The "educated teacher": Joint (self-)reflection on translatability between anthropology and teacher education.

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Abstract:
Building on the core epistemological features and aims of Educational Anthropology, in this paper we explore the perception of anthropological educational knowledge among teachers and their related reflections on the educational standards of their profession, as well as their own role in society. Following an overview of (the emerging) intersections between teacher education and Educational Anthropology in Austria, the paper focuses on conversations with teachers in Austria on the outputs of an educational anthropological project (TRANSCA) and their applicability. Two of the project outputs – a Concept Book and a Whiteboard Animation (on "Worldmaking") – serve as the ground for focusing on three aspects emerging from the conversations with teachers: firstly, the concept of the "educated teacher"; secondly, conceptualization as a form of translation of anthropological knowledge via both text and animation; and thirdly, the differentiation between teaching in terms of schooling versus pedagogy. The latter is explored as a crucial dimension of the discussions among and with teachers, and lies at the heart of potential future synergies between anthropology and education.

Keywords: Teacher Education, translatability, "the Educated Teacher", schooling, pedagogy

Introduction

How can synergies emerging from an exchange between anthropologists and educational practitioners inform anthropological concepts and research practice? What would a non-Eurocentric pedagogy look like? Which methods are suitable for translating different concepts and modes of knowing and learning into teacher education? By engaging with these and similar questions, Educational Anthropology can make valuable contributions to exploring and responding to contemporary challenges in the educational sphere. This emerging anthropological subfield traces and examines the power relations in which educational institutions, practices, and agents are embedded. Moreover, it aims to understand the different perspectives of actors currently in the field of in/formal education, by considering relevant historical contexts (Burtonwood, 2002; Levinson & Pollock, 2011; Ingold 2017). From an anthropological angle, teaching can be viewed as a dialectical process of mutual learning and as a dialogue between the self and the environment. Teaching is focused on the ways those involved perceive, construct, and organize meaning. An anthropologically informed approach to teaching calls for a sensitivity to meaning-making, learning, relationships, power, and emotions. Moreover, it demands increased abilities in (self-)observation and (auto-)reflexivity. Social and cultural anthropology is inherently educational, and education is, at its core, anthropological (Levinson & Pollock, 2011; Ingold 2018).

Building on this understanding of the core epistemological characteristics of Educational Anthropology, in this paper we explore the perception of anthropological educational knowledge among teachers and their related reflections on the educational standards of their profession, and thus their societal role. We do so based on our experiences of implementing an applied educational anthropological project *Translating Socio-Cultural Anthropology into Education* (TRANSCA, 2018–2020), which was an Erasmus+ Strategic Partnership project aiming at developing different forms and practices of translating anthropological knowledge into both teacher education and teaching through a cooperation between anthropologists and educational practitioners. This continual process of exchange was one of the project's pillars and enabled a joint selection of contents and knowledge representation rather than translating already chosen elements of anthropological knowledge "for" teachers. Furthermore, this paper is based on a series of conversations with teachers in Austria about their assessment of some of the core outcomes of the project.[i] These conversations not only entailed a discussion of the (lack of) systematic curricular intersections and synergies between teacher education and anthropology in Austria. Moreover, they provided a highly productive basis on which to think through concepts of essential theoretical concern in Educational Anthropology. The first conceptual point of the paper will be the notion of the

"educated person." By transposing this notion onto teachers themselves, we will explore the teachers' self-reflection on what it means to be an "educated teacher" and the question of what relevance exchange with anthropologists and anthropological knowledge can have in this regard. The second and related concept is the notion of *translatability*, with particular attention to the translatability of anthropological knowledge into teacher education.

The article starts by describing the disciplinary context of educational anthropology in the German-speaking context and TRANSCA against this background. This is followed by a general introduction to the training system for teachers in Austria, including its anthropological content. We then highlight three focal points of the exchange with teachers regarding TRANSCA's outputs: Firstly, the concept of the "educated teacher"; secondly, conceptualization as a form of translation of anthropological knowledge via both text and animation; and thirdly, the differentiation between teaching in terms of schooling versus pedagogy, an aspect which permeates the discussions among and with teachers and lies at the heart of potential synergies between anthropology and education.

