate way to study it,

these two concepts became decoupled from anthropology – thus diluting anthropology’s brand and increasing competition. The question here is when and where did culture and ethnography go?

Data Collection and Cleaning

To test this question I leveraged the Web of Science’s four core databases: (1) Science Citation Index Expanded; (2) Social Science Citation Index; (3) Arts and Humanities Citation Index; and (4) Emerging Sources Citation Index. The terms “ethnography” and “culture” were separately searched across all titles of the citation indexes from 1956 to September 2017, by decade, with the 1950s and the 2010s as partial decades. The Web of Science title search results were then automatically classified into the Web of Science categories (which connect to discipline/field names), and then aggregated across the databases. I then calculated the percentage of each term, within each field, as a fraction of the total number of title mentions in that decade.

Data Analysis and Findings

Table 5-2 shows the number of Web of Science (WOS) titles containing the word “ethnography” and the percentage of those titles that were in the field of anthropology. In the 1960s, for example, there were 143 WOS titles with the word “ethnography” in the title. Of those, 90 (or 63%) were in the field of anthropology, with the remainder (53, or 37%) in other fields. This table, and Figure 5-10 show that anthropology’s association with (and putative hold on) ethnography has decreased steadily over time. As shown in Figure 5-5, the inflection point – where ethnography was diffused as a method into other practices – occurs in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Looking at Table 5-2, the data show an increase from 3 fields where the term “ethnography” is used in the 1950s (anthropology, areas studies, and folklore) to 85 in the 2010s. This is a 2833% growth of fields using the term “ethnography” in their titles.

Table 5-2. Percentage of Web of Science (WOS) titles with the word “ethnography” in them that are in the field of anthropology versus other fields

| Term "Ethnography" | 1950s | 1960s | 1970s | 1980s | 1990s | 2000s | 2010s |
|-------------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Total number of titles with term | 22 | 143 | 300 | 522 | 1224 | 1424 | 2363 |
| Anthropology count | 17 | 90 | 137 | 203 | 364 | 366 | 414 |
| Anthropology percent | 77% | 63% | 46% | 39% | 30% | 26% | 18% |
| All other fields | 23% | 37% | 54% | 61% | 70% | 74% | 82% |
| Highest fields besides anthropology | 14% | 8% | 13% | 11% | 16% | 14% | 12% |
| Total number of fields using term | 3 | 15 | 23 | 39 | 58 | 69 | 85 |

The diffusion of ethnography may not come from a loss in anthropology but rather as an outcome of academic field and journal growth *as well as* diffusion of the term. For example, despite the potential growth/emergence of other fields having the term “ethnography” in their WOS titles, and despite the fact that in the late 1960s those other fields in totality overtook the word “ethnography”. Yet in terms of total percentage of titles with “ethnography” in those fields versus anthropology, anthropology still has had the *most* WOS titles with the word ethnography in it across all decades. In other words, since 1956 at least, anthropology has always been the top ranking field for the term “ethnography.”

The implications are that: (1) anthropology is not the proprietor of ethnography (it never was, actually, as Bernard (1994) made clear), but, anthropology continues to be

the top user of the term; and (2) as discussed in Chapter 3, there are more competitors than ever in the space of ethnography. The other fields that commonly compete with anthropology (those fields that are typically in the top 5 of “ethnography” title mentions) include sociology, area studies, education, history, and urban studies.

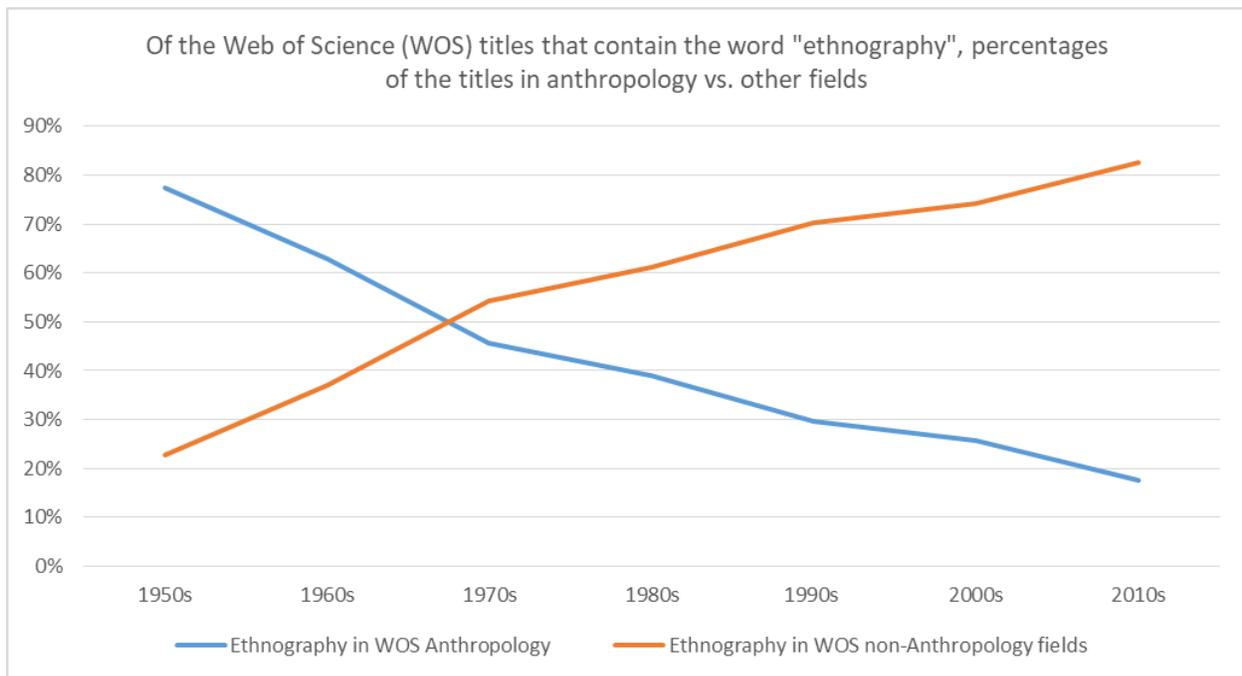


Figure 5-10. Web of Science (WOS) titles that contain the word “ethnography” and the percentages of those titles that are in the field of anthropology versus another field

As with the term “ethnography,” the term “culture” has also diffused over time. Unlike ethnography, anthropology never owned the dominant share of the term culture during the analysis time span. Table 5-3 shows the percentage of WOS anthropology titles with the word “culture” in them compared to other fields. Thus, in the 1980s there were 10,113 WOS titles with the term “culture” in the title, of which 1125 (11%) were in anthropology, with 8,988 (89%) in other fields. Anthropology had the largest share of the titles with the word “culture” in the 1950s and 1960s at 18% and has decreased ever since – see Figure 5-11 below.

As with ethnography, anthropology's decrease in share of titles with the term "culture" may be the result of the proliferation of academic disciplines, such as cultural studies and science and technology studies. In the 1950s there were 48 fields with titles containing the word culture, whereas in the 2010s there were 172 – a 358% increase. As with ethnography, some of diffusion of the term "culture" is due to an increase in the number of academic fields, while another portion is due to the concept being more widely shared and decoupled from anthropology.

Table 5-3. Percentage of Web of Science (WOS) titles with the word "culture" in them that are in the field of anthropology versus other fields

| Term "Culture" | 1950s | 1960s | 1970s | 1980s | 1990s | 2000s | 2010s |
|-------------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Total number of titles with term | 1113 | 3987 | 6604 | 10113 | 19484 | 24033 | 25270 |
| Anthropology count | 201 | 702 | 830 | 1125 | 1917 | 1639 | 1012 |
| Anthropology percent | 18% | 18% | 13% | 11% | 10% | 7% | 4% |
| All other fields | 82% | 82% | 87% | 89% | 90% | 93% | 96% |
| Highest fields besides anthropology | 13% | 10% | 9% | 10% | 10% | 8% | 8% |
| Total number of fields using term | 48 | 92 | 133 | 125 | 144 | 144 | 172 |

The term "corporate culture," for example, shows up in titles in the WOS only in 1976. Since then, however, the concept of culture has been taken up widely. As shown in Figure 5-12, by the mid-1990s, history (12%) overtook anthropology (11%) in use of the term culture in article titles, with sociology close behind at 9%. In the 2000s, the trend continued and the highest ranking field for the WOS titles with the term "culture" were history (8%) and sociology (7.3%), followed by anthropology (7.2%). In the 2010s that gap widened with history (8%) and sociology (6%) holding the top two spots for the

term “culture,” but area studies (4.12%) and education (4.1%) took spots three and four, pushing anthropology (4%) down to the fifth.

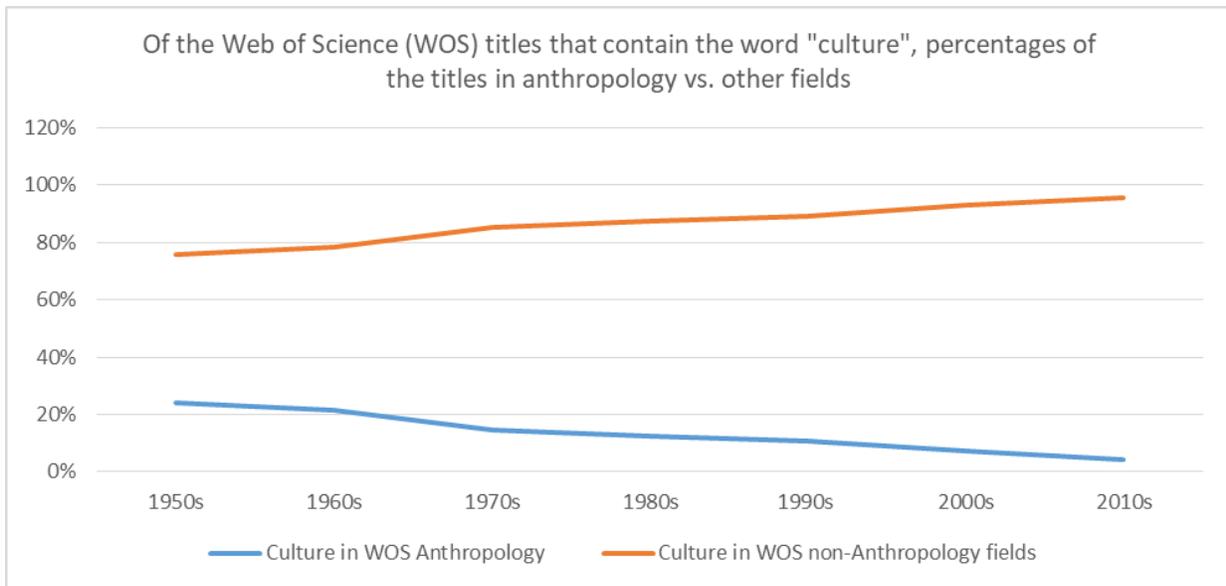


Figure 5-11. Percentage of Web of Science (WOS) titles with the word “culture” in them that are in the field of anthropology versus other fields

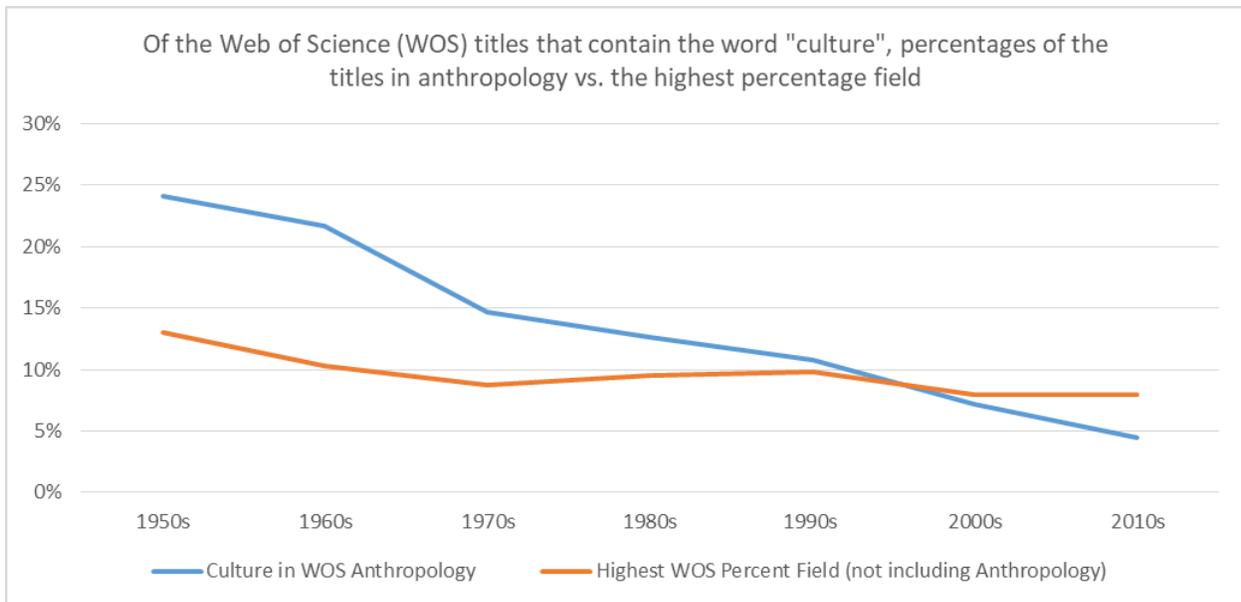


Figure 5-12. Percentage of Web of Science (WOS) titles with the word “culture” in them that are in the field of anthropology versus the other field with the highest percentage of the term

In summary, the diffusion of the terms “ethnography” and “culture” over time is associated with the fact that anthropology has gained more competitors over time. The implication is that anthropology must focus on refining its value proposition and focus areas. Some of those focus areas are demonstrated in the top 50 analysis from the *American Anthropologist* title analysis, but others will need to be created as the young discipline continues to evolve. See Chapter 6 for further ideas.

Social Listening Analysis

In Chapter 3, I discussed anthropology’s brand attributes and brand strengths. I said that the brand was dispersed and difficult to articulate. Additionally, anthropologists were sometimes seen as cold, distant, out-of-date, and glorifying the “exotic other” (Hannerz, 2010). Social listening analysis measures the ways in which different media and people communicate online about specific topics. It analyzes what is being said about a brand online. Social listening analysis can help evaluate how people think, feel, and communicate about anthropology’s brand.

Data Collection and Cleaning

To collect social listening data I used Netbase (<https://www.netbase.com/>). Netbase is a social listening intelligence platform that aggregates user-generated content from across the internet and analyzes that text using NLP (natural language processing) to measure the volume of brand mentions, the types of brand attributes present, and the emotional dimensions of the brand. Netbase collects (or scrapes) public, user-generated data from the following social media sources Twitter, Tumblr, Google+, Facebook, YouTube, blogs, forums, microblogs, mainstream news user comments, and consumer and professional reviews and comments.

For this analysis I aggregated global, English-only social media data that Netbase collected and stored over the course of two years (September of 2015 through September of 2017). The material covered several anthropology brands including general anthropology, linguistic anthropology, physical anthropology and archaeology, biological anthropology, applied anthropology, practicing anthropology, ethnography, and cultural anthropology. In addition, this research leveraged Netbase to collect data on sociology and physics for a comparative perspective.

Cleaning social listening data is a critical step as social data can be very messy. For example, if Netbase is collecting data for Carnival Cruise Lines it will scrape social data concerning a local carnival, or perhaps capture a tweet that describes a situation as a carnival. This can lead to a misrepresentation of brand attributes and emotional drivers. The brand anthropology, however, makes cleaning social data easier since the brand is rarely used for anything else except the field of study or something truly anthropologically related. This should give a cleaner data read.

Another aspect of data cleaning concerns defining the scraping terms. Defining the keywords for each topic is important because it places the boundaries on what will be digitally scraped by Netbase. Table 5-4 describes how each of the terms was coded into Netbase. In all queries except the search on “anthropology” and “archaeology,” each term was put in double quotation marks. This means Netbase will pull *only* that key term and no variations of it. For example, ““Biological Anthropology”” pulls exactly that term while the term “Biological Anthropologist” will then pull each term separately. “Archaeology” will pull both “archaeology” and “archeology” because of its lack of double quotes, although I put both forms in to be comprehensive. The goal is to broadly

listen (digitally scrape) for the brand of anthropology (to capture terms such as medical, forensic anthropology, and other variations) and archaeology (to capture terms such as historical archaeology, African archaeology, and other variations).

Table 5-4. Netbase social listening queries and keywords

| Query | Keywords |
|------------------------------------|--|
| Anthropology | Anthropology, Anthropological, Anthropologist, Anthropologists |
| Archaeology | Archaeology, Archaeologist, Archaeological, Archaeologists, Archeology, Archeologists, Archeologist, Archeological |
| Cultural Anthropology | “Cultural Anthropology”, “Cultural Anthropologists”, “Cultural Anthropologist” |
| Linguistic Anthropology | “Linguistic Anthropology”, “Linguistic Anthropologists”, “Linguistic Anthropologist” |
| Biological / Physical Anthropology | “Biological Anthropology”, “Biological Anthropologists”, “Biological Anthropologist”, “Physical Anthropology”, “Physical Anthropologists”, “Physical Anthropologist” |
| Applied Anthropology | “Applied Anthropology”, “Applied Anthropologists”, “Applied Anthropologist” |
| Practicing Anthropology | “Practicing Anthropology”, “Practicing Anthropologists”, “Practicing Anthropologist” |
| Ethnography | “Ethnographer”, “Ethnographic”, “Ethnography” |
| Sociology | “Sociology”, “Sociological”, “Sociologists”, “Sociologist” |
| Physics | “Physics”, “Physicist”, “Physicists” |

Note that the “Anthropology” query does not include “Archaeology” or “Archeology.” That query will pick up all the other mentions of anthropology but would not pick up archaeology-related anthropological content unless the term “archaeological anthropology” was entered. That term turns up over 4,000 times in Google Scholar (www.scholar.google.com) but only 5 times in the entire corpus of the WOS, including

four times in article titles and once in an article text. Archaeology, without the accompanying word anthropology, appears to operate as an independent brand, so I separated the queries to improve data cleanliness.

Digital social listening is not an exact science. Natural language processing and machine learning need improvement to achieve accuracy. For example, Netbase will occasionally assign a word a negative sentiment score when in reality it may be positive – this may be due to the context of the word, a misunderstanding concerning the word's part of speech, or because of user sarcasm. Some users have many more followers than others and content from high-visibility users has a higher likelihood to be seen, liked, and shared than content from others. Finally, more emotionally-charged posts tend to be liked and shared more often, sometimes giving those posts a disproportionate share of the total mentions for a query.

Despite these challenges with social listening, the mentions, terms, and content comprise the brand that is digitally present and dynamic. It is the brand that readers, browsers, and social media participants see and consume. We will examine these data to get a general feel for anthropology's brand in the digital space as presented by the users, not to measure it with absolute precision.

Data Analysis and Findings

To start, I calculated descriptive statistics on the ten social listening queries – see Figure 5-13. Over the course of the two-year window, physics has the most social mentions at about 30MM (million mentions). A social mention is defined as the posting of the specific word. Physics is followed by archaeology at about 14.6MM, sociology at 6.1MM, and then total anthropology at 5.8MM. These high numbers are expected since they are for the umbrella brands rather than for the different fields or subfields. Note

that physics has a noisier social data set than the other social listening queries. Unlike the anthropology terms – which have few uses beyond anthropologically-related content – physics tends to be much broader. For example, in the physics query, the term “physics” is often used as a synonym for any type of motion such as “the physics of that ride made me sick” or the “physics” presented in a video game. This broader use of the term “physics” that falls outside of direct physics content may be inflating physics’ social mentions – see the word cloud analysis below for more about this.

The real surprise here was archaeology. Archaeology carries significant traction in the social media space and acts as an independent brand. To illustrate, a social listening scrape for any variations of “archaeological archaeology” – “archaeological archaeology,” “archaeological archaeologist,” “archaeological archaeologists,” “archaeological archeology,” “archaeological archeologist,” and “archaeological archeologists” – has only 3,418 hits. This pales in comparison to the 14.6MM mentions of archaeology alone – meaning archaeology’s brand may operate separately from that of anthropology.

Archaeology is also favored in social media because there are constant discoveries that capture the public’s imagination and get high press attention. All the other anthropology subfields (cultural, linguistics, and biological/physical anthropology) had fewer than 425k mentions, with cultural anthropology being the highest ranked at 423k mentions. Ethnography had about 465k mentions, higher than any subfield. Applied anthropology (4.5k mentions) and practicing anthropology (558 mentions) were barely present as brands in the social listening analysis. This may be due to other key terms concerning those subfields such as “development,” “design,” “policy,” and “rights”

which were more primary descriptors of applied anthropology. (This is something that I also pointed out for the *American Anthropology* title analysis.)

Figure 5-13 also shows the calculations of the brands' sentiment and passion scores. Brand sentiment is the calculation of positive or negative mentions in relationship to the keywords in the query. Not all words are counted as a positive or negative sentiment in Netbase – some are neutral. Across the dataset, a conservative range of 5-10% were coded as positive or negative sentiment per query. The net sentiment score measured the ratio of positive over negative sentiment towards a brand. That range is from -100% to +100%.

| | | Mentions (Total) | Net Sentiment | Passion Intensity | Shares | Likes |
|----|------------------------------|------------------|---------------|-------------------|---------|------------|
| 1 | Physics | 30,195,426 | 21% | 90 | 960,169 | 10,861,465 |
| 2 | Anthro (Arch) | 14,813,152 | 24% | 47 | 435,884 | 12,192,874 |
| 3 | Sociology | 6,069,217 | 10% | 45 | 65,181 | 920,580 |
| 4 | Anthro (Total) | 5,751,956 | 17% | 81 | 56,990 | 1,426,979 |
| 5 | Ethnography | 464,650 | 50% | 65 | 2,304 | 139,067 |
| 6 | Anthro (Cultural) | 423,171 | 54% | 62 | 199 | 35,573 |
| 7 | Anthro (Linguistic) | 236,959 | -97% | 100 | 0 | 276 |
| 8 | Anthro (Biological/Physical) | 223,725 | 61% | 65 | 2,063 | 24,871 |
| 9 | Anthro (Applied) | 4,577 | 87% | 23 | 17 | 318 |
| 10 | Anthro (Practicing) | 557 | 20% | 0 | 0 | 48 |

Figure 5-13. Descriptive calculations of total mentions, net sentiment scores, and brand passion for the 10 Netbase queries over the two-year data collection period

Brand passion relates to sentiment scores and measures the amount of passion intensity (strong positive or negative emotions) toward a brand. It is scaled to produce a range from 0 to 100. This means that use and quantity of words such as hate, love, etc., and modifiers that emphasize an emotion, such as *really* happy, *super* annoyed, etc., will increase a brand's passion score. That said, although the two scores are

related by brand emotion words, it is possible to have an inverse relationship between the two scores, or a similar one.

