Modules

Aims and goals

The aim of this project output is to provide examples of modules for introducing teachers to anthropological approaches and methods in the study of educational lifeworlds and practices. Our primary goal is to motivate teachers to explore their professional lives, endeavours and practice in new ways.

Working comparatively with ethnographic cases from different cultural contexts students will explore ways of thinking which make the strange familiar and the familiar strange. These ethnography-based didactic approaches are useful tools for understanding educational practices and their embeddedness in particular and changing cultural, socio-economic and political configurations. (Future) teachers can use these tools for reflecting on the significance, potential, challenges, and constraints of their profession.

Target group

In developing these modular seminars or workshops, we had in mind two main target groups. The first is teacher educators, ideally with a background in anthropology (cultural studies, sociology, ethnology, cultural geography). The second target group is pre- and in-service teachers taking the modules.

We see this resource as potentially useful for social workers, pre-school teachers, special pedagogues, nurses and other professionals working in other pedagogical settings etc.

Topics

We have chosen a set of topics along two criteria: one, to provide insight into core anthropological questions of importance for education; two, to highlight current issues of special concern for education in a globalizing world.

An example of the first, the topic of *worldmaking* focuses on how people imagine the world in which they live and how they fashion this world in the course of everyday life. An example of the second, *intersectionality*, addresses ongoing processes of categorization, discrimination and inequality in educational settings, as well as in society-at-large. Another example is *mobility*, which addresses current educational challenges related to geographical and social mobility.

Ethnographic approach

Ethnographic fieldwork is the primary methodology employed by anthropologists, even though many other disciplines also employ this method. Ethnography involves collecting data about a particular community of people by immersion in the daily life of that community for an extended period of time.

According to Vereed Amit, this notion of immersion assumes the existence of the field approached by the researchers as a standalone array of relationships and activities. Nevertheless, the ethnographic field does not remain latent until its discovery in a world massively interconnected.

On the contrary, the field has to be constructed isolating it from other potential forms of contextualisation of its constituents.

The ethnographer's field of study is not simply there; it has to be constructed, which entails strategic decisions concerning its limits. The researcher has to decide which places, phenomena and contacts are given attention, and which ones to ignore. The implicit assumptions of the researcher concerning the relevance and authenticity of the given phenomena also - often subconsciously – shape and hereby do their part in constructing the field.

Use

The material presented here was developed as a set of modular seminars or workshops, which may be combined or reassembled as teachers finds most useful according to their teaching aims and goals. Whereas the modules are translated, the full 6 ECTS curriculum is in English and may be translated as necessary. Both may be adapted for use in particular national and regional educational contexts.

One way of assembling these into a curriculum of 6 ECTS is to combine the following three modules of 2 ECTS each:

- Power structures within and outside of educational systems
- World making of diversified societies
- Sociality and relationality as educational factors

Module – CULTURAL PRODUCTION

Sally Anderson (DK)

1. Why teach this module?

As symbolic animals, humans invariably culture the world they inhabit. Cultural production refers to processes of reconstituting, transforming, or tinkering that 'produce new conditions, grounded in a particular time and space and factual in their consequences' (Varenne & Koyama 2011: 51).

This module addresses two examples of cultural production relevant to education. The first is the institutionalization of universal schooling, a culturing process that created local and global distinctions between 'educated' and 'uneducated' persons and between various kinds of 'educated persons'. The module draws on ethnographies of schooling in Nepal and the Amazon to reflect on ways of understanding what it means locally to be seen as 'educated' or 'schooled,' and how local versions of 'educated persons' are contested.

The second example addresses ongoing cultural processes of producing, maintaining, redrawing or transcending symbolic boundaries of, for example, neighbourhood, community, ethnicity, class, nation, or other. This example highlights the symbolic work people do to mark or blur their perceived differences. It explores how people mark boundaries with 'symbolic fences' that create categories of difference that come to matter in people's lives.

The module thus introduces to anthropological understandings of cultural production by focusing on how people make ideas of 'being educated' and 'being different' matter. It may be taught as one continuous module or as two separate modules.

2. Ethnographic Entry Points

Topic 1: Cultural production of the educated person

The first two texts in this set explore what constitutes 'educated persons' in vastly different contexts. (See educated person). Ethnographies of Ecuadorian forest people (Rival 1996) and squatters in Kathmandu (Valentin 2005) call attention to the intergenerational challenges of local cultural transmission and social coherence when 'modern schooling' becomes the only legitimate and recognized form of education. These ethnographies encourage students to reflect on modern schooling as one among many other forms of education, and to attend to national school history as well as the intergenerational production of 'educated persons' in their own families. Students may also explore societal perceptions of teachers as 'educated persons' and reflect on the status differences of primary, secondary and tertiary educators, or vocational, business and academic teachers.

Moving closer to home, Wolcott's detailed article on the 'sneaky kid' (2002) calls attention to the ongoing cultural production of 'inadequate schooling' that leads to 'inadequately educated youth' and school drop-outs. The article allows reflection on how particular notions of 'educated' afford (or constrain) social mobility, create social hierarchy, and attribute authority and legitimacy. The article

calls for reflection on what constitutes 'adequate schooling' and how we might transform systems of education to achieve adequate schooling for all.

Topic 2: Cultural production of symbolic boundaries

Drawing on ethnographic studies of how intergroup boundaries are culturally produced and wielded in actual situations, the first two articles in this set discuss the dynamics of ethnic boundary making. Arguing that not all intergroup distinctions are drawn along ethnic lines, *the first article* illustrates this through the shifting strategies, contestation and situatedness of boundary work on the Croatian peninsula of Istria. Here different histories of migration and settlement affect how people negotiate, shift or blur boundaries between 'other ethnic and 'co-ethnic' consociates, viewing for example other ethnics as fellow Istrians and co-ethnics as backward interlopers (Valenta and Gregurovic 2015). This work is useful for reflecting on how seemingly stable boundaries between ethnic groups shift with political, economic and demographic change, and on how distinctions based on education factor into both boundary marking (stigmatization) and boundary transcendence (acceptance).

The second article addresses schools as sites of constant boundary work in which categories of ethnicity and class are created and maintained, concealed or ignored, crossed or challenged. Discussing boundary work in a mixed-ethnic Israeli school with an ideology of ethnic integration, the authors contrast the *work teachers do* to neutralize ethnic boundaries and their political implications with the *work students do* to place their everyday experiences of interethnic tension squarely on the school's agenda in an attempt to narrow the gap between ideology and reality (Tabib-Calif and Lomsky-Feder 2014: 22).

The final article *defines cultural production* as the ongoing interpretive work people do that creates the ground on which certain behaviours stand out in ways that are consistently and institutionally consequential. McDermott et al. (2006) posit that mainstream educational politics and the compulsive competitiveness of American education make American schools well organized to create hierarchy out of differences. They are also well organized to mix and match learning disabilities (LD) with minority status as American educators draw on a dual classification system that produces *kinds of persons* along ethnic, racial and linguistic lines and in relation to supposed mental abilities. An important point is that the *cultural production of children with LD* is embedded in the concerted activities of professionals – doctors, lawyers, psychologists, educators – and parents, who are all engaged in looking for and producing evidence of LD in educational settings designed to make symptoms of LD visible – particularly among minority students (McDermott et al. 2006: 12-13).