Anthropology and Education in the German-Speaking Context and TRANSCA

Educational anthropology has so far played only a marginal role in German-speaking countries. However, there is increasing interest in anthropological methodological approaches and theoretical concepts. The attempts of educational scientists to understand the power dynamics of educational systems and structures and processes of domination (e.g. Mai et al., 2018) have led to a wider audience for anthropological studies among educationalists (Tervooren et al., 2014a, b). At the same time, overlapping research focuses and methodological preoccupations offer grounds for fruitful transdisciplinary exchange and collaboration. Critical debates on concepts relating to power relations in the field of knowledge production (Trouillot, 2015), the positionality of the researcher and the representation of the subject of research (Fernando, 2014), as well as critical, decolonial, and queer research approaches and methods (Allen, 2016; Allen et al., 2016; Harrison, 1997; Morgensen, 2016) but also concepts like culture, religion, sexuality, and gender could give significant impetus to similar discussions in educational sciences. The present situation seems to offer a variety of possibilities for the discipline to shift from the margins to the center of debates on and in education.

Since the mid-twentieth century, there has been an increase in ethnographic research in education, which has led to the emergence of what we today call "anthropology of education" in German-speaking countries (for research in Austria, Germany, and Switzerland see, e.g., Sieber Egger & Unterweger, 2019; Binder et al., 2013; Markom & Weinhäupl, 2007; Üllen & Markom, 2016, Müller-Mathis, 2015). In contrast to the "anthropology of education" in the North Atlantic area, it is an emergent field and is characterized by an interdisciplinary orientation (Sieber Egger & Unterweger, 2018). In Germany in particular, one important strand comprises educational ethnographic research carried out by trained educationalists (e.g. Tervooren et al., 2014a, b). Studies in this field encompass a variety of local settings, methodological approaches, and topics, including research in informal learning contexts (e.g. Funk et al., 2012) as well as in formal educational institutions (e.g. Akbaba, 2014). Although similarities can be discerned, the development and orientation of educational anthropology differ between the respective countries in the German-speaking region. Cross-national exchange and collaboration have only recently begun to take a more established form (Sieber Egger & Unterweger, 2018 and www.transca.net).

Building on this body of literature, the project "Translating Socio-Cultural Anthropology into Education" (TRANSCA[ii]) aimed at working directly with synergies between anthropology and pedagogy. Apart from demonstrating the importance and usefulness of social anthropology for educational practice, the aim was to work in close cooperation with pedagogues in creating new knowledge resources. The project initiated the process of both, "translating" and transferring anthropological concepts into the field of (teacher) education in order to make them meaningful and applicable to pedagogical practice in Europe. In this way the project aimed to provide teachers (and thus also pupils) with novel ways of addressing differences, hierarchies, inequalities, and power, which often mark diversity in the classroom. (Markom, 2020) Rather than "confronting" educational practitioners with anthropological knowledge (e.g. concepts) to be translated, the continuous exchange between anthropologists and educators (with and without training in anthropology) within TRANSCA implied going a substantial step further, respectively "back" in the process of translation. In this way teachers from diverse educational contexts of the partner countries were asked to identify which elements of anthropological knowledge where meaningful for their practice in the first place, as well as in which pedagogical and didactical form these can be translated in order to be useful in the classroom.

TRANSCA operated across national and regional contexts[iii] – considering their historical, political, demographic, and linguistic particularities, as well as the characteristics of their respective education systems. The project's multilingual platform[iv] provides a resource for educational practitioners as it makes diverse tools accessible to teachers and thus anthropology becomes more applicable to and widespread in teacher education and, consequently, in schools. The tools, which form key outputs of the project's aim to develop novel materials for pre-service and in-service teachers, are a collection of relevant best-practice projects; a concept manual; teaching modules for teacher education; and a whiteboard animation of the concept of world-making.

Before we turn to a description of the outputs in more detail as well as the teachers' reactions to and assessments of the material, its applicability, and accessibility, we will first outline the sphere of teacher education in Austria and its (lack of) relation to anthropology.

Anthropology and Teacher Education in Austria[v]

There is a centralized system for teacher education in Austria. A nationwide reform[vi] (2015/16) allowed students to enroll for BA's and MA's degree programs at Universities of Teacher Education, to become a teacher for primary school (6-10 years) and lower grade (10-14 years). The position of teachers at upper secondary level schools (for teenagers from 14-18/19 years) requires the successful completion of a teacher education program offered by a university, the minimum duration of which should be twelve academic terms. The Universities of Teacher Education usually have practice-oriented degree programs and research. For this reason, they are typically classified as Universities of Applied Sciences.

Similar to Switzerland and Germany, in Austria cultural and social anthropology is not part of the school curriculum. Furthermore, as in Switzerland, in Austria educational scientists sometimes view cultural and social anthropologists competitively. During our project, a colleague from the Centre for Teacher Education of the University of Vienna stated, in an informal setting, that "Anthropologists can't claim the ethnographic approach for themselves. I can't see any benefit from interdisciplinary cooperation with you, because you can't do anything we are not able to do ourselves." Although this is just one, personal, albeit quite unequivocal, point of view, and we encountered very different views among teachers – including ones that signaled an interest in mutual learning between teachers and anthropologists – this statement can be seen as a common manifestation of the cleavage between anthropology and teacher education in Austria.