The net sentiment scores have wide variation. Applied anthropology has the highest score at 87%, which is interesting considering its smaller number of total mentions. A deeper analysis of user-generated terms surrounding the phrase “Applied Anthropology” shows this is mainly attributed in its practical aspects. User words like “solving,” “application,” “helpful,” “offer practical solution,” and “real world” helped elevate applied anthropology’s net sentiment score. On the opposite end of the spectrum is linguistic anthropology with a net sentiment score of -97% and a brand passion score of 100. Linguistic anthropology’s extreme scores are likely a result of it only having 239k mentions. For example, a single Tumblr post was reposted/engaged 45k times – the impact of the single post and its reposts may be disproportionately affecting the overall sentiment score. Not only was the post negative but it also had the word hate which greatly impacts sentiment and brand passion: The post is:

I hate linguistic anthropology. Why? One of the most influential experiments in linguistic anthropology involved teaching a chimp ASI. One of the most influential linguistics is named Noam Chomsky. You know what the chimp’s name was? FUCKING NIM CHIMPSKY. I HATE THIS WHOLE FIELD. Tags: #linguistics #linguistic anthropology #academia #academia puns

Although their net sentiments are low at 21% and 17% respectively, both physics and total anthropology queries have high brand passion scores. Physics has a brand passion score of 90, and total anthropology measures at 81. Looking more specifically at total anthropology, this means people feel very strongly about it. There is an opportunity to leverage brand passion for anthropology by transforming the discussion into a more positive direction – in other words a strong communications strategy could

leverage the brand passion to create positive sentiment and, therefore, stronger potential positive anthropology brand perception.

Archaeology has the opposite challenge. Archaeology has a marginally better net sentiment score at 24%, but a lower brand passion score at 46. This indicates archaeology is well-received but people are not as moved by the brand as they are with total anthropology (81 brand passion score), cultural anthropology (62 brand passion score), or ethnography (65 brand passion score). Despite its low brand passion, users are still inclined to like archaeological content more than they are to like content about physics. The ratio of total archaeology-related content *likes* (12,187,573) to total archaeology-related content mentions (14,630,051) is .83, while the ratio of total physics-related content likes (10,839,423) to total physics-related content mentions (30,240,268) is .36. In other words, content that has archaeology-related mentions is 130% more likely to be *liked* than physics-related content, despite physics having 2.06x more social mentions than archaeology.

In regards to the likelihood of content *sharing*, physics and archaeology are similar. The ratio of total archaeology-related content *shares* (435,884) to total archaeology-related content mentions (14,630,051) is .029, while the ratio of total physics-related content shares (957,668) to total physics-related content mentions (30,240,268) is .031.

Likewise, archaeology (12,187,573 likes) is 8.5 times more liked than total anthropology (1,426,778 likes) and 13.2 times more liked than sociology (920,215 likes). When you control for the total number of mentions (total “likes” divided by total mentions), the strength of archaeology’s brand is even more compelling: An

archaeology mention has an 83% chance of being liked, versus total anthropology at 25%, physics at 36%, and sociology at 15%.

Archaeology's likeability is competitive with that of physics, of total anthropology, and of sociology. Finally, applied anthropology presents one of the largest opportunities. Its high sentiment score of 87% could be harnessed by driving more brand mentions and therefore sparking more anthropology brand passion.

I next analyzed the emotional attributes and driver compositions of some of the anthropology brands, using the top 50 terms for each total anthropology, cultural anthropology, sociology and physics (for comparative perspectives). Brand emotion drivers are terms that relate to emotional language – typically modifying a noun but not always. A brand emotion is the emotion or adjective associated with the brand emotion driver. For example, in the sentence, "I love my anthropology class," the brand emotion driver is "anthropology class" and the brand emotion is "love."

This analysis produces a word cloud with the top 50 words in each cloud. A word cloud is a data visualization used to show the strength of a single word in an overall set of words. In these word clouds, the words are sized based on their frequency. The larger the word, the greater percentage frequency it has in the complete set of emotionally-assigned content. The words are colored based on their assigned sentiment – green for positive sentiment and red for negative.

Starting with the brand emotion drivers and brand emotions for total anthropology, as shown in Figure 5-14, the data show the primary brand driver over the two-year data window as "skulls measurement." The following post (and repost across

a variety of social media such as Tumblr and LiveJournal) was about 2% of the “total anthropology’ query mentions:

And when everyone else was making noises about how Hitler wasn’t so bad, he’d calm down, etc. – Boas was publishing article after article about what a monster Hitler was and how he should be removed immediately. At the time Boas was beginning his career, Anthropologists had been incorrectly using skull measurements to determine who was what race and then participate in the associated racism that is innate to the Great Chain of Being (<– idea that society is a progression from grass hut to modern western society. Has been debunked over and over, but its pervasiveness still shows in many still popular cultural ideas.). Boas was so ticked off by both the racism and the lack of scientific integrity inherent in the skull measuring that his ass traipsed all over and measured *thousands* of skulls – the largest study ever of the subject – and not only debunked the correlation between race and skull measurements, but proved that skull sizes could be influenced by environment and weren’t even genetically dictated.

Also within Figure 5-14, the data show “forensic anthropology,” “asking for a better ID,” and “gaining notoriety” as key drivers. Looking more broadly at the brand emotion drivers, the data show themes such as students, classes, and learning as drivers. In Chapter 2, I discussed anthropology’s continued focus on the exotic. The social listening analysis does not support this hypothesis. Any notion of exoticism is not present in the top 50 emotional driver discussion for total anthropology. In general, and in comparison to other brand drivers later in this discussion, the drivers for total anthropology demonstrate few patterns and foci.

In terms of total anthropology emotional attributes, the two most prominent are “hate,” “interesting,” “love,” and “great.” These terms account for total anthropology’s strong brand passion scores. Looking at the peripheral set of emotional terms, there is a clear pattern of negative emotional noise contributing to total anthropology’s low net sentiment score.

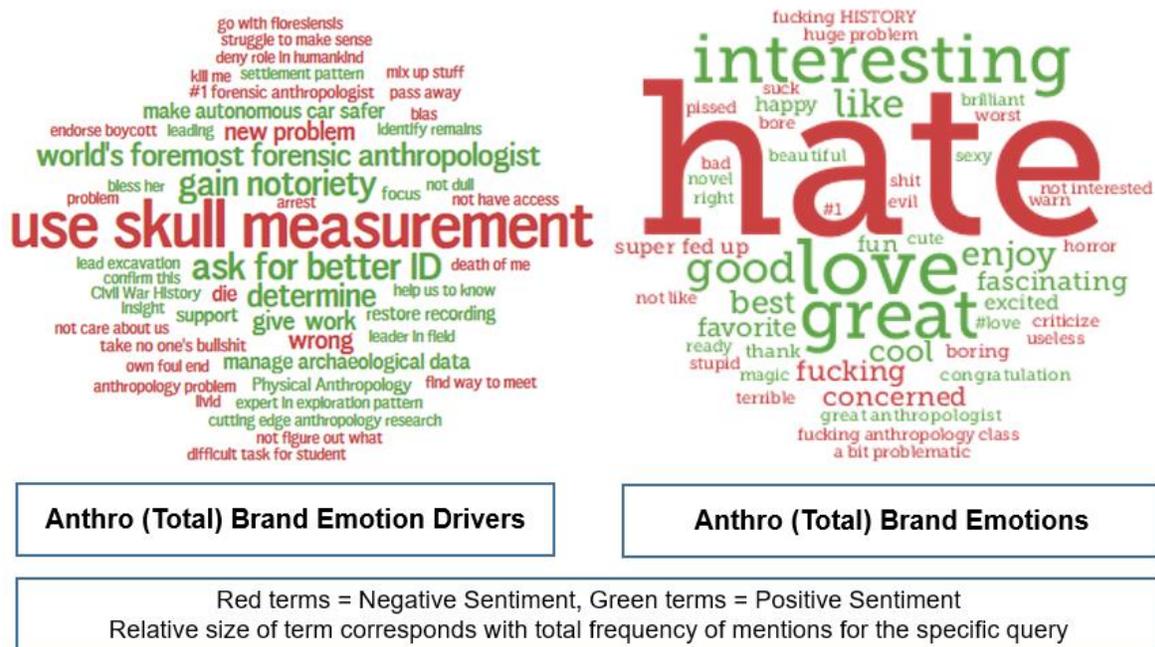


Figure 5-14. Top brand emotion drivers and brand attribute for “Anthropology (Total)” social listening query

The brand emotion drivers and attributes for “cultural anthropology” illustrate its more positive net brand sentiment score as well as its brand passion score – see Figure 5-15 below. With the “cultural anthropology” query, the data show the main emotional drivers as the terms “perfect specimens,” “economic anthropology,” and “an important field.” “Economic anthropology” was surprising as a strong brand driver considering it is a relatively small subfield. On further investigation its appearance can be attributed to mentions of Stanley Ann Dunham (later known as Ann Dunham) who was an economic anthropologist and former President Barack Obama’s mother – hence a more popular term due to cultural relevancy.

Looking at the specific emotions associated with the “cultural anthropology” query, all the high frequency emotions of “perfect,” “interest,” “best course,” “fascinating,” and “love” are related to people mainly posting about their affection for their anthropology courses. Later in this analysis a similar theme is identified in the

“sociology” query. “Vital” is also a high frequency emotional term, but this term does not relate to coursework. “Vital” relates to a post about a character in the show “Critical Minds,” thus lending some evidence of the popularizing of cultural anthropology discussed in Chapter 3:

it'll be interesting to see how that [husband] story line carries throughout hopefully many seasons to come. The producers, who felt that a cultural anthropologist was more vital to the show than Lily's legal eagle, transferred Gunn's character's linguistic skills to Clara. She is fluent in 13 languages, including Thai, French and Creole, and De La Garza speaks "six or seven" of them in the first season.

As with the total anthropology analysis, there are a series of critical terms on the word cloud’s periphery. These peripheral, critically-worded terms are mainly in reference to coursework, professors, or majors. As the net sentiment score shows, these more critical and negative terms, however, do not outweigh the positive term strength seen in the middle of the word cloud.

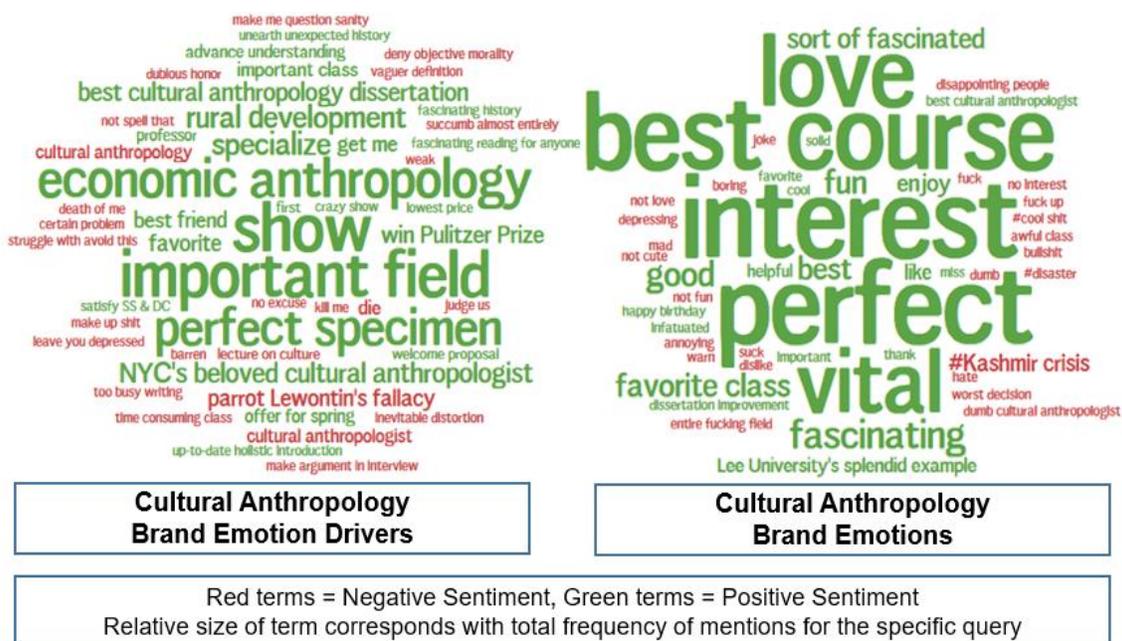


Figure 5-15. Top brand emotion drivers and brand attributes for “Cultural Anthropology” social listening query

Social listening analysis using sociology and physics as discipline comparisons for the brand assessments were also run. Figure 5-16 below analyzes the brand emotional drivers and the emotional attributes for sociology first since it is closer in size (number of mentions) and scholarly focus to anthropology than physics. Recall that the net sentiment for sociology is 10% and the brand passion is 45. Thus, sociology is low on sentiment, similar to total anthropology at 17%, and it is low on brand passion, unlike cultural anthropology whose brand passion score is 62.

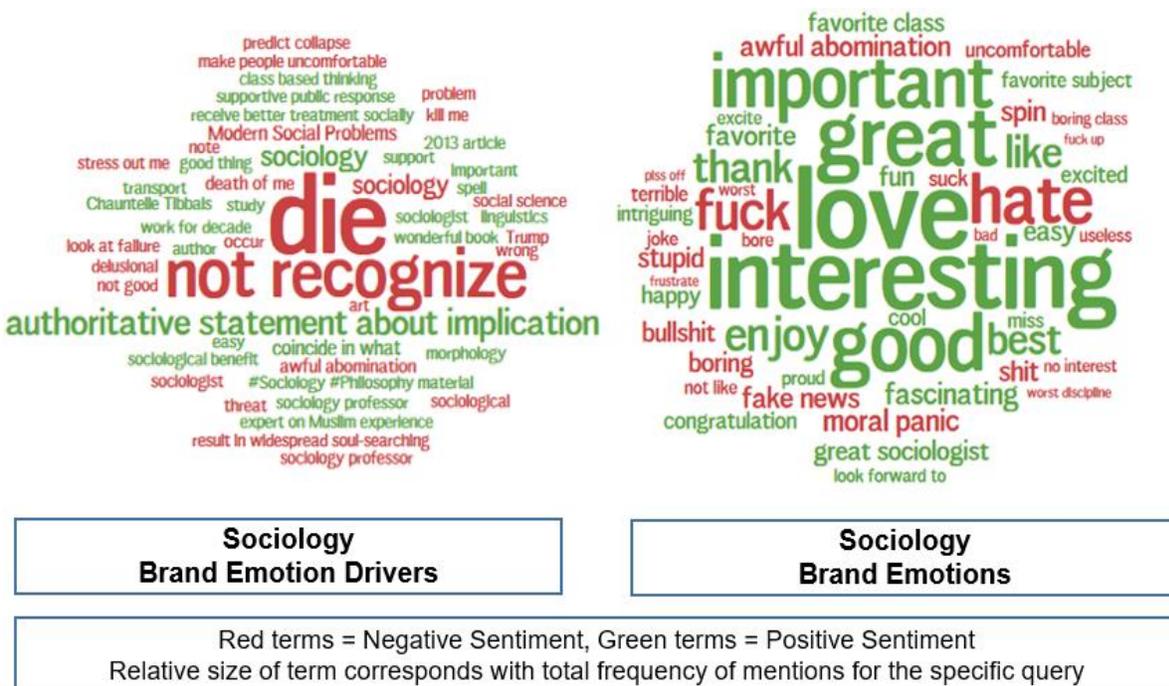


Figure 5-16. Top brand emotion drivers and brand attribute for “Sociology” social listening query

The sociology word cloud data show similar themes to the total anthropology word cloud. Just like total anthropology’s key driver of “use skull measurement” at 2% of driver mentions, sociology shows one prominent brand emotional driver – “authoritative statement about implication” at 3%. This heated Tumblr post was shared often, causing its heavy weighting in the driver analysis:

First of all, you're fucking G A Y, so the whole "evolution told me so" stopped being relevant as soon as you stuck a dick in your ass. Second, evolutionary attraction is a budding theory within sociology so making any sort of authoritative statement about the implications it has on real world relationships is shaky at best. That being said, nothing that you said is even discussed when looking at the evolution of human attraction.

The word "die" is also prominent in the word cloud, at 15% of the emotional-assigned content. This 15% can be mainly attributed to the death of notable sociologists Peter Bergner, Ruth Gruenberg, Zygmunt Bauman, Peter Kwong, and others. "Die" is also related to sociology classes "making me want to die" or some variation of that phrase. Also similar to total anthropology, outside of the two prominent brand emotion drivers, the other drivers are scattered without any notable pattern or theme.

Sociology's brand emotions, however, are different than those that emerge from the social listening query for total anthropology. Whereas "hate" was the most prominent emotion for total anthropology – 33% of all emotional mentions – "love," "interesting," "important," "great," and "good" were the strongest emotions for sociology, totaling 35% of all emotional mentions for sociology. Overall sociology has more emotional brand attributes that are positive than total anthropology but is similar to cultural anthropology in terms of brand emotions (see Figure 5-16). Interesting to note, however, that cultural anthropology has more positive emotional *drivers* than sociology.

Physics provides another comparison discipline. Remember that the physics query produced a noisier data set than did the other Netbase queries, so any conclusions and interpretations are limited. This becomes evident in the emotional drivers and attributes word cloud analysis – see Figure 5-17.

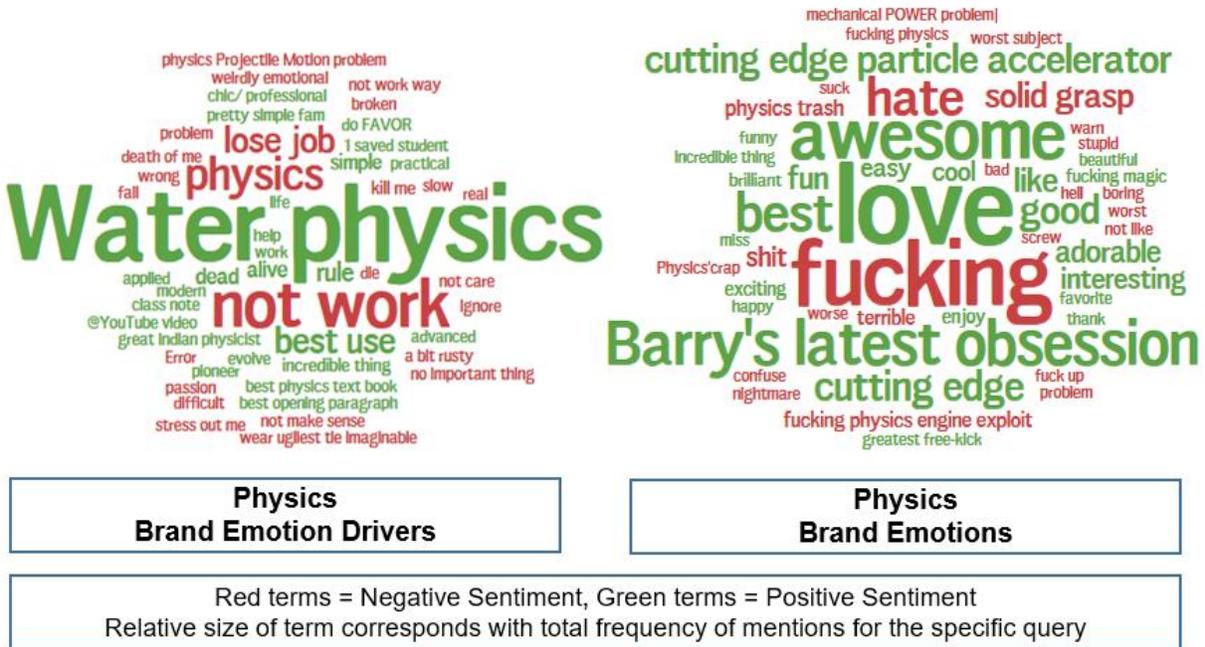


Figure 5-17. Top brand emotion drivers and brand attribute for “Physics” social listening query

The physics emotional drivers comprise mainly the term “Water Physics” at 24% of the total emotional terms. Water physics refers to fluid mechanics – a true topic of physics – but the posts reveal that water physics is also used to describe how water is visualized in video games – as flow, waves, movement, and so on. Users sometimes discuss graphic processor chips (such as Nvidia) in relationship to the visualizations.

It can be argued that this is still physics-related content, and therefore still related to the physics brand. But for this analysis it is less valuable because it is not related directly to physics scholarship. “Not work” is the next largest physics emotional driver at 8% which, again, often relates to software that runs the motion of water and other movement in video games.

In terms of brand emotional attributes, the physics posts show “awesome,” “love,” and “best” as the primary attributes. Together these traits comprised 21% of the

emotion attributes. As before, some of these positive emotional attributes terms center on the physics of video games. For example, the following comments were related to video games: “The physics engine is amazing, also, there's hunting, an armor and weapon system, and even villages later on.” “Fucking” at 12% is also a strong negative emotional brand attribute mainly related to posts such as “Fuck physics for messing up my gpa,” and “Next I have fuckin physics.” In other words, these posts express frustration about physics as a course.

As with sociology and total anthropology, however, the emotional attributes also include feedback on classes, scholarship, or practitioners as well – for example:

1. “That was the point. Physics has much greater rigor than psychology. The standards are not the same, you can get away with ‘fluffing’ more in psychology as opposed to physics,” or
2. “Robert Lang is a physicist who worked at NASA studying lasers and has 46 patents on optoelectronics to his name. However, that's not what he's best known for now: he's a legend in the world of origami. His intricate designs are second to none, and they actually have applications back in engineering,” and
3. “Congratulations to these 3 American physicists for winning the Nobel Prize in Physics today! From left to right – Rainer Weiss, Barry Barish, and Kip Thorne have been awarded the Nobel Prize based on their discovery of gravitational waves, which were first predicted by Albert Einstein 100 years ago!”

The emotion attribute “Barry's latest obsession” is 3% of the emotional content and “Barry” is a character in the show “The Flash:”

Now, Barry has become a brilliant, driven and endearingly geeky CSI investigator, whose determination to uncover the truth about his mother's strange death leads him to follow up on every unexplained urban legend and scientific advancement that comes along. Barry's latest obsession is a cutting edge particle accelerator, created by visionary physicist Harrison Wells and his STAR Labs team, who claim that this invention will bring about unimaginable advancements in power and medicine. However, something goes horribly wrong during the public unveiling, and when the devastating explosion causes a freak storm, many lives are lost and Barry is struck by lightning.

Thus, in a manner similar to anthropology, physics captures the public's imagination through TV show characters, and has user-posted content concerning classes.

Part of building a great brand is having consistent brand communication and public engagement, as described in Chapter 3. We can estimate anthropology's public digital engagement and brand communication by comparing the number of *news* stories and mentions for each of the queries. Netbase was again used to extract news mentions for specific topics – that is, press releases, articles in online news sources, and similar properties/publishers. Figure 5-18 below details the calculations for the news mentions by each of the 10 topics.