3. Ways of understanding

Classical anthropology's interest in questions of cultural continuity and social cohesion led to studies of cultural transmission, enculturation, and acquisition that looked at how people pass on beliefs, language, customs, knowledge, values and worldviews from one generation to the next. It also led to studies of *social reproduction*, of how people maintain social structures, group continuity, and systems of stratification grounded in age, gender and social privilege. Both approaches can be found in ethnographic studies of childhood education and schooling. While some have engaged in detailed studies of core processes of cultural transmission, acquisition and learning, others have drawn on critically theories of social reproduction to study how educational systems reproduce class structures and perpetuate systemic cultural dominance and social inequality (cf. Levinson and Holland 1996).

The use of ethnographic methods forced the hand of scholars to move beyond deterministic theories of social reproduction. Rigorous ethnography had to reliably demonstrate how cultural forms play

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out in educational settings where they are negotiated and contested by teachers and children alike. It also had to reliably demonstrate how children take on social hierarchies, how they appropriate, enact and negotiate privilege and inequality in everyday life.

Through this, anthropologists have come to understand culture as a process, as continually produced, even when seemingly 'reproduced'. This replaces understandings of culture as a static and unchanging body of knowledge 'transmitted' between generations. Emphasizing culture as a continual process of meaning-making in social and material contexts, cultural production allows us to explore, portray and interpret how "people actively confront the ideological and material conditions of their life in schools and beyond"(Levinson and Holland 1996: 13-15). It addresses the processes through which social actors actively and jointly produce cultural and social forms in particular times and places. From this perspective, both continuity and change are achievements, the outcome of the joint work or concerted action of all involved. This approach requires fine-grained and nuanced studies of the processes through which children as social actors gain knowledge of privilege and hierarchy and a sense of where and when to wield, resist or submit to it. Studies using this approach look closely at how children come to understand and discern racial, gender or ethnic differences and gain knowledge of which forms of boundary work are acceptable in particular situations.

The study of cultural production, of how people culture the world is open-ended in the sense that outcomes of this production are not predetermined; rather they remain to be found out. This approach allows for agency, contestation, situational complexity and serendipity without losing sight of the fact that humans are born into worlds-not-of-their-own-making, that human agency is always constrained by past arrangements, even as it always and inevitably makes the world anew.

4. Suggested Exercises

Preparation:

- Read the ethnographic articles carefully and familiarize yourselves with the *key concepts and arguments* and the *ethnographic* examples. Prepare for in-class discussion of these texts and how they are useful for thinking about educational concerns, issues and realities in your own country or local region.

Group work:

- **Educated person:** Divide the class into two or more groups:
  - *Group one:* Facilitate a discussion of the different ways in which you and/or people you know are seen as 'educated' (or not). Relate this to questions of status, authority and your own decision to become a teacher.
    - What does being seen as 'educated' imply for a person's access to particular jobs, goods, esteem and membership (or not) in the present situation?
    - Which kinds of knowledge, skill and behaviour comprise being 'highly' or 'adequately' educated in different settings and contexts?
    - Which forms of authority and legitimacy does 'being educated' bestow?
  - *Group two:* Search online for public debates on education in different countries/regions. Discuss understandings of 'the educated person' found in these debates and how they are contested.
- **Symbolic boundaries:** Divide the class into three or more groups:

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- o *Group one:* Drawing on Gullestad's concept of *Invisible fences* (1986), discuss how 'imagined sameness' (equality conceived as sameness) plays into the way people draw ethnic (or other) boundaries around national identity in your country.

- o *Group two:* Based on the following quote: *the unintended consequence of a particular set of ideas may be the erection of 'invisible fences', even though the original, or conscious, motivation was precisely to eliminate them* (Gullestad 1986: 55)

  - ▪ Discuss one/two of the most important 'invisible fences' that operate in your school – despite efforts and policies to eliminate them.

  - ▪ How do these invisible fences work? Are they grounded in differences of age, gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, seniority, subject matter, politics, or other? What keeps them in place?

- o *Group three:* Using Barth and Gullestad as backdrops for your discussion:

  - ▪ Search online for a public debate about immigration. Carefully note the *categories* and *metaphors* (*dregs, invaders, decent folks*) people use to express their opinions about *kinds* of others.

  - ▪ Discuss the cultural *boundary work* people are doing by using these particular categories and metaphors in public debates. What kinds of boundaries are they trying to erect, maintain or transcend?

5. Learning Prospects

- Teachers will reflect on how they 'produce culture' in teaching and in everyday school life.
- Teachers will reflect on the systems of classification they draw on to interpret children's behaviour and learning and how their use of particular categories *cultures* the world.
- Teachers will reflect on themselves as 'educated persons,' how this positions them in local and global educational hierarchies and how these hierarchies are produced and maintained.
- Teacher will reflect on links between mainstream ideas of 'the educated person', pedagogical ideology, national curriculum, and understandings of the 'the adequately educated child.'
- Teachers will explore how particular versions of 'the educated person' are locally negotiated and contested.
- Teachers will explore the notion of 'boundary work' and reflect on kinds of boundary they mark in the local school setting.
- Teachers will reflect on the cultural production of ethnic (and other) boundaries in school settings and how they are marked, negotiated and blurred and who does what and how?

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Module – Inhabiting the World

Georgia Sarikoudi (GRE)

1. Why teach this module?

People tend to view space as an abstract dimension in which human activities take place; however, it is actively involved in human actions and relationships. Especially in children's lives and school experiences, space matters. The school space, in particular, is an essential factor in the learning process which defines social interaction and relations into schooling experience. The term "space" refers not only to physical space (classroom, yard, the road to school) but also to the social area where multiple behaviours, identities, cultural backgrounds and power dynamics are unfolded.

The module aims at explaining how social anthropology through its methodological tools, fieldwork and ethnographic writing, may contribute in critically understanding issues such as the role of space in the interaction of children with culturally diverse backgrounds and identities. This module will give teachers the chance to see space, especially the space of a school, as a field of expression and interaction (e.g. How do children use school space to express identities, preferences, conflicts?)

2. Ethnographic Entry Points

According to Soja (1989) the term "spatial turn" describes the growing academic interest in the category of space in social sciences. Disciplines related to education pay significant attention to the concept of space. Burke & Grosvenor (2008) discuss the transformation of schools and examine the traditional and innovative (e.g. open-air) school/classroom designs with reference to cross-cultural "ideas about childhood, education and community" (p. 12). Ethnographic studies focus on space(s) as an effect of action in primary school (Adler & Adler 2003). The Adlers explore some of the patterns that children develop in this social space, noting the gendered cultural differences, their socialization, the dynamics and social stratification that are developed in after-class activities. Þrastardóttir (et. al.) (2019) published ethnographic research among 8th and 9th graders at one public school in Iceland focusing on how students make use of different spaces in one compulsory school and how activities in these spaces produce ideas about gender. The school environment favours dividing practices between boys and girls. The gender division is maintained through practices that support particular forms of masculinity with an emphasis on athletic embodiment and sports knowledge and it also affects power relations in the classroom.

Some studies pay attention to the space that children pass on their way to school. Morojele and Muthukrishna (2012) provide insights into the meaning of the school journey and how children (re)define the various places and spaces and the social interactions embedded in this journey in the rural area of Lesotho in South Africa.

3. Ways of understanding

To understand space and its interaction with school, we need to have in mind some basic anthropological concepts.

"Funds of knowledge" (Moll, 2010)- is the cultural knowledge that children (especially those with migrant background) carry with them. Teachers should be aware of students' cultural experiences to help them in their social interactions at school as well as with their class performance.

Othering (San Martín 2017)- the condition of "othering" is the labeling of a person or a group as someone who belongs to a socially subordinate category than the "self". Migrant populations are usually subjected to inclusionary or exclusionary procedures based on cultural features. Educators need to be able to act as cultural intermediaries and offer opportunities to students with a different cultural background, and a sense of inclusion and belonging.