In contrast to Switzerland, the number of cultural and social anthropologists working at Colleges of Teacher Education in Austria is relatively small. In those few cases in which cultural and social anthropologists offer workshops for teachers, these are mostly thematically framed around such topics as diversity, transculturality, or discrimination. Moreover, topics such as gender relations or migration are often represented in a stereotypical and at times discriminatory way in textbooks (Markom & Weinhäupl, 2007) and a socio-anthropological perspective on these topics are rarely explicitly referred to in teacher education. The discipline is relatively unknown in Austria, and, where familiar, this is often due to the existence of the University Department in Vienna, which carries the discipline's name.

Teachers who trained as anthropologists generally say that they are most likely to build on postcolonial or poststructuralist approaches implicitly when conceptualizing and implementing their lessons. Interviewed colleagues claim they are especially likely to draw on anthropological concepts, when it comes to the deconstruction of terminologies and concepts, assumptions, and perceptions of the Self and the Other, as well as when reflecting on (teaching) materials (textbooks, etc.) in terms of the labels and depictions they contain. Anthropological topics frequently mentioned as having relevance for their teaching practice include perception of Self and Other, identity construction and boundary-making.

Creating knowledge resources at the intersection of anthropology and teacher education: TRANSCA's Outputs

The web-platform www.transca.net offers users access to methods and networking resources available beyond the end of the funded period of the TRANSCA partnership (2020). These outputs have been developed through dialogue across national and regional contexts, critical anthropological reflection, and conversations with

pedagogues, teachers, and other practitioners. In the following, we will give a brief overview of the material developed during the project and available on the platform, before discussing our research findings.

A collection of best-practice projects focusing on educational anthropology from the following countries: Austria, Switzerland, Germany, Greece, Bulgaria, Albania, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The projects implemented in these various European regions are intended to inform and inspire others to develop their projects at the interface between anthropology and education.

A concept manual was developed which provides teachers with key anthropological concepts and methods relevant for the educational context. These have been selected primarily from the field of Anthropology of Education while considering their usefulness for reflecting on particular educational issues. The concept book is the result of an ongoing conversation between anthropologists and pedagogues, working together to translate concepts and perspectives from anthropology into pertinent conceptual tools in teacher education. The aim has been to draw on and enhance an educationally useful interplay of basic research, ethnography, educational anthropology, and educational science studies.

Teaching modules for teacher education are aimed at introducing teachers to anthropological approaches and methods in the study of educational lifeworlds and practices. The primary goal of each module is to encourage teachers to explore and reflect upon their professional lives, endeavors, and practices in new ways. Ethnography-based didactic approaches, such as the Funds of Knowledge approach (González, 1995), are used in these modules as they are apt tools for conveying an understanding of the embeddedness of educational practices in particular and changing cultural, socio-economic, and political configurations. Working comparatively with ethnographic cases from different cultural contexts, teachers can explore ways of thinking which make "the strange familiar and the familiar *strange*" (Myers, 2011: 1).

The whiteboard animation on the topic "world-making" (including didactics) was designed for use in either pre- and in-service teacher training or secondary education. The general theme of the animation is how people imagine the world – the cosmos, earth, the environment, society, and their own surroundings – from different perspectives, building on their own experiences, beliefs, and values, and the teachings and experiences of others. While this animation may be used as transdisciplinary material in all areas of education, we specifically recommend using it for the following subjects: history, geography, humanities, social sciences, social learning, and civic and ethical education.

"The educated teacher": Teachers' reflections on their profession and anthropological knowledge

A central aspect of our project's applied methodology was a continuous exchange and cooperation with teachers and educational specialists; in our subsequent conversations with teachers in Austria about TRANSCA's outputs some key issues teachers are struggling with were highlighted.

The application of the notion of "the educated person" (Levinson, Foley & Holland, 1996) to the figure of the teacher revealed itself as the underlying emic topos and a prime theoretical tool to carve out core dimensions of teachers' struggles – both in terms of their self-perception and societal evaluation of their profession. The notion of the educated person helps us to explore critically and comparatively how an educated person is constructed within and among different societies. It explains the diverse ways in which a person may be seen as educated and what "being educated" entails in and across different social contexts. Extensive formal education or schooling is often seen as a prerequisite for being considered "educated." In the case of this paper, we pursue the question of how the engagement with the TRANSCA outputs led teachers to reflect upon what makes one "educated enough" to be a professional in their field. This extension and transposition of the concept of the *educated person* from pupils to teachers themselves prompted them to reflect upon and beyond the privileged position of merely "educating (younger) others." This decentering of potentially unquestioned conceptions of "necessary knowledge and teaching skills" *through* contemplating the figure of the *educated teacher,* renders debates of what it means to be a "good teacher" – among teachers, in families, schools, etc. – more graspable and focused. In that sense, exploring the cultural and social production of "the educated teacher" in the Austrian contexts allows us to better understand how dominant conceptions of education and teaching could be challenged, contested, and even transformed.