Physics has the largest number of news mentions during the two-year data collection period at about 1.4MM. This is not surprising since 2015-2017 had several discoveries in the field, such as the measurement and proof of gravitational wave change caused by the collision of black holes. Archaeology comes in second in our list with about 1.1k mentions. Sociology and total anthropology come in at third and fourth highest number of mentions with 504k and 375k respectively. From both a news communications perspective and a user-generated content data perspective, archaeology is a strong brand. It is unclear, however, how archaeology's brand affects the overall brand of anthropology – more research is needed on that brand interaction.

The news coverage of ethnography versus cultural anthropology is also interesting. The ratio here is almost 4 to 1, with ethnography at about 40k news mentions and cultural anthropology at about 11k. Ethnography makes the news more often than cultural anthropology, which may indicate that it is seen as more interesting, news worthy, or confused with anthropology (per Chapter 3's discussion on

anthropology and ethnography as mistaken synonyms). When comparing the data in Figures 5-13 to 5-18, the net sentiment of news about anthropology and the net sentiment in social media mentions of anthropology, in every instance, the news is more favorable than the more general social media posts, commentary, and other content. It may be expected that published news content would be more unbiased and potentially favorable, but there were larger differences than expected. For example, when the news only sentiment scores in Figure 5-18 were compared to the user net sentiment scores in Figure 5-13, total anthropology increased by 30%, ethnography by 14%, cultural anthropology by 9%, and archaeology by 15%. Linguistic anthropology/s net sentiment improved by a 165%. Cultural anthropology showed an improvement for news mentions net sentiment score at 9%, indicating that user perception and news perception are more aligned for cultural anthropology than for any of the other social listening queries.

Finally, Figure 5-19 below shows the mentions by query topic mapped across the two-year data collection period. Strong brands require a steady stream of communications. Looking across the topics through the two year data collection period, the chart shows a steady pulse of communications across the anthropology queries. There are some occasional spikes in mentions, but nothing that indicates a news communications brand silence period.

In summary, the social listening analysis demonstrated that total anthropology has a negative social sentiment but strong brand passion. Archaeology fares better in terms of sentiment but struggles with brand passion. Applied, cultural, and biological anthropology have the most positive brand sentiment, despite their lower number of

social mentions. Total anthropology is comparable to sociology in terms of its brand drivers, but sociology’s emotional health was better than that of total anthropology – often referred to as “great,” “interesting,” and “fascinating” vs. anthropology’s primary emotional term of “hate.” In terms of brand attributes, sociology and cultural anthropology are most similar among the 10 social listening queries. Exoticism was not supported in the social listening analysis, though some popularizing of anthropology through TV shows was supported. Overall, news coverage across anthropology fields was steadier than expected and in line with that of sociology. Although it is not clear if the news headlines and content about anthropology are consistent, it is supported that the news coverage is positive.

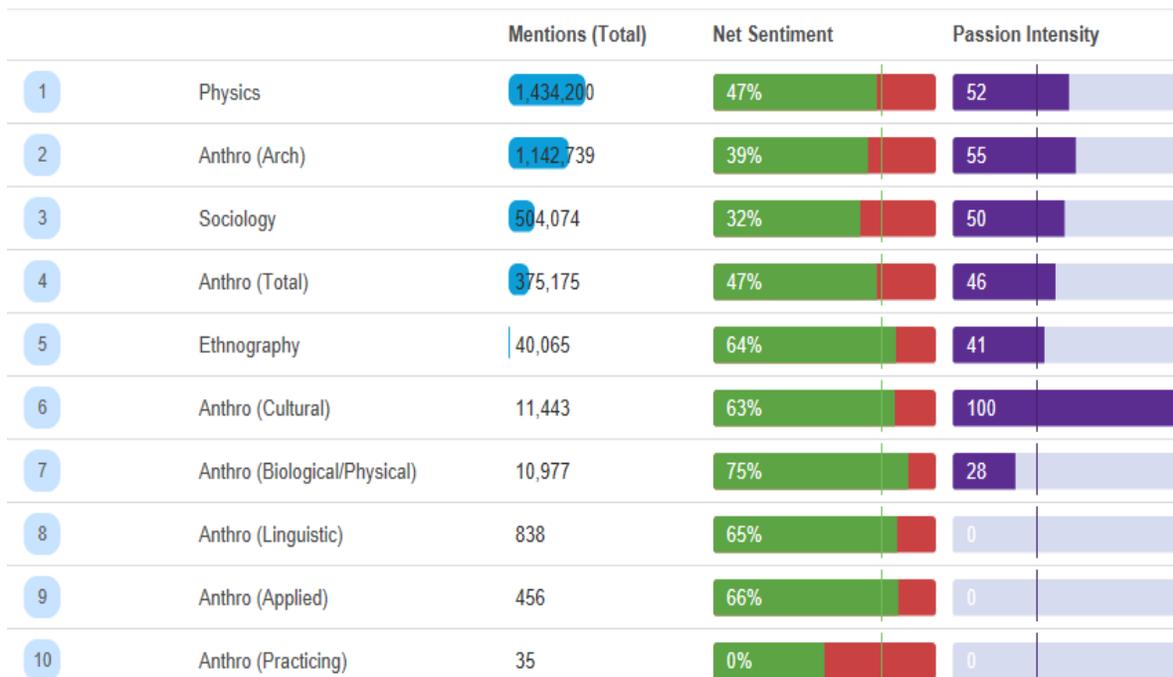


Figure 5-18. Descriptive calculations of total NEWS mentions and net sentiment scores for the 10 Netbase queries over the two year data collection period.

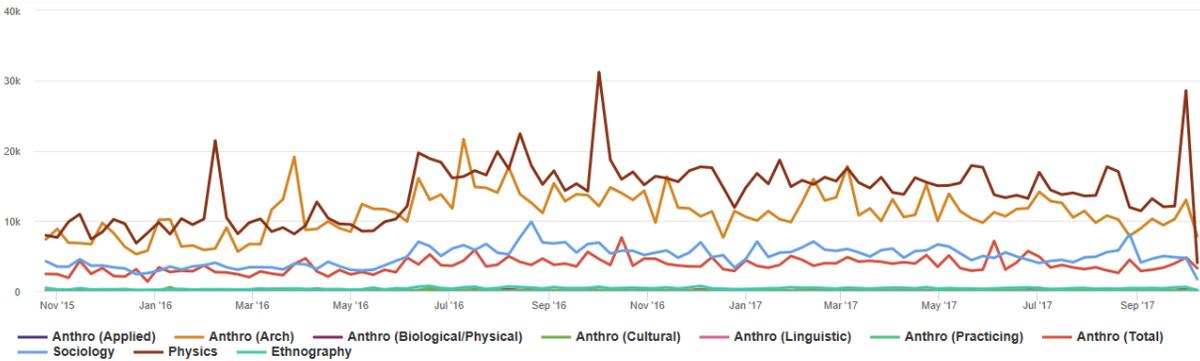


Figure 5-19. Total NEWS mentions charted across the two-year data collection period for the 10 Netbase queries

The Pull of Anthropology: Google Search Trends Analysis

In Chapter 3, I discussed public engagement as a critical communications strategy for building anthropology’s brand and reviewed some of the challenges regarding public engagement, such as fragmentation, multiple perspectives, and no single owner of the brand message. The social listening analysis demonstrated that anthropology has a steady volume of news communications – meaning the brand is consistently present and being pushed through news outlets. In terms of public engagement, however, the “pull” forces also need consideration. In other words, how often are people seeking out anthropology versus it being pushed to them in some form? In addition to the social media engagement described above, a Google search trends analysis offers some insight into the pull of anthropology.

Data Collection and Cleaning

Leveraging the online Google Trends platform (<https://trends.google.com/trends/>) I selected the key terms for analysis: Anthropology, Cultural Anthropology, Archaeology, Ethnography, and Sociology. For this analysis, I looked at the last five years, 10/15/12– 1/15/17, worldwide. I also collected the top 25 search queries with the word “anthropology” in them. By search query, I mean what the user actually types into

the Google search bar. For example, in the sentence, “What is anthropology?” the key term for the key term analysis is “anthropology,” while the search query is, “What is anthropology?” The search query provides a sense of the ways in which people are seeking out anthropology and looking to engage the brand.

Data Analysis and Findings

Figure 5-20 below shows search trends for anthropology, cultural anthropology, archaeology, ethnography, and sociology across the five-year time frame. These data are worldwide search queries. Google does not provide raw search counts on each of the queries / key terms. Instead the terms and searches are measured relative to one another. This is an index score. The index score measures interest over time for a topic as a proportion of all searches on all topics on Google at that time and location. In other words, $(\# \text{ of queries for keyword}) / (\text{total Google search queries})$ over time. Then it's normalized from 1-100 based on the strength of each ratio across the time period. The index score represents the search volume relative to the highest point on the chart for the given region and time. For example, a score of 100 is the top popularity for the term – meaning it has the HIGHEST score $(\# \text{ of queries for keyword}) / (\text{total Google search queries})$ over time, in that same a normalized, indexed data score of 50 means that search volume is 50% compared to 100 score – in other words 50% of the HIGHEST $(\# \text{ of queries for keyword}) / (\text{total Google search queries})$ ratio, and a score of 0 means the term was less than 1% as popular as the peak.

Looking at Figure 5-20, it is clear that there were some patterns across all time periods for all terms. The lowest search volume index scores were during the last week of December – likely because of the Christmas and New Year holidays. The other consistently low scoring period was during the month of July. This may be due to

summer holidays and vacationing. There is a consistent peak across all terms in late August and early September, most likely aligning with the beginning of many academic school years. For a complete table of the index scores, per search term, across all time periods see Appendix D.

In terms of total search volume over the 5 year period, sociology has more volume than the other terms. Compared to anthropology, there are about 1.5 sociology searches for each anthropology search. As measured through Google search volume, this shows sociology’s public engagement as 50% higher than that of anthropology. Anthropology has more than double the total search volume compared to archaeology: for every one inquiry about archaeology there are 2.12 anthropology searches. This is interesting because archaeology had twice as many mentions as that for anthropology in the social listening analysis. This suggests that although the anthropology brand pulls more people in via search, archaeology is more digitally discussed than anthropology. Cultural anthropology had the lowest total search volume.

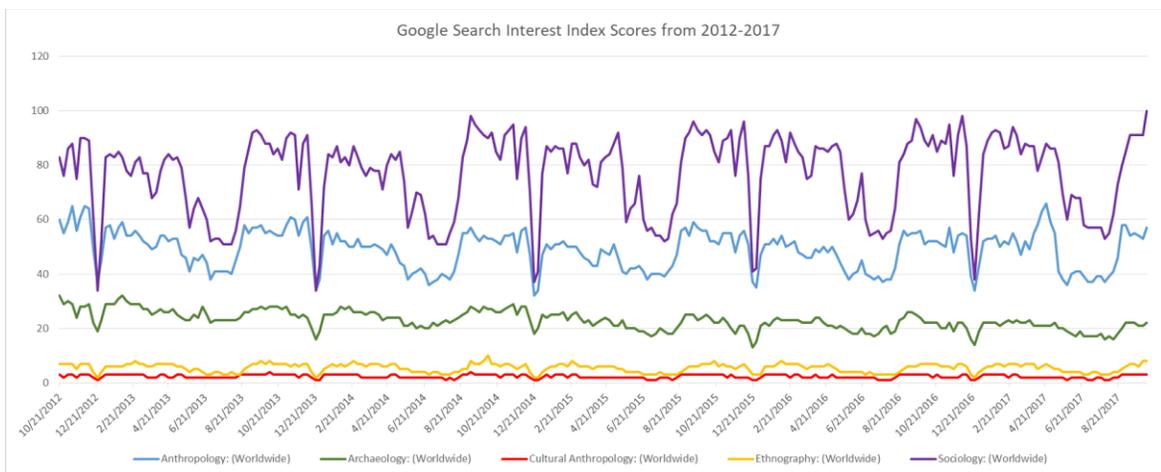


Figure 5-20. Google Search Trends Analysis (10/15/12 - 10/15/17, Worldwide)

When people are pulled to the anthropology brand, what are they seeking from it? Google calculates the top search queries related to the specific term via index scores. Figure 5-21 shows the top search queries and their related index scores for both anthropology and sociology. Note that in anthropology's top 25, Google counts "anthropologie" as one of the top search terms (4th position) because Google thinks it is a misspelling. In reality *Anthropologie* is a clothing store, which also might explain why "anthropology store" appears as term 23.

The top 25 terms for both sociology and anthropology have similar themes – see Figure 5-21. Many of the inquiries are focused on definitions of each field and asking what it is. Both anthropology and sociology have top searches around jobs and degrees as well. They differ in the fact that anthropology has more topically focused search queries such as medical anthropology, museum anthropology, physical anthropology, and forensic anthropology. Sociology, on the other hand, tends to have more academic-oriented terms such as major, book, department, education, degree, journal and AQA. AQA (<http://www.aqa.org.uk/>) develops educational policy, assesses qualifications, provides different exams and textbooks, and guides curriculum for a variety of disciplines.

In Chapter 2 I spoke about the fragmentation of the discipline, and in Chapter 3, I discussed anthropology's diffused brand. The analysis of titles from the *American Anthropologist* showed there was a core group of 50 words that have been long-term concepts in anthropology. Interestingly, none of those terms are in the top anthropology Google queries except archaeology. Despite this, the interest in anthropological

content/research areas, as shown in the top 25 search terms versus the more academic focus of sociology, shows the brand fragmentation may have some advantages.

| ANTHROPOLOGY RELATED GOOGLE QUERY | ANTHROPOLOGY QUERY INDEX SCORE | SOCIOLOGY RELATED GOOGLE QUERY | SOCIOLOGY QUERY INDEX SCORE |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| anthropology definition | 100 | Definition | 100 |
| what is anthropology | 100 | sociology definition | 95 |
| cultural anthropology | 80 | what is sociology | 95 |
| Anthropologie | 70 | Psychology | 45 |
| forensic anthropology | 60 | definition of sociology | 40 |
| social anthropology | 60 | sociology education | 40 |
| Sociology | 60 | Education | 35 |
| anthropology jobs | 45 | sociology jobs | 35 |
| museum anthropology | 40 | as sociology | 35 |
| human anthropology | 35 | Society | 35 |
| Culture | 35 | sociology degree | 30 |
| definition of anthropology | 30 | Anthropology | 25 |
| anthropology define | 30 | sociology major | 25 |
| medical anthropology | 30 | define sociology | 25 |
| anthropology meaning | 30 | Culture | 25 |
| anthropology degree | 30 | sociology of education | 25 |
| museum of anthropology | 30 | sociology meaning | 20 |
| psychology | 25 | Family | 20 |
| physical anthropology | 25 | aqa sociology | 20 |
| archaeology | 25 | Aqa | 20 |
| anthropologist | 25 | sociology book | 20 |
| anthropology store | 25 | sociology department | 20 |
| anthropology and sociology | 25 | political sociology | 20 |
| anthropology major | 25 | sociology journal | 15 |
| study of anthropology | 25 | cultural sociology | 15 |

Figure 5-21. Anthropology Google Search Trends--Top Search Queries Concerning Anthropology and Sociology (10/15/12 - 10/15/17, Worldwide)

In summary, the Google Search trend analysis provided evidence for the strength of the public's pull to anthropology. Compared to a discipline such as sociology, anthropology has a weaker pull. I would argue, however, that anthropology's pull is a higher quality brand pull because – comparing the topic terms around the two

disciplines – the public is seeking more substance around a topic than it is for sociology. Anthropology has more topically-focused search queries, such as medical anthropology, museum anthropology, physical anthropology, and forensic anthropology. Sociology, on the other hand, tends to have more academic-oriented terms such as major, book, department, education, and degree. In this regard, the various anthropology focus areas may work to anthropologists' advantage in terms of brand strength. Contrasted to the social listening analysis, anthropology shows a stronger pull than archaeology. This may be because people know what archaeology is and do not need to search for it, or they may be more interested in anthropology content versus solely archaeology content.

Summary and Discussion

The journal title analysis, social listening tests, Web of Science analysis, and anthropology's search volume investigation provide several insights regarding anthropology itself as well as its focus areas, public engagement, products, and brand:

The American Anthropologist Article Title Analysis

1. There are topical fads that enter and exit anthropology over time. Notable terms that exited are mainly terms for groups of people or tribes. Terms associated with current affairs topics are more recent entrants.
2. Anthropology has a core set of concepts, but a significant "long tail" of one-off topics as well. The core set of concepts shows insignificant total average change over time.
3. All four fields of anthropology are present in the core set of concepts, suggesting some subfield inclusion.
4. The stem "method" is in position 50 of the top 50 with a frequency of 48, but the words "applied" and "application" are infrequent, with a total of just 16 across all anthropology titles seen since the 1880s.

The Web of Science Title Analysis on "Ethnography and "Culture"

5. Anthropology has always been the top publisher on ethnography, but in the 1970s the sum of other fields publishing on ethnography surpassed anthropology – thus demonstrating ethnography's diffusion over time.

6. The concept of culture also diffused over time, and anthropology was surpassed by history and sociology as the top publisher on culture in the 2010s.

Social Listening Analysis

7. Archaeology is more popular in social media than any other anthropology topic / subfield, making archaeology the most visible brand online.
8. Anthropology has negative brand emotional attributes, but high brand passion.
9. Cultural anthropology and ethnography have positive brand emotional attributes and high brand passion.
10. Anthropology's main brand emotion is "hate" – at 33% of all emotional mentions, whereas sociology's main brand emotions are "love," "interesting," "important," "great," and "good" – totaling 35% of all emotional content for sociology, indicating a more positive brand association.
11. News social mentions over time were very positive for anthropology, and the news mentions came at a stable communications pace, though arguably at an insufficient total volume.

Google Search Trends Analysis

12. Anthropology's brand "pull" as measured by online search query volume is about 75% that of sociology's.
13. Search volume queries are higher for anthropology than for archaeology, which is the reverse for the online *discussion* of archaeology versus anthropology. In other words, archaeology is more likely to be discussed, while anthropology is more likely to be searched.
14. People often search for anthropology topical areas rather than for anthropology academic terms – the reverse of searches for sociology.

In the next chapter, I discuss the implications for these findings in the hopes of making anthropologists' value proposition, brand, and products more competitive in the marketplace. For example, how can applied anthropology's brand passion and strong positivity energize anthropology's overall brand and break down the academic-practitioner divide? How can tenure policies and other departmental policies alleviate some of the negative social listening sentiment? How can changing topical focus areas help increase anthropologists' relevance? How can methods and skills become an

integral part of the curriculum and the practice, as well as part of the discussion about anthropology and its brand pull? How do anthropologists increase overall brand communication in social media to create discussion and top-of-mind awareness?

CHAPTER 6 STRATEGIES AND TACTICS TO MOVE FORWARD

Idea Starters to Increase Anthropology's Fitness

In this study I have tried to assess anthropologists' current competitive situation in terms of products and marketable skills. I examined the obstacles driving disciplinary divisions, affecting its brand and business, and decreasing its overall fitness. In this final section, I make tactical, short-term and long-term recommendations about how to remove some of the barriers that organizations and institutions face, in order to increase their competitive position and anthropology's business. The goal is not to prescribe anthropology's future but to spark a discussion about how anthropology can continue to evolve operationally and intellectually. The discipline may not have a straight path forward, but anthropologists can take deliberate and decisive steps to make incremental progress. This idea list is not exhaustive. I aim to convert some of anthropology's challenges – *not crises* – into opportunities to achieve more of what I see as its great potential.

In my reading for this study, I found that some scholars have, indeed, made recommendations for improving anthropology's competitiveness and I have integrated those recommendations into the framework below. Competitive business strategy is about making decisions – decisions on what not to do and decisions about what to do. Anthropology's future will depend on the ability of today's anthropologists to make tough decisions about the training that students require, about licensing and certification of practitioners, and about the relative value of academic and nonacademic jobs.

It is tempting to say that anthropology must be deliberate; that anthropology must be decisive. Of course, this is a fantasy. Anthropology cannot decide to do anything. But

individual anthropologists and anthropology departments can take steps that will make their students competitive for many kinds of jobs, both academic and non-academic. These ideas can also be implemented in organizations, such as the American Anthropological Association or the Society for Applied Anthropology. But writing a comprehensive master roadmap for anthropology's future is impossible. What the practice needs is guiding principles, not play-by-play instructions – principles for making undergraduate and graduate students more competitive for the many kinds of jobs that are available. This will involve: building tactical skills; focusing on value/impact; enhancing teaching; making clear within departments that careers in nonacademic, anthropological practice are valued; and owning what human resources professionals call “employment pathing.” Below I discuss ways to (1) push past legacy discipline divisions, (2) enhance anthropology's product, (3) energize the brand, and (4) build anthropology's business.

Pushing Past Legacy Discipline Divisions

Throughout the history of anthropology, intellectual divisions damaged the strength of or created confusion in the discipline. One immediate change that anthropology can make is to push past those legacy divides. Perhaps the most important of those legacies is the division between applied and academic anthropology. Resolving this requires integrating practicing and applied anthropology fully into academic anthropology programs. This change is especially important due to the increasing non-academic career opportunities and the market-economy. Bernard and Gravlee (2014) provide strong evidence for preparing graduates for future careers outside of the academy since that is where the opportunity is strongest for today's anthropology graduates.

Recall that in 1950 just 22 Ph.D. degrees were awarded in anthropology. With the launch of Sputnik by the Soviet Union in 1957, the United States entered a 15-year period of investing heavily in post-secondary education. By 1974, American universities were awarding 400 Ph.D. degrees a year in anthropology and since 2009 there have been over 500 Ph.D. graduates per year (Bernard & Gravlee, 2014). After 1975, more and more Ph.D. anthropologists entered into careers outside of the academy. By 1986 more M.A.s and Ph.D.s were employed in nonacademic jobs than in academe (Fluehr-Lobban, 1991), and this remains true today.

There was a rebound in the academic job market when the professors appointed in the 1960s began retiring in the mid-1980s, but that market has never grown sufficiently to accommodate the volume of anthropology graduates. Givens and Jablonski (1996) reported that from 1985 and 1994 there were an average of 331 academic jobs listed in the Anthropology Newsletter (a monthly publication of the American Anthropological Association). In 2008, however (Fiske et al., 2009) reported that the American Anthropological Associations website listed just 199 available jobs.

Compare these numbers to the 1,821 nonacademic jobs in anthropology listed recently on www.linkedin.com. Those anthropology jobs were for all levels of education, including undergraduates. Anthropologists who acquire the skills relevant for jobs in business, the government, and non-profit sectors will be at an advantage.

To prepare for anthropology careers outside the academy, students will have to advocate in their departments for changes in the curriculum, in tenure and promotion policies, and in hiring priorities. While the changes must come from within each department, integration of applied and practicing anthropology should be advocated as

incremental to, but not at the expense of, other research. Peacock (1997) argues that the profession cannot survive if the academic arm of anthropology is weak, and vice versa. Engagement with one another is key.