Migration- During late-20th-century, global economic changes, migratory and cultural flows, and transfer of products and ideas, have challenged assumptions about the firmness of concepts such as space and inhabitation. What are the meanings of space at a time when continuous streams of people, information, ideas, and goods transcend national boundaries and are no longer linked to a single place of origin? In a post-colonial era, locals and immigrants design and recreate their lives in many places. The same year, Liisa Malkki (1997) criticized the idea of a "rooted" society or culture in a particular territory that dominated anthropological studies of culture and space as well as popular discourse. The concept of a society or culture "rooted" in a given territory. Teachers and educators should have in mind this understanding of globalization and of the constant movement of people that create multiethnic and multicultural classrooms.

Mobility, migration, and displacement make space to be considered in more complex ways than merely adapting to the physical environment. Schools across the world have an increasing number of students with a migrant background, and it becomes the place where various cultures and identities are met. Teachers need to get trained to be able to help students adjust to this new environment, express their ideas, and interact socially with their classmates and teachers.

4. Suggested Exercises

The module will be divided into two parts, and it will last for two weeks and 8 hours in total. In the first 4 hours, students will get familiar with some basic anthropological concepts (space, mobility, funds of knowledge) and with ethnographic examples about space meanings and practices in schools. In the second part, teachers will be asked to organize small projects into their classes. They can agree with their students to rearrange desks every week, and then students will note if/how this change affects their interactions with their classmates and with their teachers. This is a task for teachers in primary school classes. Another project that teachers could carry out is to walk with some of their students from school to their homes. They can ask them to describe during this walk their essential places and spaces (parks, gyms, coffee shops, bookstores, churches, ets) where they feel more comfortable (and why) to express their identities (cultural, sexual) and form social relationships. This project concerns teachers and students in high schools.

5. Learning Prospects
- Participants will become familiar with basic anthropological concepts about space, place, and their connection with education and schooling.
- Participants understand how school space defines social interaction and relations.
- Participants get the opportunity to design research projects and learn how vital is space inside and out of class for the development of student's identities and their social interactions.

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Module – Intersectionality

Christa Markom / Jelena Tosic / Martina Sturm / Paul Sperneac-Wolfer (AUT)

1. Why teach this module?

Identities are complex. In school, as elsewhere, the most diverse horizons of experience and life stories come together. In the spirit of an inclusive practice of teaching, it is the responsibility of a teacher - in schools and elsewhere - to get to know the different life circumstances and experiences of learners and to deal with them sensitively. In academia, the last thirty years produced a huge body of literature tackling these questions through the paradigm of *intersectionality*. In this respect, this approach needs to be included when examining one's own as well as other´s specific experiences. What this means and what role it can play in teaching situations is outlined in the following.

2. Ethnographic Entry Points

According to a definition that summarizes the different approaches around the term, intersectionality can be understood as: "Intersectionality is a way of understanding and analyzing the complexity in the world, in people, and in human experiences. The events and conditions of social and political life and the self ... are generally shaped by many factors in diverse and mutually influencing ways. When it comes to social inequality, people's lives and the organization of power in a given society are better understood as being shaped not by a single axis of social division, be it race or gender or class, but by many axes that work together and influence each other" (Collins & Bilge 2016: 2).

In everyday life, we use a variety of categories, so-called axes here - be it gender, origin, physical impairments or class - by which affiliations are defined and which often lead to discrimination. A prominent representative of the term, the American jurist Kimberlé Crenshaw, describes intersectionality by using the metaphor of a road junction. If we see discrimination as a traffic accident, it is often the case that the accident was not only caused from one direction, but that several axes played a role here. People are affected by very different experiences of discrimination, for example, a white heterosexual man will perceive his social environment differently than a woman in a wheelchair. To understand different experiences means to be sensitive to differing and intersecting perspectives.

Consequently, and with another apt metaphor, Lisa Anderson-Levy describes in an interview the main challenge within this approach as analytically juggling to "keep the balls in the air at the same time"[1] (2018) in order to do justice to the complexity of the experienced reality for many humans.

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[1] See: https://culanth.org/fieldsights/teaching-race-with-lisa-anderson-levy-intersectionality-paradigm-shifts-and-the-ubiquity-of-whiteness .

3. Ways of understanding

We begin with a brief sketch of the historical precursors of the intersectionality paradigm (Frances Beal 1969, Combahee River Collective 1977), and then move on to the work of Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989), an early protagonist around the intersectionality approach. What does her work add? We then examine: Sabine Strasser's research on multiple identities and affiliations in the context of migration and gender (2008); constructions of minority and majority groups and tensions within minority groups (Eisenberg & Spinner-Halev 2005); and the complexity of belonging and intersectionality in a globalizing world (Yuval-Davis 2006, 2011). This will form the basis to prepare participants for the methodological exercise? Further described below.

Approaches to intersectionality are useful for discussing and understanding:

- The situatedness and relativity of positioning: For example, a person or group can simultaneously take on a hegemonic position as a white person with good income from a rich industrial country and at the same time, a minority position as a lesbian woman with marginalized status in an academic environment).
- How culturalisation of gender or social class may lead to contradicting subject positions. For example, a child facing challenges challenges in school, due to his/her social background or to mainstream gender attribution may experience that people (mis)interpret these as originating in cultural differences.

4. Suggested Exercises

In intersectional education projects with young people or adults, the starting point is often an autobiographical investigation to encourage reflection on different forms of power and discrimination. The realities of life as well as the needs and interests of the participants serve as a basis for self-observation. In this way, intersectional approaches in education enable critical reflection on processes of identity and belonging, on how individuals navigate the social constraints and possibilities of self-identification within existing power configurations.

We begin with an examination of the participants' own biographies as a reflective exercise to uncover the forms of power structures and discrimination that can be experienced. This is followed by peer-group interviews with other participants, which consider the relative positions of interviewer and respondent in the interview process. The last exercise (if time and conditions allow) involves conducting interviews with other students or their family members. We practice the analysis of narrative-based biographical interviews by identifying and describing social categories and examining the processes that produced them. Our aim is to create critical awareness of the power and overlapping of social categories and to highlight the complexity of the social arenas in which people must move around in the every-day lives.

The narrative-based biographical interview has proven to be a useful method to grasp these processes and individual positions. Starting with a generative question to stimulate the narrative, the interview proceeds with a narrative exploration to "complete" and dive deeper into the narrative by focusing on especially important or unclear segments (*immanent inquiry*). The final phase of the interview aims to balance the narrative by asking further questions about the causes or reasons for

particular events or by exploring the respondent's general or specific view of selected issues (*exmanent inquiry*). It is essential that the narrative is not interrupted by questions, directional interventions or evaluations. To practice of actively listening is central to this. Exploring life stories, life stages or specific life themes with the interviewees makes it possible to recognize processes of identity formation and development in connection with biographical experiences and to interpret or analyze these as an expression of individual intersectional positions. The biographical approach allows for reconstructing personal processes of change and transformation over the life span.