Of the 14 teachers interviewed 12 did not have the best opinion of their own profession, while at the same time considering themselves to be exceptional in terms of motivation, engagement, and knowledge. Not only are teachers negatively portrayed in Austria[vii], but many teachers themselves share this unfavorable perception of the teaching profession and education. A reflection on the figure of the "educated teacher" revealed core aspects of problematizing both the own profession of being a teacher as well as its perception in society at large. According to the majority of the teachers we consulted, neither a basic teaching qualification nor the experience that comes from the practice and continuing education of teaching were sufficient for the "educated teacher" to emerge.

The underlying and often explicit assumption our interlocutors voiced when engaging with TRANSCA's outputs such as the concept book was that most teachers would not read, or would not be able to understand, the texts made accessible on the project's online platform. A common perception (among teachers themselves) consisted in a portrayal of teachers as "lazy" and overwhelmed for personal reasons. Teachers, however, also emphasized the limits imposed by structural factors: teaching nowadays includes so many administrative tasks that there is simply no time for extra training. Thus, it was not only the complexity of the texts but also simply a lack of interest that would make it less likely that the knowledge resources offered on the TRANSCA page would be widely used by teachers. "Simply because they are too lazy," said Brenda, a 45-year-old teacher from a primary school in Vienna, and she was nott the only one with this opinion, as Mario's and Christian's statements suggest:

> My colleagues would never try anything new if they didn't have to. (Mario, a 58-year-old teacher from lower Austria)

> This page will for sure only be viewed by those who are already interested, while those who actually need it won't look at it anyway. (Christian, a 35-year-old teacher from Vienna).

Despite the initial skepticism towards the platform's impact potential, all teachers – both those with basic anthropological training and those without – identified the materials on the TRANSCA online platform as very helpful. The didactic material related to the whiteboard animation and the guidelines on how to use the concepts during the course of teaching, in particular, were perceived as beneficial and useful.

It is noticeable that teachers are generally dissatisfied with their basic training, because they feel that they do not receive the appropriate tools to work with their students on such pedagogical issues as conflicts in the class, discussions about public events, etc. This correlates with a desire for a quick fix instead of long-term changes in their own attitudes.[viii] Discussions with in-service teachers revealed that many of them perceive themselves not as educators (in the sense of being a pedagogue as well) but as teachers (in the sense of schooling, i.e. teaching a specific subject). Many interlocutors lamented the lack of pedagogical skills transmitted through both basic and advanced teacher education:

> During an in-service workshop with teachers: I kept talking about the participants as educators in the sense of pedagogues. About half an hour later a teacher asked me why I referred to them in this way. I explained that I see an important pedagogical aspect in the context of schooling. This provoked an intense discussion in which the majority of the teachers maintained that their initial teacher education and training would barely prepare them for pedagogically challenging situations. The teachers see it as their task to convey and teach relevant knowledge to the students so that they can function within the system. Everything else should be left to the social workers. (Field Notes Christa Markom 2019: 36)

Drawing on the work of Levinson, Foley & Holland (1996) about what constitutes an "educated person," we are interested in the different ways in which a teacher may be seen as educated for their profession and what "being an educated teacher" entails in and across different contexts. What becomes visible in the interviews is that just as school education and training are not enough to be an "educated person," it is not enough to do basic teacher training to be a sufficiently "educated teacher." There are numerous tasks for teachers in their everyday professional lives that go beyond just teaching. The teachers surveyed often feel that they are not sufficiently trained for this – these are mainly educational issues relating to social behavior in the classroom and competent and pedagogically constructive ways to work with those. As the dynamics in the classroom are always reflections of wider societal trends and tensions as well as a safe space in which to achieve clearly defined educational goals, teachers are faced with multiple and high demands. On the one hand, teachers are supposed to assist pupils to become functioning members of a (neo)liberal society, and, on the other, educate children to think and act critically while questioning hierarchical structures.