The American Anthropological Association's (AAA) Practicing Advisory Work Group (PAWG) was established in 2003. That group is pursuing the inclusion of practicing/applied anthropology in several ways and has made progress. After their study in 2006, they made 53 recommendations to better integrate practicing and applied anthropologists into the overall organization and into the profession, generally. Notable among their recommendations: (1) adding a practicing anthropologist to the editorial board of the AAA, (2) developing a certification program for schools that are part of the COPPA (Consortium of Practicing and Applied Anthropology Programs (L. Bennett et al., 2006), and (3) creating a standing advisory committee in the AAA – The Committee on Practicing, Applied, and Public Interest Anthropology (CoPAPIA). Their comprehensive report detailed how the overall discipline can evolve through the better integration of practicing and applied anthropologists. Their recommendations included outreach, publications, meetings, committees, bylaws, membership, training and education, careers, visibility, publications, and even insurance. What I document below reinforces some of their recommendations, and extends them as well. PAWG's recommendations are detailed here: <http://tinyurl.com/y7tf5hux>

Next, anthropologists can acknowledge, appreciate, and integrate theoretical arguments and divisions into research work, and then move forward. The debates about postmodernism, the crisis of representation, positivism vs. humanism, etc. have calmed, but they still seem to divide the practice and decrease its strength. Rather than

dwelling on debates, anthropologists are better-off focusing on the value, impact, implications and contribution toward understanding the human condition and making the world a better place. Debates are important for making the field better, but if the discipline gets stuck in theoretical deadlock, its fitness is diminished as funding dries up and as students vote with their feet.

Theory is important, so if not-resolving it creates discomfort, then anthropologists can focus on the middle ground. Comaroff (2010) calls for praxis, shared epistemic operations, and mandated research techniques. He argues that the theoretical way forward consists of: (1) mapping how social realities are realized, (2) critical estrangement of the lived world, (3) deployment of the contradiction as a methodological revelation, and (4) a return to grounded-theory. Some authors called for broader participation of practitioners in theory building (Cefkin, 2010a, 2010b). Rubel and Rosman (1994) suggest “we continue to hold to the general goal of the understanding of human cultural behavior. Though there is great disagreement as to how to accomplish this, most of us will proceed...striving to produce a good enough ethnography and to suggest limited generalizations that will eventually be replaced by more far-reaching ones” (p. 342). Another way to resolve the tension in theoretical debates is to continue to focus on the longitudinal and comparative legacies of anthropology. To do that, anthropologists need to break down the divisions that prevent us from building incremental knowledge about people and cultures. The debate needs to move from a discussion of “taking sides” to a discussion of how to use the best of both science and the humanities, interpretivism and positivism, and understanding and explaining:

The distinction between quantitative and qualitative is often used as cover for talking about the difference between science and humanism, but that's a mistake. Lots of scientists do their work without numbers, and many scientists whose work is highly quantitative consider themselves to be humanists. Neither quantitative nor qualitative researchers have the exclusive right to strive for objectivity; neither humanists nor scientists have a patent on compassion; and empiricism is as much the legacy of interpretivists and idealists as it is of positivists and materialists.

Humanism is often used as a synonym for humanitarian or compassionate values and a commitment to the amelioration of suffering. The myth that science is the absence of these values is truly pernicious. We must reject a culture that equates objectivity with being cold. Counting the dead accurately in Iraq is one way – not the only way – to preserve outrage. We need more, not less, science – lots and lots more – and more humanistically informed science, if we are to contribute more to the amelioration of suffering and the weakening of false ideologies – racism, sexism, ethnic nationalism – in the world. (Bernard & Gravlee, 2014, p. 6)

The ethical problems faced by practicing and applied anthropologists are sometimes different from those faced by academic researchers. The AAA statement on ethics is a useful guide, but the AAA has not functioned as an arbiter of ethics. Ethical issues are everywhere in anthropology. Ethics is everyone's responsibility – practitioners, departments, and governing institutions. If they have not already done so, ethics training and scenario planning can be built into departmental curriculum requirements.

Academic territorialism and value-judgements about topics of anthropological inquiry need to be deprioritized in favor of focusing on skills and student development. Territorialism and value-judgements will only stall the inevitability of required change in departments and the discipline in terms of curriculum, faculty, and career paths.

Enhancing Anthropology's Product

Anthropology needs to enhance its product set to be competitive in terms of producing the best scholarship and having the most marketable skills. Anthropology's products need to be tangible, tactical, and relatable for employers and scholars.

Enhancing anthropology's product starts with enhancing skills by teaching stronger methods, creating standards for what great anthropology delivery looks like, and having a shared view of what anthropological training is. This training involves qualitative and quantitative research methods, but needs to move beyond legacy methods and into digital, integrated data, and technology-assisted methods to complement our toolkit. For example, Rogers (2009, 2013) does a solid job of helping to categorize new digital ethnographic methods. He thinks about technology-enhanced ethnographic methods in two ways: (1) Virtual methods and (2) Digital methods. Virtual methods are more traditional methods that have been adapted to work in an online environment – such as Wang's (2012) live fieldnoting, online social listening, and netnography/cyber-ethnography/digital ethnography (Hine, 2000, 2015; Kozinets, 2010). Digital methods leverage existing digital data as objects of human systems such as computational anthropology (Kuznar, 2006) and ethnomining (Aipperspach et al., 2006). Anthropologists can explore how artificial intelligence, big data, and machine learning can all help better their study of the human condition across time and space.

A similar view comes from Patel (2011). He pushes being omni-methods oriented. As he explains, "When I say I wanted a rebellion against the quan-qual divide, I'm suggesting that the 'either/or,' 'better-than,' or 'one validating the other' is standing in the way of our evolution" (p. 43). Patel challenges anthropologists to look deeper at computational sociology and anthropology for data-mining techniques that can bring

statistical insights to bear on qualitative text data, advance understanding of semantic structures, and social networks. These hybridized and integrated methods can maximize anthropologists' toolkit and make them more marketable as both practicing and academic anthropologists. Technology and data-enabled, quantitative and qualitative, anthropologists will help anthropology compete with and complement STEM fields. Anthropology is not a STEM discipline, but some anthropologists are doing STEM work. There is no reason why anthropology cannot be a STEM discipline and a humanities discipline, it is a choice by the individual and how to conduct the work.

The issue of anthropological product is bigger than just methodological divisions, however. Anthropologists must think more broadly about their product – how to acquire and manage data and how all the varied kinds of data help us understand the human condition. Fuentes and Wiessner (2016) argue for the reintegration of anthropology but say that this can only be accomplished through data-driven, theoretically-hybrid anthropological approaches. Sillitoe (2007) says that, “If we are going to establish applied anthropology as routine, we have to advance faster ways of working than time demanding participant observation” (p. 156). Thus, enhanced methodological, technical, and technological skills are products anthropologists need to build and learn in order to be competitive in the human-understanding business.

Anthropology's product also needs to be invented and not just enhanced through new methods, technologies, and technical expertise. What are anthropology's products and deliverables besides ethnography? For a design researcher, this might be an “experience flow,” for a business consultant this might be a “strategy framework,” for a museum scholar it might be a “cultural installation,” and for an advertiser it might be a

“creative brief.” Whatever that end-deliverable is, anthropology departments need to consider what makes the output uniquely anthropological.

To be competitive, anthropologists need practical, hands-on experience in anthropological research and anthropological careers in both undergraduate and graduate studies. (Mack & Squires, 2011) write: “When PhDs entered the practicing arena in the 1990’s, they were able to learn by doing and from mentors. This is less common today, with expectations higher for immediate employment and lack of time for apprenticeships” (p 25). The authors acknowledge that “academic training helps hone a vision that differentiates from someone without academic training” (p. 25) but they also say that a Ph.D. who lacks practical knowledge, business understanding, and interdisciplinary experience, will have a hard time finding employment.

Practical, hands-on applied and practicing anthropology experience can come from collaborative research, community engagement, corporate partnerships, data providers, state and federal programs, or even in-house, departmental programs that focus on practical problems. What does an MIT Media Lab-like structure look like for an anthropology program, for example?

Since practitioners themselves are also anthropological products, there needs to be a focus on professional skill development and soft skills. Professional skills such as client engagement, managing a business, communication, and project management are critical for applied and practicing careers. Moving from critique to constructive input is critical in non-academic careers. As Johnsrud (2001) says: “The ability to provide critical thinking is essential in industry and government, so that problems are understood. However, without the concomitant skill of suggesting ways to “fix it” (which implies

taking risks and making decisions), critique alone is inadequate” (p. 98). Soft skills such as collaboration, conflict resolution, being able to share and accept input from others, dealing with competing interests and stakeholders, and team building, are a part of every nonacademic career (Wolf 2002).

Entrepreneurship is also a professional skill that departments should consider teaching, especially since many anthropologists are freelancers – one third according to AAA’s Changing Face of Anthropology Study (2009). Anthropology programs should foster these skills directly in their programs – perhaps even creating a “certification” that a student could point out to a potential employer – again with the idea of making skills tangible and marketable.

Energizing the Brand

Building a strong brand is fundamental to increasing anthropology’s competitiveness. Anthropology is particularly challenged on this front due to its topical breadth and lack of centralized control of the brand. There are some steps all anthropologists and anthropology programs can take, however, to increase anthropology’s brand equity and support consistent attributes.

Anthropologists need to identify themselves as anthropologists. They need to wear the label as a source of pride. The more visible anthropologists are and the more visible the work they do, the more visible the brand will be. Of course, the brand may be visible but it will not necessarily be unified in terms of message or brand attributes. Unification of the message will take time and will likely need to come from the AAA or will be embodied in the vision statements of various departments. Step one, however, is to identify as an anthropologist and not a brand-of-one.

Invest in the anthropology community. Culture, brand unity, brand strength, and a common sense of purpose comes from engaging with anthropology peers and fellow community members. Anthropologists need to participate in anthropological organizations such as AAA and SFAA, not just their specialty organizations (e.g., EPIC, or Society for American Archaeology). The discipline and practice will only be as strong as anthropologists collectively invest in it, not just in themselves, their careers, or their departments.

Keep anthropology's brand energized. One way to keep anthropology's brand fresh is to study, comment on, and contribute to research on modern topics. For example, recent topical developments such as work of cyborg anthropology and even post-human anthropology (Whitehead & Wesch, 2012) might represent potential subject matter. Big data analysts need research input from anthropologists. For example, Maxwell (2013) argues that big data is a result of human systems, and all human systems carry values, worldviews, and interpretations. boyd and Crawford (2012) argue that big data is even changing the definition of knowledge itself. These are topics that anthropologists are well-positioned to tackle – knowledge, political economy, power, values, systems thinking, and meaning-making. Anthropologists will generally not make large advances in the analysis of big data, but they can be instrumental in improving the validity of the analysis, interpretation of the findings, and the collection of the data. This will involve collaboration with computer scientists, data scientists, and engineers. Other current topics that beg for anthropologists' attention include post-capitalism culture, universal income, automation, artificial intelligence, and machine learning. Anthropologists need to be more topically competitive by anticipating what the next

great anthropological perspectives needed will be – some of this great thinking is already happening and anthropologists should continue to do more. (See for example, Textor (1995) and Stoller (2017)).

Create a fresh communication plan. Anthropology needs frequent, engaging interaction with the public. This communication may come at the AAA level with press releases. Or perhaps they can manage a consortium of scholars that can be part marketing force for publications and part public engagement force. This consortium could be held accountable for proactive public discourse and engagement through interviews, columns in popular publications, and the like. Perhaps the AAA could start a popular public anthropology magazine or website. Departments could do something similar for their local communities, alumni, and parents of current students. As Kedia (2008) notes, this could have remarkable impact for the brand and competitiveness:

Public communication, marketing and even advertising in the future will be critical. Anthropologists will need to communicate their goals and make their knowledge accessible to laypeople and participate even more in public discourse, as such work will entail both a far greater community outreach and circulation of research results to new audiences. No longer are study and project results relegated solely to scholarly academic journals, but are increasingly included in policy reports, press releases, websites, brochures, fact sheets, newspaper articles, speeches, and countless other types of documentation with a variety of readership. (p. 17)

Some anthropologists are avid bloggers, tweeters, and public speakers, but the brand would benefit from having a more centralized approach to equity building.

Part of that brand centralization could mean pushing out messages, such as “Diversity is our business” (Hannerz, 2010), that bring the discipline together. Hannerz argues that the phrase encompasses the four fields and is friendly to both academics and practitioners alike. It combats ethnocentrism so it is true to anthropologists’ value

of cultural relativism. Anthropologists can also reignite the two famous anthropology brand statements presented in this paper: (1) “The purpose of anthropology is to make the exotic familiar and the familiar exotic” and (2) “Anthropology is the most humanistic of the sciences and the most scientific of the humanities” (E. R. Wolf, 1964, p. 88).

What a fantastic way to reignite a communication platform and a brand.

These taglines, however, do not resolve the issue regarding our definition and value promise. Rather, it simply gives us a way to present a unified message as a discipline. Downey (2011) builds on this by pushing for communications that position anthropological work as discoveries. He claims that anthropologists underestimate what could be seen as discoveries – “making the exotic familiar and the familiar exotic” – which means missing valuable opportunities for communication and public engagement. Pervasiveness, consistency, and frequency are key to solving the communications gap to fix anthropology’s brand.

Building Anthropology’s Business

Although an unfortunate truth to some scholars, commercialization has transformed higher education. Anthropologists can fight that transformation, or they can deal more effectively with the new conditions to be competitive. This means a focus on building a business that helps students gain skills for critical thinking, for empirical research and for communication of research results. All of those skills will improve the ability of students to land jobs. As students gain skills and land jobs, the value of those skills will be fostered by departments, and faculty who provide such skills will be increasingly valued and rewarded. Anthropology business building needs to happen on an institution-by-institution basis, but larger discipline-wide organizations such as the

AAA and the SfAA can help create tactical playbooks that facilitate overall change at the department level.

Also at the department level, the building of a successful anthropology business will begin with updating mission statements. Departments can then build local culture, curriculum, communications, and recruiting efforts based on their mission. The discipline's purpose is too wide and fragmented at the global level, but at the department level institutions can build deep focus, application, and results by rallying students around a central, unifying mission. That unifying purpose might be a topical area, a commitment to solving or ameliorating some human problem, or even an intellectual approach, but something that unifies the department that translates into tangible, competitive skills, scholarship, and careers is critical. Consider EPIC's four-part value proposition as an example of a clear mission statement and purpose: EPIC's reason for being creates concrete boundaries for ethnography's larger contribution that could be carried over to anthropology: (1) take complex worlds and be able to get to a core question, (2) create a strategic perspective from the end user point of view, (3) champion for the open ended, champion for the contextual, and (4) make things that have value to people (Mack & Squires, 2011).

Every department that develops a central focus on a shared belief that turns into a tangible department business plan will help the discipline at large gain competitive ground. Knowing exactly what you stand for, what you do, and the kinds of results your department gets becomes a recruiting tool for students and faculty and helps both turn out the strongest scholarship and funding applications. College and university administrators and the market could get behind such a vision.

The question of how to integrate applied and academic work requires two factors: 1) active recruiting of experienced practicing or applied anthropologists to infuse their scholarship and expertise into academic programs, and 2) valuing the applications work of current faculty in consideration for tenure and promotion.

With regard to recruiting, departments may need to pay more to attract and convert that talent, but the right hire will pay dividends in terms of a department's long-term competitiveness and possible future donors. If a department cannot hire a full time practicing anthropologist for financial, political, or other reasons, then departments need to consider a steady rotation of paid guest lecturers, or practitioners who may be on sabbatical and who may want to teach as adjuncts, or other presenters who can better integrate the academic and applied spaces. Baba (1994), for example, suggests "clinical" type appointments, continuing education seminars, and practitioner sabbaticals (where the practitioner joins the faculty for a period of time supported by the commercial or non-profit sponsor and the academic institution). Duke University has already established these clinical or applied tracks to address the challenges with tenure and promotion, calling them "Professor in the Practice of [discipline name]". Brondo and Bennett (2012) think this trend is starting already:

As more and more anthropologists are finding employment outside of academia – while maintaining their relationship to departments of anthropology (as teaching adjuncts, research collaborators, internship sponsors, members of community advisory boards) – the "translation problem" associated with explaining how ethnographic skills are relevant to public and private interest is decreasing. (p. 606)

Anthropology needs to be "all in" for career education and management. There are jobs for anthropologists but the path to get there is indirect and landing those jobs takes a certain entrepreneurial spirit. Anthropology departments need to take

responsibility for directly closing the career building/mapping gap. Having a specific person assigned to this in the department, or assigned to working with career services, is essential. There have been several books recently published to help students chart their professional path in non-academic anthropology (Briller & Goldmacher, 2008; Ellick & Watkins, 2012; Nolan, 2013, 2017), but departments need to have resources (mentors, career sessions, professionalism courses, online resources, and, most important, networking and coaching) to help students translate their training into tangible, marketable skills. Two ideas could be: (1) connecting applied mentors to current students in a match-making, networking type approach (Copeland & Dengah II, 2016), and (2) recognizing anthropology alumni through website features, department updates, or other public acknowledgement programs who provide counsel, guest lectures, and other post-graduation departmental engagement. This recognition also offers alumni something marketable for their résumé.

With regard to tenure and promotion, anthropology departments need to revisit their policies about grey literature along with metrics for teaching success (even at Tier 1 institutions). Successful teaching can be partly measured by the success of graduate students in landing jobs. Brondo and Bennett (2012) suggest that some departments create non-tenure eligible positions for practicing anthropologists, thereby bringing the practitioners into the academic fold without the traditional tenure requirements. And L. A. Bennett and Khanna (2010) argue that the tenure process should be updated to “integrate collaborative community-based experiences” in the review.

Department heads should consider how to manage the curriculum as a brand portfolio that can accelerate students’ careers and advance skill development. It is time

to revisit anthropology's curriculum – especially related to data and methods skills.

Baba (1994) states this well:

The anthropology curriculum overall needs to be examined. We need to think specifically not only about the needs of the anthropologist who will never enter the academy, but we need to consider the next wave of academic anthropologists who will tackle new topics, have access to new data and methods, and who will face increasing competition from other departments, practitioners, and industry knowledge/applied groups. (p. 183)

It would be worthwhile for departments to do a competitive audit of other anthropology departments to drive curriculum innovation, and to produce a curriculum that supports integration of academic and applied work. Baba (1994) reminds us that:

if we wish to bond future practitioners – regardless of degree level – to our discipline in a way that ensures their future identity as anthropologist, then we should consider very carefully the nature of the graduate education they receive and whether or not it meets these objectives (p. 180).

Anthropology departments can consider restructuring but only after deciding on a refined purpose. The general consensus in the literature is that the four-field approach continues to have promise even if anthropology departments do not always deliver on it. That said, anthropology departments that can deliver a four-field product and four-field scholarship will have a differentiating, attractive marketplace niche for their students. Barnard (2016) points to the four-field approach as differentiating anthropology from other disciplines, and as a way for anthropologists be more competitive with other social scientists who may have different understandings of humanity.

Besides four-field programs, it is also worthwhile for departments to consider opening up specialty tracks. For example, the University of Southern Denmark recently opened up a degree in Marketing Management and Anthropology (Arnould et al., 2012). Consider whether centers, innovative programs, and topical interdisciplinary units would

help create focus for the program or if they would just be a distraction from treating the core issues.

Summary and Discussions: Strategies and Tactics to Move Forward

In this chapter, I have laid out a number of ideas and perspectives to help address some of anthropology's competitive challenges and how departments and organizations can create their own business plans.

1. Integrate applied and practicing anthropology in coursework, curriculum requirements, and evaluation metrics.
2. Acknowledge and integrate theoretical arguments into research work, and then move on to the impact of the work.
3. Follow the AAA ethics code of conduct. Both academic and applied anthropologists must remain vigilant on this issue.
4. Avoid academic territorialism and value judgements about the different kinds of anthropological work.
5. Enhance skills by teaching stronger methods, and by having a shared view of what anthropological training is.
6. Offer practical, hands-on experience in anthropology and anthropological careers in both undergraduate and graduate studies.
7. Coach professional skill development and soft skills.
8. Identify as an anthropologist.
9. Invest in the community.
10. Keep anthropology's brand energized.
11. Create a fresh communications plan.
12. Re-think faculty recruiting and requirements.
13. Be "all in" for career education and management.
14. Revisit department policies and focus on tenure and promotion.
15. Address structural options after defining a clear purpose.

These thought-starters should help any anthropology organization and department be more competitive in today's marketplace and should also help sustain the long-term value and contribution of the discipline.

CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION

This study investigated the question, “How can anthropology be competitive as a discipline in the future?” It analyzed the obstacles hindering anthropologists’ competitiveness and made suggestions for how the discipline could move forward in a meaningful way. I used a business framework to shape some of my arguments, and took a historical contextual approach for others.

The first section, “The Discipline and Profession of Anthropology,” examined the historical development of anthropology, with a focus on the competition between those who advocated for applied anthropology work and those who took an opposing stance by advocating for academic anthropology. I discussed obstacles to enhancing anthropologists’ competitiveness, such as legacy issues, the discipline’s expansion, the practitioner-academic divide, perpetuation of the academy, theoretical divisions, fractured purpose and value, and departmental divides.

The next section analyzed “The Business and Brand of Anthropology.” Here I examined anthropology’s brand, its products, and its competitors. With regard to brand, I detailed who anthropology’s consumers are, the practitioners themselves, the attributes of the brand, and anthropology’s marketing. I evaluated anthropology’s product as anthropologists’ skills, its practitioners’ professional characteristics, the practitioners as products themselves and ethnography as a product. Additionally in this section I detailed the intricacies of interdisciplinary product collaboration.

In the third analytical section, on “The Higher Education Marketplace,” I looked at how marketplace forces – changing economic conditions and priorities – have made it difficult for anthropology departments and anthropologists to compete for students,

funding, and careers. Here, the critical topics are the commercialization of post-secondary education, the evolution of the employment marketplace, and faculty/department policies and values.

In the fourth and final section, I made tactical, short-term and long-term recommendations on how to remove some of the impediments to the long-term success of anthropology in training, in collaborations, in careers, and in policy.

This research is *not* about the death of anthropology or even about its erosion. This work is about identifying and removing barriers to anthropology's business so it can achieve its full potential. When I started this research, I felt as though I needed to *save* anthropology and that it was in trouble. During the course of this research, however, I have come to see that anthropology is not doomed, it's just hesitant and needs "north stars" to show the way and light the path.

More work needs to be done to better understand the status of anthropologists' brand and product. We need more measurement of the current state of anthropology's brand – both how the public perceives the brand and how anthropologists themselves view the brand. Understanding the relationship between archaeology's brand and anthropology's brand may yield insights for making them both stronger. More content analysis needs to be done to further understand the cohesiveness of anthropological topics, and the measurements – like the TTR and title analysis used for assessing that cohesiveness – need to be applied to analogous data from other disciplines. More investigation needs to be done into the plusses and minuses of split programs vs. four-field programs. From my work on this project, four-field anthropology is our true brand/product differentiator and more investigation is needed on how to actualize its

potential. More work is also needed on the changing role of ethnography/participant-observation in the field.