5. Learning Prospects

- Participants are introduced to the basics of the intersectional approach and other (anthropological) theories regarding classification and categorization to utilize them in their educational setting
- Participants are familiarized with the basics of narrative approaches, including life story interviews and other qualitative research methods to sensitize themselves towards the interrelation between personal biographies and societal influences
- Participants are able to analyze and reflect on their own and others' life stories with regard to different forms of power and discrimination
- Participants are able to reflect on the way power relations affect pedagogical institutions and practices and their own role in potentially generating, perpetuating or attenuating social inequalities as educators

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Module – Life Course

Georgia Sarikoudi (GRE)

1. Why teach this module?

Life course is a multilayered process of individual and collective behavior related with beliefs, institutionalized practices and symbolism. Many phases and transitory moments in the course of life (childhood, schooling, adulthood, marriage, work integration etc.) are experienced and attested through the performance of rituals, social practices of collective character and importance, with repetitive actions and fixed meanings. The schooling period is an important stage of life for children's development and social integration. Various transitions in physical or social domains coexist with liminal "thresholds" (McLauren, 1993) and constructed boundaries between localities, temporalities, identities and social structures (barriers between the outside environment and the school building, corridors between classrooms, breaks between classes, relationships between friends and students, or students and teaching personnel). Transition rituals legitimize social categorizations, constitute social positions and roles, delineate spaces and regulate behavior.

This module concerns both teachers and students. It demonstrates the significance of rituals in the school's daily life and provides an understanding of the complex systems of ritual performances within the school community. Through the use of ethnographic examples and activities, the course introduces ways of reflecting on teacher-student interaction within educational institutions and practices. How does a child experience the procedure of leaving home and entering to school community? What is the role of teacher in this transition? These are some questions that this module will address.

2. Ethnographic Entry Points

The existing literature on ritual and schooling (McLaren 1987, 1993; Bernstein et alia 1966) focuses on issues of maintaining control and order, and the transmission and embodiment of school rules. According to McLaren's ethnography on a Catholic junior high school, a school is a rich repository of rituals that initiates students into the school community, instructs them in school values, strengthens their desire to learn and welcomes them as members the student body.

McLaren offered a variety of ritualized practices in the school life. The micro rituals are activities that take place every day (morning prayer, prayer before lunch). The macro rituals are the total amount of lessons in a single school day. The revitalization rituals "function to inject a renewal of commitment in the participants". The intensification rituals unify students or teachers, or both within the classroom. And, finally, the rituals of resistance, part of the subculture of the urban, immigrant Portuguese adolescents that include the conscious or unconscious efforts that students make to subvert school rules, and norms. McLaren reveals how students move in and out of the "school state" transitioning through the "streetcorner state"—a liminal place, betwixt and between according to Turner terms (1969). For McLaren, rituals it's not only a tecnique that improves learning and bonds the

school community, but also "uncovering mechanisms that reveal political enforcement to a status quo that advantages some to the disadvantage of others" (Quantz, O' Connor and Magolda 2011: 18).

Ghaye and Pascal (1988) propose some activities (the purchasing of the school uniform and a welcoming speech by the head of the school) that could facilitate the transition from home to school for the first graders and their parents. In the same vein, Patricia Scully and Jacqueline Howell (2008) analyze the "I Love You Dinner" that a preschool classroom holds every year to promote the bonding among teachers, students, and parents. The purposes of these rituals are to help children enter their new community, that is school, and create a bond between them, their parents and school teachers.

3. Ways of understanding

Ritual is a certain pattern of behaviour with symbolic meaning for participants. Victor Turner (1969) sees rituals as a method of social control. Turner argued that rites of passage are antithetical to the existing social structure. He spoke of "anti structure", a state which exists when people cross over the threshold and enter into a "liminal" situation, where they find themselves in between two stages. During this period, people may experience a phenomenon that Turner named "communitas". As he observed, when adolescent Ndembu males [the African people he studied] underwent ritual initiation into manhood, they developed a special communitarian bond while they were separated from the other members of the community. McLaren has been influenced by Turner when he described all the antistructure activities that can challenge school order and rules.

Rites of passage. The term was introduced by Van Gennep (1960 [1909]). It described ceremonies that signify a significant transition from one social status to another. This transition consists of three stages: separation, transition, and incorporation. In the first phase, the individual has left the group he/she belonged; in the third stage, he/she reenters the society, having completed the ritual. The intermediate stage is the liminal period, during which people have left one state but have not yet entered or joined the next.

Body, Embodiment (Turner). The body plays a crucial role during the ritual. It experiences all the changes and the stages of transition. Situated in the educational context, embodiment is a way of conceptualizing personhood. It addresses the ways the embodied self is performed in social interactions, discursive practices, power struggles, discriminatory behavior and identification and categorization processes. Neill and Caswell (1993) have argued that teachers should be trained in order to recognise and interpret body language messages (gestures, facial expressions, tone of voice) from pupils.

School represents the separation phase in the rite of passage, where children leave their homes and families and enter a new world, the school world. At this level, children learn to listen to non kin, stranger adults, respect and obey school rules. The everyday practices and activities in the classroom reflect an organization routine embodying and transmitting the culture of the classroom.

Approaches to life course are useful for discussing and understanding:

- The importance of daily rituals in the classroom. They are not only reminders of the appropriate behaviour in class rules; they help students center their thinking and learning.
- Teachers should try not to use too many rituals during course. There is a possibility that students will get bored and disobey the teacher.

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4. Suggested Exercises

The module will be divided in two parts. In this proposed version, it is designed to last for 8 hours. In the first part, that will last for 3 hours, participants will get familiar with key anthropological concepts (ritual, rite of passage, embodiment) and ethnographic examples about rituals and ritualized behavior in school settings. The second part will be devided in two sections of 3 and 2 hours respectively. In the first part, participants will be asked to reflect on the kinds of rituals and ritualized behavior they have observed or experienced in the school life. Are there any similarities or differences between the ethnographic examples they read and their experiences? Have they recognized the three stages of van Geenep's rites of passage? Then, they will be asked to discuss examples of such behavior they have noticed and of the ways they have or could have reacted. Have they noticed any kind of *communitas* bonding between students? Are they (the teachers) behave with a ritualized way during lesson? How these rituals help students cope with their daily life in school/ in class? During the last stage, they can discus and propose some ritualized routines that could follow during their classes.

Here we can give some examples of ritualized daily routines that teacher may have noticed. Teachers may attend how children treat the door as a threshold that separates classroom from the other school spaces. Are there any patters? Do all children behave in the same way when they enter the class? Are there any children going in and out over the threshold? Is there any ritualized activity/movement expressing that the door is the border area of the classroom and someone needs permission for access? Are there elements of *communitas* inside the classroom or outside, in the corridor, in the yard? How is it expressed? Are there any other ritualized arrival activities (students say good morning to the teacher altogether while he enters the door),

Another ritualized behavior could be every time a new student comes to the classroom. Is there a specific greeting, gesture or talk that children say or do to the new classmate? The design of a pattern of procedures that would convey the welcoming message could be helpful.

5. Learning Prospects
- Participants are familiarized with basic anthropological concepts about life stages transitions
- Participants understand the interaction of rituals and society and the role that they play in school
- Participants reflect on the ritualized behaviors that take place in their classes and their own role in these rituals

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Module – Mobility

Danijela Birt Katić / Jelena Kuspjak (CRO)

1. Why teach this module?

Human mobility is a phenomenon that is related to all important historical processes. All over the world, people travel in search of better living conditions, better educational opportunities, or just for a change in themselves. In the context of a classroom or a schoolyard, you have probably encountered with a student who came to your class after his or her family moved out of their homes, forced to do so because of a conflict or a climate change, or you have admitted a student who came for a student exchange program, or perhaps you personally participated in one of the EU mobility programmes. What can you do to make it easier for a new student to adapt to the new setting and how can you prepare yourself for participating in the Erasmus+ mobility programme? Mobility, as a global phenomenon, is taking different forms and getting more attention in the context of education. Participants taking this module will gain anthropological insight into the complexities of the phenomenon of human mobility, no matter what shape it takes. The module is structured to help and stimulate discussions of different applications of the concept of mobility in educational settings, as well as to help teachers balance complexities, which are affected by the different ways' mobility occurs in the educational context, in their teaching process.