Anthropological knowledge on particular topics turns out to be of significance for teachers in their efforts to reflect upon such a difficult and ambivalent balancing act. A range of topics addressed in the TRANSCA outputs were perceived as very socially relevant and thus crucial for being able to perform a meaningful pedagogical role and manage classroom dynamics, which themselves represent a manifestation of wider societal dynamics and configurations.

> So I think that it should definitely be used in initial teacher training. As I said, there is very little in the course of studies on the subject of migration, racism, gender, etc. However, these topics are becoming more and more important and, according to the curriculum, should be discussed in class, which is difficult when we hardly do anything about the topics mentioned in the course. However, I think it is important that everyone who teaches should deal with these topics. (Sara, a 27-year-old teacher).

In this sense all of the respondents perceived the educational anthropological topics and concepts TRANSCA assembled as crucial for their role and thinking as a teacher and thus recommended the inclusion of TRANSCA outputs in initial teacher education from the beginning.

The majority of the teachers consulted believes that teachers' attitudes should be inquired into prior to their initial training. A broad consensus existed that a crucial function of teacher education is to enable future teachers to develop and cultivate a pedagogical attitude. Apart from knowledge about specific socially relevant topics (as mentioned above) it is the ability to seek and acquire knowledge and to develop a self-reflective attitude that were seen as core aspects of being a pedagogue, and thus of being "an educated teacher." An interesting and indeed complex dynamic and division between teachers with training in anthropology and those without emerged. The former identified themselves as more reflective and equipped with training better suited to understanding both concepts and the societal developments and challenges these are embedded in. This became particularly clear when analyzing the video "World-Making" (see below). Even though all respondents were enthusiastic about using the whiteboard animation in class, teachers with an anthropological training were more confident and explicit about the concept's importance, complexity, and relevance for teaching.

This brought a crucial issue to the fore, which forms a link to the next section. It is the question of translatability of anthropological knowledge into the realm of pedagogy and teacher education. The question of translatability can be seen as referring to both the instruments and the process of translation as well as the ability of individuals to perform translation. Based on the overall consensus among the teachers on the benefit – or, as stated by some, even necessity – of including anthropological knowledge in teacher education, the question with clear educational policy relevance is: Who should introduce teachers to anthropological concepts? Teachers with an anthropological education found many of the TRANSCA outputs easy to grasp for them as educators, while nevertheless being aware that there is more to this than personal interest or inclination. Namely, their competence in understanding how anthropological concepts can be translated into (teacher) education was based on thorough and long-term anthropological training. Are trained anthropologists working as teachers thus the (only) competent translators for this particular task? What kind of existing tensions and cleavages among pedagogues and between pedagogy and social science does this claim potentially strengthen? What other possibilities can be envisioned that would be more inclusive and better able to utilize the synergies between pedagogy and anthropology?

In the next section we would like to contribute to the discussion of these questions by drawing on our TRANSCA-based experience of working jointly with teachers – both with and without anthropological training – on translating anthropological knowledge into teacher education as well as discussing the results of this collaborative translation.

Translatability of anthropological knowledge into teacher education: Austrian teachers' reactions to conceptualization

In the course of TRANSCA we had the opportunity to discuss with pedagogues some of the core epistemological dimensions of translatability and to design the project's outputs so as to make anthropological knowledge applicable for teaching and teacher education. Apart from the basic question of what counts as anthropological knowledge in the first place, we dealt most intensely with the following questions: Does it make sense to express and organize knowledge into concepts (in general, and for teachers in particular) and why? How can anthropological knowledge be communicated in meaningful ways in terms of picking, organizing, and presenting the concepts? As Chambers suggested for ethnographic writing and linguistic translation, "this

process is never innocent, but is always embedded in existing power relations" (2006: 5). This concern always arises when someone wants to break down "a concept" to actors in other fields of knowledge and practice. The project team was well aware that anthropological concepts cannot simply be translated and introduced uncritically into educational spheres.

Since one of our main aims pursued with TRANSCA was to make selected anthropological concepts accessible one of the most important insights from our discussion with teachers was to frame and translate the concepts first and foremost in terms of their capacity to be "helpful for thinking." One of the core dimensions of the conceptualization by means of which we aimed at a meaningful translation of anthropological knowledge for teacher education and practice was a specifically structured representation of ideas in the concept book. Starting with the question "Why read this text?" which is meant to clarify the concept's educational relevance right from the outset, the discussion proceeds by describing the *Historical Context* and subsequently a *Discussion* of the concept in more detail. The last two elements of the translated concept are a *Practical Example* from the sphere of education as well as the section *Thinking Further*, which aims to motivate teachers to pursue the concept further, with special regard to how it can be meaningfully addressed in their work in the classroom.