As others, I am cautiously optimistic about anthropology's future, but we must take more aggressive action and be willing to experiment in building the anthropology of tomorrow. As Peacock (1997) says,

That anthropology must receive what it deserves, not just in dollars but also in rank and respect in society and culture.... Whether it survives, flourishes, or becomes extinct depends on anthropology's ability to contribute: to become integral and significant to our culture and society without becoming subservient, (p. 9)

Grimshaw and Hart (1994) say that anthropology is in a unique position for potential success:

Anthropology has remained in important ways an anti-discipline, taking its ideas from anywhere, striving for the whole, constantly reinventing procedures on the move. Thus, as the boundaries defining specialist disciplines give way, anthropology contains within itself many elements of a more flexible, constructive approach to learning about the world. These are its strengths and creative source. (p. 259)

Srivastava (1999) feels that:

A future *of and for* anthropology lies in constantly struggling to evolve a sophisticated theoretical and methodological apparatus, conducting solid fieldwork, and unswervingly subscribing to the premises of human rights, democratization, welfare, and the development of people of all shades of life. (p. 550)

And, my one of my favorite perspectives:

Anthropology fails when we stop listening. It fails when we stop observing. It fails when we begin to fill the spaces of other people's lives with our own needs and ambition. Anthropology works best I think when it seems to work less. (Chambers, 2009, p. 374)

The discipline may not have a prescriptive path forward, but we can take deliberate and decisive steps to make incremental progress. We, as anthropologists,

can make that progress much quicker. We can and must build product, brand, and urgency to be more competitive.

APPENDIX A STANDARD STOP WORDS

Stop Words (337) 11, 38, 39, 50, 70, 76, 90, 95, 96, 99, 150, 400, 500, 1492, 1521, 1671, 1785, 1794, 1795, 1820, 1863, 1866, 1870, 1876, 1878, 1881, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1896, 1897, 1899, 1900, 1902, 1903, 1905, 1908, 1909, 1915, 1916, 1920, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1931, 1934, 1935, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1945, 1947, 1950, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1960, 1962, 1964, 1967, 1970, 1971, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1984, 1989, 1995, 2000, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 17000, ", !, (,), ..., .2., /sub, :, ?, @, ` , 125th, 17th, 18th, 1930s, 1970s, 1980s, 19th, 1st, 20th, 21st, 2s, 3rd, aaa, a , b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, v, w, x, y, z, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 0, ., ,, /, a, about, above, after, again, against, all, am, an, and, any, are, aren't, as, at, be, because, been, before, being, below, between, both, but, by, can't, cannot, could, couldn't, did, didn't, do, does, doesn't, doing, don't, down, during, each, few, for, from, further, had, hadn't, has, hasn't, have, haven't, having, he, he'd, he'll, he's, her, here, here's, hers, herself, him, himself, his, how, how's, i, i'd, i'll, i'm, i've, if, in, into, is, isn't, it, it's, its, itself, let's, me, more, most, mustn't, my, myself, no, nor, not, of, off, on, once, only, or, other, ought, our, ours , ourselves, out, over, own, same, shan't, she, she'd, she'll, she's, should, shouldn't, so, some, such, than, that, that's, the, their, theirs, them, themselves, then, there, there's, these, they, they'd, they'll, they're, they've, this, those, through, to, too, under, until, up, very, was, wasn't, we, we'd, we'll, we're, we've, were, weren't, what, what's, when, when's, where, where's, which, while, who, who's, whom, why, why's, with, won't, would, wouldn't, you, you'd, you'll, you're, you've, your, yours, yourself, yourselves, s, \$, %, ;, :, 1930, 1980, -, /sub, ~

APPENDIX B CORE STEMMED TERMS

Core Terms (488) aborigin, accultur, action, activ, adapt, africa, african, afterword, age, agricultur, algonkian, america, american, among, analysi, ancient, andes, anoth, anthropolog, anthropologist, antiqu, apach, applic, applied, approach, archaeolog, area, arizona, art, asia, aspect, associ, australia, australian, author, basketri, bear, begin, behavior, belief, beyond, biocultur, biolog, bird, black, blackfoot, boa, boasian, bodi, bone, brain, brazil, burial, calendar, california, capit, case, categori, cattl, cave, central, centuri, ceremoni, certain, chamorro, chang, cheyenn, child, childhood, children, china, chippewa, christian, citi, civil, clan, class, classic, classif, coast, coetze, cognit, collect, coloni, color, columbia, comment, communic, communiti, compar, comparison, complex, compon, componenti, comput, concept, concern, confer, conflict, congress, conserv, consider, construct, contact, contemporari, context, control, copper, correl, critiqu, cross, cultur, current, custom, danc, data, de, definit, demograph, descent, descript, design, develop, dialect, differ, diffus, dimens, discours, distinguish, distribut, divers, domest, dove, dream, drink, earli, east, eastern, ecolog, econom, economi, emerg, empir, engag, england, environment, eskimo, essay, ethic, ethnic, ethnograph, ethnographi, ethnolog, evid, evolut, evolutionari, exampl, excav, exchang, experi, explain, explan, exploit, explor, faction, factori, famili, femal, fertil, festiv, field, filipino, film, find, florida, folk, food, form, formal, foundat, function, futur, game, gender, general, genet, global, govern, grammar, great, gren, group, guam, guinea, hawaiian, hawk, head, health, heritag, hierarchi, highland, histor, histori, hopi, hors, household, human, hunt, hypothesi, ident, ideolog, imagin, immigr, implic, incest, india, indian, indigen, individu, indonesia, inscript, institut, integr, interact, intern, interpret, introduct, investig, iroquoi, island, isra, japan, japanes, katrina, keith, kentucki, kin, kinship, knowledg, labor, land, landscap, languag, latin, law, lectur, legaci, lesli, levi, life, like, limit, linguist, local, look, love, madagascar, make, malawi, man, manag, margaret, marit, market, marriag, materi, maya, mead, mean, medicin, memori, method, mexican, mexico, michigan, middl, migrant, missouri, mobil, model, modern, moral, mound, movement, museum, music, muslim, myth, name, narrat, nation, nativ, natur, navaho, navajo, near, negoti, neoliberal, network, new, nigeria, nomad, north, northeastern, northern, northwest, northwestern, note, object, order, organ, origin, otterbein, pacif, paleolith, pastor, pattern, pawne, peasant, peopl, perform, person, perspect, peru, peruvian, peyot, philippin, physic, pima, place, plain, plant, plateau, pleistocen, polit, popul, porto, posit, possibl, potteri, power, powhatan, practic, precolumbian, prehistor, prehistori, preliminar, present, primat, primit, problem, process, product, properti, psychologist, public, pueblo, question, race, racial, recent, reflect, refuge, region, relat, relationship, religi, religion, remain, repli, report, represent, reproduct, research, resourc, respons, review, right, risk, ritual, river, rock, role, roman, ruin, rural, samoan, sampl, san, scienc, scientif, select, self, semant, settlement, sex, sexual, shift, signific, site, size, sketch, snake, social, societi, sociocultur, sociolog, south, southeastern, southern, southwest, southwestern, soviet, space, specimen, speech, state, status, stock, stone, stratif, structur, studi, style, subject, subsist, supper, symbol, symposium, system, taboo, taxonomi, techniqu, technolog, term, terminolog, terror, test, teawa, texa, theori, time, tool, totem, toward, trade, tradit, train, transform, transit, translat, transnat, trend, tribal, tribe, tusayan, two, type, typolog, unit, univers, upper, urban, us, use, valley, valu, variabl, variat, video, vietnam, view, villag, violenc, virginia, visual, war, water, wanner, west, western, whi, white, women, work, world, year, zuni,

APPENDIX C
PERCENTAGE SHARE OF CORE STEMMED WORD PER DECADE

| | 1880s | 1890s | 1900s | 1910s | 1920s | 1930s | 1940s | 1950s | 1960s | 1970s | 1980s | 1990s | 2000s | 2010s |
|--------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Total Stemmed word count | 151 | 1071 | 1573 | 1359 | 1261 | 1617 | 1387 | 2178 | 2757 | 1822 | 1472 | 2014 | 2928 | 2266 |
| american | 0.66% | 0.75% | 0.83% | 1.32% | 1.03% | 0.68% | 0.50% | 1.47% | 0.58% | 0.49% | 0.41% | 0.84% | 0.27% | 0.31% |
| among | 0.66% | 0.56% | 0.51% | 0.52% | 0.56% | 0.99% | 0.94% | 0.83% | 1.05% | 0.60% | 0.48% | 0.79% | 0.41% | 0.53% |
| ancient | 0.66% | 0.75% | 0.64% | 0.44% | 0.32% | 0.19% | 0.22% | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.11% | 0.14% | 0.10% | 0.10% | 0.26% |
| anthropolog | 0.66% | 0.93% | 0.51% | 0.74% | 0.48% | 0.43% | 1.44% | 2.02% | 1.05% | 1.37% | 1.36% | 1.64% | 1.81% | 3.35% |
| earli | 0.66% | 0.28% | 0.25% | 0.15% | 0.24% | 0.37% | 0.22% | 0.14% | 0.11% | 0.27% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.10% | 0.22% |
| histori | 0.66% | 0.28% | 0.06% | 0.15% | 0.32% | 0.43% | 0.36% | 0.46% | 0.22% | 0.16% | 0.20% | 0.50% | 0.27% | 0.22% |
| human | 1.32% | 0.47% | 0.19% | 0.22% | 0.08% | 0.12% | 0.22% | 0.46% | 0.18% | 0.60% | 0.68% | 0.55% | 0.65% | 0.35% |
| indian | 3.31% | 2.52% | 2.35% | 1.77% | 2.06% | 1.42% | 1.08% | 0.64% | 0.58% | 0.22% | 0.48% | 0.20% | 0.14% | 0.09% |
| languag | 0.66% | 0.93% | 1.72% | 1.18% | 0.40% | 0.19% | 0.58% | 0.32% | 0.33% | 0.27% | 0.48% | 0.30% | 0.75% | 0.49% |
| mexico | 0.66% | 0.75% | 1.08% | 0.74% | 0.56% | 0.37% | 0.14% | 0.09% | 0.11% | 0.22% | 0.14% | 0.20% | 0.24% | 0.22% |
| new | 0.66% | 0.65% | 1.02% | 1.62% | 0.87% | 0.56% | 0.36% | 0.55% | 0.11% | 0.60% | 0.34% | 0.70% | 0.65% | 0.35% |
| note | 3.31% | 1.12% | 1.40% | 1.69% | 1.74% | 0.68% | 0.87% | 0.14% | 0.25% | 0.16% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.03% | 0.09% |
| origin | 0.66% | 0.84% | 0.25% | 0.59% | 0.56% | 0.37% | 0.50% | 0.09% | 0.29% | 0.22% | 0.48% | 0.25% | 0.10% | 0.04% |
| social | 0.66% | 0.19% | 0.19% | 0.44% | 0.56% | 0.87% | 1.66% | 2.16% | 1.74% | 1.32% | 0.48% | 0.50% | 0.99% | 0.71% |
| state | 0.66% | 0.19% | 0.13% | 0.22% | 0.16% | 0.12% | 0.29% | 0.18% | 0.18% | 0.38% | 0.34% | 0.50% | 0.58% | 0.44% |
| time | 1.32% | 0.19% | 0.19% | 0.07% | 0.08% | 0.06% | 0.14% | 0.18% | 0.11% | 0.05% | 0.20% | 0.10% | 0.34% | 0.26% |
| america | | 0.56% | 0.45% | 0.88% | 0.48% | 0.37% | 0.36% | 0.69% | 0.11% | 0.11% | 0.20% | 0.20% | 0.17% | 0.04% |
| aborigin | | 1.03% | 1.14% | 0.52% | 0.63% | 0.19% | 0.14% | 0.14% | 0.04% | 0.05% | 0.14% | 0.15% | 0.14% | 0.04% |
| archaeolog | | 0.47% | 1.21% | 0.96% | 0.48% | 1.05% | 0.14% | 0.78% | 0.40% | 0.49% | 0.41% | 1.09% | 0.34% | 0.53% |
| central | | 0.28% | 0.19% | 0.07% | 0.24% | 0.49% | 0.07% | 0.28% | 0.15% | 0.11% | 0.14% | 0.25% | 0.14% | 0.09% |
| coast | | 0.28% | 0.19% | 0.44% | 0.56% | 0.25% | 0.22% | 0.14% | 0.18% | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.20% | 0.07% | 0.09% |
| cultur | | 0.28% | 0.45% | 1.10% | 1.98% | 2.10% | 3.75% | 2.53% | 2.47% | 1.92% | 1.90% | 1.94% | 2.19% | 0.75% |
| evid | | 0.19% | 0.19% | 0.29% | 0.08% | 0.12% | 0.14% | 0.14% | 0.11% | 0.16% | 0.27% | 0.05% | 0.10% | 0.09% |
| famili | | 0.19% | 0.32% | 0.37% | 0.24% | 0.12% | 0.22% | 0.37% | 0.47% | 0.38% | 0.20% | 0.05% | 0.03% | 0.09% |
| histor | | 0.19% | 0.06% | 0.22% | 0.16% | 0.25% | 0.43% | 0.41% | 0.11% | 0.05% | 0.14% | 0.15% | 0.24% | 0.04% |
| island | | 0.09% | 0.19% | 0.66% | 0.16% | 0.31% | 0.29% | 0.09% | 0.18% | 0.16% | 0.07% | 0.10% | 0.17% | 0.13% |

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|-----------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| linguist | | 0.09% | 0.32% | 0.74% | 0.16% | 0.25% | 0.50% | 0.23% | 0.36% | 0.33% | 0.07% | 0.15% | 0.20% | 0.26% |
| marriag | | 0.19% | 0.13% | 0.15% | 0.16% | 0.37% | 0.22% | 0.14% | 0.36% | 0.16% | 0.20% | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.13% |
| maya | | 0.37% | 0.32% | 0.29% | 1.27% | 0.87% | 0.07% | 0.09% | 0.15% | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.25% | 0.14% | 0.22% |
| north | | 0.28% | 0.32% | 1.03% | 0.63% | 0.87% | 0.36% | 0.18% | 0.25% | 0.22% | 0.27% | 0.15% | 0.17% | 0.18% |
| organ | | 0.09% | 0.19% | 0.37% | 0.71% | 0.74% | 0.94% | 0.55% | 0.40% | 0.38% | 0.34% | 0.10% | 0.17% | 0.09% |
| problem | | 0.09% | 0.19% | 0.37% | 0.24% | 0.80% | 0.94% | 0.69% | 0.44% | 0.49% | 0.07% | 0.10% | 0.14% | 0.09% |
| religion | | 0.09% | 0.06% | 0.07% | 0.16% | 0.12% | 0.29% | 0.18% | 0.11% | 0.05% | 0.14% | 0.15% | 0.03% | 0.13% |
| south | | 0.28% | 0.38% | 0.59% | 0.08% | 0.19% | 0.29% | 0.05% | 0.11% | 0.11% | 0.41% | 0.15% | 0.17% | 0.35% |
| studi | | 0.93% | 0.45% | 0.66% | 0.48% | 0.37% | 1.23% | 0.96% | 1.60% | 0.44% | 0.95% | 0.55% | 0.51% | 0.22% |
| use | | 0.56% | 0.32% | 0.29% | 0.32% | 0.12% | 0.22% | 0.32% | 0.07% | 0.33% | 0.14% | 0.20% | 0.10% | 0.18% |
| western | 0.66% | | 0.38% | 0.22% | 0.08% | 0.31% | 0.22% | 0.23% | 0.15% | 0.22% | 0.14% | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.09% |
| belief | | | 0.06% | 0.07% | 0.24% | 0.12% | 0.14% | 0.18% | 0.04% | 0.16% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.10% | 0.04% |
| east | | | 0.06% | 0.07% | 0.32% | 0.12% | 0.07% | 0.09% | 0.22% | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.10% | 0.09% |
| life | | | 0.06% | 0.07% | 0.08% | 0.19% | 0.07% | 0.18% | 0.11% | 0.11% | 0.14% | 0.05% | 0.20% | 0.22% |
| mexican | | | 0.32% | 0.15% | 0.08% | 0.19% | 0.22% | 0.05% | 0.22% | 0.11% | 0.27% | 0.25% | 0.03% | 0.31% |
| theori | | | 0.19% | 0.07% | 0.16% | 0.25% | 0.50% | 0.64% | 0.54% | 0.22% | 0.54% | 0.20% | 0.17% | 0.18% |
| concept | | 0.09% | | 0.07% | 0.32% | 0.31% | 0.43% | 0.46% | 0.40% | 0.44% | 0.14% | 0.35% | 0.10% | 0.04% |
| kinship | | 0.19% | | 0.37% | 0.32% | 1.30% | 0.94% | 0.92% | 0.98% | 0.55% | 0.34% | 0.10% | 0.10% | 0.22% |
| hunt | | | | 0.15% | 0.24% | 0.12% | 0.22% | 0.09% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.20% | 0.05% | 0.14% | 0.09% |
| northwest | | | | 0.15% | 0.32% | 0.19% | 0.07% | 0.09% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.10% | 0.07% | 0.04% |
| pattern | | | | 0.07% | 0.16% | 0.06% | 0.22% | 0.23% | 0.36% | 0.33% | 0.27% | 0.15% | 0.24% | 0.09% |
| ritual | | | | 0.15% | 0.16% | 0.12% | 0.07% | 0.23% | 0.18% | 0.16% | 0.48% | 0.35% | 0.34% | 0.35% |
| evolut | 0.66% | 0.28% | 0.13% | | 0.16% | 0.06% | 0.29% | 0.55% | 0.29% | 0.38% | 0.41% | 0.15% | 0.14% | 0.09% |
| analysi | | 0.09% | 0.06% | | 0.16% | 0.31% | 0.14% | 0.69% | 0.91% | 0.66% | 0.68% | 0.25% | 0.17% | 0.04% |
| northern | | 0.09% | 0.45% | | 0.16% | 0.43% | 0.43% | 0.18% | 0.22% | 0.05% | 0.14% | 0.25% | 0.14% | 0.09% |
| research | | 0.09% | 0.06% | | 0.32% | 0.06% | 0.58% | 0.28% | 0.15% | 0.05% | 0.34% | 0.10% | 0.24% | 0.18% |
| econom | 0.66% | | 0.13% | | 0.08% | 0.06% | 0.07% | 0.23% | 0.44% | 0.27% | 0.07% | 0.20% | 0.03% | 0.09% |
| societi | | | 0.13% | | 0.32% | 0.43% | 0.79% | 0.87% | 0.51% | 0.38% | 0.54% | 0.40% | 0.10% | 0.18% |
| polit | | 0.09% | | | 0.24% | 0.19% | 0.07% | 0.18% | 0.51% | 0.60% | 0.54% | 0.94% | 0.85% | 1.06% |
| african | | | | | 0.16% | 0.06% | 0.29% | 0.28% | 0.22% | 0.16% | 0.27% | 0.30% | 0.17% | 0.04% |