2. Ethnographic Entry Points

Movement from one school to another for pupils can be an activity that they experience in their schooling process. The data from USA, show that in the period from 1998 to 2007, there was up to 31% of children who changed their school once (Fiel, Haskins, Turley 2015). If we go to our local context, we can find examples where children for various reasons change schools. This kind of mobility of pupils, affects their schooling period as well as the work of teachers and others who are a part of the education process. In the effort to help pupils deal with issues caused by movement from one school to another, professors can find their role by implementing different mechanism in their teaching.

In the field of educational anthropology, the concept of mobility was discussed in the relation to migration, with the focus on issues of social inequality of migrants children, addressing the role of the schools in incorporating immigrants into the receiving society. Little or no attention was given to lives of migrants prior their migration as well as their mobility practice (Olwig, Valentin 2015).

In her study of migration from Nepal to India, Karen Valentin discusses the diverse meanings "ascribed to education in processes of physical mobility". It is to her understanding that by migrating from one location to another, people, in this case young men from Nepal decide to migrate to India as part of their educational strategies. Rao and Hossain (2012), show that migration is a learning process, a process that gives the migrant an opportunity to adapt to new learning environment. The migration process gives an individual the opportunity to attain "new forms of knowledge and skills" recognizing that social and geographical space of migration is a learning environment in itself (Valentin 2012).

3. Ways of understanding

The anthropological study of mobility is inherently comparative. The characterizing feature of mobility is that is multilayered and complex, incorporating cultural, social, economic, and religious dimensions. New forms of movement and the complex realities facing people on the move today are juxtaposed with previous movement patterns, and patterns of movement in Africa are compared with those of Europe or Asia. Among key issues are the social aspirations of individuals and families and the many structural challenges that frame current global forms of movement (and immovability). In this regard ethnographic studies of that focus on different types of human movement - from nomadism, war,

migration, asylum seeking, pilgrimage, tourism, travel (business, student and cosmopolitan) to every-day commuting and virtual travel can be of sort of help.

Human mobility is enabled and restricted by different circumstances. Wars, colonialism, natural catastrophes, climate change, political and economic expansion and deroute stand out as the primary generators of human mobility. Present processes of globalization have intensified the movement of people, goods, ideas, pathogens, and capital, and changed the world as we have known it. The term mobility, according to Salazar (2017) refers to the *fluid, continuous movement of people, ideas, and goods through and across space* is an interdisciplinary concept that includes both spatial, temporal, and social movement and incorporates different imaginaries and experiences.

Mobility and related concepts of routes and rootedness, social anchoring and belonging, integration and marginalization are prominent topics in social and humanistic research today. Anthropologists study belonging among those who move and those who stay in place to understand connections between a person's sense of belonging to a place and the degree to which they feel settled or social anchored, and social included in this place. Disconnecting from one place and connecting to another place involves complex emotional processes for individuals, families, and communities as a whole. New insecurities emerge from mobility regarding new forms of diversity, inequality, lack of a feeling of rootedness. The module will focus on understanding mobility in all its dimensions, by exploring the lived experience of individuals as well as the structural arrangements of institutions affected by mobility.

Core anthropological questions include in which social and cultural contexts does mobility takes place, what opportunities and challenges does mobility pose to individuals, families, and to sending and receiving states and regions (Brettell 2003, 2016, Sheller and Urry 2006, Glick Schiller, Basch, Blanc-Szanton 1992.; Povrzanović Frykamn 2004, Malkki 1992). While people are forced to move due to the displacements of war, they may also be immobilized, detained in camps, or not allowed to cross borders. These processes are affected by differential power distributions and the dominance of groups that are able to define and shape mobilities.

Approaches to mobility are useful for discussing and understanding:
- the role of education in the interrelated processes of geographical and social mobility: as Olwig and Valentin (2015) wrote, migration for educational purposes again is a mass phenomenon. Ever since the 17th century and Grand Tour travels which were the normative for the upper class, in the last decade, traveling for educational purposes has become a global phenomenon. Today it is associated with the possibilities offered by various educational, professional and cultural exchange programs. The phenomenon is referred to as "educational migration"
- role of education in producing social mobility: education can facilitate upward social mobility but it can also reproduces existing inequalities, apart from creating new ones (see more in Olwig, Sørensen 2002) discussing the notion of "mobile livelihoods".

4. Suggested Exercises

Participants in this module will work with mobile ethnography, a method that involves traveling with people or following things, participating in their continual shift through time, place, and relationships with others (Urry 2007). Movement, that is, the phenomenon of mobility is thus both an object and method of study. It is possible to develop others exercises based on the ideas of the ones suggested:

1. **Mapping of the space and place –** This exercise draws on sensory ethnography (Pink 2009), which considers the interconnectedness of the mind and body and the materiality and sensorially of movement. The exercise involves mapping specific route/s of significance for educational settings. These may include everyday routes to and from school, school trips and excursions or other forms of movement, such as children's paths on the playground. The map will be based on ethnographic data on how people move, where they go or don't go, including

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photographs, videos, essays or blogs. The map may also include emotional or sensory information. The finished maps be presented and discussed in class. This exercise may be developed for working with children – to generate awareness of the way they move through neighborhoods or other environments.

2. **Routes and Rootedness -** To move, to uproot oneself, to be mobile is as basic a human activity as putting down roots (Rabo 2017). In this exercise, participants will conduct interviews and carry out participant observation– 'walk and talk'? – to collect information on their respondents' memories of travel routes and cultural roots. This short research exercise will generate narratives of mobility and rootedness, to explore what it means to people to move along routes and to be rooted.

5. Learning Prospects

- Participants are introduced to the basics of the mobility and other (anthropological) theories regarding mobility and its related phenomenon's and who they are implemented in the educational setting
- Participants are familiarized with the mobility as material, technological, emotional, and embodied forms of movement
- Participants are able to name and define different forms and types of mobility and immobility as well as some specific concepts as stuckness, existential mobility
- Participants are able to understand and reflect related concepts such as rootedness, motility, connectivity, transnationalism, stuckness and provide ethnographic examples.

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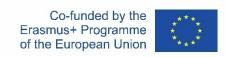
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Module – Power Relations

Christa Markom / Jelena Tosic / Martina Sturm / Paul Sperneac-Wolfer (AUT)

Why teach this module?

If one looks at the institution of the school in terms of power structures, teachers appear as having a double role: On the one hand, they are involved in hierarchical structures – (e.g. the headmaster, school board or the national curriculum). On the other hand, they play the dominant role in teacher-pupil relationships which they have to manage in a sensitive pedagogic way. This double role implies the necessity to navigate both sides of the everyday school life. The following module aims to introduce basic anthropological texts on education, power and (in)equality in the context of educational systems in order to equip the students to better understand this double role and to be able to manage it more consciously. The aim is to develop a critical, self-reflective view of the educational system and one's own role within the system by acquiring, consolidating and discussing knowledge based on seminal anthropological findings.