But how did the teachers we spoke to in Austria evaluate our attempt at translating and transposing concepts? Only those among them with previous anthropological training noted that breaking down concepts to their basic elements and practical relevance for teaching appears to be very useful for application in the classroom. Meanwhile, teachers without anthropological training highlighted that it was their first time engaging with these concepts. It was quite striking that they did not initially notice that the concepts were translated, especially with regards to their application in a pedagogical context.

They found it useful that they did not have to read a whole book or long article, but instead received a concise summary of a concept. Furthermore, the responses by and large signaled that reading the concept descriptions would facilitate reflection, which was framed as a great opportunity. We found it interesting that most teachers were not concerned with how these concepts were developed – namely through the joint transdisciplinary work of anthropologists and teachers – but rather with the fact that they were available at all.

At first glance, putting together a concept book might seem trivial, since conceptualization is one of the essential modes and dimensions of knowledge production and organization. Providing texts about concepts – as embodied in numerous anthropology handbooks, encyclopedias, readers, etc. – is a prime way to showcase the history of the discipline, its diverse ontological/epistemological strands and transdisciplinary connections, and conceptual debates, etc. Indeed, as became apparent in the conversations with the teachers, also in the pedagogical context the use of concepts appears especially meaningful due to its main aim of communicating knowledge in the classroom and to future teachers. Translating anthropological knowledge via concepts in the context of school and teacher education poses particular challenges, though.

Communicating concepts "for" pedagogues (even in in an applicable way, as outlined above), might easily fuel the hegemonic hierarchies and tensions between higher education and pedagogues in schools, as well as those between social science and pedagogical practice in general. Texts on concepts might be perceived as merely theoretical, abstract, and far too complex, and as a top-down mode of knowledge, aiming at imparting an "anthropological mindset" to teachers. Providing only definitions of concepts could further be perceived as knowledge which has little relevance for the pedagogical practitioner and her day-by-day struggles to get knowledge across while dealing with the (sometimes challenging) personal experiences of children and youth; societal challenges that are always present and therefore structure the classroom (e.g. racism, heterosexism, populism, etc.); as well as meeting her pedagogical aims/programs. In extreme cases, discussing certain concepts with students appeared as a threat to the teacher's image and role.

Sonja, a primary school teacher from Vienna (58 years old), was quite critical of the *Concept Book* and its application in the classroom: "Just when I look at the concept of identity that you have presented, I feel dizzy. Suddenly all students would be demanding special rights for themselves". Sonja fears that introducing the concept in class would result in endless questions about right and wrong and equality and inequality in the classroom. She was concerned that if teachers were mainly focused on discussing pupils' attitudes towards particular issues it would no longer be possible to teach in terms of communicating knowledge. Relating back to the discussion of the "educated teacher" in the previous section, Sonja's case clearly embodies a self-conception of primarily wanting to be a "teacher" in terms of "imparting" knowledge, rather than being a pedagogue who is more inclined to see her task as also engaging in fundamental debates on issues of concern for society and pupils

themselves. For the former, a resource such as the concept book might indeed represent more of a burden than a helpful pedagogical tool.

As we have learned through the project, there is even confusion regarding conceptual knowledge among those teachers who see themselves also as pedagogues and who welcome conceptual knowledge. This can be related to such different factors as: lack of time to engage substantially with theory and research; sidelining social science as not being practice relevant; strong politicization of particular concepts, etc. In that sense, a concepts book as part of an online knowledge platform and developed through a systematic exchange with educational practitioners seems to by and large have met the relevance criteria for (continuing) teacher education. Unsurprisingly, the essential questions turned out to be which concepts to choose and how to represent them – both in terms of categorizing and summarizing them so as to make them meaningful and applicable for pedagogical practitioners. As described above, in the joint work with teachers our attention was primarily directed not only towards deciding on which concepts to choose but also, even more importantly, how to represent and "translate" them in a meaningful way.

Apart from criticism and caution, at the same time the conversations with teachers showed that there was huge interest in and a need for different fields of practice among the teachers to draw on contemporary social science insights. Their reactions to the TRANSCA outputs underscored the expectation from practitioners, to speak with Thomas Hylland Eriksen, for anthropology to provide not "simple answers to complex questions, but what anthropology has to offer is merely more complexity" (Eriksen, 2006: 43–44). However, this "more of complexity" needs to resonate with the everyday life and different fields of societal practice (education, but also politics, social work, media, etc.).