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|----------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| associ | | | | | 0.08% | 0.25% | 0.07% | 0.09% | 0.07% | 0.22% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.20% | 0.04% |
| complex | | | | | 0.40% | 0.06% | 0.22% | 0.05% | 0.18% | 0.05% | 0.20% | 0.10% | 0.03% | 0.04% |
| develop | 0.66% | 0.19% | 0.25% | 0.07% | | 0.12% | 0.22% | 0.37% | 0.22% | 0.38% | 0.14% | 0.25% | 0.07% | 0.26% |
| system | | 0.37% | 0.32% | 0.07% | | 0.56% | 0.36% | 0.55% | 0.36% | 0.38% | 0.20% | 0.30% | 0.14% | 0.18% |
| chang | | | 0.06% | 0.15% | | 0.19% | 0.65% | 0.87% | 0.80% | 0.55% | 0.68% | 0.20% | 0.51% | 0.35% |
| popul | | | 0.06% | 0.07% | | 0.06% | 0.07% | 0.14% | 0.15% | 0.38% | 0.61% | 0.20% | 0.07% | 0.09% |
| process | | 0.09% | | 0.07% | | 0.12% | 0.29% | 0.41% | 0.22% | 0.33% | 0.48% | 0.10% | 0.07% | 0.13% |
| women | | | | 0.07% | | 0.06% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.15% | 0.27% | 0.34% | 0.55% | 0.20% | 0.35% |
| world | | | | 0.07% | | 0.12% | 0.29% | 0.64% | 0.15% | 0.05% | 0.27% | 0.10% | 0.07% | 0.62% |
| modern | | 0.09% | 0.13% | | | 0.12% | 0.14% | 0.23% | 0.04% | 0.16% | 0.34% | 0.30% | 0.34% | 0.13% |
| scienc | | 0.37% | 0.25% | | | 0.19% | 0.14% | 0.14% | 0.18% | 0.11% | 0.34% | 0.25% | 0.10% | 0.31% |
| communiti | | 0.09% | | | | 0.12% | 0.36% | 0.46% | 0.87% | 0.49% | 0.14% | 0.30% | 0.41% | 0.35% |
| structur | | 0.09% | | | | 0.19% | 0.36% | 0.92% | 1.09% | 1.26% | 0.82% | 0.25% | 0.14% | 0.04% |
| behavior | | | | | | 0.06% | 0.22% | 0.14% | 0.58% | 0.49% | 0.07% | 0.10% | 0.31% | 0.09% |
| biolog | | | | | | 0.06% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.04% | 0.16% | 0.41% | 0.10% | 0.34% | 0.44% |
| conflict | | | | | | 0.06% | 0.14% | 0.09% | 0.25% | 0.22% | 0.27% | 0.05% | 0.20% | 0.09% |
| guinea | | | | | | 0.06% | 0.07% | 0.18% | 0.07% | 0.11% | 0.20% | 0.20% | 0.14% | 0.09% |
| implic | | | | | | 0.06% | 0.22% | 0.09% | 0.18% | 0.49% | 0.20% | 0.10% | 0.10% | 0.04% |
| art | | 0.56% | 0.06% | 0.29% | 0.40% | | 0.07% | 0.14% | 0.04% | 0.11% | 0.07% | 0.15% | 0.07% | 0.09% |
| peru | | 0.28% | 0.13% | 0.07% | 0.16% | | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.04% | 0.05% | 0.27% | 0.20% | 0.03% | 0.09% |
| west | | 0.19% | 0.13% | 0.37% | 0.24% | | 0.14% | 0.14% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.27% | 0.05% | 0.20% | 0.04% |
| ethnograph | | | 0.19% | | 0.08% | | 0.07% | 0.14% | 0.36% | 0.22% | 0.34% | 0.10% | 0.20% | 0.09% |
| domest | | 0.09% | | | 0.08% | | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.04% | 0.22% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.17% | 0.09% |
| prehistori | | | | | 0.08% | | 0.14% | 0.18% | 0.07% | 0.11% | 0.20% | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.04% |
| toward | | | | | 0.08% | | 0.14% | 0.14% | 0.15% | 0.22% | 0.27% | 0.25% | 0.17% | 0.04% |
| hypothesi | | | | 0.07% | | | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.15% | 0.05% | 0.20% | 0.10% | 0.03% | 0.04% |
| individu | | | | 0.07% | | | 0.07% | 0.14% | 0.15% | 0.16% | 0.34% | 0.10% | 0.03% | 0.04% |
| agricultur | | 0.09% | | | | | 0.14% | 0.05% | 0.11% | 0.11% | 0.48% | 0.40% | 0.07% | 0.09% |
| anthropologist | | | | | | | 0.14% | 0.18% | 0.11% | 0.38% | 0.20% | 0.10% | 0.17% | 0.40% |
| case | | | | | | | 0.29% | 0.18% | 0.36% | 0.44% | 0.27% | 0.20% | 0.24% | 0.09% |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| ecolog | | | | | | | 0.07% | 0.28% | 0.25% | 0.60% | 0.41% | 0.45% | 0.27% | 0.13% |
| genet | | | | | | | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.27% | 0.07% | 0.20% | 0.03% | 0.22% |
| interact | | | | | | | 0.14% | 0.09% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.14% | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.22% |
| perspect | | | | | | | 0.07% | 0.09% | 0.07% | 0.38% | 0.20% | 0.30% | 0.31% | 0.18% |
| role | | | | | | | 0.29% | 0.46% | 0.18% | 0.22% | 0.14% | 0.15% | 0.10% | 0.18% |
| sexual | | | | | | | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.11% | 0.05% | 0.20% | 0.20% | 0.20% | 0.09% |
| view | | | | | | | 0.14% | 0.18% | 0.15% | 0.16% | 0.27% | 0.15% | 0.17% | 0.18% |
| properti | | 0.09% | 0.06% | | 0.08% | 0.12% | | 0.14% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.25% | 0.17% | 0.09% |
| tradi | | 0.19% | 0.19% | | 0.16% | 0.12% | | 0.23% | 0.18% | 0.11% | 0.07% | 0.25% | 0.20% | 0.13% |
| upper | | 0.28% | 0.06% | | 0.16% | 0.12% | | 0.09% | 0.15% | 0.05% | 0.14% | 0.05% | 0.03% | 0.04% |
| religi | | | 0.19% | | 0.32% | 0.06% | | 0.09% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.14% | 0.04% |
| knowledg | | | | 0.29% | | 0.06% | | 0.18% | 0.04% | 0.11% | 0.20% | 0.10% | 0.51% | 0.22% |
| settlement | | | 0.06% | | | 0.06% | | 0.14% | 0.07% | 0.11% | 0.34% | 0.25% | 0.03% | 0.04% |
| symbol | | 0.28% | 0.25% | 0.07% | 0.08% | | | 0.14% | 0.15% | 0.16% | 0.34% | 0.15% | 0.03% | 0.04% |
| nation | | | 0.06% | 0.07% | 0.24% | | | 0.09% | 0.15% | 0.11% | 0.07% | 0.15% | 0.17% | 0.31% |
| sex | | | 0.13% | 0.07% | 0.08% | | | 0.05% | 0.15% | 0.22% | 0.20% | 0.10% | 0.07% | 0.09% |
| ethnic | | | 0.06% | | 0.08% | | | 0.14% | 0.22% | 0.05% | 0.14% | 0.25% | 0.14% | 0.04% |
| ethnographi | | | | | 0.08% | | | 0.14% | 0.15% | 0.05% | 0.14% | 0.25% | 0.24% | 0.18% |
| mean | 0.66% | 0.09% | 0.06% | | | | | 0.09% | 0.22% | 0.11% | 0.14% | 0.15% | 0.14% | 0.13% |
| technolog | | 0.09% | | | | | | 0.09% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.14% | 0.05% | 0.17% | 0.09% |
| context | | | | | | | | 0.05% | 0.15% | 0.05% | 0.14% | 0.15% | 0.17% | 0.09% |
| control | | | | | | | | 0.14% | 0.18% | 0.16% | 0.14% | 0.25% | 0.03% | 0.04% |
| ident | | | | | | | | 0.05% | 0.22% | 0.22% | 0.14% | 0.60% | 0.31% | 0.18% |
| model | | | | | | | | 0.05% | 0.40% | 0.60% | 0.54% | 0.25% | 0.34% | 0.13% |
| primat | | | | | | | | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.16% | 0.14% | 0.10% | 0.14% | 0.04% |
| white | | 0.09% | | 0.15% | | 0.06% | 0.14% | | 0.07% | 0.11% | 0.14% | 0.25% | 0.14% | 0.09% |
| brazil | | | | | | 0.06% | 0.14% | | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.20% | 0.05% | 0.10% | 0.18% |
| paleolith | | | 0.19% | | 0.08% | | 0.07% | | 0.11% | 0.11% | 0.07% | 0.20% | 0.03% | 0.04% |
| market | | | | | | | 0.07% | | 0.04% | 0.05% | 0.14% | 0.10% | 0.14% | 0.18% |
| site | | | | 0.22% | 0.40% | 0.19% | | | 0.04% | 0.05% | 0.14% | 0.10% | 0.07% | 0.13% |

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|--------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| narrat | | | | | 0.08% | 0.12% | | | 0.04% | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.20% | 0.14% | 0.13% |
| power | | | | | | 0.06% | | | 0.07% | 0.22% | 0.14% | 0.50% | 0.14% | 0.22% |
| household | | | | | 0.08% | | | | 0.11% | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.10% | 0.14% | 0.09% |
| labor | | | | | 0.08% | | | | 0.07% | 0.16% | 0.41% | 0.10% | 0.07% | 0.26% |
| communic | | | | | | | | | 0.22% | 0.05% | 0.14% | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.04% |
| divers | | | | | | | | | 0.04% | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.10% | 0.18% |
| evolutionari | | | | | | | | | 0.22% | 0.16% | 0.20% | 0.10% | 0.14% | 0.04% |
| mobil | | | | | | | | | 0.15% | 0.05% | 0.20% | 0.05% | 0.10% | 0.13% |
| respons | | | | | | | | | 0.04% | 0.11% | 0.07% | 0.20% | 0.51% | 0.18% |
| sociocultur | | | | | | | | | 0.07% | 0.11% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.03% | 0.31% |
| transform | | | | | | | | | 0.04% | 0.16% | 0.14% | 0.25% | 0.34% | 0.09% |
| peopl | | 0.19% | 0.06% | 0.22% | 0.16% | 0.19% | 0.29% | 0.09% | | 0.22% | 0.14% | 0.15% | 0.03% | 0.13% |
| age | | 0.19% | 0.06% | | 0.24% | 0.12% | 0.29% | 0.14% | | 0.11% | 0.14% | 0.10% | 0.14% | 0.13% |
| field | | | 0.13% | | 0.24% | 0.12% | 0.29% | 0.14% | | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.15% | 0.17% | 0.09% |
| place | | | 0.06% | 0.15% | | 0.12% | 0.22% | 0.14% | | 0.05% | 0.20% | 0.15% | 0.24% | 0.35% |
| univers | | | 0.06% | 0.07% | 0.08% | | 0.14% | 0.23% | | 0.16% | 0.20% | 0.10% | 0.07% | 0.09% |
| practic | | | | 0.07% | | | 0.43% | 0.09% | | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.10% | 0.34% | 0.40% |
| museum | | 0.09% | 0.38% | 0.15% | 0.08% | | | 0.14% | | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.25% | 0.07% | 0.09% |
| exchang | | | | | | | | 0.09% | | 0.22% | 0.07% | 0.10% | 0.07% | 0.04% |
| perform | | | | 0.07% | | 0.06% | | | | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.20% | 0.03% | 0.04% |
| explan | | | | | | 0.06% | | | | 0.22% | 0.14% | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.04% |
| capit | | 0.09% | | | | | | | | 0.05% | 0.20% | 0.20% | 0.07% | 0.13% |
| lectur | | | | | | | | | | 0.05% | 0.41% | 0.40% | 0.07% | 0.04% |
| recent | | 0.19% | 0.38% | 0.07% | 0.32% | 0.12% | 0.36% | 0.09% | 0.04% | | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.03% | 0.04% |
| natur | 0.66% | 0.09% | 0.13% | | | 0.12% | 0.14% | 0.32% | 0.11% | | 0.27% | 0.10% | 0.14% | 0.13% |
| reflect | | | | | | 0.06% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.07% | | 0.07% | 0.10% | 0.17% | 0.13% |
| bodi | | | | 0.07% | | | 0.07% | 0.23% | 0.04% | | 0.20% | 0.10% | 0.24% | 0.18% |
| transit | | | | | | | 0.07% | 0.18% | 0.04% | | 0.14% | 0.05% | 0.10% | 0.13% |
| trade | 0.66% | | 0.06% | | 0.08% | | | 0.09% | 0.04% | | 0.07% | 0.20% | 0.07% | 0.13% |
| emerg | | | | | | | 0.07% | | 0.07% | | 0.07% | 0.15% | 0.24% | 0.22% |

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|-----------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| right | | | 0.06% | | | 0.06% | | | 0.04% | | 0.14% | 0.40% | 0.61% | 0.09% |
| self | | | | | | | | | 0.07% | | 0.27% | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.09% |
| work | | 0.28% | 0.38% | 0.07% | 0.40% | 0.06% | 0.07% | 0.18% | | | 0.14% | 0.20% | 0.20% | 0.22% |
| food | | 0.09% | 0.06% | | | | 0.22% | 0.14% | | | 0.14% | 0.05% | 0.20% | 0.22% |
| economi | | | | | | | 0.22% | 0.14% | | | 0.34% | 0.35% | 0.31% | 0.31% |
| public | | | | | | 0.06% | | 0.05% | | | 0.20% | 0.10% | 0.17% | 0.71% |
| explor | | 0.19% | 0.25% | 0.15% | 0.16% | | | | | | 0.07% | 0.15% | 0.07% | 0.04% |
| black | | | | | 0.08% | | | | | | 0.07% | 0.20% | 0.03% | 0.04% |
| futur | | | | 0.07% | | | | | | | 0.07% | 0.25% | 0.03% | 0.18% |
| reproduct | | | 0.06% | | | | | | | | 0.20% | 0.20% | 0.14% | 0.09% |
| gender | | | | | | | | | | | 0.14% | 0.45% | 0.17% | 0.31% |
| manag | | | | | | | | | | | 0.20% | 0.20% | 0.03% | 0.26% |
| mead | | | | | | | | | | | 0.75% | 0.05% | 0.10% | 0.09% |
| network | | | | | | | | | | | 0.14% | 0.05% | 0.14% | 0.13% |
| risk | | | | | | | | | | | 0.07% | 0.15% | 0.14% | 0.09% |
| southern | 0.66% | 0.19% | 0.25% | 0.29% | 0.32% | 0.37% | 0.14% | 0.18% | 0.11% | 0.38% | | 0.20% | 0.10% | 0.09% |
| race | | 0.09% | 0.06% | 0.15% | 0.32% | 0.06% | 0.22% | 0.14% | 0.22% | 0.11% | | 0.65% | 0.17% | 0.31% |
| method | 0.66% | | 0.06% | 0.44% | 0.32% | 0.19% | 0.36% | 0.46% | 0.33% | 0.16% | | 0.05% | 0.10% | 0.09% |
| eastern | | | 0.19% | 0.52% | 0.08% | 0.25% | 0.22% | 0.09% | 0.07% | 0.27% | | 0.05% | 0.03% | 0.04% |
| villag | | 0.19% | | 0.22% | 0.16% | 0.12% | 0.22% | 0.64% | 0.87% | 0.16% | | 0.05% | 0.10% | 0.09% |
| africa | | | 0.06% | | 0.56% | 0.06% | 0.22% | 0.23% | 0.11% | 0.33% | | 0.10% | 0.24% | 0.31% |
| southwest | | | | | 0.24% | 0.06% | 0.07% | 0.32% | 0.07% | 0.05% | | 0.20% | 0.10% | 0.18% |
| unit | 0.66% | | 0.06% | | 0.16% | | 0.29% | 0.18% | 0.11% | 0.22% | | 0.15% | 0.17% | 0.18% |
| speech | | | 0.06% | 0.07% | | | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.15% | 0.05% | | 0.05% | 0.03% | 0.04% |
| review | | 0.09% | 0.06% | | | | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.11% | 0.22% | | 0.05% | 0.20% | 0.31% |
| integr | | | | | | | 0.14% | 0.14% | 0.18% | 0.05% | | 0.05% | 0.03% | 0.09% |
| centuri | | | 0.13% | | 0.16% | 0.06% | | 0.23% | 0.11% | 0.11% | | 0.05% | 0.31% | 0.22% |
| middl | | | 0.13% | | 0.24% | 0.12% | | 0.05% | 0.18% | 0.22% | | 0.10% | 0.14% | 0.04% |
| space | | | | | 0.08% | | | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.05% | | 0.15% | 0.27% | 0.18% |
| moral | | | | 0.15% | | | | 0.05% | 0.04% | 0.11% | | 0.10% | 0.14% | 0.40% |

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|--------------|--|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--|-------|-------|-------|
| limit | | | 0.06% | | | | | 0.14% | 0.18% | 0.11% | | 0.05% | 0.10% | 0.18% |
| rural | | 0.09% | | | | | | 0.14% | 0.11% | 0.16% | | 0.30% | 0.17% | 0.13% |
| collect | | | 0.38% | | 0.08% | 0.06% | 0.07% | | 0.04% | 0.05% | | 0.15% | 0.14% | 0.04% |
| local | | | | | | 0.12% | | | 0.04% | 0.05% | | 0.20% | 0.17% | 0.13% |
| citi | | 0.09% | | | 0.16% | | | | 0.04% | 0.05% | | 0.15% | 0.10% | 0.18% |
| child | | 0.19% | | 0.07% | | 0.06% | 0.07% | 0.05% | | 0.05% | | 0.05% | 0.10% | 0.18% |
| madagascar | | | | | 0.16% | | | | | 0.05% | | 0.10% | 0.14% | 0.04% |
| biocultur | | | | | | | | | | 0.05% | | 0.10% | 0.14% | 0.13% |
| global | | | | | | | | | | 0.05% | | 0.10% | 0.48% | 0.18% |
| memori | | | | | | | | | | 0.16% | | 0.15% | 0.07% | 0.22% |
| shift | | | | | | | | | | 0.11% | | 0.10% | 0.03% | 0.18% |
| nativ | | | 0.13% | 0.37% | 0.16% | 0.25% | 0.36% | 0.23% | 0.11% | | | 0.15% | 0.17% | 0.09% |
| christian | | | 0.06% | | | | 0.07% | 0.14% | 0.07% | | | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.22% |
| indigen | | | | | 0.08% | | | 0.05% | 0.07% | | | 0.15% | 0.41% | 0.40% |
| class | | 0.19% | | | | | | 0.23% | 0.11% | | | 0.20% | 0.07% | 0.09% |
| california | | 0.37% | 0.95% | 0.22% | 0.63% | 0.25% | 0.29% | | 0.07% | | | 0.10% | 0.10% | 0.04% |
| hopi | | 0.37% | 0.32% | 0.07% | 0.16% | 0.43% | 0.29% | | 0.04% | | | 0.05% | 0.03% | 0.04% |
| intern | | 0.09% | 0.19% | 0.29% | | 0.06% | 0.07% | | 0.11% | | | 0.10% | 0.10% | 0.18% |
| health | | | 0.06% | | | | | | 0.04% | | | 0.25% | 0.07% | 0.18% |
| muslim | | | | | | | | | 0.04% | | | 0.05% | 0.20% | 0.04% |
| violenc | | | | | | | | | 0.04% | | | 0.10% | 0.27% | 0.31% |
| music | | 0.37% | 0.19% | | 0.16% | 0.31% | 0.14% | 0.09% | | | | 0.05% | 0.03% | 0.04% |
| contemporari | | | | | | | 0.22% | 0.05% | | | | 0.25% | 0.27% | 0.13% |
| construct | | | | | | | 0.07% | | | | | 0.25% | 0.14% | 0.22% |
| subject | | | | | | 0.06% | | | | | | 0.10% | 0.10% | 0.22% |
| beyond | | | 0.06% | | | | | | | | | 0.20% | 0.17% | 0.13% |
| boasian | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.05% | 0.14% | 0.04% |
| classic | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.25% | 0.10% | 0.09% |
| imagin | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.10% | 0.10% | 0.26% |
| landscap | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.20% | 0.14% | 0.22% |

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|--------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| negoti | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.15% | 0.10% | 0.18% |
| transnat | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.05% | 0.20% | 0.22% |
| whi | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.05% | 0.14% | 0.13% |
| stone | 0.66% | 1.03% | 0.32% | 0.37% | 0.63% | 0.19% | 0.14% | 0.05% | 0.04% | 0.05% | 0.07% | | 0.07% | 0.04% |
| relat | | 0.37% | 0.32% | 0.29% | 0.32% | 0.31% | 0.43% | 0.55% | 0.47% | 0.49% | 0.14% | | 0.17% | 0.09% |
| compar | | 0.09% | 0.13% | 0.07% | | 0.06% | 0.14% | 0.18% | 0.29% | 0.16% | 0.07% | | 0.07% | 0.04% |
| form | | | 0.13% | 0.37% | | 0.12% | 0.07% | 0.18% | 0.18% | 0.16% | 0.14% | | 0.20% | 0.09% |
| tool | | | | | | 0.06% | 0.07% | 0.14% | 0.15% | 0.16% | 0.07% | | 0.07% | 0.04% |
| interpret | | | 0.06% | | 0.16% | | 0.22% | 0.32% | 0.22% | 0.27% | 0.07% | | 0.07% | 0.13% |
| india | | 0.09% | | | 0.08% | | | 0.14% | 0.11% | 0.11% | 0.20% | | 0.10% | 0.22% |
| boa | | | | 0.07% | | | | 0.51% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.07% | | 0.20% | 0.04% |
| northeastern | | | 0.13% | 0.22% | 0.24% | 0.25% | 0.22% | | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.07% | | 0.03% | 0.04% |
| australia | | 0.09% | 0.19% | 0.07% | 0.16% | 0.19% | 0.14% | 0.05% | | 0.05% | 0.14% | | 0.07% | 0.22% |
| scientif | | | | | | 0.06% | 0.07% | 0.05% | | 0.22% | 0.20% | | 0.14% | 0.13% |
| empir | | | | | | 0.06% | | | | 0.05% | 0.14% | | 0.17% | 0.18% |
| law | 0.66% | 0.37% | | 0.07% | | 0.19% | 0.22% | 0.09% | 0.40% | | 0.14% | | 0.17% | 0.13% |
| environment | | 0.09% | | | | | | 0.05% | 0.07% | | 0.07% | | 0.24% | 0.09% |
| valley | | 0.28% | 0.57% | 0.44% | 0.24% | 0.19% | 0.14% | | 0.04% | | 0.07% | | 0.07% | 0.04% |
| make | | 0.19% | 0.06% | 0.07% | | 0.06% | 0.14% | | 0.04% | | 0.27% | | 0.10% | 0.40% |
| govern | | | | | | | 0.07% | | 0.04% | | 0.14% | | 0.07% | 0.31% |
| san | | | 0.19% | 0.37% | 0.32% | 0.06% | | 0.05% | | | 0.07% | | 0.07% | 0.04% |
| ethic | | | | | | 0.06% | | 0.05% | | | 0.07% | | 0.17% | 0.13% |
| year | | 0.09% | 0.13% | | | | | 0.09% | | | 0.07% | | 0.10% | 0.40% |
| florida | | 0.09% | | 0.37% | 0.08% | | 0.14% | | | | 0.07% | | 0.10% | 0.09% |
| find | | 0.09% | | | | | | | | | 0.07% | | 0.14% | 0.09% |
| margaret | | | | | | | | | | | 0.68% | | 0.10% | 0.09% |
| medicin | | 0.09% | 0.32% | 0.07% | 0.48% | 0.12% | 0.22% | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.05% | | | 0.07% | 0.04% |
| valu | | | | | | 0.06% | 0.07% | 0.28% | 0.36% | 0.16% | | | 0.10% | 0.22% |
| present | | | 0.06% | 0.15% | 0.16% | | 0.14% | 0.18% | 0.07% | 0.05% | | | 0.07% | 0.13% |
| introduct | | 0.09% | | | | | | 0.18% | 0.11% | 0.05% | | | 0.10% | 0.04% |

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|--------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| southeastern | | | 0.13% | | 0.32% | 0.19% | 0.22% | | 0.04% | 0.05% | | | 0.07% | 0.04% |
| war | | | 0.13% | 0.22% | | | 0.29% | | 0.11% | 0.05% | | | 0.20% | 0.18% |
| activ | | | 0.19% | | | 0.06% | | | 0.11% | 0.16% | | | 0.14% | 0.04% |
| childhood | | | 0.06% | | | | | | 0.04% | 0.11% | | | 0.17% | 0.04% |
| action | | | | | | | | | 0.04% | 0.11% | | | 0.14% | 0.09% |
| film | | | | | | | | | | 0.05% | | | 0.20% | 0.04% |
| immigr | | | | 0.07% | | | 0.07% | | 0.04% | | | | 0.14% | 0.18% |
| china | | | | | 0.08% | | 0.22% | 0.09% | | | | | 0.14% | 0.18% |
| de | | 0.19% | 0.19% | 0.07% | 0.32% | 0.12% | | 0.05% | | | | | 0.03% | 0.04% |
| current | | | | | | | | 0.18% | | | | | 0.07% | 0.04% |
| investig | | | 0.06% | 0.07% | | 0.12% | 0.07% | | | | | | 0.14% | 0.04% |
| indonesia | | | | | 0.08% | | 0.07% | | | | | | 0.07% | 0.22% |
| translat | | | | | | | 0.07% | | | | | | 0.14% | 0.04% |
| bird | 0.66% | 0.09% | | | | 0.06% | | | | | | | 0.14% | 0.04% |
| conserv | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.20% | 0.04% |
| engag | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.07% | 0.31% |
| isra | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.03% | 0.22% |
| neoliber | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.27% | 0.35% |
| refuge | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.03% | 0.18% |
| terror | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.14% | 0.04% |
| us | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.27% | 0.35% |
| video | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.14% | 0.09% |
| vietnam | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.07% | 0.18% |
| term | | 0.09% | 0.06% | 0.66% | 0.40% | 0.31% | 0.58% | 0.09% | 0.25% | 0.27% | 0.07% | 0.20% | | 0.04% |
| japanes | | | | | | 0.06% | 0.14% | 0.28% | 0.33% | 0.11% | 0.07% | 0.05% | | 0.04% |
| approach | | | | | 0.08% | | 0.07% | 0.18% | 0.25% | 0.16% | 0.20% | 0.10% | | 0.04% |
| product | | | | | 0.08% | | 0.14% | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.27% | 0.27% | 0.10% | | 0.18% |
| folk | 1.32% | 0.09% | | | | | 0.07% | 0.18% | 0.15% | 0.22% | 0.41% | 0.05% | | 0.04% |
| experi | | 0.09% | | 0.07% | | | | 0.09% | 0.04% | 0.11% | 0.07% | 0.25% | | 0.09% |
| author | | 0.09% | | | | | | 0.09% | 0.15% | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.05% | | 0.09% |