Ethnographic Entry Points

The forms power structures can take in everyday school life have been richly documented ethnographically: In a special issue of the scientific journal Power and Education, researchers show in six different contexts how social processes such as increasing privatisation or the focus on marketability for the main groups in the primary school sector have a considerable negative influence on the experience of school (Hall & Pulsford 2019). How in the American context the creation of so-called "third spaces" can reduce power asymmetries between teachers and students without teachers losing their authority (Coleman 2020). The close intertwinement of language and power structures becomes visible in a private multilingual school in Cyprus, where students strategically switch between different languages in different situations (Christodoulou & Ioannidou 2020). Social power structures can often be reproduced by institutional discrimination, as documented for Peruvian students in Spain. There, a public discourse about deficits and a stereotype about "the Peruvian" was internalized by the students and led to a rapidly decrease of school performance within the first year after arrival (Lucko 2011).

Ways of understanding

These are just a few examples of the many forms of power structures in everyday school life. At the same time, theoretical approaches are needed that describe the connection between power and education. According to Bourdieu and Passeron (1996), educational inequality is rooted in differences between majority and minority groups in terms of access to different types of schools, opportunities for advancement to higher education, and the academic goals that can be achieved. Educational inequality generally means that school prospects for children from the majority and minority groups are unequal (Bourdieu/Passeron 1996: 158). In this sense, the term minority refers to a structural disadvantage of the respective groups, which is based, among other things, on the

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choice of the type of knowledge to be taught in schools. According to Bourdieu and Passeron, by defining certain concepts of achievement, schools focus on certain groups that are considered essential to society. These are the socially best positioned groups in terms of most power resources. This orientation of instruction towards the majority society, for example with regard to the language of instruction or the type of knowledge, can result in various challenges for minority groups (see Bourdieu / Passeron 1996: 160ff; Witherspoon 2015: 84).

Furthermore, the French theorist Michel Foucault has done much work on the relationship between knowledge and power. According to Foucault, it is possible to analyze how education functions in concrete historical configurations, in terms of the actual processes, techniques and effects that come into play when certain individuals teach or receive certain knowledge (Ball 2013).

Approaches to power relations are useful for discussing and understanding:

- The many actors involved in the educational process (teachers, students, administration, educational system, parents, etc.) and to question their powerful and powerless positions.

Suggested Exercises

In this module, participants will be asked to explore their surroundings and see where they can find which kind of power dynamic in the streets and public spaces. To whom, how much and why is space given? Who designs public spaces and for whom are they designed? Which types of transport are promoted and which are merely tolerated etc.?

After this first part of the observation, the participants shift their focus to education and start looking for indicators of power structures in schools, universities, teacher-training colleges and other public institutions. Participants are expected to raise questions on issues such as the degree of accessibility of certain places within the school building for teachers, students and headmasters; the hierarchies in places such as the schoolyard; the buffet or the teachers' room, the place and manner of power shifts, or the degree of freedom to act in a certain way; and whether this is acceptable depending on the place, time and context. It is crucial that participants observe the power relations not only between certain groups in the educational institutions, but also within the groups. Which children have the most power in the class? What is this power based on and what does it allow? Are all school children allowed to speak in their mother tongue? Do newly hired teachers have the same privileges as those who have worked in the institution for years?

Learning Prospects
- participants are familiarized with fundamental texts on education and power and educational (in)equality
- participants have developed a critical, self-reflexive view on the educational system as well as their role within it
- participants are familiarized with the basics of participant observation and other ethnographic research methods to utilize them in their own educational setting
- participants are able to deconstruct their own privileges and their perception of the world as an objective reality as well as on the hegemonic structures in formal and informal educational settings

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Module – Relations

Jelena Kupsjak / Danijela Birt (CRO)

1. Why teach this module?

Relations are fundamental to sociality and their complexity and distinction is a testament to the different ways humans engage with other people and things. Everything happens in a relation and as teachers we have the responsibility to notice different qualities of relations in educational settings and how they affect the learning process both for our students, for ourselves and educational institutions: interpersonal relations and institutional relations, power relations, kinship, race relations, gender relations and class relations to name a few.

2. Ethnographic Entry Points

It is no surprise then that the scholarly work that focuses on relations is wide ranging, fragmented, dispersed and at times elusive. However, when we look toward educational practices, we can notice the most prominent aspects to focuses on are the ways in which educational practices reproduce unequal power relations be it gender relations, class relations or race relations (MacDonald, 1981). On the other hand, focus can also shift to ways some particular forms of relations like for example race relations, gender and class relations or kinship affect and influence the life worlds of students you teach and ways they affect their learning experience.
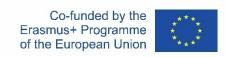
Ethnographic approaches contained in this module inherit the usual connotations of ethnographic work: attention to detail, exploration of social phenomena, and search for meaning. They also shift focus towards a specific theoretical area, namely feminist standpoint theory (Harding, 2011) and the concept of situated knowledge. Situated knowledge demands that we acknowledge our objects of knowledge as actors and agents, as well as to see our own production of knowledge as constantly embodied and partial (Haraway, 1988).

3. Ways of understanding

As Marilyn Strathern (2018) points, there is no specific or singular definition of the term relations, anthropological, or otherwise. However, relations are a privileged site of anthropological inquiry. Often taken for granted as a prime object of study. This habit of taking the term relations for granted originates from the simple idea that people's ability to relate to one another is often considered as a fundamental truth about human existence. It is considered self-evident that people all around the world are immersed in relations with things, beings and entities that form their environment.

This module will cover theoretical debates and different perspectives on relations, specifically concerning, but not limited to social relations, power relations, race, gender and class relations, institutional relations, interpersonal relations, kinship relations, etc. and illuminate them with specific ethnographic examples in the educational setting. It will also propose possible ways to think with, make, uncover, or awake specific relations in the educational setting.

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Relations are everywhere, but institutions, with the educational institution as the finest example, have a particular way of producing, reproducing and transforming specific kinds of relations that are imbued with power. Race, gender, sexuality, class, disability are just some of the categories that are co/re/produced in those relations. Education has a way of normalizing hierarchical and uneven relations even when it subscribes to claims of equality, reciprocity, and freedom. Ethnographic approaches, examples and theoretical underpinnings of the module are directed toward opening different ways of seeing those relations.

This module utilizes a plethora of ethnographic research in diverse educational settings that do not always share theoretical underpinnings but are committed to accountable research and educational practice through a focus on specificity and detail of those educational experiences and relations that are often marginalized, rejected, dismissed or just taken for granted.

The module starts with theoretical questioning of relations as such (Feldman 2011, Strathern 2018) and moves to the exploration of "situated knowledges" (Haraway, 1988, Harding, 2011) starting from acknowledging our own positionality in the field of relations and connecting it to ethnographic examples of relations in action in specific educational settings. These will form a base for methodological exercises that are useful for discussion and understanding of:

- varied ways in which we are immersed in relations and how do they shape our educational practice and experience? (Ingold 2011, 2017)
- how are specific types of power relationships reproduced in institutional settings? (Ortner, 2006, MacDonald 1981, Strathern 2005)

4. Suggested Exercises

Exercises are intended to make educators aware of their own network of relations first, so the starting point is an autoethnographic assessment of different dimensions of relations they are imbued with and by acknowledging their own positionality. Exercise is imagined as a self observation assignment (of different lengths depending on the course) in which teachers are asked to observe and note on their everyday relations. The final product of the exercise is a short essay on their positionality in their respective educational setting.

We then move to the collaborative part of exercises in which teachers are paired in groups and assigned to read and comment on the essays produced in an earlier exercise. This will allow for widening the perspectives of all involved and open the discussion on the differences that arise from different positions in the field of relations and how these positions affect, specifically their educational practice.