The key aim of our *Concept Book*, namely to provide complex knowledge in a meaningful way, did not seem to be obvious to the teachers in the first moment. Commenting on the concept list, they concluded that it was long and consisted of many concepts that they themselves would never have come up with as relevant for their work. However, teachers interpreted the fact that they themselves would never have thought of some of the presented concepts not as a sign of inadequate and irrelevant knowledge, but rather as a strength of the TRANSCA website in particular, and educational anthropology in general. To our surprise, confronting teachers with something new was thus not experienced as a top-down "arrogant" social science stance adopted towards them, but rather as a welcome "intervention" to motivate them to think outside the box. Rahel, a 31-year-old teacher from primary school in Vienna, said in this regard:

> I wouldn't click first on 'diversity' or something else from the list that I have to deal with on a daily basis anyway. I would rather look at 'vulnerability' or 'the educated person' because I don't even know what to expect. That makes me curious.

Apart from mobilizing and making use of teachers' curiosity there are systematic similarities between anthropology and education which make the use of conceptualization a worthwhile joint and synergetic endeavor. Tim Ingold's (2018) take on anthropology as a form of education itself is one of the recent approaches which embodies and highlights these essential intersections of anthropology and education. Education, he contends "is not the transmission of authorised knowledge from one generation to the next but a way of attending to things, opening up paths of growth and discovery" (Ingold, 2018: I). Ingold makes an appeal for overcoming traditional educational practice by ceasing to assume that there is traditionally valid "authorised" knowledge that can be transferred from one generation to the next. This was exactly what the trained anthropologist teachers were aware of and interested in As David, a 33-year-old teacher from Lower Austria, pointed out:

> I mean, who defines what kind of knowledge is worth teaching? Who says that some scientific knowledge is true? Or should I just do what the curriculum tells me to do? Who determines what is worth me – and subsequently my students – dealing with?

A further important dimension of anthropological knowledge – and also a manifestation of the overlaps between anthropology and education – is that it represents knowledge on identification. Ultimately, world-views, rituals, and everyday practices are formed by modes of thought and knowledge(s) on categorizing the world, which represent a core aspect of anthropological knowledge. Since teachers are explicitly and implicitly also in a continuous process of identifying and categorizing – both phenomena they teach their students about as well as

their students – the concepts addressing categorization can be useful for self-critically engaging with this necessary, but tricky aspect of pedagogical work (Jewett & Schultz, 2011; Diamond, et al. 2004).

Also connected to the concern for categorization is the focus on relation(s). This is of direct relevance for educators, since their work consists by and large of getting knowledge across with/in relation(s) on a daily basis. In this sense, their work can be connected to the Strathernian view of the "anthropological relation" as a "duplex" in terms of being "simultaneously conceptual and interpersonal" (Edwards & *Petrović-Šteger*, 2011: 4). In other words, the process and practice of education – as well as anthropological fieldwork – consists of conceptual/knowledge-related conversations based on everyday relations.

Another crucial commonality between pedagogy and anthropology that we drew on while choosing and translating the concepts is the context of "the everyday". Both anthropological and pedagogical modes of knowledge production, communication, and transmission are based in the everyday context. While the anthropologist in the field is also in a way in the role of a pupil/apprentice learning and acquiring knowledge(s), educators have started employing ethnographic methods by entering more deeply into the everyday life of their students, as exemplified by the *Funds of Knowledge* approach (González, & Amanti 2005). Ewa, a 42-year-old teacher from Vienna, identified the *Funds of Knowledge* concept as particularly interesting. Before starting her job as a teacher, she worked as a social worker; she said*:*

> My colleagues should read through the concept. It is so helpful to know even a little bit about the children's lives outside of school. That immediately changes your perspective. Sure, it also makes the work more complex and giving grades simply on the basis of tests no longer makes sense.

Finally, a crucial concern of both anthropology and educational practice is the way humans make sense of the world and impact on it. The concept of "world-making" proved to be of special interest to teachers in the course of TRANSCA conversations, which is why this concept got represented not only as text. A whiteboard animation on world-making was designed together with a graphic design student. In this way a novel form of multimedia translation of anthropological knowledge into (teacher) education emerged and aroused much interest among the Austrian teachers interviewed. The concept of world-making (Geertz, 2016; Goodman, 1978; Pina-Cabral, 2017) was identified as an important one for educators because it refers to both the outcomes of everyday social interaction and also broader historical processes of social transformation.

> So I think it's done great in terms of content. It includes so many aspects of social interaction among people and explains exactly how diverse the world is and can be, now and in the past. (Mario).

The relevance of the whiteboard animation is also based on the simple fact that education and teaching is an essential part of world-making. It is precisely the teachers who are profoundly involved in world-making, because they shape, explain, and present a particular version of the world to younger generations. Teachers help their students understand and navigate through a world that neither created themselves. In doing so, they become part of this world and inevitably redesign it.