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|--------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--|-------|
| potteri | | 0.09% | 0.13% | 0.29% | 0.24% | 0.43% | 0.14% | | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.05% | | 0.04% |
| critiqu | | | | | 0.08% | | | | 0.22% | 0.16% | 0.20% | 0.25% | | 0.09% |
| resourc | | | | | | | | | 0.04% | 0.05% | 0.14% | 0.30% | | 0.04% |
| myth | 0.66% | | 0.32% | 0.29% | | | 0.14% | 0.14% | | 0.38% | 0.14% | 0.15% | | 0.04% |
| plant | | 0.09% | 0.13% | 0.07% | 0.08% | 0.06% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.04% | | 0.27% | 0.05% | | 0.09% |
| england | | 0.09% | 0.25% | 0.15% | | | | 0.05% | | | 0.07% | 0.05% | | 0.04% |
| andes | | | | | | | | | | | 0.07% | 0.20% | | 0.09% |
| man | | 0.47% | 0.57% | 0.37% | 0.08% | 0.19% | 0.43% | 0.41% | 0.25% | 0.33% | | 0.05% | | 0.04% |
| relationship | | | | 0.44% | 0.32% | 0.31% | 0.22% | 0.09% | 0.25% | 0.05% | | 0.15% | | 0.09% |
| region | | 0.28% | 0.25% | 0.22% | 0.16% | 0.19% | | | 0.11% | 0.05% | | 0.20% | | 0.04% |
| materi | | 0.19% | 0.32% | 0.29% | 0.16% | 0.12% | 0.14% | | | 0.05% | | 0.10% | | 0.18% |
| pastor | | | | | | | | | | 0.05% | | 0.05% | | 0.18% |
| soviet | | | | | | 0.19% | 0.22% | 0.05% | 0.15% | | | 0.05% | | 0.04% |
| style | | | | | | 0.06% | | 0.09% | 0.15% | | | 0.10% | | 0.04% |
| danc | 0.66% | 0.47% | | 0.07% | 0.08% | 0.62% | 0.29% | | 0.04% | | | 0.05% | | 0.04% |
| near | | 0.19% | 0.32% | 0.15% | 0.48% | 0.12% | | | 0.04% | | | 0.10% | | 0.04% |
| latin | | | | | | | 0.07% | 0.23% | | | | 0.05% | | 0.04% |
| compon | | | | | | | | 0.18% | | | | 0.05% | | 0.04% |
| heritag | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.05% | | 0.35% |
| primit | | 0.75% | 0.19% | 0.29% | 0.48% | 0.31% | 0.65% | 0.18% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.14% | | | 0.04% |
| group | | | 0.13% | 0.07% | 0.32% | 0.49% | 0.07% | 0.83% | 0.40% | 0.33% | 0.07% | | | 0.04% |
| size | | | | | | | 0.07% | 0.09% | 0.15% | 0.05% | 0.14% | | | 0.04% |
| brain | | | 0.32% | | | | | | 0.04% | 0.05% | 0.07% | | | 0.04% |
| formal | | | | | | | | | 0.15% | 0.16% | 0.07% | | | 0.04% |
| name | | 0.47% | 0.57% | 0.15% | 0.24% | 0.25% | 0.07% | | | 0.11% | 0.07% | | | 0.09% |
| accultur | | 0.09% | | | | 0.19% | 0.94% | 0.87% | 0.29% | | 0.07% | | | 0.04% |
| taboo | | | | | 0.08% | 0.12% | | 0.05% | 0.18% | | 0.14% | | | 0.04% |
| cattl | | | | | 0.32% | | | 0.05% | 0.07% | | 0.07% | | | 0.04% |
| northwestern | | 0.09% | 0.38% | 0.07% | 0.16% | 0.12% | | | 0.04% | | 0.07% | | | 0.04% |
| excav | | 0.09% | 0.38% | 0.15% | | 0.06% | | | 0.04% | | 0.07% | | | 0.04% |

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|--------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| posit | 0.66% | | 0.06% | 0.37% | 0.40% | 0.06% | 0.14% | 0.09% | 0.04% | 0.05% | | | | 0.04% |
| definit | | | 0.13% | | | | 0.14% | 0.18% | 0.04% | 0.05% | | | | 0.04% |
| southwestern | | 0.09% | 0.13% | 0.15% | 0.08% | 0.31% | | 0.32% | 0.04% | 0.05% | | | | 0.04% |
| japan | | | | | 0.08% | 0.06% | | 0.18% | 0.22% | 0.05% | | | | 0.09% |
| object | | | 0.25% | 0.15% | 0.08% | 0.06% | | | 0.07% | 0.11% | | | | 0.04% |
| train | | | | | | | | 0.32% | | 0.05% | | | | 0.04% |
| migrant | | | | | | | | | | 0.05% | | | | 0.26% |
| love | | | | | | | | | 0.04% | | | | | 0.22% |
| malawi | | | | | | | | | 0.15% | | | | | 0.04% |
| iroquois | | 0.19% | 0.19% | 0.29% | 0.08% | | | 0.05% | | | | | | 0.04% |
| confer | | | | | | | | 0.18% | | | | | | 0.13% |
| legaci | | | | | | | | 0.05% | | | | | | 0.18% |
| prehistor | | 0.37% | 0.45% | 0.66% | 0.71% | 0.62% | 0.22% | 0.14% | 0.15% | 0.11% | 0.20% | 0.05% | 0.03% | |
| aspect | | | | 0.29% | 0.16% | 0.06% | 0.50% | 0.28% | 0.33% | 0.55% | 0.14% | 0.15% | 0.03% | |
| cross | | | 0.06% | | 0.08% | 0.19% | 0.07% | 0.09% | 0.58% | 0.22% | 0.14% | 0.05% | 0.24% | |
| land | | | 0.19% | | 0.08% | 0.06% | 0.14% | 0.09% | 0.07% | 0.16% | 0.14% | 0.15% | 0.31% | |
| person | | 0.19% | 0.06% | | | 0.06% | 0.43% | 0.46% | 0.33% | 0.22% | 0.34% | 0.15% | 0.03% | |
| exampl | | | | | | 0.06% | 0.14% | 0.09% | 0.18% | 0.05% | 0.20% | 0.05% | 0.03% | |
| femal | | | | | | 0.12% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.04% | 0.05% | 0.14% | 0.20% | 0.17% | |
| subsist | | | | | | | 0.07% | 0.09% | 0.07% | 0.22% | 0.27% | 0.10% | 0.07% | |
| differ | | 0.09% | 0.13% | 0.07% | 0.08% | 0.06% | | 0.28% | 0.11% | 0.16% | 0.07% | 0.20% | 0.10% | |
| variat | | 0.09% | | 0.07% | | | | 0.09% | 0.07% | 0.16% | 0.27% | 0.10% | 0.14% | |
| coloni | | | 0.06% | | | | | 0.05% | 0.04% | 0.16% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.20% | |
| ideolog | | | | | | | | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.11% | 0.07% | 0.25% | 0.24% | |
| urban | | | | | | | | 0.18% | 0.07% | 0.38% | 0.20% | 0.25% | 0.41% | |
| asia | | | 0.13% | | 0.08% | 0.12% | 0.36% | | 0.04% | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.03% | |
| represent | | | | | | | 0.07% | | 0.04% | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.20% | 0.14% | |
| highland | | | | | 0.08% | 0.06% | | | 0.15% | 0.11% | 0.20% | 0.15% | 0.07% | |
| color | | 0.09% | | | | | 0.07% | 0.05% | | 0.27% | 0.34% | 0.10% | 0.17% | |
| select | | | | 0.07% | | 0.12% | | 0.32% | | 0.05% | 0.14% | 0.05% | 0.07% | |

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|-------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--|
| distinguish | | | | | | | | | | 0.05% | 0.41% | 0.40% | 0.07% | |
| signific | | 0.09% | | 0.07% | 0.24% | 0.19% | 0.14% | 0.09% | 0.15% | | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.03% | |
| trend | | 0.09% | | | | | 0.22% | 0.18% | 0.04% | | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.03% | |
| pacif | | 0.19% | 0.06% | 0.29% | 0.08% | | 0.07% | | 0.07% | | 0.07% | 0.10% | 0.03% | |
| water | | 0.09% | 0.06% | | | | 0.07% | | | | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.14% | |
| lesli | | | 0.06% | | | | 0.07% | | | | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.17% | |
| discours | | | | | | | | | | | 0.07% | 0.40% | 0.14% | |
| contact | | | | | 0.08% | 0.25% | 0.36% | 0.05% | 0.04% | 0.05% | | 0.05% | 0.03% | |
| data | | | | 0.15% | | 0.31% | 0.07% | 0.14% | 0.11% | 0.05% | | 0.10% | 0.07% | |
| preliminari | | 0.19% | 0.51% | 0.37% | 0.16% | | 0.22% | 0.14% | 0.11% | 0.11% | | 0.05% | 0.03% | |
| stratif | | | | 0.07% | 0.08% | | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.15% | 0.05% | | 0.05% | 0.03% | |
| peasant | | | | | | | 0.07% | 0.09% | 0.29% | 0.44% | | 0.05% | 0.03% | |
| physic | | 0.19% | 0.19% | 0.15% | 0.08% | | | 0.23% | 0.15% | 0.11% | | 0.05% | 0.14% | |
| dimens | | | | | | | | 0.05% | 0.11% | 0.22% | | 0.05% | 0.03% | |
| nigeria | | | | | | | 0.07% | | 0.25% | 0.11% | | 0.05% | 0.03% | |
| repli | | | | | | | 0.07% | | 0.07% | 0.33% | | 0.10% | 0.24% | |
| faction | | | | | | | | | 0.15% | 0.11% | | 0.05% | 0.03% | |
| question | 0.66% | | | 0.07% | 0.16% | 0.25% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.07% | | | 0.10% | 0.07% | |
| children | 0.66% | 0.19% | 0.06% | 0.15% | 0.08% | | 0.14% | 0.09% | 0.15% | | | 0.05% | 0.17% | |
| order | | | | 0.07% | | | | 0.05% | 0.15% | | | 0.10% | 0.03% | |
| philippin | | | 0.13% | 0.37% | 0.08% | | 0.22% | | 0.04% | | | 0.05% | 0.03% | |
| australian | | 0.37% | 0.06% | | | 0.25% | | | 0.04% | | | 0.05% | 0.03% | |
| festiv | | | 0.06% | | 0.08% | 0.12% | | 0.05% | | | | 0.05% | 0.17% | |
| rock | | 0.37% | 0.06% | | 0.24% | | | | | | | 0.05% | 0.03% | |
| powhatan | | | 0.25% | | | | | | | | | 0.05% | 0.03% | |
| explain | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.20% | 0.07% | |
| classif | | 0.09% | 0.13% | 0.07% | 0.08% | 0.12% | 0.14% | 0.18% | 0.07% | 0.11% | 0.34% | | 0.03% | |
| kin | | | | | 0.08% | 0.12% | 0.14% | 0.05% | 0.18% | 0.11% | 0.07% | | 0.10% | |
| descent | | | 0.06% | 0.07% | | 0.12% | 0.07% | 0.28% | 0.25% | 0.22% | 0.20% | | 0.03% | |
| test | | | | | 0.08% | | 0.07% | 0.23% | 0.11% | 0.22% | 0.20% | | 0.07% | |

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|-----------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--|-------|--|
| categori | | | 0.06% | | | | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.18% | 0.16% | 0.14% | | 0.10% | |
| great | 0.66% | | | 0.07% | | 0.31% | | 0.05% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.07% | | 0.03% | |
| adapt | | | | | | | | 0.05% | 0.36% | 0.49% | 0.14% | | 0.03% | |
| hierarchi | | | | | | | | | 0.11% | 0.05% | 0.07% | | 0.14% | |
| look | | | | | | | | | 0.04% | 0.22% | 0.07% | | 0.07% | |
| area | | | 0.06% | 0.22% | 0.48% | 0.19% | 0.29% | 0.23% | | 0.05% | 0.07% | | 0.14% | |
| type | | | 0.13% | 0.59% | 0.48% | 0.31% | 0.22% | 0.37% | 0.11% | | 0.07% | | 0.07% | |
| consider | | | | 0.07% | 0.08% | | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.18% | | 0.14% | | 0.07% | |
| demograph | | | | | | | | | 0.04% | | 0.34% | | 0.10% | |
| fertil | | | | 0.07% | | | | 0.05% | | | 0.07% | | 0.14% | |
| arizona | | 0.65% | 0.38% | 0.22% | 0.16% | 0.19% | | | | | 0.07% | | 0.03% | |
| burial | | 0.09% | 0.06% | 0.07% | 0.08% | 0.25% | | | | | 0.07% | | 0.03% | |
| pueblo | | 0.47% | 0.45% | 0.07% | 0.40% | 0.74% | 0.43% | 0.18% | 0.04% | 0.05% | | | 0.03% | |
| report | | | 0.25% | 0.15% | 0.32% | 0.06% | 0.14% | 0.09% | 0.11% | 0.11% | | | 0.03% | |
| comment | | 0.19% | | | 0.08% | | 0.07% | 0.09% | 0.18% | 0.05% | | | 0.03% | |
| diffus | | | | | 0.32% | | 0.36% | 0.18% | 0.07% | 0.11% | | | 0.03% | |
| plateau | | | | | 0.08% | 0.06% | | | 0.18% | 0.05% | | | 0.03% | |
| comput | | | | 0.07% | | | | | 0.15% | 0.05% | | | 0.03% | |
| visual | | | | | | | | | 0.04% | 0.05% | | | 0.20% | |
| exploit | | | | | | | | | | 0.22% | | | 0.03% | |
| movement | | | | | 0.08% | 0.06% | 0.07% | 0.14% | 0.04% | | | | 0.14% | |
| design | | 0.09% | 0.25% | | 0.08% | | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.04% | | | | 0.03% | |
| bone | 0.66% | 0.19% | 0.06% | | | | 0.07% | 0.23% | 0.04% | | | | 0.07% | |
| institut | | 0.19% | | | | | 0.07% | 0.14% | 0.11% | | | | 0.17% | |
| drink | | | | | | | | | 0.18% | | | | 0.07% | |
| river | | 0.09% | 0.13% | 0.15% | 0.48% | 0.31% | 0.22% | 0.05% | | | | | 0.07% | |
| two | | 0.09% | 0.13% | | 0.40% | 0.12% | 0.43% | 0.23% | | | | | 0.10% | |
| columbia | | 0.19% | 0.19% | 0.07% | 0.40% | 0.06% | 0.07% | | | | | | 0.03% | |
| virginia | | 0.28% | 0.51% | | | | 0.07% | | | | | | 0.03% | |
| blackfoot | | 0.09% | | | | | 0.29% | | | | | | 0.03% | |

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|------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--|
| antiqu | | 0.09% | 0.19% | 0.22% | 0.08% | 0.25% | | | | | | | 0.03% | |
| bear | | 0.09% | | | 0.08% | 0.25% | | | | | | | 0.03% | |
| like | | | | | | 0.06% | | | | | | | 0.17% | |
| kentucki | | | | | 0.32% | | | | | | | | 0.03% | |
| afterword | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.14% | |
| coetze | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.14% | |
| dove | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.14% | |
| hawk | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.14% | |
| katrina | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.14% | |
| keith | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.17% | |
| otterbein | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.17% | |
| eskimo | 1.32% | 0.56% | 0.13% | 0.22% | 0.16% | 0.25% | 0.07% | 0.18% | 0.15% | 0.22% | 0.07% | 0.05% | | |
| function | | | | | 0.08% | 0.43% | 0.22% | 0.28% | 0.18% | 0.27% | 0.14% | 0.10% | | |
| comparison | | 0.09% | | 0.07% | 0.08% | | 0.14% | 0.28% | 0.11% | 0.11% | 0.14% | 0.05% | | |
| general | | 0.09% | | | | | 0.07% | 0.09% | 0.15% | 0.22% | 0.20% | 0.05% | | |
| cognit | | | | | | | | 0.05% | 0.15% | 0.16% | 0.27% | 0.15% | | |
| status | | | | | 0.08% | 0.12% | 0.22% | 0.18% | | 0.27% | 0.20% | 0.35% | | |
| ceremoni | | 1.03% | 0.89% | 0.29% | 0.56% | 0.37% | 0.29% | 0.05% | 0.15% | | 0.07% | 0.05% | | |
| possibl | | | | | 0.32% | 0.12% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.15% | | 0.07% | 0.05% | | |
| applic | | 0.09% | | 0.07% | | 0.06% | | 0.18% | 0.04% | | 0.14% | 0.10% | | |
| custom | 1.32% | 0.28% | 0.13% | 0.22% | 0.40% | 0.19% | 0.07% | | | | 0.14% | 0.05% | | |
| tribe | 1.32% | 0.65% | 0.64% | 0.15% | 0.16% | 0.49% | 0.29% | 0.09% | 0.11% | 0.05% | | 0.05% | | |
| ethnolog | | | 0.38% | 0.37% | 0.63% | 0.25% | 0.22% | 0.46% | 0.04% | 0.11% | | 0.10% | | |
| civil | 0.66% | | | 0.07% | | 0.12% | 0.29% | 0.14% | 0.25% | 0.05% | | 0.10% | | |
| variabl | | | | | | 0.06% | | 0.09% | 0.18% | 0.16% | | 0.05% | | |
| racial | | 0.09% | 0.13% | 0.07% | 0.08% | | | 0.09% | 0.04% | 0.27% | | 0.20% | | |
| essay | | 0.09% | | | | | | 0.18% | 0.04% | 0.11% | | 0.10% | | |
| peruvian | | | 0.13% | 0.07% | | 0.12% | | | 0.15% | 0.05% | | 0.05% | | |
| semant | | | | | | | | | 0.25% | 0.11% | | 0.05% | | |
| cave | | | 0.13% | 0.22% | 0.08% | 0.25% | | | | 0.05% | | 0.10% | | |

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|------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--|--|
| dialect | 0.66% | | 0.32% | 0.07% | | 0.06% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.04% | | | 0.05% | | |
| michigan | | | 0.25% | | 0.08% | | | | 0.04% | | | 0.05% | | |
| dream | | | | | | 0.06% | 0.07% | 0.32% | | | | 0.10% | | |
| totem | | 0.09% | 0.06% | 0.44% | 0.08% | | 0.07% | 0.09% | | | | 0.10% | | |
| roman | | 0.19% | | | | | | 0.18% | | | | 0.05% | | |
| inscript | | 0.28% | 0.06% | | 0.48% | 0.12% | | | | | | 0.05% | | |
| samoan | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.20% | | |
| psycholog | | | 0.06% | 0.07% | 0.24% | 0.06% | 0.14% | 0.23% | 0.15% | 0.16% | 0.27% | | | |
| plain | | | | 0.29% | 0.24% | 0.37% | 0.14% | 0.23% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.07% | | | |
| terminolog | | | | 0.07% | 0.08% | 0.25% | 0.22% | 0.18% | 0.44% | 0.16% | 0.20% | | | |
| foundat | | | | | | 0.06% | | 0.18% | 0.04% | 0.05% | 0.07% | | | |
| navajo | 1.32% | 0.19% | | | | 0.06% | | | 0.18% | 0.33% | 0.07% | | | |
| anoth | | | | | 0.08% | | | | 0.15% | 0.16% | 0.14% | | | |
| taxonomi | | | | | | | | | 0.18% | 0.05% | 0.07% | | | |
| distribut | | 0.28% | 0.19% | 0.15% | 0.24% | 0.62% | 0.07% | 0.32% | 0.07% | | 0.14% | | | |
| correl | | 0.09% | 0.06% | | 0.16% | 0.19% | 0.07% | 0.18% | 0.15% | | 0.07% | | | |
| game | 1.32% | 0.37% | 0.38% | 0.22% | 0.08% | | 0.14% | 0.05% | 0.04% | | 0.07% | | | |
| incest | | | | | | | 0.22% | 0.18% | 0.22% | | 0.14% | | | |
| descript | | | | 0.15% | | 0.06% | | 0.09% | 0.15% | | 0.07% | | | |
| remain | | 0.19% | 0.57% | 0.44% | | | | | | | 0.07% | | | |
| clan | | 0.09% | 0.06% | 0.22% | 0.08% | 0.25% | 0.14% | 0.05% | 0.04% | 0.11% | | | | |
| techniqu | | | | 0.07% | 0.08% | 0.06% | 0.14% | 0.09% | 0.18% | 0.11% | | | | |
| apach | | 0.19% | 0.06% | | | 0.37% | 0.22% | 0.09% | 0.04% | 0.05% | | | | |
| concern | | | 0.13% | 0.07% | 0.08% | 0.12% | 0.36% | | 0.04% | 0.05% | | | | |
| pleistocen | 0.66% | | | 0.07% | 0.08% | | 0.07% | | 0.07% | 0.27% | | | | |
| marit | | | | | | 0.06% | | | 0.18% | 0.11% | | | | |
| nomad | | | | | 0.08% | | | | 0.15% | 0.05% | | | | |
| levi | | | | | | | | | 0.07% | 0.22% | | | | |
| sociolog | 0.66% | 0.37% | 0.06% | 0.07% | 0.08% | | 0.07% | 0.14% | | 0.05% | | | | |
| tribal | | | | | | 0.31% | 0.14% | | | 0.05% | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--|--|--|--|
| begin | 0.66% | 0.37% | | | | | 0.07% | | | 0.05% | | | | |
| grammar | | | 0.06% | 0.29% | | | | | | 0.05% | | | | |
| navaho | | 0.19% | 0.13% | | 0.08% | 0.74% | 0.87% | 0.23% | 0.07% | | | | | |
| texa | | 0.09% | 0.13% | 0.15% | 0.16% | 0.25% | | 0.05% | 0.04% | | | | | |
| hawaiian | | 0.09% | | 0.07% | 0.32% | 0.19% | | 0.09% | 0.04% | | | | | |
| head | | | 0.06% | 0.29% | | 0.06% | | 0.05% | 0.04% | | | | | |
| chippewa | | | | | | 0.06% | | 0.05% | 0.15% | | | | | |
| typolog | | | | | | 0.06% | | 0.05% | 0.15% | | | | | |
| applied | | | | | | | | 0.18% | 0.04% | | | | | |
| sampl | | | | | | | | 0.05% | 0.25% | | | | | |
| symposium | | | | | | | | 0.18% | 0.04% | | | | | |
| algonkian | | 0.09% | | 0.29% | 0.32% | 0.06% | 0.07% | | 0.04% | | | | | |
| cheyenn | | | 0.32% | 0.29% | | 0.06% | 0.07% | | 0.04% | | | | | |
| ruin | | 0.19% | 0.70% | 0.52% | 0.24% | 0.12% | | | 0.04% | | | | | |
| sketch | | | 0.32% | 0.37% | 0.08% | | | | 0.04% | | | | | |
| copper | | 0.19% | 0.25% | | 0.08% | | | | 0.04% | | | | | |
| congress | | 0.09% | 0.13% | 0.29% | | | | | 0.04% | | | | | |
| componenti | | | | | | | | | 0.22% | | | | | |
| certain | | 0.28% | 0.32% | 0.66% | 0.24% | 0.12% | 0.07% | 0.09% | | | | | | |
| peyot | | | | | 0.08% | 0.19% | 0.14% | 0.23% | | | | | | |
| calendar | | | 0.19% | 0.15% | 0.32% | 0.12% | | 0.05% | | | | | | |
| factori | | | | | | | | 0.23% | | | | | | |
| gren | | | | | | | | 0.18% | | | | | | |
| supper | | | | | | | | 0.18% | | | | | | |
| wenner | | | | | | | | 0.18% | | | | | | |
| zuni | | 0.19% | 0.06% | 0.52% | 0.08% | 0.06% | 0.14% | | | | | | | |
| hors | | | | 0.07% | | 0.25% | 0.22% | | | | | | | |
| basketri | | | 0.25% | | | 0.12% | 0.07% | | | | | | | |
| mound | 1.32% | 0.56% | 0.19% | 0.37% | 0.32% | 0.12% | | | | | | | | |
| pima | | | 0.25% | | 0.08% | 0.06% | | | | | | | | |