Final exercise will be one of roleplaying imagination in which teachers will be asked to assume a position of one of their colleagues (for example: white male middle-aged teacher will be asked to imagine himself as young women of immigration background – the positions will depend on the diversity of the group itself and based on their positionality essays) and try to detail how this shifting of roles changes their everyday relations with other teachers, students, parents and alike.

5. Learning Prospects

- comprehend basic theoretical approaches to relations in anthropology and their usefulness for pedagogical practice
- reflect on relations they are embedded in and the ways they influence their pedagogical practices
- distinguish different methodological approaches to educational research and their usefulness for different educational settings and issues

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- use some of the ethnographic methods in their own didactical practice to improve learning outcomes

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Module – Selfing and Othering

Christa Markom / Jelena Tosic / Martina Sturm / Paul Sperneac-Wolfer (AUT)

Why teach this module?

A glance at the schoolyard on a regular morning is all it takes to realize that processes of group formation and boundary making are an essential part of social dynamics of education. Who is in which group? Whom do you stand with? Whom would you rather not stand with? What are the differences based on? Why do these dynamics take place? Whether in the schoolyard, in the classroom or even in the teachers' room - the basic question here is primarily about the dynamics of how constantly boundaries and differences are drawn between individuals, thus creating groups. For what reasons are relationships established, maintained and, if necessary, severed? Unfortunately, the attention for group formation often only arises when it leads to conflicts. These conflicts are not only interpersonal or "purely personal" in nature, but can be observed and examined from a social science perspective. As a teacher, one has the responsibility of making the dynamics in the classroom pedagogically meaningful. In this respect, the goal of this course is to equip the participants with sound analytical anthropological knowledge of the mechanisms and dimensions of privilege (and the lack thereof) and selfing / othering in educational contexts. This forms the basis for designing work in the classroom accordingly and innovatively.

Ethnographic Entry Points

A consideration of the plethora of ethnographic research in everyday school life shows that even in the most diverse local contexts, recurring themes exist. Perhaps, these are well known to you personally. The publication by Moncarda Linares (2016) provides a very detailed and good overview of the concept of Othering and makes clear that a debate on Othering and cultural sensitivity in the classroom belong together. She also describes many examples of its application in research within the classroom. Based on the experiences of students in two primary schools in the UK, Shereen et al (2003) show the complexity of inclusion and exclusion processes and the importance of a political understanding of classroom dynamics. Also in the UK, Murtagh (2019) uses the "Othering" concept to identify the hardships and challenges that teacher trainees who have children face in their work practice. Finally, two ethnographers highlight the importance of dialogue spaces with regard to the conflicts which people of color - educators encounter in the American context when learners are predominantly white (Rasheed 2018) and vice versa (Bryzzheva 2018).

These few examples may provide a small overview how selfing / othering processes become relevant in educational settings and produce different privileges for different social groups. Much of the research has been conducted by practitioners with their own teaching practice and is therefore practice-oriented and relevant to everyday life.

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Ways of understanding

In combination with the ethnographic record, a collection of theoretical approaches will be used. The anthropologist Gerd Baumann describes not only the majority but also the production of boundaries between majorities and minorities as processes of "selfing and othering" (Baumann 2004: 19). Both processes play a crucial role in the development of racism. The phenomenon of racism becomes analytically more tangible when understood as a form of identity formation through exclusion and / or demarcation. Baumann distinguishes three "grammars "- orientalism, segmentation and encompassment - or social discourses that construct self and others. He presents these three grammars as classification schemes, each with their own process of selfing / othering, as a theoretical framework for understanding the sociocultural phenomena of inclusion and exclusion. He argues that peoples' "need for demarcation" is a plausible explanation for the ease with which racist or discriminating ideas enter into the opinion-forming processes of groups. This demarcation acts to guard the "unity of the group" by denouncing or "warding off the threat from outside" (see Baumann 2004: 19ff). Baumann does not insist on the exclusivity of these three grammars, since for any social situation of selfing and othering, multiple grammars are often used simultaneously and interchangeably. Rather, he sees them as partly competing and partly complementary variants of identity and alterity constructions. Social and cultural anthropology has extensively discussed and criticized that while majorities are perceived in their difference, minorities are focused on their culture, nature and described as homogeneous. This also leads to debates about power and the hierarchy of privileges of different social groups.

Approaches to Selfing and Othering are useful to discuss and understand:

- The ongoing process of people differentiating themselves from one another;
- Linked to this is the process of defining oneself through demarcation from others;
- How this becomes relevant in the educational context and
- And ultimately to recognize when this process begins to cause serious problems

Suggested Exercises

Firstly, participants are provided with a sound theoretical overview which they can apply in their pedagogical practice. Secondly, small-scale research projects will be conducted. Participants will construct their own field by choosing an educational institution and produce a *thick description* of the chosen setting in regard to privileges or the lack thereof. The well-known anthropologist Clifford Geertz used the term "thick description" to characterize a certain ethnographic approach, which explores how people are constantly involved in meaning-making processes by means of action, perception and interpretation.

During this research, it is essential to capture as much information about the specific site of interest. Of which parts does it consist? Where is it situated, and what does that say about the privileges of the pupils studying there? Who are the people working and studying at the institution, and what are the relationships between these groups as well as within them?

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Special focus should be given to the structural and institutional discrimination of migrant children and their families. The monolingual habitus (Gogolin 2008) created enormous imbalances between majorities and minorities in classrooms all over the world, although other forms of (dis)privilege such as able-bodiedness (or lack thereof), positions of gender, sexual orientation or socio-economic status must be taken into account as well. To understand how selfing / othering processes produce inequalities and privileges are the first step towards a learning environment with equal opportunities.

Learning Prospects

- participants are equipped with a sound and transdisciplinary knowledge about mechanisms and dimensions of privilege (and the lack thereof) in the educational context
- participants are skilled to develop ethnographic sensitivity in their educational setting
- participants are skilled to conduct own research projects to examine processes of selfing / othering
- participants gain insight into the way privilege (or lack thereof) can be perpetuated through the educational system and can reflect on their own role as a subject of education

Literature

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Module – Sociality

Sally Anderson

1. Why teach this module?

Sociality is core to all human life. Through social interaction and intersubjectivity people gain personhood, forge relationships, create and maintain social forms, institutions and social order. Phenomena as different as curriculum reform, learning disabilities and schoolyard bullying are all historical artefacts of human social interaction.

Sociality is also the medium of all learning. Through social interaction, children experience 'what matters' and learn how to interpret 'what is going on'. Children pick up on where, when and with whom it is 'usual' to behave in certain ways - to shout, sing, keep silent, run, or make trouble for a teacher. For their part, teachers work to promote idealized forms of sociality, such as *class community* and *egalitarian sociality*. They monitor children's behaviour, interpret 'what is going on' and guide and direct as necessary.

This module is designed for exploring social interaction and reflecting on social interaction in educational settings. Paying close attention to fine-grained details of social interaction, and to 'usual' assumptions about 'what's happening' allows us to understand sociality as concerted action, i.e. the joint work people do to interact appropriately. It also allows us to rework our 'usual' assumptions and reflect on how we might proceed differently toward achieving valued pedagogical goals.

2. Ethnographic Entry Points

While sociality is at the core of all human life, participating in particular forms of social interaction in specific contexts requires familiarity with local norms of appropriate conduct and social position. Entering a new and unfamiliar setting is always fraught with the risk of inappropriate behaviour or of being ignored while others enjoy a sociable moment together.