> Working out this view of our world with the children would also mean that they recognize for themselves that they have the power to act and that they can also use this to help shape something. (Mario).

However, some teachers interviewed expressed their fear that this video could have a negative impact on students and the role of the teacher. Unsurprisingly it was Sonja whose feedback on the whiteboard animation illustrated the problematic emic differentiation between schooling and pedagogy, only the latter of which implies an openness to self-reflection and transformation as a role model for students:

> The students are used to us as teachers telling them HOW THINGS ARE. What we teach is what they have to learn and know. When it comes to questioning knowledge, then we would have to completely question our teaching style as well. (Sonja).

Conclusion

The understanding of the teaching profession Sonja's statements illustrate is one that is in principle open to consulting anthropological knowledge; however, at the same time it is rather hesitant towards applying it in the classroom. The latter is first and foremost seen as a site of schooling in the sense of teaching clear-cut knowledge

via an authority-based teacher–student relationship. Even though this did not represent the majority view among the teachers we consulted, it indeed reflects an internal debate, or even division among teachers, which is of essential importance for envisioning and practicing synergies between anthropology and (teacher) education. Moreover, in our self-reflection on "being surprised" by the overwhelmingly positive reactions among teachers to the TRANSCA resources, we became aware of our implicit overstatement of teachers' negative attitudes towards anthropology in particular and social science in general. Here we see a learning opportunity for anthropologists. Namely the educational anthropological perspective not only should have the capacity to envision the "educated teacher" in terms of internal debates on schooling versus pedagogy. Furthermore, it should be able to accommodate critical and cautious perspectives among educators who indeed acknowledge the "translation" of anthropological knowledge into (teacher) education through specific modes of conceptualization and multimedia tools as meaningful, but who are also cautious with regard to if and how to implement these resources in the classroom.

Against precisely this background, it could make sense to encourage teachers trained in social and cultural anthropology, rather than anthropologists working at academic institutions, to take the leading role in teacher education. Their double competence – as trained anthropologists and pedagogues familiar with the delicate social and psychological space of the classroom – would clearly demonstrate that, rather than a top-down knowledge transmission from anthropology to teacher education, it is more a matter of pedagogues making critical use and "translations" of anthropological knowledge. This strategy not only has the potential to create human resources for long-term transdisciplinary cooperation and synergy, but also to take seriously the deep similarity and overlap between anthropology and education. Speaking with Ingold: "So long as anthropology and education remain on opposite sides of a division between the production of knowledge and its transmission, then in their effects they will forever cancel each other out" (2018: ix).

Notes

[i] Christa Markom conducted 14 semi-structured interviews with Austrian teachers (which have been anonymized in the text) and gathered data via 8 group discussions focusing on the content of the TRANSCA internet platform (www.transca.net) during in-service training and workshops. This paper also builds on insights during several informal conversations with teachers held after presentations of the TRANSCA project at various conferences between 2018 and 2020.
[ii] TRANSCA was conducted in cooperation with our project partners Ioannis Manos (University of Macedonia), Sally Anderson (Aarhus University), and Danijela Birt (University of Zadar) and their teams as well as with the Vienna College for Teacher Education, mainly Martina Sturm, herself an anthropologist by training working in the sphere of teacher education.
[iii] TRANSCA worked with relevant academic institutions from four countries (Croatia, Greece, and Denmark with Austria taking the lead) with expertise in teaching anthropology. In addition, the coordinator established cooperation with Colleges for Teacher Education (Vienna and Zadar) who provided feedback on the project's core intellectual outputs.
[iv] German, English, BCSM, Danish, and Greek.
[v] For a more detailed discussion on the school systems, teacher education, and anthropology in Austria, Switzerland, and Germany see Markom, Tosic, and Walser 2019.
[vi] More information is available at the website of the Federal Ministry of Austria – Education, Science and Research www.bmbwf.gv.at/Themen/schule/fpp/ph.html [downloaded on 11.18.2020].
[vii] A survey by the Ministry of Education shows that 87.4 percent of teachers in Austria are dissatisfied with their image: teachers are frustrated by reputation, salary, and a lack of cooperation with school psychologists. See www.bmbwf.gv.at/Themen/schule/bef/bec/archiv/sg_080331.html [downloaded on 11.12.2020]. Furthermore, the daily, weekly, and monthly newspapers in Austria regularly report on the bad image of teachers due to longer holidays and supposedly short working hours.
[viii] The professional knowledge, didactic action, and attitudes of teachers, along with a number of other factors, can explain differences in student performance of up to 30 percent (Künsting et al. 2009: 656).

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