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|--------------|--|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| missouri | | | 0.19% | 0.29% | | 0.06% | | | | | | | | |
| precolumbian | | | 0.25% | 0.07% | | 0.06% | | | | | | | | |
| tewa | | | | 0.29% | 0.16% | | | | | | | | | |
| pawne | | 0.09% | 0.25% | | 0.24% | | | | | | | | | |
| specimen | | | 0.32% | | 0.08% | | | | | | | | | |
| filipino | | | 0.25% | 0.07% | | | | | | | | | | |
| porto | | | 0.13% | 0.37% | | | | | | | | | | |
| stock | | | 0.13% | 0.44% | | | | | | | | | | |
| snake | | 0.37% | 0.06% | | | | | | | | | | | |
| chamorro | | | 0.32% | | | | | | | | | | | |
| guam | | | 0.38% | | | | | | | | | | | |
| tusayan | | 1.21% | | | | | | | | | | | | |

APPENDIX D
GOOGLE SEARCH TRENDS ANALYSIS (10/15/12 - 10/15/17, WORLDWIDE)

| Google Search Trends Analysis (10/15/12 - 10/15/17, Worldwide) | | | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Week | Anthropology: (Worldwide) | Archaeology: (Worldwide) | Cultural Anthropology: (Worldwide) | Ethnography: (Worldwide) | Sociology: (Worldwide) |
| 10/21/2012 | 61 | 32 | 3 | 7 | 82 |
| 10/28/2012 | 54 | 29 | 3 | 7 | 79 |
| 11/4/2012 | 60 | 28 | 3 | 7 | 86 |
| 11/11/2012 | 64 | 28 | 4 | 7 | 90 |
| 11/18/2012 | 58 | 26 | 3 | 6 | 77 |
| 11/25/2012 | 63 | 27 | 3 | 7 | 87 |
| 12/2/2012 | 64 | 28 | 3 | 7 | 90 |
| 12/9/2012 | 66 | 28 | 4 | 6 | 91 |
| 12/16/2012 | 51 | 23 | 2 | 4 | 60 |
| 12/23/2012 | 38 | 20 | 1 | 2 | 35 |
| 12/30/2012 | 42 | 24 | 1 | 3 | 51 |
| 1/6/2013 | 57 | 29 | 3 | 5 | 85 |
| 1/13/2013 | 59 | 27 | 4 | 6 | 84 |
| 1/20/2013 | 54 | 29 | 3 | 6 | 81 |
| 1/27/2013 | 57 | 31 | 3 | 7 | 85 |
| 2/3/2013 | 58 | 32 | 3 | 8 | 84 |
| 2/10/2013 | 54 | 32 | 3 | 7 | 81 |
| 2/17/2013 | 53 | 30 | 3 | 8 | 75 |
| 2/24/2013 | 56 | 30 | 3 | 8 | 83 |
| 3/3/2013 | 56 | 32 | 3 | 7 | 84 |
| 3/10/2013 | 51 | 28 | 3 | 7 | 76 |
| 3/17/2013 | 52 | 27 | 3 | 6 | 79 |
| 3/24/2013 | 50 | 27 | 3 | 6 | 67 |
| 3/31/2013 | 51 | 26 | 2 | 6 | 72 |
| 4/7/2013 | 52 | 27 | 2 | 7 | 77 |
| 4/14/2013 | 52 | 27 | 2 | 7 | 80 |
| 4/21/2013 | 54 | 26 | 3 | 7 | 81 |
| 4/28/2013 | 52 | 27 | 3 | 6 | 85 |
| 5/5/2013 | 53 | 25 | 3 | 7 | 83 |
| 5/12/2013 | 48 | 25 | 2 | 6 | 81 |
| 5/19/2013 | 46 | 23 | 2 | 5 | 70 |
| 5/26/2013 | 42 | 24 | 1 | 4 | 57 |
| 6/2/2013 | 44 | 23 | 2 | 5 | 63 |
| 6/9/2013 | 47 | 24 | 2 | 4 | 68 |

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|------------|----|----|---|---|----|
| 6/16/2013 | 45 | 27 | 2 | 4 | 67 |
| 6/23/2013 | 44 | 26 | 2 | 4 | 62 |
| 6/30/2013 | 40 | 21 | 2 | 4 | 52 |
| 7/7/2013 | 40 | 24 | 2 | 4 | 52 |
| 7/14/2013 | 41 | 23 | 2 | 4 | 51 |
| 7/21/2013 | 41 | 23 | 2 | 3 | 52 |
| 7/28/2013 | 42 | 23 | 1 | 3 | 51 |
| 8/4/2013 | 43 | 23 | 2 | 3 | 52 |
| 8/11/2013 | 45 | 23 | 2 | 4 | 56 |
| 8/18/2013 | 50 | 26 | 2 | 4 | 63 |
| 8/25/2013 | 57 | 25 | 4 | 5 | 77 |
| 9/1/2013 | 57 | 27 | 3 | 6 | 89 |
| 9/8/2013 | 58 | 27 | 4 | 7 | 92 |
| 9/15/2013 | 58 | 28 | 3 | 7 | 87 |
| 9/22/2013 | 56 | 28 | 4 | 8 | 93 |
| 9/29/2013 | 57 | 27 | 3 | 8 | 90 |
| 10/6/2013 | 56 | 27 | 4 | 7 | 88 |
| 10/13/2013 | 54 | 28 | 3 | 8 | 85 |
| 10/20/2013 | 54 | 28 | 3 | 7 | 84 |
| 10/27/2013 | 53 | 26 | 3 | 7 | 82 |
| 11/3/2013 | 57 | 27 | 3 | 7 | 92 |
| 11/10/2013 | 62 | 25 | 3 | 7 | 91 |
| 11/17/2013 | 61 | 25 | 3 | 6 | 90 |
| 11/24/2013 | 51 | 23 | 2 | 6 | 73 |
| 12/1/2013 | 58 | 25 | 3 | 6 | 88 |
| 12/8/2013 | 62 | 26 | 3 | 6 | 92 |
| 12/15/2013 | 49 | 20 | 2 | 4 | 65 |
| 12/22/2013 | 35 | 16 | 1 | 2 | 33 |
| 12/29/2013 | 41 | 20 | 2 | 3 | 43 |
| 1/5/2014 | 54 | 25 | 3 | 4 | 75 |
| 1/12/2014 | 56 | 25 | 3 | 6 | 85 |
| 1/19/2014 | 53 | 27 | 4 | 7 | 82 |
| 1/26/2014 | 56 | 27 | 3 | 8 | 88 |
| 2/2/2014 | 51 | 27 | 3 | 7 | 84 |
| 2/9/2014 | 53 | 27 | 3 | 7 | 82 |
| 2/16/2014 | 50 | 26 | 2 | 7 | 80 |
| 2/23/2014 | 53 | 27 | 2 | 8 | 89 |
| 3/2/2014 | 54 | 27 | 3 | 7 | 82 |
| 3/9/2014 | 49 | 26 | 2 | 7 | 80 |
| 3/16/2014 | 49 | 25 | 2 | 6 | 80 |
| 3/23/2014 | 48 | 27 | 2 | 7 | 78 |

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|------------|----|----|---|----|----|
| 3/30/2014 | 49 | 26 | 3 | 7 | 79 |
| 4/6/2014 | 50 | 25 | 2 | 7 | 77 |
| 4/13/2014 | 47 | 24 | 2 | 7 | 73 |
| 4/20/2014 | 47 | 26 | 2 | 7 | 80 |
| 4/27/2014 | 49 | 24 | 2 | 7 | 83 |
| 5/4/2014 | 48 | 25 | 2 | 7 | 86 |
| 5/11/2014 | 47 | 23 | 2 | 5 | 85 |
| 5/18/2014 | 44 | 23 | 2 | 5 | 78 |
| 5/25/2014 | 38 | 23 | 2 | 5 | 56 |
| 6/1/2014 | 42 | 21 | 2 | 4 | 60 |
| 6/8/2014 | 41 | 22 | 2 | 4 | 72 |
| 6/15/2014 | 42 | 20 | 2 | 4 | 70 |
| 6/22/2014 | 43 | 21 | 2 | 4 | 62 |
| 6/29/2014 | 36 | 20 | 1 | 3 | 53 |
| 7/6/2014 | 39 | 22 | 2 | 4 | 54 |
| 7/13/2014 | 40 | 22 | 2 | 3 | 52 |
| 7/20/2014 | 40 | 22 | 2 | 3 | 53 |
| 7/27/2014 | 40 | 23 | 2 | 4 | 50 |
| 8/3/2014 | 38 | 22 | 2 | 3 | 57 |
| 8/10/2014 | 42 | 24 | 2 | 4 | 61 |
| 8/17/2014 | 47 | 25 | 3 | 4 | 66 |
| 8/24/2014 | 56 | 25 | 4 | 5 | 85 |
| 8/31/2014 | 56 | 26 | 3 | 6 | 89 |
| 9/7/2014 | 58 | 29 | 4 | 8 | 97 |
| 9/14/2014 | 55 | 29 | 3 | 6 | 94 |
| 9/21/2014 | 55 | 25 | 4 | 7 | 94 |
| 9/28/2014 | 54 | 28 | 4 | 7 | 92 |
| 10/5/2014 | 54 | 27 | 3 | 11 | 91 |
| 10/12/2014 | 52 | 28 | 3 | 7 | 95 |
| 10/19/2014 | 51 | 27 | 3 | 7 | 90 |
| 10/26/2014 | 52 | 26 | 3 | 7 | 85 |
| 11/2/2014 | 54 | 28 | 2 | 7 | 92 |
| 11/9/2014 | 56 | 29 | 3 | 7 | 94 |
| 11/16/2014 | 55 | 31 | 3 | 7 | 97 |
| 11/23/2014 | 47 | 27 | 2 | 5 | 76 |
| 11/30/2014 | 55 | 27 | 3 | 6 | 87 |
| 12/7/2014 | 55 | 28 | 3 | 7 | 93 |
| 12/14/2014 | 48 | 24 | 2 | 4 | 72 |
| 12/21/2014 | 32 | 17 | 1 | 2 | 37 |
| 12/28/2014 | 36 | 21 | 1 | 2 | 42 |
| 1/4/2015 | 46 | 26 | 2 | 5 | 77 |

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|------------|----|----|---|---|----|
| 1/11/2015 | 52 | 25 | 3 | 5 | 86 |
| 1/18/2015 | 49 | 24 | 3 | 6 | 88 |
| 1/25/2015 | 53 | 25 | 3 | 7 | 87 |
| 2/1/2015 | 50 | 24 | 3 | 7 | 85 |
| 2/8/2015 | 52 | 25 | 3 | 7 | 86 |
| 2/15/2015 | 50 | 23 | 2 | 7 | 78 |
| 2/22/2015 | 51 | 25 | 2 | 7 | 88 |
| 3/1/2015 | 50 | 26 | 3 | 7 | 86 |
| 3/8/2015 | 47 | 24 | 2 | 7 | 81 |
| 3/15/2015 | 44 | 23 | 2 | 6 | 82 |
| 3/22/2015 | 46 | 23 | 2 | 6 | 78 |
| 3/29/2015 | 44 | 21 | 2 | 5 | 74 |
| 4/5/2015 | 45 | 22 | 2 | 6 | 73 |
| 4/12/2015 | 47 | 23 | 2 | 6 | 83 |
| 4/19/2015 | 48 | 24 | 2 | 6 | 89 |
| 4/26/2015 | 48 | 23 | 2 | 6 | 85 |
| 5/3/2015 | 51 | 22 | 3 | 7 | 90 |
| 5/10/2015 | 44 | 21 | 2 | 5 | 93 |
| 5/17/2015 | 44 | 22 | 2 | 5 | 79 |
| 5/24/2015 | 40 | 20 | 2 | 5 | 60 |
| 5/31/2015 | 41 | 19 | 2 | 5 | 64 |
| 6/7/2015 | 41 | 20 | 2 | 4 | 66 |
| 6/14/2015 | 43 | 20 | 2 | 4 | 74 |
| 6/21/2015 | 43 | 19 | 2 | 3 | 61 |
| 6/28/2015 | 37 | 17 | 2 | 3 | 57 |
| 7/5/2015 | 41 | 18 | 1 | 3 | 57 |
| 7/12/2015 | 40 | 18 | 2 | 3 | 54 |
| 7/19/2015 | 40 | 19 | 2 | 3 | 53 |
| 7/26/2015 | 40 | 19 | 2 | 3 | 53 |
| 8/2/2015 | 40 | 18 | 2 | 3 | 55 |
| 8/9/2015 | 43 | 18 | 2 | 3 | 62 |
| 8/16/2015 | 47 | 21 | 2 | 4 | 67 |
| 8/23/2015 | 57 | 23 | 3 | 4 | 82 |
| 8/30/2015 | 57 | 25 | 4 | 5 | 89 |
| 9/6/2015 | 57 | 26 | 3 | 6 | 92 |
| 9/13/2015 | 57 | 26 | 3 | 7 | 96 |
| 9/20/2015 | 59 | 25 | 3 | 7 | 92 |
| 9/27/2015 | 57 | 24 | 3 | 7 | 90 |
| 10/4/2015 | 55 | 25 | 3 | 7 | 95 |
| 10/11/2015 | 54 | 24 | 3 | 7 | 91 |
| 10/18/2015 | 53 | 23 | 3 | 7 | 87 |

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|------------|----|----|---|---|----|
| 10/25/2015 | 52 | 23 | 3 | 6 | 82 |
| 11/1/2015 | 55 | 24 | 3 | 7 | 91 |
| 11/8/2015 | 53 | 22 | 2 | 6 | 90 |
| 11/15/2015 | 54 | 22 | 3 | 6 | 94 |
| 11/22/2015 | 48 | 19 | 2 | 5 | 78 |
| 11/29/2015 | 53 | 22 | 2 | 6 | 91 |
| 12/6/2015 | 58 | 21 | 3 | 7 | 95 |
| 12/13/2015 | 51 | 20 | 3 | 5 | 78 |
| 12/20/2015 | 37 | 14 | 1 | 2 | 41 |
| 12/27/2015 | 36 | 16 | 1 | 2 | 42 |
| 1/3/2016 | 48 | 21 | 3 | 4 | 77 |
| 1/10/2016 | 53 | 23 | 3 | 6 | 87 |
| 1/17/2016 | 51 | 23 | 3 | 6 | 87 |
| 1/24/2016 | 54 | 23 | 3 | 6 | 90 |
| 1/31/2016 | 52 | 25 | 3 | 6 | 92 |
| 2/7/2016 | 54 | 24 | 3 | 8 | 91 |
| 2/14/2016 | 50 | 24 | 3 | 7 | 85 |
| 2/21/2016 | 51 | 24 | 2 | 7 | 94 |
| 2/28/2016 | 51 | 25 | 3 | 6 | 91 |
| 3/6/2016 | 49 | 23 | 2 | 6 | 86 |
| 3/13/2016 | 46 | 24 | 2 | 6 | 82 |
| 3/20/2016 | 46 | 23 | 2 | 5 | 76 |
| 3/27/2016 | 47 | 22 | 2 | 5 | 80 |
| 4/3/2016 | 48 | 24 | 2 | 6 | 83 |
| 4/10/2016 | 52 | 24 | 2 | 7 | 87 |
| 4/17/2016 | 50 | 22 | 2 | 6 | 87 |
| 4/24/2016 | 49 | 23 | 2 | 6 | 87 |
| 5/1/2016 | 50 | 21 | 3 | 6 | 89 |
| 5/8/2016 | 48 | 20 | 3 | 5 | 89 |
| 5/15/2016 | 43 | 21 | 2 | 5 | 88 |
| 5/22/2016 | 41 | 20 | 2 | 5 | 71 |
| 5/29/2016 | 40 | 20 | 2 | 4 | 60 |
| 6/5/2016 | 40 | 19 | 2 | 4 | 60 |
| 6/12/2016 | 41 | 18 | 2 | 4 | 67 |
| 6/19/2016 | 44 | 20 | 2 | 4 | 77 |
| 6/26/2016 | 41 | 19 | 2 | 3 | 61 |
| 7/3/2016 | 39 | 19 | 1 | 3 | 55 |
| 7/10/2016 | 39 | 19 | 2 | 3 | 54 |
| 7/17/2016 | 38 | 20 | 2 | 3 | 54 |
| 7/24/2016 | 37 | 19 | 2 | 3 | 55 |
| 7/31/2016 | 39 | 20 | 2 | 3 | 53 |

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|------------|----|----|---|---|-----|
| 8/7/2016 | 39 | 19 | 2 | 3 | 54 |
| 8/14/2016 | 44 | 20 | 2 | 3 | 62 |
| 8/21/2016 | 52 | 24 | 3 | 4 | 80 |
| 8/28/2016 | 56 | 25 | 3 | 5 | 86 |
| 9/4/2016 | 55 | 26 | 3 | 6 | 91 |
| 9/11/2016 | 58 | 27 | 4 | 6 | 91 |
| 9/18/2016 | 57 | 26 | 3 | 6 | 96 |
| 9/25/2016 | 55 | 24 | 3 | 7 | 95 |
| 10/2/2016 | 52 | 23 | 3 | 6 | 91 |
| 10/9/2016 | 52 | 24 | 3 | 7 | 88 |
| 10/16/2016 | 53 | 22 | 3 | 6 | 92 |
| 10/23/2016 | 53 | 22 | 2 | 7 | 86 |
| 10/30/2016 | 50 | 21 | 2 | 6 | 93 |
| 11/6/2016 | 52 | 20 | 2 | 6 | 88 |
| 11/13/2016 | 56 | 21 | 2 | 7 | 92 |
| 11/20/2016 | 48 | 19 | 2 | 5 | 78 |
| 11/27/2016 | 55 | 22 | 3 | 7 | 91 |
| 12/4/2016 | 58 | 22 | 3 | 7 | 100 |
| 12/11/2016 | 54 | 20 | 3 | 6 | 88 |
| 12/18/2016 | 40 | 16 | 1 | 3 | 54 |
| 12/25/2016 | 34 | 14 | 1 | 2 | 40 |
| 1/1/2017 | 42 | 18 | 2 | 4 | 64 |
| 1/8/2017 | 53 | 23 | 3 | 4 | 85 |
| 1/15/2017 | 54 | 22 | 3 | 6 | 90 |
| 1/22/2017 | 54 | 22 | 3 | 6 | 93 |
| 1/29/2017 | 54 | 22 | 3 | 6 | 93 |
| 2/5/2017 | 50 | 21 | 2 | 7 | 93 |
| 2/12/2017 | 52 | 22 | 3 | 7 | 88 |
| 2/19/2017 | 51 | 23 | 3 | 7 | 87 |
| 2/26/2017 | 56 | 23 | 2 | 7 | 95 |
| 3/5/2017 | 54 | 23 | 2 | 7 | 91 |
| 3/12/2017 | 47 | 21 | 2 | 6 | 83 |
| 3/19/2017 | 52 | 21 | 2 | 7 | 87 |
| 3/26/2017 | 50 | 22 | 2 | 6 | 86 |
| 4/2/2017 | 56 | 22 | 2 | 7 | 85 |
| 4/9/2017 | 59 | 21 | 2 | 6 | 77 |
| 4/16/2017 | 63 | 21 | 2 | 6 | 82 |
| 4/23/2017 | 65 | 21 | 2 | 7 | 89 |
| 4/30/2017 | 62 | 20 | 2 | 7 | 88 |
| 5/7/2017 | 56 | 22 | 2 | 6 | 88 |
| 5/14/2017 | 40 | 21 | 2 | 5 | 84 |

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|-----------|----|----|---|---|-----|
| 5/21/2017 | 38 | 20 | 2 | 4 | 69 |
| 5/28/2017 | 36 | 18 | 1 | 4 | 60 |
| 6/4/2017 | 38 | 19 | 2 | 4 | 70 |
| 6/11/2017 | 40 | 18 | 2 | 4 | 69 |
| 6/18/2017 | 43 | 19 | 2 | 4 | 67 |
| 6/25/2017 | 39 | 18 | 2 | 3 | 59 |
| 7/2/2017 | 36 | 17 | 2 | 3 | 59 |
| 7/9/2017 | 38 | 17 | 2 | 3 | 57 |
| 7/16/2017 | 40 | 17 | 2 | 4 | 59 |
| 7/23/2017 | 38 | 17 | 1 | 3 | 56 |
| 7/30/2017 | 37 | 17 | 2 | 3 | 55 |
| 8/6/2017 | 39 | 17 | 2 | 3 | 55 |
| 8/13/2017 | 41 | 16 | 1 | 4 | 64 |
| 8/20/2017 | 47 | 18 | 3 | 4 | 72 |
| 8/27/2017 | 58 | 20 | 3 | 5 | 81 |
| 9/3/2017 | 61 | 21 | 3 | 6 | 87 |
| 9/10/2017 | 56 | 22 | 3 | 6 | 93 |
| 9/17/2017 | 56 | 21 | 3 | 7 | 94 |
| 9/24/2017 | 55 | 21 | 3 | 7 | 90 |
| 10/1/2017 | 51 | 21 | 3 | 7 | 91 |
| 10/8/2017 | 56 | 21 | 3 | 8 | 100 |

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Chad Maxwell is a cultural anthropologist who has extensive experience practicing and applying anthropology at the intersections of technology, culture, design, media, and marketing.

Chad studied Spanish and Cultural Anthropology at Illinois Wesleyan University earning his BA there. He earned his MA in Anthropology from the University of Florida 2004, and finished his Ph.D. in Anthropology from the University of Florida in 2017.