Studying interaction is useful for gaining in-depth understanding of culturally specific ways of doing things. In *How to ask for a drink in Subanun*, Frake describes what a stranger, in this case an anthropologist, has to know to interact appropriately with local people in a particular sociable setting (1964:127). Frake's step-by-step description of procedures for 'getting a drink' (and getting ahead socially) is useful for thinking about procedures in comparable situations in which newcomers attempt to 'join others' to eat lunch, play football or jump rope. Detailed descriptions show the complexity of procedures and reveal differences of opinion about the 'right, ' best or 'most usual' way to proceed.

This classic approach may be fruitfully applied to contemporary work on children with autistic spectrum disorder, whose capability of acting 'ordinary' in accordance with the

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expectations of consociates' is not ready-to-hand. Anthropologists, Ochs and Solomon use this approach to ask what teachers, classmates, parents, and siblings need to know to interact successfully with children diagnosed with autism. By paying close attention to the details of social interaction between these children and their human and animal caregivers, Ochs and Solomon explore the limitations and competencies of 'autistic sociality.' Through this they suggest ways of enhancing the social engagement of children with this disorder (2013: 69).

In the *Waltz of Sociability* (1995), Amit-Talai addresses the question of how young people carve out time and space for more intimate and personal sociability in schools that prescribe a more generalized sociability – of all with all. She describes how youth create 'space' for close 'friend' relations in a school that greatly restricts student movement in time and space. She describes the student's relational work of making friends and the emotional work of worrying about the quality and realness of friendships. She gives a detailed look into the ways students create small windows of time and space in which to negotiate friendship, and how they work to convert some classmates into 'best friends' while maintaining 'more distant' relationships with others. Amit-Talai's work gives food for thought about how schools structure student sociality by regulating where and with whom they spend their time. She shows the challenges students face in their efforts to carve out more intimate and meaningful relationships in the constant company of 'others' in social arenas that restrict their movement and take up much of their time.

Highlighting some challenges of social interaction, these ethnographic articles provide different ways of thinking about sociality in a range of environments. Juxtaposing the articles allows us to grasp how anthropologists learn by comparing and contrasting phenomena across times and settings, with the aim of gaining genuine insight and applying this insight to questions and concerns in their own field of work.

3. Ways of understanding

In Schegloff's view (2011: 70) coordinated *social interaction* is the fundamental embodiment of sociality, the 'infrastructure' that grounds all human life and social institutions. Social interaction figures centrally in the economy, the polity, in institutions of marriage, family, education, law, religion and more. It thus has to be sufficiently robust, flexible and self-maintaining to sustain social order at family dinners, in coalmines, on operating tables, in Paris and Vanuatu and virtually everywhere that human life is found.

Drawing on linguistic and non-linguistic interaction, conversation analysts and anthropologists have outlined specific organizational problems that are generic to interaction. For example, interaction requires *turn taking* and *nextness*. Taking turns always entails the question of who should speak, move or act *next* and how long to pause between turns. It also involves questions of coherent sequencing. What the *next* speaker says should follow coherently from the first speaker 's utterance, such that successive turns create a coherent course of action framed by a *working consensus* about what is going on. Coherent interaction also involves ways of repairing misunderstandings along the way, to restore forward progress such that the interaction does not freeze or fall apart (Schegloff 73-77).

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Sacks (1984: 429) argues that "working at being usual" is a *technology* people apply to accomplish orderly interaction. Acting in 'ordinary' ways is not about *being* ordinary, but about *doing* 'being ordinary.' It takes work, and people engage in coordinated interaction such that all appear to be ordinary person" (Sack 1984: 415). The question for Sacks was not so much how people go about doing being ordinary persons but rather how they *know* what 'being ordinary' is in any given situation. What is 'usual' (or unusual) is culturally and temporally distributed; as Frake might note, asking for a drink in Vienna or Subanun are likely to be two very different procedures.

An enduring question is how children and other newcomers gain competence in locally situated social forms and practices, in appropriate ways of sustaining coherent interaction (Ochs and Solomon 2010: 69). To grasp this aspect of sociality, it is useful to think of all actions, movements, and utterances as symbolic communication. Non-linguistic signs, such as a slightly arched eyebrow, a half-raised hand, or a brief silence are all indexical of something. What they are indexes of is open to interpretation, to informed guesswork based on experience of similar situations and the forward progression of the action at hand. While prior knowledge of a child's tendency to hit others when provoked helps us imagine what *could* happen, it is only in the action at hand that small pats on the back may become *real* hits that start a fight rather than sustain a convivial tussle between to boys (Cf. Batson 1972).

Geertz (1973) illustrates this difficulty by asking how we might discern a *wink* from a *twitch*. If we decide a brief eye contraction is a wink, we still have to infer whether it is an ironic, flirtatious, or secretive wink. To do this we need to know something of the specific situation in which the winking takes place, the persons involved, the ambience and whether or not there is a viable working consensus about what going on. Nonverbal signs (smiles, frowns, etc) help us discern what is happening and whether it is ordinary or unusual. Yet once settled on an interpretation, we still have the work of figuring out what to do next.

Because we (still) cannot get inside each other's minds, social interaction requires intricate negotiation and concerted action. Even the simplest greetings are extremely complex, as we have to figuring out how close to stand, who goes first, whether to high-five of cheek-kiss and how many times, how low to bow, to whom and in which situation, how to repair bumped heads or missed hands and how to gracefully end a greeting are joint *achievements* that take subtle collaboration from all involved to succeed. Accomplishing successful interaction involves collusion, concerted acts of playing along, tactfully not noticing breaches of conduct or generously ignoring a *real* hit.

Ethnomethodologists, symbolic interactionists and linguistic anthropologists (Goffman, Kendon, Garfinkel, Birdwhistle, Schegloff, McDermott and more) have developed a vocabulary for talking about social interaction. Terms like *collaboration*, *achievement*, *gaze direction*, *joint attention*, *concerted action*, *synchronization of movement*, *spatial coordination*, *collusion*, *facework*, *front stage*, *back stage*, *working consensus*, *framing*, *everyday constitution of meaning* point to different aspects of the intricate work of social interaction. In paying attention to these, we become better discerners of what is (also) going on.

4. Suggested Exercises

- Read two ethnographic articles, identify main questions and points, and contrast and compare the ethnographic settings described. Discuss how you might apply insights from these articles to specific issues of social interaction in your own work. Prepare a brief presentation of your example and reflections for class discussion.

- Reflect on and discuss how ordinary acts, such as walking down the street, coming to class, going to the store, eating dinner – are organized and what cultural assumptions, ideologies or values help to keep them organized in this way.

- Have two members of your group carry on a two-minute conversation, while all others observe and note how the two, who are speaking, work to coordinate their interaction. Reflect on what techniques make the conversation 'work,' what makes it 'ordinary' and identify points where the conversation 'gets into trouble' and try to explain why this is.

- Identify one pedagogical ideal for classroom sociality. Describe how 'school class' organization structures, shapes and restricts children's social interaction. Compare and contrast the pedagogical ideal and your attempts to facilitate it with what 'actually' or 'usually happens. Explain how what 'actually' happens makes sense in this in this particular social arena. How might you revise, adjust, reformulate your ideal goal or facilitation to take 'what actually happens' seriously?

5. Learning Prospects
- Students will become familiar with different anthropological approaches to studying and understanding human sociality and social interaction and be able to reflect on how to apply these to teacher work.

- Students will better understand the intricate coordination required of participants to achieve successful interaction and a better appreciation of all that can go wrong.

- Students will gain respect for the challenges newcomers face in learning and appropriating unfamiliar ways of acting 'as usual'.

- Student will gain a vocabulary for talking about and reflecting on coordinated social interaction that is relatively free in the first instance of pedagogical ideology and moral evaluation.

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